

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

DOCUMENTS OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

RESISTANCE TO MARTIAL LAW
IN THE PAGES OF *ANG BAYAN*

Central Committee of the
Communist Party of the Philippines

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS
Collection “Works of Maoism” #16

Contact — flpress@protonmail.com
<https://foreignlanguages.press>

Paris, 2023

ISBN: 978-2-493844-50-7

Original Title: *Paglaban sa Batas Militar sa mga pahina ng Ang Bayan*

Cover artwork: Ka Radem



This book is under license Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0)

<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/>

Contents

Dedication	11
Foreword	13
Ang Bayan's Role in the Leadership of the Party in the Fight Against Martial Law	19
Resistance to Martial Law in the Pages of <i>Ang Bayan</i>	22
Introduction	23
Turn Grief Into Revolutionary Courage and Militant Unity for National Democracy	25
On the Partial Lifting of the Writ Suspension	41
Overthrow the US-Marcos Dictatorship to Achieve National Freedom and Democracy	43
Filipinos in the United States Oppose US-Marcos Dictatorship	79
Mindanao Guerrilla Fighters Wipe Out Several Hundred Fascist Troops	83
The New People's Army Celebrates Its Fifth Anniversary	87
The Communist Party of the Philippines Enters the Seventh Year Since Reestablishment	95
Strengthen the Revolutionary Workers' Movement	113
New People's Army Seizes 43 rifles in Central Luzon	119
Revolutionary Mass Movement Developing Rapidly in Manila-Rizal	121
CPP, NPA in Eastern Visayas Rectify Errors, Redouble Revolutionary Efforts	125
People's Rally Held in Metro Manila; AFP's Mass-Arrest Scheme Frustrated	129
Mass Cultural Work Advances in NPA Guerrilla Zones	133
200,000 Students in 10 Schools Rally to Resurgent Protest Movement	135
Central Luzon Holds Successful Regional Party Conference	137
Revolutionary Newspapers Hold Propaganda Conference	141

Oppressed Kalinga Masses Support NPA Military Operations	143
Persevere in Revolutionary Struggle, Sison Urges Kabataang Makabayan	147
Importance of Mass Work Stressed as NPA Marks 9 th Anniversary	151
Revolutionary Culture Blooms in Marcos' Detention Centers	155
Traditional "Bodong," Reaffirms Igorot Unity vs. Dam Project	157
Farm Workers, Detained After Planting on the Big Landlord's Property	161
The Revolution Advances in the 7 th Year of Martial Law	163
May 1: Workers' Movement Resurgent Shows They Grasp Their Historic Role	171
Masses, NPA Show Fine Example of How to Disintegrate CHDFS	175
Strikes Preparing Working Class for Leading Role in Revolution	179
Resistance Radio Station Set Up on Panay Island	183
Fascist Regime Eats Own Words; NPA Flourishes in Cagayan Valley	185
Various Regions Trace NPA Growth Since Its Founding	189
Peasants, Main Force of Revolution, Steel Selves in Mass Struggles	193
Patriotic Health Workers Form New Mass Organization	195
The Fascist Regime Is Like a Confused Firefighter	201
Dictatorship Is in Grave Crisis on Eighth Year of Martial Law	203
The Masses Foiled the Enemy, Hold 2 Big Rallies in Cebu, Samar	209
People Have the Party to Lead Them to National Freedom and Democracy	213
Agrarian Revolution Achieves Big Gains in Eastern Samar	219
Workers Who Join People's Army Take Lead for Others to Follow	223
15,000 Join Most Militant, Biggest Demo in Isabela	227
Participation in Struggle Molds Revolutionary Families	231
Bicol Party Organization Holds First Conference	235
Army and People Fight Together for Victory in People's War	237
Revolution Gains More Ground in Northeast Luzon Region	243
Masses in Samar Act vs. Forest Denudation	247

CHDF Units in Zamboanga Sur Outwitted, Disarmed By NPA	251
Overthrow the US-Marcos Fascist Dictatorship, Establish a Revolutionary Coalition Government	253
NPA in Bicol, Mindanao Seizes More Than 330 Arms	287
Protests Gain Momentum	289
Philippine Revolution Develops Links Overseas	291
CPP: Reestablished on Solid Foundation	295
Our Party Has Completed 15 Years of Leadership	299
NPA Seizes 523 Firearms in Two Biggest Raids	307
People's Strike in Bataan: A Heavy Blow on the Regime	309
Acknowledgements and Credit	313

Dedication

This book is dedicated by the editors of *Ang Bayan* to the working class and peasants and the broad masses of the Filipino people and their historical struggle against the US-Marcos dictatorship and for national democracy.

It is especially dedicated to all the martyrs and heroes who fell during the difficult struggle against martial law, and to all detainees, and victims of torture by the fascist soldiers and police.

It is also dedicated to all Party cadres who dared lead the Filipino people on the revolutionary path.

Furthermore, it dedicated to the courageous Red fighters of the New People's Army who fought the ferocious enemy.

This book is also dedicated to all the martyrs and heroes of the Filipino people who continued the struggle for true freedom and democracy in the past three and a half decades against the past puppet and fascist regimes.

It is also for the current generation of Party cadres, NPA fighters, National Democratic Front forces and masses of activists advancing the struggle for national democracy and socialism.

Above all, for the Communist Party of the Philippines, which serves as the beacon in the dark and difficult struggle to bring the country and the people to the brighter future.

Foreword

I welcome this book, *Paglabansa Batas Militar samga Pahinang Ang Bayan*. This is a well-selected compilation of articles from *Ang Bayan* (organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines) pertaining to the conspiratorial preparations of the Marcos ruling clique for the proclamation of martial in 1972, the implementation of the scheme to impose a fascist dictatorship on the Filipino people, the resistance of the people and the revolutionary forces (such as the CPP, the New People's Army and the National Democratic Front) and the eventual overthrow the Marcos fascist regime 1986.

This book is timely and highly significant in the face of the usurpation of political power by the tandem of Ferdinand Marcos Junior and Sara Duterte as president and vice president through the fraudulent automated electoral vote count masterminded and carried out by the outgoing president Rodrigo Duterte, on the basis of the blatant lie that Marcos Junior was an avalanche electoral winner because of the "golden age" generated by the Marcos Senior's reign of terror and greed. In fact, this eventually caused his overthrow by popular mass uprisings in 1986.

I am honored and delighted to make this preface because I was the editor-in-chief of *Ang Bayan* from its founding in May 1969 to the end of 1975. Comrade Antonio Zumel succeeded me in the position in early 1976 and I became the political adviser of *Ang Bayan* until my capture by the enemy on November 10, 1977. *Ang Bayan* reflected the revolutionary stand of the CPP and the people on major issues, the rapid rise of the people's democratic revolution on a nationwide scale, the accelerated worsening of the crisis of the semi-colonial and semifeudal system and the ultimate overthrow of the Marcos fascist dictatorship.

As early as 1969, Marcos was already hell-bent on imposing a fascist dictatorship on the Filipino people. He was prodded by the Asian Doctrine proclaimed by US President Nixon, urging US puppet regimes to build their own strong-arm regimes without need of US ground troops, in the face of a looming US defeat in its war of aggression in Vietnam. From then on, Marcos was blabbering about preparing for the social volcano that was about to erupt in the Philippines and about preempting the rise of the CPP and NPA. He started to suppress violently the student and worker mass actions

and the peasant movement and to use public money to ensure his reelection as president in 1969.

Because of his propensity for violence in suppressing the student mass actions, he practically drove the student masses to carry out the First Quarter Storm of 1970 and the Diliman Commune of 1971. But he had a more malevolent objective in pushing the student masses to rebel. He wanted to create a situation by which he could take the initiative in attacking the Plaza Miranda rally of the Liberal Party on August 21, 1971 and then within hours of the incident scapegoating the CPP and his chief political rival Sen. Benigno Aquino Jr. and proclaiming the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus.

The suspension of the writ of habeas corpus was the clear preparation for the martial law proclamation dated September 21, 1972. He used more than a full year as commander-in-chief of the armed forces to make sure that the military, police and paramilitary forces would be with him in mounting a campaign of state terrorism in the name of anti-communism and national discipline. Indeed, he used the slogan of “saving the republic to build a new society.”

But contrary to his calculation that the broad masses of the people would be intimidated with the outlawing the national democratic mass organizations, thousands upon thousands of mass activists joined the urban revolutionary underground as well as the people’s army and mass organizations in the countryside. The National Democratic Front of the Philippines was formed in 1973 to help systematize the building of the revolutionary mass organizations and alliances on a nationwide scale among the toiling masses.

From year to year, the CPP, NPA and NDFP grew in strength in the revolutionary struggle for national and social liberation. The book is excellent at including the statements celebrating the rise of mass struggles and the capture of so many weapons in so many NPA raids in so short a time to show the advance of the people’s war. The NPA started with only 9 automatic rifles for 60 fighters in March 1969 but within its first ten years the NPA gained thousands of rifles and a wide and deep base by carrying out armed struggle, agrarian revolution and mass-base building.

By pursuing the comprehensive anti-fascist, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal line, the revolutionary movement of the people grew in strength and advanced rapidly. It involved the nationwide building of CPP branches in localities and organizations, NPA combat units, people’s militia and self-defense teams in guerrilla fronts, the revolutionary mass organizations of vari-

ous types and the local organs of political power that constitute the people's democratic government.

Because of the fascist dictatorship, it became far easier and faster to arouse, organize and mobilize the people for national independence and democracy against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The fascist dictator himself, his military minions and business cronies accelerated the crisis of the ruling system by betraying the national and democratic rights of the people, engaging in gross and systematic violations of human rights, by plundering and bankrupting the reactionary government and economy. Thus, the Marcos fascist dictatorship was ripe for overthrow by mass uprisings of the people in 1986.

As early as the years of 1976 and 1977, it was predictable that the Marcos I fascist regime could no longer exist for more than a decade because of too much foreign debt and too much corruption in infrastructure projects and supply contracts. The social discontent among the workers, peasants, national minorities, youth, women and other people became manifest. Nobody could be fooled by Marcos when he was talking about "normalizing" the situation and "lifting" martial law in 1981. The beginning of the end for him was when he ordered in 1983 the murder of Ninoy Aquino, which led even the US to junk him in 1984.

The Marcos II regime of terror and greed is isolated and discredited from the very start. It is based on the patently big lie that Marcos Junior was elected in 2022 because the Marcos I fascist regime had been supposedly responsible for making a "golden age" in the Philippines. Everyone knows the obvious falsity of the bloated figure of 31 million as an automated concoction of the Duterte regime. The capacity of the Filipino people to get rid of the Marcos II regime of state terrorism and unbridled corruption is so many times higher than during the 14-year course of Marcos fascist dictatorship from 1972 to 1986.

Why? Because the chronic crisis of the semi-colonial and semifeudal system has become so much graver than ever before. The bankruptcy and public debt of the Philippines have grown so many times since the end of Marcos I the fascist regime due to rising levels of profit-taking by the imperialists and big compradors, the unbridled corruption of the bureaucrat capitalists and the military officers and the soaring debt payments to the imperialist banks. The revolutionary strength of the Filipino people in both urban and rural

areas is so much greater now than in 1972 when Marcos proclaimed martial law or in 1986 when the Marcos fascist dictatorship fell.

Marcos Junior can thank Duterte for the electoral fraud that has made him president as well as for passing on to him the instruments of state terrorism, like the so-called Anti-Terror Law, the Anti-Terrorism Council and the National Task Force ELCAC and the methods of repression, such as red-tagging, abductions, torture and murder of those red-tagged. These will certainly help him to stay in power and accumulate more private wealth. But he should curse Duterte for passing on to him a bankrupt government and economy, with a public debt more than doubled from Php 5.9 trillion to Php 12.8 trillion during the six-year term of the supercrook Duterte.

Marcos II is bound by the dynastic and class interest of his family to use the coercive apparatuses of the reactionary state to consolidate and expand its ill-gotten wealth and to suppress the broad popular opposition to his regime. That is why he is opposed to peace negotiations with the National Democratic Front and the popular demand for national independence, democracy and economic development through genuine land reform and national industrialization. The broad masses of the people will be outraged from month to month and from year to year as the Marcos II regime will commit more and bigger crimes of brutality and corruption.

There are limited resources for the regime to play with and conjure false illusions to distract the people. One-third of its 2023 budget of Php 5.268 trillion is for debt payment. Most of the disposable money is for overpriced and graft-laden pork barrel projects and supply contracts and for unaudited huge funds for intelligence, psywar and military operations. Social services, especially education, health and public housing, have been cut down. The regime expects to auction off the national patrimony, government corporations, public land and natural resources to raise revenues and encourage imperialist banks to provide loans.

It does not take a prophet or rocket expert to recognize the lack of moral authority, mendacious and corrupt character, fragility and instability of the Marcos II regime and to calculate that the Marcos II regime has neither the subjective nor objective capabilities to revise the 1987 constitution and rule beyond the six-year term limit. He will surely fail if he tries to perpetuate himself in power as his notorious father did. He will practically dare the people to capture and punish him. If he underestimates the revolutionary

movement he should remember that the millions of people who attended the mass rallies of his electoral rival were real people, unlike the 31 million votes invented by Duterte and him.

JOSE MARIA SISON,
FOUNDING CHAIRMAN COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES
Utrecht, Netherlands, September 1, 2022

Ang Bayan's Role in the Leadership of the Party in the Fight Against Martial Law

The banning of all forms of organization and the denial of freedom of the press were the first steps of Ferdinand Marcos, Sr. when he imposed martial law and established his dictatorial rule.

Despite his power, the dictator failed to eliminate the Communist Party of the Philippines and stop the publication of *Ang Bayan*, the official news organ of its Central Committee.

During the many years of the dark reign of fascism, *Ang Bayan* served as the medium of information that exposing the rotten US-Marcos dictatorship, providing the correct analyses and calls to guide the resistance, and of the news of the victory of the people who were enlightened and fighting back.

In the midst of Marcos' military rule, the Party persevered to lead the Filipino people and advance their struggles in all fields of resistance—above all, in the field of armed struggle.

The continuous publication of *Ang Bayan* is a reflection of the Party's political leadership.

Three years before Marcos imposed martial law, the Party had already established the New People's Army, which served as its weapon and arm in establishing armed political power in the guerrilla fronts in the countryside.

Through the NPA, the strength of the peasant masses was established and intensified the struggle for genuine real land reform.

From nine automatic rifles and 60 Red Fighters, the NPA continuously grew through guerrilla warfare and delivered major blows against the enemy.

Party cadres and the mass activists they led also played a major role in reviving the democratic mass movement from the mid-1970s.

The cadres were involved in the workers' strikes and the students' campus boycott movement, which later led to thousands of workers and youth pouring into the streets.

ANG BAYAN AGAINST MARTIAL LAW

In addition to presenting the analysis of the Party and heralding its calls, *Ang Bayan* chronicled the successes and advances in the people's fourteen-year struggle (1972-1986) against Marcos' martial law.

Despite Marcos' suppression of the freedom of press, the Party was determined to regularly publish *Ang Bayan*.

Thus, ten days after martial law was declared, the Central Committee of the Party released the issue of *Ang Bayan* calling for the "Overthrow the US-Marcos dictatorship for national freedom and democracy!"

Every issue published by *Ang Bayan*, which was painstakingly typewritten and reproduced through mammographic stencils, was eagerly anticipated by the Filipino masses.

Ang Bayan served as a guiding framework for the formation of the Party throughout the country and thus for the rapid spread of resistance throughout the archipelago.

It also served as a guide for Party cadres and activist masses across the country in their effort to arouse, organizing and mobilizing the people.

The Party's leadership in mobilizing the Filipino people had been fruitful and cannot be refuted.

This current book, *Ang Paglaban sa Batas Militar sa mga Pahina ng Ang Bayan* (The Struggle Against Martial Law in the Pages of *Ang Bayan*), is a reflection of the Party's effective leadership of the Filipino people and its efforts to use *Ang Bayan* as an instrument to shape and record the history of the people's resistance.

The release of this book was deliberately timed to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the declaration of martial law on September 21, 2022.

The editors of *Ang Bayan* are aware of the need to release the book in the face of the current suffering of the Filipino people under the new Marcos regime, in the midst of the further decay and deepening crisis of the ruling semi-colonial and semi-feudal system.

The purpose of this book is to serve as a historical reference to fight the current efforts to distort history—the plot of the Marcoses to make the period of suffering of the people under martial law appear as "golden years," and for the Filipino masses to forget the unforgivable crimes committed by Marcos, Sr., his cronies and accomplices to repress the people and regain political and economic power.

In releasing these historical articles, the purpose of this book is to serve as a model of learning—to serve as a guide for the current and future struggle of the Filipino people and the advancement of the revolutionary movement.

In fact, many aspects of martial law continue to exist today: the repression, terror and oppression of the Filipino people.

In spite of the different masks that it wears, the fascist rule in the Philippines continues, becoming more insidious and more ferocious.

We encourage the readers of *Ang Bayan*—Party cadres, revolutionary forces and all advocates of democracy and national independence—to read the articles in this book carefully, appreciate the lessons and to draw inspiration to advance the national-democratic revolution to a new level in the coming years.

THE EDITORS, *ANG BAYAN*
September 1, 2022

**Resistance to Martial Law
in the Pages of *Ang Bayan***

INTRODUCTION

This book, *The Resistance to Martial Law in the Pages of Ang Bayan*, is an anthology or collection of 50 articles that appeared in *Ang Bayan* during the struggle against the martial law imposed by the US-Marcos dictatorship (1972–1986). It also contains two additional articles that present the Party’s analyses of the nascent dictatorship before Marcos established it.

Included in this collection are important *Ang Bayan* editorials that present the analysis of the Party and lay out its duties in the fight against the Marcos dictatorship. In addition, it contains some news of notable achievements in the field of armed struggle, legal democratic movement, Party formation, people’s army and mass base. It also contains articles that show the advancement of the revolutionary movement in some featured regions and sectors.

There are many other important articles that have not been included in this collection. *Ang Bayan* will work to release them in a different form in the future.

Articles are arranged chronologically according to date. The volume and issue numbers of *Ang Bayan* that the articles originally appeared in is listed under the title. This collection is a mix of English and Filipino articles. In the articles that appeared in both languages, the editors encouraged the inclusion of Filipino.¹

The text of these articles is recopied from digital facsimiles of old *AB* issues. We have not changed anything in the spellings and words used, even though the spelling differs from the current *AB* guidelines.² Notice in some parts the symbol “[...]” which indicates that the words from the original copy are no longer legible.

We tried to be thorough in reviewing these texts. If there are any mistakes, please let us know, so they can be corrected.

We would be happy to receive your comments or questions about this book.

¹ In this, the international edition, all of the texts appear in English.—*Ed.*

² This edition includes some corrections of typos, missing words, etc. as well as a slightly modified style, in order to increase the accessibility of the text for international readers.

TURN GRIEF INTO REVOLUTIONARY COURAGE AND MILITANT UNITY FOR NATIONAL DEMOCRACY

February 28, 1970, Editorial, (Volume II, Number 2)

We express the profoundest grief over the death of four student martyrs, the injury and maiming of several thousands of students and other patriots, the wanton mass arrests and illegal detention of several hundreds, kidnappings and tortures in interrogation rooms which were all perpetrated by the counterrevolutionary state in the course of and in connection with the militant mass demonstrations of January 26 and 30–31.

There is nothing more reasonable and urgent now than to turn our grief into revolutionary courage and to forge the most militant national democratic unity against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism for which the Marcos puppet reactionary regime serves as the bloodthirsty hatchet man.

The Marcos puppet reactionary regime has long engaged in the bloody suppression of the people in both city and countryside. It goes down in Philippine history as a regime characterized by white terror and no amount of hypocritical rhetoric and subterfuge can ever wash its hands of the blood of students, workers, peasants and other patriots.

The bloody suppression of the militant mass demonstrations of January 26 and 30–31 is a part of the systematic fascist suppression of the national freedom and democratic rights of the Filipino people. However, like all the other heinous crimes committed by the Marcos puppet reactionary regime, it has failed and will further fail to intimidate the broad masses of the people from fighting tit for tat and from fighting through to the end for a national democratic revolution.

The more the people are oppressed with counterrevolutionary violence, the more shall they resist with revolutionary violence. The violent actions of the counterrevolutionary state will only temper the people in revolutionary struggle. These will only serve to expose the utter bankruptcy and instability of the reactionary government, instead of cowing the people.

The people will never permit its finest sons and daughters to die in vain. The revolutionary courage of more than 50,000 demonstrators in front of Congress on January 26 and of another more than 50,000 in front of Mala-

cañang Palace on January 30–31 has inspired them to fight ever more vigorously and steadfastly. A militant national democratic unity is now sweeping the land against the entire system that inflicts fascist brutality on the people and that causes the martyrdom of heroes.

There are now the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army which are guided by the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and which are patriotically implementing the national democratic revolution in the Philippines. We have become more determined to fulfill our sacred responsibilities to the Filipino people as a result of the militant mass demonstrations of January 26 and 30–31. We can never forget the cries of the unarmed demonstrators for arms and for the succor of the people's revolutionary armed forces at the moment that the counterrevolutionary state was mercilessly attacking them with high-caliber guns and truncheons. To these fellow Filipino patriots, we owe great inspiration and we are grateful that they have made it clear that only through armed revolution shall the Filipino people be able to liberate themselves from foreign and feudal oppression and exploitation.

GRASP THE HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE OF JANUARY 26 AND 30–31

The militant demonstrations of January 26 and 30–31 mark a new and higher stage in the national awakening of the Filipino people for the revolutionary struggle for national democracy and against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The unprecedented magnitude and militance of these demonstrations are the outgrowth of long-term revolutionary efforts. They foretell beyond doubt the doom of the ruthless oppressors and exploiters of the broad masses of the people. They are the opening salvos for the more massive and more militant revolutionary rising of the Filipino people on a nationwide scale.

Never before has the revolutionary mass movement in the countryside been as well joined with the revolutionary mass movement in the city. The murder, maiming and mass arrests of people in the city by the reactionary armed forces and police have only served to unite them even more firmly with the people in the countryside who have long suffered the atrocities and impositions of the fascist brutes and their class masters. The militant mass demonstrations in the city have always raised the revolutionary spirit of the people and the Red fighters in the countryside.

It is politically fatal for the reactionary state to have vented its brutality on that particular section of the people, the student youth, which is articulate, mobile and widespread. The student youth are extremely decisive in the preparation of public opinion for revolution on a nationwide scale and in winning over the vacillating sections of the population to the revolutionary cause of the oppressed and exploited masses.

The militant mass demonstrations of January 26 and 30–31 have succeeded in laying bare the basic rottenness of the entire system. To the entire nation has been exposed the rapacity and brutality of the counterrevolutionary state that is in the service of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The picture of the corrupt and fascist terrorist Marcos directly ordering all the services of the Armed Forces of the Philippines and all metropolitan police to attack the people can never be erased from the minds of the people. On January 30–31, AFP chieftain General Yan, Philippine Army chieftain General Ilego, PC chieftain General Raval, Defense Force chieftain General Espino and the commanders of all other major services were in Malacañang to do the bidding of their fascist commander-in-chief. The events of the night of terror are more difficult for all the reactionaries to distort and misrepresent than all the previous massacres and other acts of terrorism committed by the Marcos puppet reactionary regime against the people.

The militant mass demonstrations of January 26 and 30–31 are certainly a further development of the protest actions of the previous decade. They are also the harbinger of a more turbulent revolutionary storm in the current decade of the seventies. They are clearly the expression of the revolutionary aspirations of the broad masses of the people for national democracy and against the foreign, feudal and fascist oppression and exploitation. As US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism increase their oppression and exploitation of the people, there is no remedy but for the workers, peasants, students, the intelligentsia in general and the progressive sections of the national bourgeoisie to increase their resistance. The use of counterrevolutionary violence, restrictive procedures and doubletalk will only result in more intensified revolutionary violence.

The objective conditions for making revolution are extremely favorable both internationally and nationally. We are now in the era of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought when imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is marching toward worldwide victory. In every major contradiction in the world today, the people's revolutionary forces are rapidly isolat-

ing and defeating all the forces of counterrevolution. The oppressed nations, especially of Asia, Africa and Latin America, are daily delivering deadly blows on imperialism and social-imperialism. The proletariat is unceasingly fighting the bourgeoisie in capitalist and revisionist countries. Although the imperialist and social-imperialist countries collude, they also contend with each other; likewise, the imperialist countries maintain the same kind of dog-bite-dog relationship. The socialist countries of the People's Republic of China and that of Albania continue to hold high the great red banner of the proletarian dictatorship against imperialism and social-imperialism. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has transformed the People's Republic of China into the great invincible iron bastion and center of the world proletarian revolution.

US imperialism and all the local reactionaries are in a state of bankruptcy, desperation and hysteria. Like its imperialist masters, the Marcos puppet reactionary regime is frantic about the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army, about the rapid growth of the revolutionary mass movement and about the spread of Mao Zedong Thought in the whole country. US imperialism and the Marcos puppet reactionary regime are so bankrupt and desperate that they are now increasingly allowing the Japanese militarists and the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists to participate in the oppression and exploitation of the Filipino people, in the maintenance of the counterrevolutionary state and in the reinforcement of US imperialist domination. The Marcos puppet reactionary regime seeks to misrepresent its posture as nationalism. The militant mass demonstrations of January 26 and 30–31 have exposed it as fascist puppetry.

REPLY TO THE LIES OF MARCOS CONCERNING THE MILITANT MASS DEMONSTRATIONS

It is not strange that Marcos, the fascist puppet of US imperialism, should try to pinpoint the most advanced militants of the mass demonstrations of January 26 and 30–31 as “Maoists” or, to use appropriate words, adherents of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. He is utterly afraid of the fact that the Communist Party of the Philippines is the force at the core of the revolutionary mass movement in the Philippines. He has the demagogue's illusion that he can isolate the universal ideology of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, by calling it a “foreign” ideology. He is merely repeating the old tactic of the reactionaries of 1896 who sought to

isolate Andres Bonifacio as a “foreign agent” for having been inspired and guided by the old bourgeois democratic ideology of the French revolution. It is a futile and worn-out tactic of those who actually represent the counterrevolutionary interests that are alien to the true national and democratic interests of the Filipino people. It is in a way also equivalent to expressing contempt for bourgeois philosophy or Christian theology by merely dismissing it as foreign ideology without going into the concrete analysis of its class basis in Philippine history and society.

In this era of the impending collapse of imperialism, it is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought that can give ideological clarity to the national democratic revolution of the Filipino people. It is the great red banner of the Filipino proletariat, now leading the national democratic revolution. It is the theoretical guide for the correct and concrete analysis of the history, problems, motive forces, targets, tasks and stages of the Philippine revolution. Even if Marcos, the terrorist puppet of US imperialism, shouts a million times about the “Maoists,” he cannot conceal the fact that he is the political hatchet man of the foreign and feudal oppressors and exploiters of the Filipino people. He can only succeed both by his words and deeds in showing the antagonistic difference between his real puppetry and the patriotism of communists who seek to apply the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution. He has only succeeded to call the attention of the revolutionary masses and youth to the need for the living study and application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

Marcos, the fascist puppet of US imperialism, tries to confuse the issues of the militant mass demonstrations by raising the “issue of communism.” He has only made a fool of himself by doing so. We communists recognize that the nature of Philippine society is semi-colonial and semifeudal and that the pressing issue is national democracy. The issue now in the Philippines is neither socialism nor communism. If Marcos is really raring to have a debate with communists, he should not seek it from modern revisionists and academic bureaucrats under his executive power. All that he has to do is to make a public statement of his views on the Program for a People’s Democratic Revolution of the Communist Party of the Philippines. The Communist Party of the Philippines will oblige him with an answer. The mendacity of the imperialist slogan of “communism versus democracy” will certainly be exposed. By this time, he should know that he cannot make any counterrev-

olutionary propaganda against the Party and the New People's Army without being rebuffed.

It is as impossible for the Marcos puppet reactionary regime to remove communists from the revolutionary mass movement as it is impossible for it to remove all the fish from the sea. Not only can the Communist Party of the Philippines participate in the national democratic revolution but it also does lead the national democratic revolution. The revolutionary mass movement today would be lacking in strength and consistency without the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the practical leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines. The more the reactionary state seeks to attack this truth, the closer that state shall come to its grave.

The militant mass demonstrations of January 26 and 30–31 have thoroughly succeeded in laying bare the counterrevolutionary character of the Marcos puppet reactionary regime. They have also turned Marcos into a blabbering fool in contrast to the pose he has taken of being an expert in counterrevolutionary dual tactics.

In his extreme hatred and fear of the people, he has been compelled to show off his criminal, intimidating, cowardly and mendacious character. On January 30–31, he lost all chances to pass on the blame to his subordinates as he was clearly the one directing the concentration of the reactionary military and police in and around Malacañang Palace. It was clear that he was directly responsible for the murder, maiming and mass arrests of demonstrators.

In a futile attempt to rationalize the murder, maiming and mass arrests of students and other patriotic demonstrators and also the mobilization of more than 12,000 troops from the Army, PC, Marines, Special Forces, Tabak Division, Task Force Lawin, Navy, Air Force and the Metrocom and the Manila Police Department, the USAFFE [United States Armed Forces in the Far East] puppet war hero claims that he was put under siege by “men with an evil purpose” who were determined to seize Malacañang Palace from his family and that he was such a good commander-in-chief that he succeeded in warding off the attempt at a palace revolution. The truth was that he was surrounded by unarmed people who were engaged in direct democratic action and who had to arm themselves with stones, placard handles, bottles and the like only when they had to defend themselves from the murderous rampage of the fascist brutes.

The gross misrepresentation of reality inevitably leads to a contradiction of terms that the sleekest liar cannot avoid. At one turn, Marcos claims that the militant mass demonstration of January 30–31 was a well-organized act of rebellion. At another turn, he slanders the militant demonstrators as a mob engaged in destructive anarchy and vandalism. In the same breath he describes the militant mass demonstration as a well-organized plot to seize power that was either “communist-inspired” or “not communist inspired.” As the present circumstances show, it is patently a big lie for the fascist puppet chieftain Marcos to claim that the Communist Party of the Philippines or any other group was engaged in deploying unarmed people to implement a putschist policy. It is clear that Marcos is desperately in need of an excuse for the murder, maiming and mass arrests of the demonstrators.

The fascist commander-in-chief Marcos has actually no reason yet to fear a coup d'état by any reactionary faction though his brazen use of fraud and terrorism in the last elections has severely exacerbated the internal contradictions of the counterrevolutionary state. The reactionaries, including the Nacionalista Party, the Liberal Party and the emergency CIA gangs like the Christian social movement, the citizens National Electoral Assembly or any other, are at the moment mainly concerned with peddling the farce of constitutional convention to deceive the people with the illusion of “democracy” and give new blessings to imperialist and feudal privileges and also with exerting every malicious and brutal effort to stamp out the flames of the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside and militant mass actions in the city. The Marcos puppet reactionary regime is still one with them in this evil enterprise.

For the general information of Marcos and his cowardly ilk, the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army are now engaged in a protracted people's war which is at this moment in the initial stage of strategic defensive in the countryside. The Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army are not putschists. They firmly adhere to Chairman Mao's strategic principle of encircling the cities from the countryside. All counterrevolutionaries should rest assured that the day will surely come when the people's armed forces shall have defeated the reactionary armed forces in the countryside and are ready to act in concert with general uprisings by workers and students in the final seizure of power in the city. It is simply malicious for the fascist puppet chieftain Marcos to claim that the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army would

violate their basic principles. He seeks to cover up his crimes with an anti-communist hysteria.

The dirtiest slander that the fascist puppet chieftain seeks to make against the Communist Party of the Philippines is his statement that he can turn communist if he wants to but that for his love of democracy he does not want to. The Communist Party of the Philippines hereby tells Marcos that he can neither be a communist nor be a lover of democracy. He represents the counterrevolutionary interests that the Filipino people, the Communist Party of the Philippines and the national democratic revolution are so determinedly fighting against. He has not only robbed the people but he has also directly incurred blood debts in the course of performing his antinational, antidemocratic and anticommunist role of being the top running dog of US imperialism and such exploiting classes as the comprador bourgeoisie and the landlord class. He can seek alliance with or even membership in the local revisionist renegade groups but he should never dare seek it from the Communist Party of the Philippines.

The fascist puppet chieftain himself appeals hypocritically for “calmness” and “unity” after murdering, maiming and arresting en masse unarmed demonstrators engaged in direct democratic action. Not satisfied with the fascist brutality that he has already inflicted, he still threatens to use force against the people and gloats that he has not even used 1/30th of the available force that he can use. He brazenly implies that he can always murder, maim and arrest more people whenever he wants to. This incorrigible terrorist is really in need of a lesson from the people.

The Marcos puppet reactionary regime has aggravated the conditions for a revolutionary war. The fascist puppet Marcos can no longer go to any part of the country without fear of facing the wrath of the people. He is no longer in a position to embellish the increasing oppression and exploitation of the people with catch-phrases and token acts. He has aggravated the suffering of the people in the city and countryside with too many massacres.

The fascist puppet chieftain Marcos can no longer stay in Malacañang or go anywhere without being conspicuously surrounded by too many armed guards. But even then the people will always shout their indignation against him and his regime. They show their indignation whenever they merely see the picture of Marcos and the reactionary troops and police.

No amount of trickery on the part of the Marcos puppet reactionary regime can absolve it from its criminal responsibility in the murder,

maiming and mass arrests of the January 26 and 30-31 demonstrators. The Filipino people see through such tricks as trying to use the Catholic clergy against the demonstrators by holding a “thanksgiving mass” on the Malacañang grounds immediately after the demonstration or by putting the notorious military criminal Raval side by side with Cardinal Santos to make a sham appeal for “calmness” and “sobriety”; holding congressional and police investigations to witch-hunt particular mass organizations and their leaders or to put the blame on everyone except Marcos and his masters; asking students to separate themselves from the workers and peasants or the students from each other; calling for opportunists; using anticommunist elements in the mass media to undermine the revolutionary mass movement; closing the schools and preventing the demonstrators from giving due honors to their martyrs; advising parents and school authorities to restrict the activities of students; saturating the city with troops and putting the people under military surveillance; putting the blame on the demonstrators for the death of their own fellow demonstrators; using the local revisionist renegades to complain about a “purely anti-Marcos line” and to speak merely of “an emerging pattern of repression” or “fascistic tendencies”; and so many other tricks. All of these tricks have only intensified the just anger of the people against the Marcos puppet reactionary regime and all other enemies of the national democratic revolution.

EXPOSE THE FASCIST PUPPETRY OF MARCOS AND THE TRUE STATE OF THE NATION

The January 26 demonstration was essentially a demonstration on the true state of the nation to debunk that mendacious “state of the nation” address of the fascist puppet chieftain Marcos and to condemn the gathering of the people’s oppressors and exploiters in Congress. The reactionaries, including the local revisionist renegades and the Catholic clergy and its political sacristans, sought but failed to misrepresent the mass demonstration as a demonstration to endorse such nonsense as a “nonpartisan” constitutional convention or “peaceful revolution.”

Fearing mass criticism and the exercise of the people’s democratic rights, the fascist despot Marcos gave verbal instructions to attack more than 50,000 demonstrators assembled outside the puppet reactionary legislature. He was incensed that a green *papier mâché* crocodile with a US dollar sign symbolizing his greed and puppetry and a black coffin symbolizing his suppression

of democracy were hurled by the people at him and his first lady, his well-known partner in corruption.

In seeking to terrorize the people with the brutal attack of 7,000 troops and police on the demonstrators on January 26, he created the immediate conditions for the more militant demonstration of January 30–31 which would unfold even more forcefully his fascist puppetry to US imperialism and the irrepressible aspirations of the people for national freedom and democracy. The two demonstrations, especially the latter one, have sounded the keynote of the true state of the nation. They shall serve for a long time as a clear statement of the irreconcilable contradiction between the counterrevolutionary state and the broad masses of the people.

The Mendiola massacre is nothing but the culmination of a series of massacres and assassinations perpetrated in both city and countryside by the Marcos puppet regime. It is also a dialectical development of the shameless commission of fraud and terrorism in the last elections. In firm opposition to it is the kind of revolutionary courage and militant unity manifested by tens of thousands of demonstrators who counterattacked the enemy troops and police wave upon wave for more than six hours. While from the fascist puppet viewpoint of Marcos he deserves another war medal from US imperialism, the Filipino people have become ever more enraged to give him a one-ton medal. Indeed, in trying to ward off the small stones justly thrown at him and to retaliate vindictively against the people, the fool himself has picked up a big rock only to drop it on his feet.

The Marcos brand of nationalism has resoundingly been exposed by the people as fascist puppetry to US imperialism and to the local exploiting classes. The Filipino people have learned even more sharply the necessity of waging armed struggle to overthrow the national and class oppression and exploitation, precisely at a time that the reactionaries are trying to deceive them with such a farce as the 1971 constitutional convention. The striking truth of people's war is being embraced by the people at a time that the reactionaries are at the end of their wit and means to concoct gimmicks and to strengthen their machinery of suppression.

The ugliest features of the reactionary state in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society have become too conspicuous to be camouflaged by mere rhetoric. Undeniable to the entire nation now are the bloodthirsty use of the police trained by the US aid and the vicious military manipulated by the JUSMAG [Joint US Military Assistance Group] in "counterinsurgency"

to suppress the people; the operation of murder gangs like the “Monkees,” Special Forces, Home Defense Forces and the Barrio Home Defense; the all-round US imperialist control over the Armed Forces of the Philippines; the combined use of private armies and regular reactionary troops in terrorizing the people, especially during the last elections; the puppet indoctrination of reactionary military officers in the National Defense College and in US military schools; the counterrevolutionary orientation of PMT and ROTC; and the expanded use of the deceptive concept of “civic action” to displace civilian personnel with military personnel and perform espionage work on the people or the concept of “crowd control” to break up workers’ strikes, peasant actions and demonstrations.

It is futile for the Marcos puppet reactionary regime to boast of having a limitless amount of military force to suppress the Filipino people under the slogan of national discipline. The reactionary government is now in a state of bankruptcy after incurring huge internal and external debts in the course of intensifying the foreign, feudal and fascist oppression and exploitation of the broad masses of the people. Even the fascist troops and police have long found their government salaries to be inadequate; that is why they engage in all kinds of extortion activities and in the process they have become isolated from the people. The whole nation, especially the workers, peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie, is now terribly suffering from inflation, devaluation, increasing unemployment and higher taxes. The national bourgeoisie is finding itself crushed by a tight credit squeeze and the excessive impositions of the international monopoly bourgeoisie led by US imperialism. The masses of workers and unemployed, with the assistance of the urban petty bourgeoisie, especially the students, are bound to launch soon even more powerful mass actions against the counterrevolutionary state. In the countryside, the people’s war is advancing ever more vigorously against US imperialism and the local tyrants.

The Marcos puppet reactionary regime keeps on repeating that it has been for the purpose of “development” that it has incurred extremely heavy debts and a huge foreign trade deficit. The truth is that the Marcos puppet reactionary regime has only been implementing consistently the dictates of US imperialism (“recommendations” of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank) to improve the infrastructure for the colonial exchange of Philippine raw materials and foreign manufactures especially from the US, to facilitate the huge profit remittances of US monopolies and also to

extend credit to them for their local operations, to intensify the import-export operations of the comprador bourgeoisie and to reinforce the hold of the *hacenderos* on agriculture. The Marcos' reactionary regime has faithfully served US imperialism and the local exploiting classes because its ringleaders do not only enjoy the status of compradors and landlords but they also exact their own share of exploitation through graft and corruption in their capacity as bureaucrat capitalists.

In intensifying their bloodsucking activities on the Filipino people, US imperialism and its local stooges have also calculated to create the conditions for the reactionary government to beg for “stabilization” loans and preferential trade from the United States in exchange for the perpetuation of parity rights and more imperialist privileges in the various aspects of Philippine society. Already the local reactionaries which include revisionist renegades, pseudo-nationalists and Christian “socialists” have already set the ground level for the continuation of US imperialist privileges under the terms of such legislation as the Investment Incentives Act and the Magna Carta of Social Justice and Economic Freedom. The secret negotiations concerning the Laurel-Langley Agreement and other negotiations concerning other treaties with US imperialism are being synchronized with the worsening conditions of Philippine society and also with the farce of Constitutional Convention in 1971 which can only be expected to sanction once more the foreign and feudal oppression and exploitation of the Filipino people.

To dissimulate their treasonous character, counterrevolutionaries have started to misrepresent themselves as nationalists and to dilute the ranks of democrats in an attempt to mislead them. Advocacy of relations with the revisionist countries, especially with Soviet social-imperialism, is being misrepresented by the Marcos puppet reactionary regime, the Lava revisionist renegades and other reactionaries as the cornerstone of an “independent” foreign policy. US imperialism is actually behind the plot to cover up its increasing oppression and exploitation of the Filipino people by accommodating Japanese militarism and Soviet social-imperialism in the Philippines. Reeling from its economic and political difficulties, US imperialism is in need of Japan as its fugleman in Asia and the Soviet Union as its collaborator in the strategic imperialist alliance to oppose the people, revolution, communism and China.

UNITE FOR THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

The militant mass demonstrations of January 26 and 30–31 have clearly spelled out the urgent need for a thoroughgoing national democratic revolution. The people who have experienced the fascist terror recognize now the need for such powerful weapons as a proletarian revolutionary party, a people's army and a united front to be able to strike back at the enemy effectively and to achieve national democracy. It has become ever more clear that the vast majority of the Filipino people—the proletariat, the peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie and, to some extent, the national bourgeoisie—must unite under the leadership of the proletariat and its party against all those foreign and local tyrants that use the Marcos puppet reactionary clique as their pet running dog.

The necessity of propagating the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution of the Communist Party of the Philippines has become urgent among the participants of the demonstrations and in the entire nation. From the ranks of the militant demonstrators can be drawn those who will dedicatedly spread and put into practice Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the Party Program. The Party is now pressed upon to distribute to them the Guide for Cadres and Members of the Communist Party of the Philippines, Selected Works of Mao Zedong and Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong and other basic instructive materials that can inspire them to fight US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism in the correct way.

The only way by which the Filipino people can carry the Philippine revolution forward at this stage of our national history is to unite with the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army on the basis of the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution. This program responds to the principal demand for national democracy made by the militant mass demonstrations of January 26 and 30–31.

We note with pride that the militant majority of the demonstrators of January 26 and 30–31 were the student youth. We urge them to seek further the support of workers and peasants, contingents of which were in the demonstrations. It is by enlarging and ensuring the support of the workers and peasants for the militant mass demonstrations of the student youth that the struggle for national democracy can be waged more effectively.

We urge the students to undertake the following:

- (1) Make a living study and application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution;
- (2) Raise the level of revolutionary consciousness and practice among the students throughout the country;
- (3) Go to the workers either in places where they work or live and assist them to assume the revolutionary class leadership;
- (4) Go to your respective towns or barrios, if you have any, and promote the revolution in the countryside and on a nationwide scale; and
- (5) Wage a protracted people's war on the basis of mass work against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The student youth can take full advantage of the fact that they come not only from every area in Greater Manila but also from every province in the whole country. They are in a very good position to promote revolution throughout the land and they have the ability to learn from the masses and concentrate their concrete learning into revolutionary demands under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution.

A particular form of organization that the students can adopt is the propaganda team (of at least three members) which assumes the specific task of arousing and mobilizing the students and workers in a well-defined area in the city; or the students, peasants, farm workers, the national minorities and fishermen in a well-defined area in the provinces.

The mass work of student propaganda teams in urban areas and in provinces close to Manila will result in bigger and more articulate demonstrations and more powerful general strikes. The mass work of student propaganda teams in the provinces will create the best conditions for getting hold of a gun and fighting the armed counterrevolution successfully.

The minimum that can be done by the student youth is to shatter the superstructure of the semi-colonial and semifeudal society. For them to engage in a cultural revolution or revolutionary propaganda is of decisive importance in the national democratic revolution. They can assist in building up the proletarian revolutionary leadership and the national democratic orientation. They can isolate the enemy diehards in such institutions as the various branches and levels of government, the reactionary parties and

organizations, the mass media, business chambers, schools, churches, yellow trade unions, bogus peasant associations, and the whole gamut of the imperialist and feudal culture that are now opposing the main current of the militant mass demonstrations of January 26 and 30–31 and are seeking to uphold the present reactionary system.

The student youth who take the initiative of forming their propaganda teams should be confident that many others are doing the same. If they are not yet members of the Communist Party of the Philippines, they shall certainly be approached by the Party for recruitment or for cooperation on the basis of what they have already contributed to the national democratic revolution. The student youth should feel confident that there are cadres of the Communist Party of the Philippines at every strategic point in the whole country and among them are former students who have remolded their thinking and are now in the crucible of the revolutionary armed struggle. They must realize at this early stage that to propel a revolutionary mass movement there must be a revolutionary party at the core to serve as the standard bearer of the revolutionary theory.

The people's democratic revolution is protracted. The student youth should be persistent, hard-working, austere, patient and alert, shedding off their petty bourgeois individualism, impetuosity or excessive caution. So long as they persist in revolutionary struggle, they shall become tempered and many of them shall become proletarian revolutionary cadres.

To you the student youth, the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army address three quotations from Chairman Mao concerning the youth:

The world is yours, as well as ours, but in the last analysis, it is yours. You young people, full of vigor and vitality, are in the bloom of life, like the sun at eight or nine in the morning. Our hope is placed on you.

How should we judge whether a youth is a revolutionary? How can we tell? There can only be one criterion, namely, whether or not he is willing to integrate himself with the broad masses of workers and peasants and does so in practice. If he is willing to do so and actually does so, he is a revolutionary; otherwise he is a non-revolutionary or a counterrevolutionary. If today he integrates himself with the masses of workers and peasants, then today he is a revolutionary; if tomorrow he ceases to do so or turns round to oppress the common people, then he becomes a nonrevolutionary or a counterrevolutionary.

The intellectuals often tend to be subjective and individualistic, impractical in their thinking and irresolute in action until they have thrown themselves, heart and soul into mass revolutionary struggles or made up their minds to serve the interests of the masses and become one with them.

Workers, peasants, students and progressive intellectuals unite! Down with US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism!

Down with the fascist acts of the Marcos puppet reactionary regime!

Be resolute, fear no sacrifice, surmount every difficulty to win victory!

Dare to struggle, dare to win! Fear neither hardship nor death!

Long live the militant mass demonstrations of January 26 and 30–31!

Victory will belong to the Filipino people!

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Long live the New People's Army!

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought!

ON THE PARTIAL LIFTING OF THE WRIT SUSPENSION

September 20, 1972 (Special Release)

Even before the surreptitious suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, the bodies of victims in such Marcos-type acts of terror as the Corregidor massacre and the kidnapping of Carlos B. del Rosario and Francisco C. Sison could not be produced in the reactionary courts.

The partial lifting of the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus does not in any way diminish the insatiable greed of the US-Marcos regime for power and wealth. It is a flimsy trick to adorn the ugly truth that the US-Marcos clique does not hesitate to commit the most dastardly crimes to keep itself in power.

The daily mass actions since August 23rd have brought the national democratic struggle to a new and higher stage and have aggravated the isolation of the US-Marcos clique. A comparison between the September 13th rally of the Movement of Concerned Citizens for Civil Liberties (MCCCL) and the September 17th rally of the Veterans Federation of the Philippines shows the strength of the masses and the weakness of the enemy. And now the chief fascist puppet chieftain has to take some pretense at heeding public opinion so that his gang can perpetrate more crimes against the people.

The democratic leaders and other persons apprehended under the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus are still in the military stockades. An extraordinary state of intimidation still persists in the most strategic centers of public opinion and therefore still compels several hundreds of noncommunist democrats to desist from appearing in public. Every day that Malacañang and the Supreme Court fail to heed popular demands for the total lifting of the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus strengthens the cause of the revolutionary mass movement.

More massive demonstrations under the banner of the national united front are necessary to assert the people's democratic rights. At the same time, the people should become more prepared against the violent actions launched by the Marcos fascist puppet clique under the US counterinsurgency program in both cities and countryside.

The Plaza Miranda massacre and the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus have intensified on a national scale the violent contradictions between

reactionary cliques, whose conflicts previously seemed to be restricted to local areas. The attempt of the US-Marcos regime to whip up an anticommunist hysteria is nothing but a cover to crush all kinds of opposition, whether communist or noncommunist.

The political and economic crisis of US imperialism at home and abroad has reached such a point that in a semi-colony like the Philippines the puppet reactionaries must wrangle violently among themselves. The “show window of democracy in Asia” is all in shambles. The ruling puppet clique is brazenly taking the path of other puppet ruling cliques in Asia. The evils of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism are unmasked more clearly than ever before.

The US-Marcos regime itself has thrown away its mask of “liberal democracy.” Its “democratic revolution” is nothing but a fascist counterrevolution. The antinational and antidemocratic nature of the reactionary state is completely exposed.

The US-Marcos regime raves about crushing the Communist Party of the Philippines. But experience under the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus has shown that whereas a single communist cannot be definitely identified the diehard reactionaries aggravate their own isolation by having to assault the entire nation and people. The effectiveness of our underground is well-tested and proven. It is bound to improve even further in the face of fascist onslaughts.

The suspension of the writ of habeas corpus has strengthened both the proletarian party and the revolutionary mass movement. The lies that the US-Marcos regime flings at us have only served to stress the truth of our national and democratic integrity. The “anti-Maoist” conspiracy of the US-Marcos clique and the Lava revisionist renegades has utterly failed.

Under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the Communist Party of the Philippines can never be crushed. Its ideological and political line makes it invincible. It has a broad mass character and always fights on just grounds. Its main organization is in the New People’s Army which is engaged in a protracted people’s war. It employs the united front to win over the broad masses of the people in their millions.

Today, the broad masses of the people recognize the Communist Party of the Philippines as the only force capable of leading the Philippine revolution forward to victory.

OVERTHROW THE US-MARCOS DICTATORSHIP TO ACHIEVE NATIONAL FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY

October 1, 1972 (Special Issue)

The essence of the formal declaration of martial law through Proclamation No. 1081 is the brazen imposition of the US-Marcos dictatorship on the entire Filipino nation and people. This proclamation is in effect the formal declaration of civil war by the US-Marcos clique against the broad masses of the people. At the same time, it is in the final analysis the death sentence for its criminal authors because the people shall win in the end through revolutionary struggle.

As a result of the complete self-exposure of the US-Marcos dictatorship, the conditions for the rapid advance of the Philippine revolution against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism have become far more excellent than ever before. The ranks of the revolutionary movement have rapidly broadened and the various forms of revolutionary struggle, principally armed struggle, have further intensified.

A new level of revolutionary struggle has come about. All over the country, the people are brimming with revolutionary hatred for the US-Marcos dictatorship, the violent opposite of national freedom and democracy which they cherish. It is starkly clear to everyone that a fascist dictatorship, seeking to perpetuate itself through counterrevolutionary violence, can be overthrown only through revolutionary violence. The US-Marcos clique has only dug deeper its grave.

THE USURPATION OF ABSOLUTE POWER BY THE US-MARCOS DICTATORSHIP

With an autocratic arrogance reminiscent of absolute monarchy in feudal times, the US-Marcos clique has converted Article VII, Section 10, Paragraph 2 of the reactionary constitution into an overall license to suppress the sovereign rights of the Filipino people in violation of every concept of republicanism. It is the absurd stand of the US-Marcos dictatorship that it can declare and implement an “unlimited form of martial law.” If the fascist logic of the dictatorship were to be followed, this particular constitutional provision should have merited being the Preamble, Article I or Article II, but

never lower than Article III entitled “Bill of Rights” of the reactionary constitution. Indeed, fascist dictators themselves wantonly violate the priority of principles laid down hypocritically in bourgeois constitutions and pick constitutional provisions out of context in order to suit their tyranny.

Without bothering to get any authorization from Congress, Marcos high-handedly signed Proclamation No. 1081 on September 21 and subsequently signed corresponding general orders, letters of instruction and a presidential decree on September 22 and September 23 before finally making them public at 7:15 on the evening of September 23, 1972. In his “background” speech for his prior acts, all essentially calculated to usurp and concentrate absolute governmental power in his hands and suppress every kind of democratic and revolutionary opposition to his regime, he boasted of wanting “to save the republic and to reform society” and of doing so in his capacity as commander-in-chief of the reactionary armed forces alone. In this regard, the puppet dictator Marcos keeps repeating “I” and “me personally” to stress his autocratic pretensions.

Proclamation No. 1081 lays down at length the pretexts for martial law and dictatorship, such as that there is not only a “state of rebellion” and “subversion” but even “an actual state of war” throughout the country, including the Greater Manila area. This is supposed to be due to a “criminal conspiracy” of such diverse groups of men as the Communist Party of the Philippines; the Liberal Party; the publishers, editors and other journalists; members of the constitutional convention; Manila tv-radio broadcasters; leaders and members of mass organizations of workers, peasants, students, teachers and professionals, women and others; the national minorities, especially those of Mindanao; and even such unwholesome groups as crime syndicates, petty warlords and the Lava revisionist renegades. Then, the proclamation orders the reactionary armed forces to put the entire country under martial law and detain indefinitely at the whim of the commander-in-chief all those deemed opposed to his fascist puppet regime.

The promulgation of Proclamation No. 1081 immediately violates Article VI, Section 26 of the reactionary constitution which clearly states that “in times of war or other national emergency, the Congress may by law authorize the President, for a limited period and subject to such restrictions as it may prescribe, to promulgate rules and regulations to carry out a declared national policy.” This constitutional provision points out the authority of Congress and the necessity of having a declared national policy emanating from it.

Marcos did not bother to consult Congress as the national policy-making body of the reactionary government before signing his fascist proclamation. He even went farther by issuing General Order No. 1 and Presidential Decree No. 1, which put Congress to naught.

General Order No. 1 proclaims that the entire nation and the entire government, including all its agencies and instrumentalities, are under the absolute authority of the US-Marcos dictatorship. Under this order, both the legislative department and the judicial department, coequals and coordinates of the executive department under the constitution, are arbitrarily rendered inutile and even nonexistent. This order also carries with it the implication that the commander-in-chief of the reactionary armed forces can at whim disregard and violate anyone's right to public office by virtue of election or civil service rules. In effect, the fascist dictatorship has torn to pieces the very same constitution which it pretends to defend and draw authority from.

The promulgation of Presidential Decree No. 1 clearly shows that Marcos has arrogated unto himself the prerogatives and functions of Congress or the legislative department. Under this decree, the "Integrated Reorganization Plan" is simply declared "part of the law of the land" despite the fact that this is a pending congressional bill. The fascist dictator has even seen it fit to berate Congress for not having had enough sense to pass this bill before. By way of confirming the dissolution or absorption by him of Congress, he invited a number of congressmen on September 25 only to tell them to become "models in their communities" and to threaten them veiledly with dispossession of their property by the Bureau of Internal Revenue. To stress the point that he has assumed fascist dictatorial powers, he has ordered the detention of several members of Congress in military camps or placed them under house arrest or under threat of detention and other punitive measures.

General Order No. 3 clearly puts all actions of the US-Marcos dictatorship above the civilian courts, including the Supreme Court. It takes away from these the prerogative of trying seven categories of cases of vital importance, such as those involving: 1) the validity, legality or constitutionality of any decree, order or acts issued, promulgated or performed by the dictator himself or his duly designated representative; 2) the validity, legality or constitutionality of any rules, orders or acts issued, promulgated or performed by public servants pursuant to decrees, orders, rules and regulations issued and promulgated "by me" or by "my duly designated representative" pursuant to Proclamation No. 1081; 3) crimes against national security and the law of nations; 4) crimes against the

fundamental laws of the state; 5) crimes against public order; 6) usurpation of authority, rank, title, and improper use of names, uniforms and insignia; and 7) crimes committed by public officers.

The abovementioned cases are put within the exclusive jurisdiction of military commissions or military courts created by the chief of staff of the reactionary armed forces and under the direction of the dictatorship. In other words, the US-Marcos dictatorship and its fascist minions can commit every crime with absolute impunity. Marcos himself has scorned the petition of detainees for the writ of habeas corpus in the Supreme Court as an exercise in futility since he claims now to be the sole authority on judicial matters as commander-in-chief of the reactionary armed forces. He has also declared that he will remove and replace public officials in any government department, including the judiciary; in fact, he has already demanded the resignation of all judges of the lower civilian courts and special courts like the Court of Industrial Relations and Court of Agrarian Relations. The scope of authority given to the military courts is so comprehensive that all civilian courts, including the Supreme Court, are left with no more cases to try, except some of a marginal nature.

General Order No. 3 orders that the present officers and employees of all executive departments, bureaus, offices, agencies and instrumentalities of the national government, government-owned or controlled corporations, as well as all governments of all the provinces, cities and municipalities and barrios can remain in office only at the pleasure of the US-Marcos dictatorship and can no longer consider as sufficient basis for tenure previous elections or civil service eligibility.

Provincial governors and town and city mayors are now so much threatened that some of those who were previously critical of the US-Marcos clique, especially those from the Liberal Party, have started to sing paeans for Marcos as if the criminal character of this scoundrel can be appeased by capitulation. Presidential Decree No. 1 emphasizes the threat of dismissal against appointive officials and employees even without due process and due cause. The real intention of the “Integrated Reorganization Plan” is to effect mass dismissal of civilian employees so that their salaries could be used for the purposes of the fascist military although the avowed intention of the dictatorship is to reduce the costs of government by “weeding out” those whom it categorizes as “corrupt, inefficient, ignorant and useless.”

By acting on the sole basis that he is the commander-in-chief of the reactionary armed forces and by implementing his line of “unlimited martial law” above and beyond the entire constitution, Marcos has supplanted “civilian authority” with “military authority,” notwithstanding his previous declaration on September 23 that there was “no military takeover,” and has calculated to perpetuate his dictatorship, notwithstanding his oft-repeated claim that he wants the “national emergency” to end “as soon as possible.”

In his address to his military lapdogs on September 26, the dictator himself declared:

By and large, the military in the Philippines have demonstrated their capacity to govern, rule and exact obedience... This is the first new principle or main manifestation in the New Society which we would like to create: that there is a breed of men capable not only of ruling others but of governing themselves.... we must thank you and the men under you, noncommissioned officers and enlisted men, all the way down to the lowest level, have shown and demonstrated that this principle in which we believe, that is, that the military can be given all the power.

For all intents and purposes, the US-Marcos dictatorship is hellbent on employing an armed minority of men (at the moment only about 65,000 including noncombatant personnel) to ride roughshod over the people. This is absolutely necessary as the dictatorship intends to perpetuate itself for “two years or more” (as revealed by top CIA agent Alejandro Melchor in a press interview in the United States, after making a special report on the Philippine situation to his US imperialist masters). This is far beyond the one year and three months that is left of the constitutional tenure of Marcos.

THE SUPPRESSION OF THE BASIC DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE

In line with the vile scheme of the US-Marcos dictatorship to perpetuate itself in power, General Order No. 2, General Order No. 4 and General Order No. 5 are all aimed at directly intimidating and actually curtailing and suppressing the basic democratic rights of the broad masses of the people. Of course, these are closely related to General Order No. 3 which, elaborating on Proclamation No. 1081, subjects the people to final judgment by their fascist persecutors.

General Order No. 2 reiterates the order for mass arrests and mass detention immediately embodied in Proclamation No. 1081. It orders the fascist troops to arrest and detain for as long as it pleases the dictatorship “such persons as may have committed crimes and offenses in furtherance or on the occasion of or incident to or in connection with the crimes of insurrection or rebellion, as well as persons who have committed crimes against national security and the law of nations, crimes against public order, crimes involving usurpation of authority, title, improper use of name, uniform and insignia, including persons guilty of crimes as public officers, as well as those persons who may have violated any decree or order promulgated by me personally or promulgated upon my direction.”

Under this order, anyone can be blacklisted by the US-Marcos dictatorship, blackmailed or actually put through sham trial in the military courts and punished arbitrarily. In the first wave of nationwide mass arrests, conducted from 9:00PM of September 22 to 6:00AM of September 23, several thousands of leading personalities in various legal endeavors and common people were apprehended and thrown into military camps and many of these were brutally tortured or even murdered. So far, only a little over a hundred detainees in the Manila-Rizal region have been reported through the Marcos-controlled government radio stations and the Marcos-owned Kanlaon Broadcasting System (KBS) and Daily Express.

General Order No. 4 orders the maintenance of a daily curfew throughout the Philippines from 12:00 midnight to 4:00 in the morning. This has immediately resulted in the disruption of the livelihood of a great number of people, including workers on the night shift, fishermen, market vendors, transport workers and businessmen, restaurant employees, street peddlers and so many others. To disregard this order infringing on the free movement of the people is to suffer brutal treatment and indefinite detention in a military camp and subsequently in a prison camp. Exemptions to this order can be taken only from a military commander-in-charge in the given area. That military officer acts as the overlord in the area. Within or outside curfew time, it is now the fascist troops roaming the streets who commit all sorts of crimes, frequently extortion, robbery, maulings, drunken behavior and rape. Anyone who complains can easily get accused of slandering the dictator Marcos and the fascist military.

General Order No. 5 orders the suppression of the basic democratic rights of free assembly and free expression. This is directed against the workers,

peasants, youth and all other sections of the population, including political parties, trade unions and other mass organizations. It prohibits under pain of fascist punishment all rallies and demonstrations and other forms of mass actions, including strikes and picketing by workers and others, in vital industries such as in companies engaged in the manufacture or processing as well as in the distribution of fuel, gas, gasoline and fuel or lubricating oil, in companies engaged in the production or processing of essential commodities or products for export, and in companies engaged in banking of any kind, as well as in hospitals and in schools and colleges.

It is clear by this order that while he acts as a dictator towards the broad masses of the people, Marcos is a despicable puppet of the big bourgeoisie, especially the US imperialists. He is specially interested in suppressing protest mass actions against the US oil monopolies and their arbitrary price hiking. At any rate, he is violently opposed to all forms of democratic assembly and expression. He has gone as far as to issue a special order to the armed forces, particularly his secret agents, to eavesdrop on ordinary conversations in order to catch people for “rumor-mongering.”

Letter of Instruction No. 1 also involves the suppression of the democratic right of free expression. It orders the Press Secretary of the Department of Public Information (DPI) after Presidential Decree No. 1, to take over all newspapers, magazines, radio and television facilities and all other media of communications, wherever they are. The closure of the major Manila newspapers and radio and tv stations has disrupted the livelihood of printing workers, journalists, staff employees, radio-tv talents, newsboys, newspaper dealers and so many others. Pursuant to Letter of Instruction No. 1, the dpi secretary has started to issue his own department orders. Department Order No. 1 orders, among others, that all materials for publication in the newspapers or broadcast on radio and television shall have to carry the approval of the Department of Public Information and that these shall have to fall in with the fascist dictatorship and strictly avoid expressing the true national and democratic interests of the Filipino people. Department Order No. 2 orders that no printer may print any newspaper, periodical, news sheet, pamphlet, leaflet or any publication for mass dissemination of any kind without approval of the Department of Public Information and that these shall also have to conform with Department Order No. 1. Because of bureaucratic run-around involved in getting

approval for printing orders, the livelihood not only of the press owners but also of the printing workers are adversely affected.

The US-Marcos dictatorship wants to monopolize all channels of information with the vain hope of controlling the minds of the people with its lies. Its fascist totalitarianism leaves no room for such other channels of information as those owned by the Roceses, Lopezes, Locsins and the like though these have never gone beyond legal criticism of the obvious excesses of the US-Marcos clique and have as a matter of fact given utmost space to Malacañang press releases. In the meantime, it is only those channels of information that are owned by the fascist government (like Radio Philippines Network; Philippine Broadcasting System and the like); those that are owned directly or indirectly by fascist dictator Marcos (like Kanlaon Broadcasting System, Daily Express, Liwayway, Bannawag, Hiligaynon, Bisaya, and the like); and those owned by foreign imperialist entities, especially American, (Philippines Herald, Radio Mindanao Network, Interisland Broadcasting System and the like) that are allowed to operate.

This new development is what Marcos calls fighting “subversion” with “sophistication.” This is what we call the crudeness of fascism, the complete unmasking of the ugly face of a fascist dictatorship. Unwittingly, the US-Marcos dictatorship has only convinced the broad masses of the people of the necessity and urgency of putting out and distributing underground publications and resorting to other forms of mass communications (including secret meetings in urban areas and mass meetings in the rural areas). It must also be pointed out that it is impossible for the fascist authorities to guard all medium and small printing presses in the country, not to mention some small presses securely kept in the underground.

Gone berserk in its attempt to suppress every kind of opposition to its unjust rule, the US-Marcos dictatorship has as one of its initial acts suspended classes at all levels. Though the initial suspension of classes is only for one week, this has been extended indefinitely at the high school, college and graduate levels. School teachers in primary and elementary schools are now under threat of being dismissed if they disobey strict orders to wage a hysterical campaign of anticommunist indoctrination and propaganda for the fascist dictatorship. Progressive teachers and students, including officers of student governments, are being apprehended or threatened with detention. Such fascist tactics have only served to increase the number of men and women who are very articulate in denouncing the US-Marcos dictatorship.

The indefinite closure of all private high schools and colleges has angered all the teachers whose livelihood has been unduly disrupted and the students' parents who are acutely concerned about the time and living expenses of their children going to waste.

General Order No. 6 and General Order No. 7 are both intended to consolidate control by the US-Marcos dictatorship of firearms and ammunitions in the hands of the reactionary armed forces and police forces and also those in the hands of security agencies and warlords. The first order prohibits the carrying of firearms by private persons and orders the arrest of all persons doing so unless they are authorized by the dictatorship. Marcos himself has declared in his "background" speech that carrying of firearms outside the residence, even if covered by license but without permission of the reactionary armed forces, is punishable by death. The second order requires that all high-powered firearms in the hands of private security agencies, public or private corporations (including gun stores) and private individuals, and those under temporary custody of the Bureau of Customs, Bureau of Posts and clerks of courts (apart from those in pending court cases) be turned over immediately to the firearms and explosives units of the Philippine Constabulary.

To camouflage its real intention of controlling arms for its fascist purposes, the US-Marcos dictatorship has raved mad about "peace and order" and has even pretended to arrest and confiscate token numbers of arms from notorious warlords who are close to it, like Ablan, Bocalan, Crisologo and the like. But the warlords and crime gangs are actually not surrendering their arms. Only some police forces, private corporations and individuals opposed to the US-Marcos dictatorship are being forced to turn over their registered arms to the Philippine Constabulary. As a result, these entities are being rendered helpless before the fascist gangsters, warlords and ordinary armed criminals.

Letter of Instruction No. 2 orders the Secretary of National Defense to "take over" the management, control and operation of the Manila Electric Company (MERALCO), the Philippine Long Distance Telephone Company (PLDT), the National Waterworks and Sewerage Authority (NAWASA), the Philippine National Railways (PNR), the Philippine Air Lines (PAL), Air Manila, Filipinas Orient Airways, and other public utilities. Once more, the US-Marcos dictatorship deliberately refuses even only to mention the US oil companies and other US-owned public utility firms in the Philippines.

The "takeover" of public utilities is neither to achieve nationalization nor to crush an armed opposition on the premises. The NAWASA and PNR are

government corporations long under trusted military appointees of Marcos. The PLDT and Air Manila are private corporations controlled and owned by Marcos himself through dummies. The pal and Filipinas Orient Airways continue to be private corporations under the ownership and control of Marcos' big bourgeois confreres. The real target for spite of the US-Marcos dictatorship is MERALCO and the Lopezes who are owners of controlling stocks. The military-takeover management here really makes it a point to boss around, go over the company accounts and meddle in operations. Though Marcos himself is a noncontrolling co-owner of this public utility firm, he wants to once more tighten the screw against the Lopezes whom he wants to support his dictatorship completely, especially with the use of the Lopez-owned Manila Chronicle and ABSCBN radio-television network.

Letter of Instruction No. 3 orders the Secretary of National Defense to take over the possession, control and operation of all privately owned aircraft and watercraft of Philippine registry and also to control the movement of nonmilitary foreign-owned and foreign registered aircraft and watercraft of whatever make. The avowed intention of the US-Marcos dictatorship in this regard is to prevent the escape of his reactionary rivals for power either by sea or by air in their private yachts or private planes. Letters of Instruction Nos. 4, 5, 6, and 7 to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, the Secretary of Justice, the Secretary of Finance and the Governor of the Central Bank, respectively, are also openly intended to prevent the "escape from the country" of the enemies of the US-Marcos dictatorship. But, of course, the instructions, from Instruction No. 3 to Instruction No. 7, are all meant to curtail the free flow of information regarding the despicableness by which the US-Marcos dictatorship has come about. Only after assuring itself of complete control of the mass media and also the detention of a sweeping range of critics has the dictatorship allowed, under guard of troops, spies and censors, the transmission of messages via international and domestic carriers and communication firms.

In a vain attempt to deceive the peasant masses, the big landlord and landgrabber Marcos has announced that he has issued Presidential Decree No. 2 proclaiming the whole country as a "land reform area." This is plain drivel of a demagogue. Since the law to be applied is basically the old Agricultural Land Reform Code, which is reactionary by both origin and amendments, nothing will come out of the decree except that it will serve to worsen the plight of the peasant masses as has been proven in previous "land reform areas." The code is essentially nothing more than a set of instructions for the

landlord class to exploit the peasantry further. In making his decree, Marcos even fails to conceal his malice as he sternly warns the tenant peasants to “respect” and be “fair and just” to the landlords. The dictatorship is hell-bent on preventing the peasant masses from forming their own associations and is busier than ever in criminally assaulting and rounding up those who have their own militant associations. The reactionary armed forces are now frenziedly attacking the peasant masses and accusing them of being guerrilla fighters of the New People’s Army. Thus, the US-Marcos dictatorship has become isolated not only in the urban areas but also in the countryside where the flames of people’s war are rapidly spreading.

The “show window of democracy in Asia” which was much touted by US imperialism and its puppets in the past has completely proven to be a mere soap bubble. It is now completely gone. Because of its boundless greed for power and wealth, the US-Marcos dictatorship has forced on everyone in the Philippines the choice between armed revolution and armed counterrevolution. The people’s revolutionary struggle for national freedom and democracy has become ever more vigorous and fiercer. In this regard, it is worth taking up CIA agent Melchor’s description of his criminal accomplice Marcos, as one who has put his head on the block. This description is very apt. The Filipino people are going to literally chop off Marcos’ head in due time, unless his US imperialist masters will first do so in the manner that they did to the abominable Ngo Dinh Diem. At any rate, the Filipino people will continue to maintain their armed strength and fight on even as some other dog would be groomed as one more puppet dictator by US imperialism. In the face of the present fascist tyranny, the broad masses of the Filipino people know how to fight for their freedom.

THE FABRICATION OF THE “STATE OF NATIONAL EMERGENCY”

An actual state of martial law has long existed in many parts of the country, especially in Central Luzon, Northern Luzon, Southern Luzon and Mindanao, even before the formal declaration of martial law covering the entire country. The fascist minions of the US-Marcos clique under the black banners of military task forces have long operated as the supreme wielders of political authority, abusing and blackmailing the people; robbing and extorting from them; rounding them up and incarcerating them indefinitely on false charges; barging into homes and even burning them; committing kidnappings, murder and massacres; and raping the womenfolk with impunity.

These are the concrete manifestations, especially in the countryside, of the trend of militarization and fascization so well condemned by the people throughout the land. These are the bitter results of the more than a fivefold increase of the official military budget from 1966 to 1972; the system of conspiracy between the commander-in-chief and his favorites in the reactionary armed forces; the rapid increase in troops and equipment; the fielding of so many “task forces” and “paramilitary units” (BSDUs and “Monkees”); the vicious employment of the Anti-Subversion Law; the intensification of fascist training in “home defense” centers; the militarist intrusion into civilian offices and functions either under the signboard of “civic action” or “accommodation of retirees from the military service”; the secret but wide-scale issuance of military rank to civilian officials; the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus; the unremitting “psywar” campaigns for the acceptance of martial law; the adoption of “contingency plans”; committing crimes of bloody intrigue for the purpose of pitting one group against another; and so many others.

The real situation in certain parts of the country is now being turned into a nationwide situation through the formal declaration of martial law. The US-Marcos dictatorship is bent on committing all kinds of fascist crimes against the broad masses of the people in order to suppress their clamor for national freedom and democracy, province by province and island by island. The fascist dictatorship has the illusion that it can freely do so as long as it has the absolute power over the entire reactionary government and monopoly of the legal channels of communications such as those rendered in the Manila-Rizal region and other urban areas. Thus, aside from trying to hunt down the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People’s Army, it has to terrorize the democratic mass organizations, the mass media, the Liberal Party, sections of the Nacionalista Party, sections of the constitutional convention and all patriotic and democratic personages. This is to serve notice to all who can disseminate information and opinions widely to keep silent about fascist crimes that are aimed at protecting the interests of US imperialism and at the same time perpetuating the Marcos puppet gang in power. To achieve its vile scheme, the US-Marcos clique has had to resort to a number of tricks resting mainly on the myth of “urban terrorism.” A series of a few bombings is made in the urban areas, blamed on communists and all other democratic forces, turned into an argument for “contingency plans” and, presto, there is a “state of national emergency” which is used as a pretext

for doing away with all channels of mass communications except those of the commander-in-chief and his dictatorship.

The dry run for the big trick that is the current “state of national emergency” was the Plaza Miranda massacre on August 21, 1971 and the subsequent suspension of the writ of habeas corpus until January of this year. In the massacre caused by two grenades, nine were killed and more than a hundred people were seriously wounded including almost all the top leaders of the Liberal Party. Within two hours after the incident, the US-Marcos clique was already on radio blaming the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People’s Army and democratic mass organizations for the dastardly crime. Then, less than three hours after the massacre, the US-Marcos clique issued only to the reactionary armed forces and without public knowledge until August 23, the presidential proclamation suspending the writ of habeas corpus and ordering the mass arrest of prominent democratic personages and activists of democratic mass organizations. Immediately after the massacre, there also followed a series of nine petty bombings which had no other motive but to buttress the false public claims of the US-Marcos clique and which could have been committed in certain well-guarded places, like the Manila City Hall and the residence of Rep. Cojuangco, only by a conspiracy in which Marcos himself was involved.

What gave away the bloody hands of the US-Marcos clique with regard to the Plaza Miranda massacre was that Marcos and his lieutenant Enrile readily blamed so many people, including a college president and a prominent radio commentator, and entire mass organizations for a crime which was essentially a conspiracy and, therefore, could have involved only a handful of persons in both planning and execution. The broad masses of the people and the survivors of the massacre themselves pointed the finger of blame on the US-Marcos clique, which had been responsible for so many previous massacres. The false accusations of the US-Marcos clique became more ludicrous and incredible when the leaders of the Liberal Party were finally accused of trying to kill themselves in order to get public sympathy and win the elections. The suspension of the writ of habeas corpus was “lifted” only after the US-Marcos clique appeared satisfied with something, like the Supreme Court decision acclaiming the presidential privilege to suspend the writ, giving credence to a piece of fabrication like the “July-August Plan” and above all noting the existence of a state of rebellion and likewise of a declaration of war from the Communist Party of the Philippines. Then, in

a complete turnabout from its previous propaganda of anticommunist lies, the US-Marcos clique charged in court for the Plaza Miranda massacre not some communists but some living-out prisoners of the national penitentiary, which is run by a trusted agent of the US-Marcos clique.

The fascist tricks of the US-Marcos clique did not end with the Plaza Miranda massacre, however. The clique merely took a breather for a few months from its November 1971 electoral defeat. Soon came another series of petty bombings, a total of 16 minor detonations (from March 15 to September 18, 1972) most of which caused only some petty damage on some government and privately owned buildings and three of which were the most serious, causing one death and injuries to more than twenty people. In addition, there were “discoveries” of bombs at Congress and the Department of Foreign Affairs and two patently fake casualty-less ambushes, one supposedly on a Metrocom car and another on Defense Secretary Enrile himself. Most of the bombings and other incidents were made during the months of August and September 1972 immediately prior to Proclamation No. 1081.

It was during the months of August and September, when thirteen of the above-cited incidents were made, that the US-Marcos clique took the posture of raving mad about “urban terrorism” and “urban guerrilla warfare.” Within seconds after every incident, Marcos and his fascist minions would rail against the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People’s Army and democratic mass organizations and threaten to adopt some “contingency plans.” Every day the front pages of the Manila newspapers would scream and the radio would blare with the quick allegations of the US-Marcos clique. During this period, the Communist Party of the Philippines issued through *Ang Bayan* two statements refuting the false accusations of the fascist clique; some quotations from these statements found their way into Manila newspapers. As during the white terror that followed the Plaza Miranda massacre, the Party reaffirmed its adherence to the theory of people’s war and the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside and strongly condemned terrorist acts where the most likely victims are the people and likewise the stupid “psywar” campaign unleashed by the enemy to cause a mammoth-sized hysteria from a few petty incidents.

A few of the bombings before June 1972 had been claimed by the Lava revisionist renegades in their anticommunist publications as their own doing. And in three bombings, where there were casualties, evidence clearly pointed to the US-Marcos clique as the mastermind and culprit. A PC sergeant belonging to

the PC firearms and explosives unit was actually caught by the Manila Police and confessed to being on a “special mission” in connection with the most serious bombing, that at Joe’s Department Store. Two AFP plainclothesmen taking a ride in a jeep marked “for official use only” were seen by eye-witnesses in connection with the bombing at the Manila City Hall. Three PC men in uniform were also seen in the process of bomb emplacement and getaway in a PC truck by three delegates of the constitutional convention in connection with the bombing at the Quezon City Hall.

Despite all evidences and clues gathered, the US-Marcos clique did not only continue to insist on its false anticommunist charges but also maneuvered to suppress evidence pointing to its own criminal responsibility. The maneuvers of the clique were so crudely evident that eventually the leaders of the Liberal Party and journalists of the Manila newspapers stood up to raise questions of doubt and also to denounce certain actuations of the powers that be. Then came the public exposure of “Operation Sagittarius” which unmasked the plans of the US-Marcos clique to declare martial law under the guise of taking “contingency plans” to follow up the terrorist incidents made by the clique itself. This operational plan had been leaked out to a member of the Senate by a top-ranking military officer. It was at this point, covering a period of about two weeks prior to Proclamation No. 1081, that the US-Marcos clique intensified its efforts to terrorize all its critics by telling them that they could be kidnapped or assassinated.

As if it could deceive the people by a mere repetition of lies, Proclamation No. 1081 continues to treat the incidents, which were mostly bombings in urban areas, as the key factor in declaring a “state of national emergency.” On the other hand, this proclamation has completely unmasked the US-Marcos clique as a totally fascist criminal gang and a bunch of incorrigible liars. How many times did these scoundrels deny scheming to impose martial law? There is not only martial law now but also a full-blown fascist dictatorship to boot. The flimsy basis for what is now called a “state of national emergency” or “an actual state of war” is a series of twenty relatively minor incidents which, as now confirmed by the very promulgation of Proclamation No. 1081, has all along been the calculated doing of the US-Marcos clique to fabricate grounds for a fascist dictatorship all over the country.

The basis for the “state of national emergency” becomes even more flimsy and ludicrous when a textual examination is made of the “Regional Program of Action 1972,” previously referred to variably as the “Tarinsing Papers,” the

“July-August Plan” or “September-October Plan” by the US-Marcos clique. It is incorporated in Proclamation No. 1081; now it can be publicly checked and scrutinized. This “regional program of action” is completely a piece of deception, a fabrication pure and simple. It is supposed to be a regional program of action and yet its scope is national and the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines is spuriously tacked on it. It was supposed to have been captured by Task Force “Saranay” in Barrio Tarinsing, Cordon, Isabela on June 18, 1972 and it lists down a number of specific bombing targets for September and October 1972 in the Manila-Rizal region. Despite the supposed advantage of being forewarned by several months, the reactionary armed forces did not thwart the bombing of the listed targets or capture any bomber. Then, consider how the “regional plan” is conceived, put into outline and written according to outline. It is completely childish. To write an instruction like “Create regional chaos and disorder...” is utterly counterrevolutionary and outside of revolutionary thinking and style. This is Marcosian gibberish, a sloppy attempt at forgery.

Before Proclamation No. 1081, there could not have been any “actual state of war” in the Manila-Rizal region. On the very day that Marcos was supposed to have signed this proclamation in utmost secrecy, people’s marches from several assembly points in the Manila-Rizal region and a massive rally of several tens of thousands of people at Plaza Miranda were peacefully conducted under the auspices of the Movement of Concerned Citizens for Civil Liberties and with the participation of more than sixty democratic mass organizations. In the entire stretch of the day, the factories, offices, schools and business shops were in normal operation. Congress, the courts, various government offices, the constitutional convention, the restaurants, coffee shops and nightclubs were also in normal operation. The “actual state of war” in the Manila-Rizal region was nothing more than the fantasy of the madman Marcos, otherwise notoriously known as the mad bomber.

The wide-ranging “whereases” of Proclamation No. 1081 contradict each other and serve mainly to show how much of a fumbling liar the dictator Marcos is. He makes one claim that the strength of the New People’s Army has rapidly increased, but also makes the opposite claim that it has suffered a disastrously increasing number of casualties and therefore, an increasing loss of arms, from year to year. Besides, he deflates the number of military actions launched against and the number of casualties inflicted on the reactionary armed forces by the New People’s Army in the countryside. He makes one

claim that the number of regular Red fighters has increased from 560 as of January 1, 1972 to 1,028 regular fighters as of July 31, 1972, but he also makes the opposite claim that the New People's Army got 3,500 M-14 rifles from the Karagatan during the month of July. Possession of 3,500 M-14 rifles should mean a great deal more of regular troop increase for the people's army. He makes one claim that some 3,000 high school and college students have dropped out to join fighting units of the New People's Army, but makes the opposite claim that the same people's army has only 1,028 regular fighters and 1,500 combat support. The truth is that at least 90 percent of the regular mobile and guerrilla units of the people's army are peasants; this makes Marcos' claim regarding school dropouts an outright lie even as his own figures fail to tally with each other. Finally, it may be asked, why is it that Marcos is terrified by what he claims is a little over 1,000 Red fighters while at the same time he never fails to brag about the overbearing strength of his military personnel of 65,000? Has he not always been prating that he is "on top of the situation?"

Although in its very first "whereas" it makes the attempt to show that only the Communist Party is the "conspiracy" out to overthrow the present reactionary state, Proclamation No. 1081, together with its corresponding general orders and letters of instruction, ends up accusing a wide range of people of being in one and the same "conspiracy" that is supposed to be responsible for a "reign of terror" and "wanton acts of destruction of life and property" in both the rural and urban areas. The dictator Marcos arbitrarily changes the meaning of terms. Obviously, he has already extended his dictatorial power into the realm of the lexicon. Normally, conspiracy is defined as the act of a handful of persons secretly plotting to commit a crime according to a single plan. In the novel meaning now given by the dictator to the term, it is supposed to be the open and mass activity of the most diverse organizations and individuals acting "consciously" and "unconsciously" to oppose such a real conspiracy as that one which has brought about the present fascist dictatorship.

The US-Marcos dictatorship actually insists that the Communist Party of the Philippines is in "conspiracy" with the Lava revisionist renegades and crime syndicates. This is a vicious slander on the Party. But the fascist dictatorship unwittingly exposes its hopeless isolation by linking in word and deed the Communist Party of the Philippines with the democratic mass organizations (of workers, peasants, youth and others), the mass media, the

Liberal Party, certain sections of the Nacionalista Party, certain members of the constitutional convention, the poor settlers, the national minorities and the Mindanao Independence Movement. It is utterly silly, however, for the fascist dictatorship to accuse the Communist Party, together with these, of crimes against the people. If that were the case, there would be no more need for the “extraordinary measures” of the US-Marcos dictatorship, for it would be us who would be isolated and not this despicable dictatorship.

Proclamation No. 1081 takes great stock in citing a decision of the Supreme Court (on the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus last year) stating that there has been a state of rebellion since several decades ago and that the program of the Communist Party of the Philippines amounts to a declaration of war. On the basis of this citation, the US-Marcos clique claims to have the right to declare martial law under any condition and anytime it pleases. It further argues that it has already resorted to the use of military task forces and subsequently the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus but that it has failed each time to suppress the armed revolutionary movement which has always succeeded in becoming even stronger despite these measures. So, it concludes that it has to declare martial law. It further concludes that it is entirely up to the president in his capacity as commander-in-chief of the armed forces to make anything out of martial law since the term “martial law” is supposedly not qualified in Article VII, Section 10, Paragraph 2 of the reactionary constitution. Thus, the commander-in-chief has finally decided to install himself as a fascist dictator under the cover of an “unlimited form of martial law.”

The term “martial law” appears in the context of a constitutional provision, which refers to certain other factors and elements and which even refers to degrees and alternatives. It is not true that the term is absolutely not qualified and that it can be interpreted by the president in any way he wants. The term “place under martial law” implies merely execution or implementation of a national policy determined and declared by Congress. The provision carrying the term appears in the context of the entire constitution which also carries Article VI, Section 26. In times of war or other national emergency, it is Congress that is vested with the authority to decide the national policy and that authorizes by law the president, for a limited period of time and subject to such restrictions as it may prescribe, to promulgate rules and regulations to carry out a declared national policy.

Notwithstanding the existence of a state of rebellion, the formal declaration of martial law was never resorted to in the Philippines or any part thereof in the time prior to the present by Marcos' predecessors and Marcos himself. Yet the reasons given now by Marcos for the formal declaration of martial law have not only been in fact too blatantly contrived but have also been extremely questionable even among the reactionaries. The broad masses of the people easily see through the legal pretenses of the dictator Marcos. These are extremely flimsy embellishments on the new terrorist incidents plotted to bring about a "state of national emergency," the fabrication on which rests the US-Marcos dictatorship.

**"NEW SOCIETY" MEANS NOTHING
BUT THE WORSENING OF THE OLD SOCIETY**

The US-Marcos dictatorship is not satisfied with pretending "to save the republic" in attacking the national and democratic rights of the sovereign people. It wants to remain in power for as long as it can through sheer armed force by pretending "to form a new society." The "new society" means the perpetuation of the fascist dictatorship. It means nothing but the worsening of the old society. The old basic evils that are US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism shall continue to afflict semi-colonial and semifeudal Philippines and shall aggravate the political and economic crisis of the ruling system and likewise the suffering of the broad masses of the people through the unmitigated puppetry, bankruptcy, brutality, corruption and mendacity of the Marcos fascist puppet dictatorship.

As confirmed by the statement of the US State Department soon after Proclamation No. 1081, the instalment of the fascist dictatorship in the Philippines does not conflict with the interests of US imperialism. In fact, US imperialism is confidently behind the Marcos puppet dictatorship at the moment. The direct conspirators in the setting up of the fascist dictatorship have been the US "country team" (which includes the US ambassador, the CIA chief of station, the aid director, the US CIA director and the JUSMAG chief) and the board of directors and other top members of the American Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines on the master side and the "internal security council" composed of Marcos, Melchor, Enrile and Generals Espino and Ramos of the general staff of the reactionary armed forces and a few others.

The US-Marcos dictatorship is the product of the vicious exploitation and oppression of the Filipino people by US imperialism and its local running dogs for the last seven decades. It is the result of the rapid process of militarization and fascization directed by US imperialism during the Marcos puppet regime to preserve and enlarge its political and economic interests in the country. By trying to draw more superprofits and make up for the losses that they have incurred elsewhere in the world, the US imperialist masters of the Marcos puppet gang have only exacerbated the suffering of the broad masses of the people and have thereby engendered popular resistance and a strong revolutionary mass movement. So powerful has the anti-imperialist and anti-puppet movement become that such a desperate measure as the instalment of a fascist dictatorship is resorted to. US imperialism has always had the illusion that such fascist dictatorships as those of the Thieu regime in south Vietnam, Lon Nol regime in Cambodia, Suharto regime in Indonesia, Chiang regime in Taiwan and Pak regime in south Korea are more reliable and stable tools of imperialist rule.

The US-Marcos dictatorship falls in with the “Nixon doctrine” that the Philippines must be kept no matter at what cost as a stronghold of counterrevolution in the determined bid of US imperialism to remain a “Pacific power.” From such an imperialist viewpoint, the most despicable measures must be taken in order to keep this archipelago in the Pacific a vassal state. A fascist gang like that of Marcos would just be too willing to implement these measures in exchange for an indefinite tenure of power in order to pile up more loot for itself. The fascist dictatorship is basically a desperate effort of US imperialism to protect \$2.0 billion US investments (in anticipation of the end of “parity rights”) and to maintain the Philippines as a strategic post in Asia.

US imperialism is today extremely unsettled by the people’s outcry for the confiscation of US-owned lands including the improvements thereon (like buildings, factories, equipment and other installations) and also for the immediate dismantling of US military bases which occupy large tracts of public lands. Even in the realm of the legal anti-imperialist struggle, US imperialism has lately suffered so many big reverses that it has decided to resort to the use of extraordinary measures with the use of the Marcos fascist gang. Just before Proclamation No. 1081, it was very clear that the bombing incidents and the corresponding “psywar” campaign were being staged by the US-Marcos clique in order to distract public attention from the strong legal grounds for demand-

ing the immediate end of US imperialist domination. It dawned upon the US imperialists that even in the realm of the legal anti-imperialist struggle they were being hopelessly isolated. They had to hurry making use of the Marcos fascist gang which prated about “fairness” and “justice” for them against the popular demands for national emancipation.

The puppetry of the Marcos fascist gang is well proven. This gang has adopted and implemented to the letter every “recommendation” made by US imperialism through such direct agents as the components of the US “country team” and such other agents as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, US monopoly firms, Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation and the like. The dictates of US imperialism have always become the basic policies and projects of the Marcos fascist puppet regime. Some of the most notorious policies and projects are the “floating rate” or the unabated rapid devaluation of the peso in relation to the US dollar; sham negotiations on the unequal US–RP treaties to achieve mere “adjustments”; “national treatment,” “joint ventures” and “incentives”—special privileges for US investments (non-expropriation, investment insurance, unlimited dollar remittances, tax exemptions, driving up local credit sources, etc.); heavy foreign borrowings from the US and “consortium” banks for nonproductive projects; increasing taxation to raise counterpart funds for foreign loans and to support a military buildup; fascist training of the reactionary troops and police; the five-year program for a “self-reliant defense posture”; special privileges for US oil firms in oil exploration and in price-hiking; the “car manufacturing” scheme; free trade zones; and the reorganization plan of the Presidential Committee for the Survey of Philippine Education (PCSPE) for the educational system.

Enjoying absolute powers vis-à-vis the Filipino people, the Marcos fascist gang knows no bounds for its puppetry. It will throw the door wider open for US imperialism and other imperialist powers, especially Japanese militarism and Soviet social-imperialism. The substance of old unequal treaties with the United States will stay either through retention, minor revision or drafting of new ones. The Philippines will continue to suffer violation of national sovereignty and territorial integrity and will remain a victim of superprofit remittances by the imperialist firms and banks. Because a civil war of a national scale is now on hand and the US-Marcos dictatorship will subsequently resort to the use of US aggressor troops, despite the hypocritical claim of the “Nixon doctrine” about supplying war materiel rather than

US manpower, the colonial domination of the Philippines will become more direct and conspicuous in the years to come unless other drastically different conditions arise.

Because it has seized absolute power without so much pretenses about having the support of a broad range of political groups, the US-Marcos dictatorship is exceptionally isolated at the moment and has to rely completely on its fascist troops. This extreme reliance on a parasitic and nonproductive military is bound to deepen the bankruptcy of the reactionary government. The present number of military personnel and equipment is not enough to maintain the fascist dictatorship for very long. Only 32,000 to 34,500 men or only about half of the present total of military personnel are combat effectives. Therefore, it is expected that it will increase military expenditures in order to increase the number of military personnel and equipment. The official 1972-73 military budget of P1.2 billion has already been superseded. Even at the present troop level, military expenditures have already increased tremendously since the US-Marcos dictatorship has started to bribe the military personnel, from the rank of private first class upwards, with salary increases and allowances. The fascist dictatorship will certainly create more inflation through huge military expenditures. It will also have to increase taxes and its foreign debts by leaps and bounds.

To satisfy its greed and bloodthirstiness, the US-Marcos dictatorship will become even more rabid in suppressing the democratic rights of the people. The workers will not only be prevented from launching strikes and maintaining their unions to raise their depressed real incomes and to assure themselves of job security but they will also have to suffer the unjust accusation that they are the cause of spiraling prices. The peasant masses will continue to be subjected to the most brutal military operations ostensibly against the armed revolutionaries and will be forced to accept the dictates of the big landlord class of which fascist puppet chieftain Marcos is the outstanding representative. The students and their parents will be commanded to accept the rising cost of education and cost of living; student movements will continue to be the target of hysterical anticommunist propaganda, as in the case of trade unions and peasant associations. Teachers and other professionals will have to pay more taxes and will have to suffer more indignities in the hands of the military overlords who dictate on them what opinion to take on issues. Higher government taxes and special extortions from the military will bedevil all businessmen that are not in the good graces of the dictatorship.

These are only some of the concrete evils that will plague the country as a result of Proclamation No. 1081.

With absolute power in the hands of the US-Marcos dictatorship and its military minions, unbridled corruption and brutality will go hand in hand to exacerbate the people's suffering. The dictator Marcos himself has long set the example of enriching himself in office more than any other puppet president and of exculpating his agents from the most heinous crimes, including massacres of workers, peasants, students, national minorities and even religious groups. With the suppression of democratic rights, every person and every group is now under blackmail by the fascist dictatorship and its agents. The dictatorship has not only seized every major legal channel of communications and suppressed democratic organizations but it has even outlawed the ordinary conversations of people regarding the present situation and has branded these as "rumormongering."

At present, the US-Marcos dictatorship and its military minions can simply accuse anyone of being a "subversive," "conspirator" or "rumor-monger" and extort anything from him at gunpoint. Through sheer coercion, the dictator Marcos will be able to acquire more stockholdings and landholdings. At every level of the reactionary government, his fascist minions will continue to do their own grabbing with more impunity. In the streets, the fascist troops will exact tribute more than in the past to the great annoyance of the local police whose most crooked members exact much less. In the campaign to seek out those who oppose the dictatorship, the most brutal measures will be taken such as those which long made the US-Marcos clique notorious. Kidnapping, torture, murder, arson and massacre have long been the political style of the Marcos fascist puppet gang. These can be committed by the fascist troops with more impunity, in both cities and countryside under Proclamation No. 1081.

The propaganda of the US-Marcos dictatorship keeps on harping about the sudden "peace and order" and "elimination of crime" as a result of Proclamation No. 1081. The truth is that fascist dictatorship is the biggest crime and cause of disorder. In the present "new society," people are massacred or arrested and detained indefinitely on false charges and manufactured evidence. There is no more safety in one's own home. Anytime, the fascist troops can barge in anywhere to dispose of persons and property in any manner they wish for their criminal ends. These minions of the dictatorship, together with their criminal associates (gangsters, informers, BSDUs

and “Monkees”) arrogantly engage in extortion, robbery, torture, rape and other vicious crimes. And these do not get into the police blotter, simply because the victims do not want to become the accused before their abusers. By official record, there appears to be “peace and order” and “elimination of crime.” But crime and disorder, products of an exploitative and oppressive society, do not cease to exist just because the fascist-controlled mass media do not wish to report them.

Despite all attempts of the US-Marcos dictatorship to suppress the truth, the facts of fascist abuse are so widespread and so blatant. The fascist dictatorship will become even more hopelessly isolated by the stench of its lies. The broad masses of the people will only be further angered by mendacious propaganda prettifying the fascist dictatorship as having eliminated crime, lowered the prices of basic commodities, busted graft and corruption and rid the country of filth and pollution, whereas the contrary is the truth.

Deceptions even among a few people do not last long. The “new society” of the US-Marcos dictatorship is nothing but a phrase that will go the way of all previous slogans of deception spewed out by the US-Marcos clique. So long as the basic sources of evil in Philippine society are not eliminated, the manifestations of evil will always crop up. Marcos is nothing but the general representative of the big bourgeoisie and the big landlord class. What makes him even more distinctively so is that he has chosen to become a fascist dictator, a vicious running dog of US imperialism, under conditions when the political and economic crisis of the ruling system is getting more and more acute every day. In the “new society,” the basic sources of evil that are US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism will persist but will increasingly be under powerful assaults by the broad masses of the people. With a target as easy to hit as the US-Marcos dictatorship, the Filipino people will rapidly become even aware of their revolutionary strength, use it to destroy their enemies one by one and aim for a new Philippines that is genuinely and completely independent, democratic, united, just and prosperous.

TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES IN THE NEW SITUATION

The setting up of the US-Marcos dictatorship through the declaration of an “unlimited form of martial law” and under the fascist principle that “all power can be given to the military” has brought about a new situation. Through the crude employment of armed coercion, dictator Marcos as com-

mandar-in-chief has arrogated unto himself and concentrated in his hands all executive, legislative and judicial powers. All of these powers are used not only against the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army but also against the broad masses of the people and all opposition to the perpetuation of a fascist dictatorship. Upon the setting up of this fascist dictatorship, the objective conditions for a civil war of a national scale have arisen. The entire Filipino people vehemently condemn the US-Marcos dictatorship as antinational, antirepublican, antidemocratic and decadent and are more determined than ever before to struggle for national democracy and, therefore, for a genuine republic that belongs to them.

It has long been pointed out and stressed to the US-Marcos clique that people's war is the answer to martial law. Now that martial law is here, large masses of revolutionary militants and allied leaders of various forces all over the country have gone underground or have gone to the countryside from cities and towns and are resolutely taking every possible and necessary step to overthrow the US-Marcos dictatorship. Many times more than the previous suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, the setting up of the fascist dictatorship has resulted in an increase of men and women eager and ready to do their share of fighting in the battlefield. With every national and democratic right suppressed, the broad masses of the people have more deeply realized the need to support or participate in people's war. The revolutionary stand of the Communist Party of the Philippines that armed struggle is the principal form of struggle at the present national democratic stage of the Philippine revolution has never before been clearer than now.

In the new situation, there are three things that stand out. First, the Communist Party of the Philippines is the most prepared to lead the revolutionary struggle that calls for the armed overthrow of the fascist government. Second, the Party has the strongest and most experienced revolutionary army, the New People's Army. Third, the ranks of the revolutionary movement have greatly expanded and fighting cadres as well as allies are all over the archipelago determined to conduct people's war. These things would not have stood out as clearly as now were it not for the fascist viciousness of the US-Marcos dictatorship.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is the party most prepared to lead the revolutionary struggle because it is the most prepared to do so ideologically, politically and organizationally. By virtue of its adherence to and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, it can be relied upon

to fight steadfastly in a protracted people's war and to deal with the problems of the Philippine revolution in the most comprehensive and correct manner. By virtue of its revolutionary politics, it can be relied upon to serve the toiling masses of workers and peasants, respect the legitimate interests of the petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie and mobilize the biggest mass force to overthrow the tyrannical regime. By virtue of its organizational strength, it has emerged practically unscathed from the vicious blows so far made by the enemy under Proclamation No. 1081.

In so many years, the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army have been the target of all kinds of enemy operations and task forces and yet they have not only managed to preserve themselves and destroy the enemy part by part but have become even stronger through revolutionary struggle. To ensure the growth and development of people's war as a mass undertaking, the Party has indefatigably created Party branches and groups, organs of political power, mass organizations, people's organizing committees and various forms of fighting units such as the militia, the local guerrillas and the regular mobile (or several guerrilla units concentrated at appropriate times for big operations or a campaign of several battles). In the countryside, the Party is at the core of the New People's Army and is also in the localities and has gained wide support from the peasant masses and inhabitants of towns, provincial capitals and small cities. In the cities, the Party has carefully developed an underground for the worst of emergencies and has at the same time developed unbreakable links with the workers, the urban petty bourgeois and others.

While we consider the present situation far more favorable to the revolutionary movement than ever before, we should not relax in the false belief that the objective conditions are enough to carry us forward. We have to build up the revolutionary forces courageously, not only by waging the principal form of struggle which is armed struggle in the countryside but also by employing effective underground methods in the cities and towns and by using every possible means, legal and otherwise, to facilitate coordination of efforts, propaganda work, intelligence and internal communications as well as communications with allies throughout the archipelago. We should avoid rashness in our actions because the fascist dictatorship carries with it the license to do the worst possible harm against the Party, people's army and the people. We should advance carefully and steadily.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is determined to join hands with all those who are opposed to the US-Marcos dictatorship. All those who are interested in achieving national freedom and democracy are welcome in joining with the Party in a broad national democratic front. Those who may participate in this united front are the democratic classes and strata, parties, groups and individuals. Independence and initiative are enjoyed by participants in this united front. But the single common objective of all is to overthrow the US-Marcos dictatorship and institute a truly national and democratic regime. The success of the national democratic front can pave the way for a national coalition government where the working class, peasantry, urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie are fairly and justly represented. The Party's Program for a People's Democratic Revolution and also the ten-point guide drafted by the Party in connection with the drawing up of the program of the National Democratic Front should be referred to as guide for forming a national alliance or local alliances of revolutionary forces.

In addition, we are hereby making a pledge to ourselves, to all our allies and to all our countrymen in the context of our program for a people's democratic revolution:

- (1) To join up with all forces that are opposed to the fascist dictatorship of the US-Marcos clique and conduct a firm revolutionary struggle to overthrow it;
- (2) To strengthen the New People's Army, boldly organize guerrilla units all over the archipelago and draw all possible cooperation from everyone opposed to the US-Marcos dictatorship;
- (3) To help reestablish the democratic rights of all antifascist forces including individuals, political parties, trade unions, mass organizations, mass media, religious organizations and all other people, and to take all steps towards a democratic coalition government;
- (4) To fight for the nullification of all acts of the fascist dictatorship that favor US imperialism and the Marcos fascist clique, and to make possible the abrogation of all unequal treaties and agreements with the United States, especially those pertaining to direct investments, military bases, military assistance, military aggression and cultural aggression;
- (5) To pave the way for the arrest, trial before a people's court and punishment of the dictator Marcos and his diehard accomplices for the

setting up of a fascist dictatorship, bloody crimes against the people and enrichment in office, and make possible the confiscation of all ill-gotten wealth (capital holdings and landholdings) of the Marcos fascist clique and likewise those of all US imperialist firms and agencies collaborating with it; and

- (6) To welcome to the revolutionary ranks those officers and men of the reactionary armed forces who turn at any time against the US-Marcos dictatorship, provided they are not a mere faction of the military directed by US imperialism to groom another puppet dictator.

Hereunder are a number of guidelines for developing or dealing with the various forces opposed to the US-Marcos dictatorship:

- (1) The Party should vigorously fulfill its 1972 organizational and educational plan. Despite what appears to be the tightening of the situation due to the US-Marcos dictatorship, the fact is that the entire country has been made far more fertile than before for revolutionary seeding and growth. There is a great need for cadres and their nationwide deployment. So, the Central Committee is seeing to it that cadres are dispatched from certain regions to other regions. The correct relationship between expansion and consolidation and between the number of cadres in urban areas and that in the rural areas must be settled from time to time by regional Party committees in their respective territories. They must take more initiative in building the Party, the New People's Army and the united front. Stress must be laid on mass work. The gauge of achievement is the quantity and quality of Party branches and groups, fighting units of the New People's Army, organs of political power, people's organizing committees and mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth, women and cultural activists. Due to the emergence of the US-Marcos dictatorship, special attention must be paid to improving underground methods, especially in cities and towns, and in maintaining links over extensive areas.
- (2) The Party should assign more cadres of worker as well as petty-bourgeois background to the New People's Army. Those who can no longer conduct legal work or underground work in cities and towns should be dispatched to the people's army [...] is the Party's principal form of organization and should be built as such. Party branches should be

established at the company or platoon level as the case may be and Party groups at the squad level and, in addition, Party branches should be established in localities. The main objective of the fascist dictatorship in the countryside today is the suppression of the Party, the New People's Army and the revolutionary masses. We should be good at preserving ourselves by destroying the enemy (fascist troops, spies, local tyrants and bad elements) on the wider scale of the countryside. The New People's Army is based mainly on the peasant masses, the majority class in Philippine society. Special attention should therefore be paid to realizing a genuine land reform program among them. Nothing will ever come out of the decree of the US-Marcos dictatorship proclaiming the implementation of the reactionary "land reform code" all over the country, except intensified feudal and semifeudal exploitation and oppression and, therefore, intensified resistance by the peasant masses. Whenever possible, land should be distributed free to the tillers who do not own land or who do not have enough. The non-payment of land rent and other related measures can easily be effected when the peasant masses have been sufficiently aroused, organized and mobilized on a wide scale. This also the best way of creating stable base areas. Wherever the guerrilla units of the New People's Army are, the least that should be done for the welfare of the peasant masses is to reduce land rent, eliminate usury and initiate mutual aid and exchange of labor. Peasant associations, with poor and lower-middle peasants prevailing, should be established. Local militia units and guerrilla units should also be raised from the peasant ranks so as to defend their democratic gains. From the ranks of the guerrilla units, we draw the Red fighters for the regular mobile forces of the New People's Army.

- (3) The Party should continue to build revolutionary trade unions and other suitable organizations (including open associations and secret workers' organizing committees) among the workers in workplaces and communities, despite the fascist ban on mass organizations and strikes. However, care must always be taken to prevent the enemy from identifying Party cadres. The more the fascist dictatorship madly goes after all kinds of workers' organizations, the more it will aggravate its already isolated position. The longer the workers' rights are suppressed, the more will the workers become fearless of the US-Mar-

cos dictatorship. Their wages are buying less and less. They are also under greater threat of unemployment. The fascist dictatorship is mad enough to prevent the workers indefinitely from demanding through their unions and through strikes better working and living conditions. The violent suppression of workers' unions and strikes can only yield more determined fighters for the revolutionary cause, provided the Party does well its duty of arousing and mobilizing the workers. The Party should organize the workers in factories, mines, haciendas and other areas and raise their political consciousness in the light of the current political and economic crisis. Workers are quick in grasping the Marxist-Leninist ideology, provided this is properly communicated to them by Party cadres. The Party should accelerate its efforts to build Party branches in the workers' places of work and communities. Trade union work should always be combined with ideological and political work.

- (4) The Party should vigorously arouse and mobilize the student masses against the US-Marcos dictatorship. Although the democratic cultural revolution has already brought out a high degree of militance among them, the student masses should be further guided by the Party in the new situation so that they can link up with the broad masses of the people and deliver the most effective blows against the fascist dictatorship. If it were not for the fear of the US-Marcos dictatorship of the student masses, the schools should have been opened on the Monday following Proclamation No. 1081. But the closure of schools for some time cannot stop the student masses from recognizing what is wrong and acting against it. The longer the schools are closed, the more ready are the student masses for mass actions. First, the probing mass actions and other propaganda activities; then increasingly bigger mass actions. Various forms of open student organizations and underground coordinating committees can be set up to defy the fascist ban on basic democratic rights. In the case of quite a number of student leaders and other youth leaders, who are blacklisted and who will only be immobilized upon arrest, it is the Party's policy to dispatch them to the countryside or the underground, so long as they are already Party members or are willing to become Red fighters even if they are not yet Party members or even candidate-members. Party groups which are in the midst of

the student masses should systematically deploy groups of students to various provinces and towns to condemn the fascist dictatorship and arouse the people.

- (5) The Party should encourage not only the student masses but also all other sections of the intelligentsia to assert their national and democratic rights and speak out their views against the US-Marcos dictatorship. It is antinational to allow foreign-owned mass media like those owned by the Sorianos to make propaganda in support of the US-Marcos dictatorship and at the same time prevent the Filipino people from speaking out their minds. It is antidemocratic to have only those reports and views supporting a fascist dictatorship disseminated. Teachers at all levels should be persuaded to propagate the national and democratic line among their co-teachers, students and the people and not to make anticommunist propaganda which would only serve to prolong the life of fascist dictatorship in the country. Special efforts should be exerted to get the active support of public school teachers. All government civilian employees should resist attempts of the US-Marcos dictatorship to shift public funds to the military from their departments, disregard their civil service eligibilities or turn over their functions to military personnel. Like the teachers and ordinary government civilian employees, all professionals (doctors, nurses, engineers, journalists, lawyers and others) should be won over to the anti-fascist united front. If positive and progressive, their political influence on many other people is of great value to the revolution. Their direct services and material contribution to the revolution are much needed. The most progressive elements in the ranks of the intelligentsia can become Party members.
- (6) The Party should, aside from the intelligentsia, win over other sections of the petty bourgeoisie. In many various ways, they can extend practical support to the revolutionary cause. They can help spread the correct political line against the US-Marcos dictatorship and they can also extend material support to the revolutionary movement. They are hard-pressed by the political and economic crisis worsening under the fascist dictatorship. The Party should consider the entire petty bourgeoisie as a basic motive force in the national democratic revolution

and win it over in order to tilt the balance securely in favor of the revolutionary side.

- (7) The Party should win over members of the national bourgeoisie, in the cities and in the countryside, to give political and material support to the revolutionary movement. Since they themselves cannot be expected to bear arms against the enemy, they can extend to the revolutionary movement support in cash or kind or allow use of their facilities. The Party should protect their legitimate interests against the wanton assaults of US imperialism and the puppet dictatorship. The national bourgeoisie can join the anti-imperialist and antifascist united front and it will be amply represented in the national coalition government to be set up in the future.
- (8) The Party should support the struggle for self-determination or autonomy and also for democracy among the national minorities, especially those of Mindanao who have taken up arms. The armed struggle of the Maguindanaos, Maranaos, Tausugs and others is very significant. Efforts should be exerted in developing revolutionary forces in various parts of Mindanao, especially those outside of the “Muslim” areas; and unity between the national minorities and the poor settlers everywhere should be aimed for in accordance with the general line of the national democratic revolution. The armed struggle in Mindanao can be so coordinated with the revolutionary armed struggle in Luzon and the Visayas that the US-Marcos dictatorship would become exhausted from running to and fro, from far south to far north of the archipelago and vice versa. It should be the general policy of the Party all over the country to welcome all national minorities into the ranks of the revolutionary movement and to develop Party cadres and Red fighters among them.
- (9) The Party should seek and develop an antifascist united front at every possible level with the Liberal Party, with certain sections of the Nacionalista Party and various political groups and figures who are opposed to the US-Marcos dictatorship. The attempt of the Marcos fascist puppet clique to monopolize power in the country has seriously harmed or put a serious threat to the interests of other reactionaries. The violent split developing among the reactionaries has been obvious since the emergence of the “private armies” and especially since the second Plaza

Miranda massacre. Although the US-Marcos dictatorship will try to create the myth of “bipartisan” support for the “Marcos party,” the political and economic contradictions among the reactionaries cannot be erased. There are various ways of cooperating with other political groups and figures. Since the US-Marcos dictatorship is bent on disarming them at any cost, they might as well contribute or merely lend their arms to the New People’s Army. They can also advise their following to cooperate with the people’s army and they can give other kinds of material support. In return, such legitimate interests of theirs as those which do not harm the people can be protected. In cases where there are already armed groups fighting or determined to fight the fascist dictatorship, the New People’s Army should be willing to reorganize them or integrate them into its ranks or simply coordinate with them as the case may be.

- (10) The Party should seek and develop an anti-imperialist and antifascist united front with religious and semireligious groups that are opposed to the US-Marcos dictatorship. It is noteworthy that there are a considerable number of patriotic and progressive priests and ministers who have merited being in the fascist blacklist. It must be always borne in mind that there are religious people who do not agree with the Party’s ideology but who readily and completely agree with the Party’s political program and line.
- (11) The Party should draw all possible support from Filipinos abroad, especially the half a million Filipino immigrant workers, professionals and students in the United States. Together with their American and other foreign friends, they can form committees and associations, engage in mass actions and raise funds for their own propaganda activities, all in support of the revolutionary struggle of the Filipino people against the US-Marcos dictatorship. Eventually, they will be able to channel their material support to the revolutionary forces in the Philippines. Revolutionary friends of the Filipino people all over the world should also be encouraged to initiate committees and associations in support of the Filipino revolutionary struggle. The Filipino people should get all possible international support in the same spirit and manner as other peoples have done for their own revolutionary struggles. The peoples of the world are profoundly interested in the victory of the Philippine

revolution against US imperialism and its running dogs. The Party should be guided by the lofty principle of proletarian internationalism in this regard.

- (12) The Party should perseveringly conduct by various means revolutionary propaganda among the officers and troops of the reactionary armed forces. Quite a number of them are opposed to the US-Marcos dictatorship. As a matter of fact, there are three definite trends in the reactionary armed forces: the first one consists of those who support the US-Marcos dictatorship and who are gloating at the chance to abuse the people; the second one consists of those who oppose the Marcos fascist gang but who wish to have it replaced by coup d'état with another reactionary regime which they consider "democratic"; and the third one consists of those who oppose the US-Marcos dictatorship and who agree with the principles of the Corpus-Tagamolila Movement. The second trend can be subdivided into two: one is biding its time for the near-collapse of the Marcos fascist clique and will move only with assurances from US imperialism; the other has various notions of anti-imperialism. Enemy officers and troops who are opposed to the US-Marcos dictatorship should be encouraged to take the people's side and take the anti-imperialist, antifeudal and antifascist line. They can bring over their arms and join the New People's Army or temporarily establish and lead guerrilla units until such time that they can establish relations with the people's army. The Party should also see to it that the policy of leniency is taken on captive enemy officers and men in order to disintegrate the reactionary armed forces. As the US-Marcos dictatorship conscripts more troops and the people's suffering becomes even more unbearable, there will be more enemy officers and men who will recognize what is right and what is wrong and will gladly turn their arms against the people's exploiters and oppressors.

The Communist Party of the Philippines, together with the New People's Army which it leads, declares that conditions for revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside have been tremendously enhanced by the emergence of the US-Marcos dictatorship. Whereas before Proclamation No. 1081 only certain limited parts of the country were battlefields, these can now be boldly expanded throughout the archipelago. Furthermore, whereas before this

proclamation it was not yet timely to launch certain limited forms of military operations in urban areas, these can now be done with due consideration given to the strategic line that the revolutionary forces will seize the cities from rural base areas.

The broad masses of the people know how to deal with a mad bull like the US-Marcos dictatorship and they are determined to encircle it with the flames of people's war. The day will surely come when the US-Marcos dictatorship is turned into ashes and is finally consigned to the garbage heap of history. By that time, the comprehensive revolutionary movement against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism shall have become a gigantic force capable of carrying the Philippine revolution through to the end.

FILIPINOS IN THE UNITED STATES OPPOSE US-MARCOS DICTATORSHIP

April 10, 1973 (Volume V, Number 1)

Since the declaration of martial law in the Philippines last year, the half a million Filipino immigrants, workers, professionals and students in the United States have continuously and repeatedly manifested their opposition to the US-Marcos dictatorship. Giving support to their anti-imperialist and anti-fascist cause are revolutionary Americans of various nationalities.

The Filipino immigrants, workers, professionals, and students are incensed by the rabid puppetry of the Marcos fascist puppet clique to the vile interests of US monopoly capitalism and the wanton suppression of basic democratic rights which is calculated to perpetuate the fascist dictator Marcos in power.

As early as October 6, simultaneous mass actions were held in front of several Philippine consulate offices from Hawaii to New York and also in front of the Philippine embassy in Washington. These were organized by the National Committee for the Restoration of Civil Liberties in the Philippines.

Among those joining the ranks of demonstrating Filipino students, professionals and "old timers" (mainly workers) were members of such activists groups as the Asian Coalition, Guardian, Third World Women's Alliance, North American Anti-Imperialist Coalition, Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers' Union and Bay Area Revolutionary Union.

Carrying banners and placards denouncing the US-Marcos dictatorship, the demonstrators threw taunts of "Tuta ni Marcos" at consulate officials who tried vainly to intimidate them by taking pictures and recording speeches. The battle cry, "Makibaka, Huwag Matakot!" resounded most among the Filipino and non-Filipino demonstrators. Numerous manifestoes from various anti-imperialist and antifascist groups were read and circulated; and revolutionary songs in Pilipino were also sung.

To promote the revolutionary cause of the Filipino people, several progressive publications run by Filipino patriots have relentlessly put out information on the crimes of the fascist puppet regime and the resolute popular resistance to assert national independence and democracy. Among these publications are the *Kalayaan*, which is published by young Filipino workers, students and professionals on the West Coast; the *Information Bulletin*, by

Filipino professionals and students on the East Coast; and the *Tanikala* by the National Association of the Filipinos in the United States.

Lending valuable support to the Philippine revolutionary struggle are also such publications as the weekly *Laging Una* and the *Far East Reporter* which have a significant readership in the Filipino community in the United States. Certain Filipino-run publications which previously took an equivocating stand on issues have also started to condemn the antidemocratic actions of the US-Marcos dictatorship. These are the *Philippine Tribune*, *Ningas Cogon* and several other publications based in California.

The movement among Filipinos in the United States to oppose the US-Marcos dictatorship is being developed in multifarious ways. Aside from organizing mass demonstrations and publishing newspapers, Filipino activists are conducting lectures, workers' caucuses, home visits and cultural performances in order to arouse and mobilize the largest Filipino community in a single foreign country.

Filipino activists have conjoined with American activists in organizing lectures and study circles in factory areas, universities and communities. Activists of the American GI Movement who were deported from the Philippines by the US-Marcos dictatorship are notably helping Filipino activists.

On November 11, the Support Committee for a Democratic Philippines sponsored a cultural show at the Washington Square Church in New York City to raise funds for the anti-imperialist and antifascist movement. Complete with banners carrying slogans like "Oppose US intervention in the Philippines!", the show featured a Filipino-American cultural group called the Sining Bayan and a Puerto Rican revolutionary singer.

As in the struggle against US aggression in Vietnam, the American people are opposed to US intervention in the Philippines and are fervently sympathetic to the revolutionary national democratic cause of the Filipino people. They are profoundly opposed to the barbaric nature of US monopoly capitalism and to the brutal and corrupt nature of the Marcos fascist puppet regime.

Thus, even such publications of US monopoly capitalism as *Time*, *Newsweek*, *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *New York Post*, *San Francisco Examiner* and several others have printed at certain times news stories which report on the criminal abuses of the Marcos fascist puppet regime. Somehow, they have to beg for a degree of credibility among their readers.

However, the US government and the big monopolies are unequivocally in full support of the Marcos fascist puppet regime. The Marcos constitution and all related fascist proclamations, general orders and decrees have guaranteed to US imperialism the perpetuation of all its extraordinary privileges previously falling under “parity rights” and various unequal treaties and agreements.

The Filipino people and the Communist Party of the Philippines are exceedingly interested in the vigorous growth of the revolutionary movement among the half a million Filipino immigrants, workers, professionals and students in the United States. Though these compatriots are abroad, they can still come to the succor of the motherland in many ways.

They can easily unite with the American people of various nationalities in opposing US intervention and aggression in the Philippines and giving support to the revolutionary struggle of the entire Filipino people. They can also link up with the people in countries other than the United States so that the widest possible international support for the Philippine revolutionary struggle can be developed.

Revolutionary Filipino activists in the United States are enjoined by the Communist Party of the Philippines to arouse and mobilize the half a million Filipino immigrants, workers, professionals and students. A vigorous anti-imperialist and antifascist movement can be generated among them. Mass organizations can easily arise from among them, especially in Hawaii and the West Coast where they are most concentrated.

MINDANAO GUERRILLA FIGHTERS WIPE OUT SEVERAL HUNDRED FASCIST TROOPS

April 10, 1973 (Volume V, Number 1)

In the wake of the setting up of the fascists dictatorship, armed resistance has expanded and intensified in Mindanao, especially among the national minorities. According to partial reports reaching *Ang Bayan*, several hundreds of fascists troops have been wiped out in the provinces of Lanao, Cotabato, Sulu, Zamboanga, Bukidnon and Davao between October 1972 and March 1973.

Within ten days following the declaration of martial rule, Maguindanao guerrilla fighters with the strength of one company or two companies ignited the antifascist armed resistance in mainland Mindanao, particularly in Cotabato, by repeatedly using the tactic of besieging the enemy to strike at the reinforcements. In this manner, a platoon-size PC detachment at an isolated place would be annihilated or routed and subsequently a platoon-size or company size reinforcement would also be ambushed and wiped out along the way.

On October 19 last year, concentrated units of the Tausug and Samal guerrilla fighters in company strength attacked and wiped out a platoon-size PC patrol in the Tapul area in Luuk, Sulu. This signaled the well-coordinated attacks against the enemy on land and by sea in the islands of Sulu and Basilan and the Zamboanga provinces. Since then, the enemy has been reeling from extreme inability to cope with the armed resistance in Mindanao.

On October 21, it was the turn of the Maranaw guerrilla fighters to launch a military operation against the enemy in Marawi City. They acted in battalion strength to take over Camp Amai Pakpak, which is the PC command headquarters of Lanao del Sur, and other strategic points like the Mindanao State University, the airport, bridges and roads. A hundred guerrilla fighters wiped out at least 200 enemy troops at Camp Amai Pakpak. A guerrilla detachment seized the radio station of the Mindanao State University and broadcast in the name of the Mindanao Revolutionary Council for Independence revolutionary statements calling on the national minorities and the poor settlers to unite and rise up in arms against the US-Marcos dictatorship.

The attack on the PC headquarters was conducted in an exceedingly ingenious manner. The main force of guerrilla fighters were able to get into the enemy camp by pretending to have come to surrender their arms in compliance with fascist orders for disarming the people. At a given signal, the fascist troops were attacked from inside the camp while guerrilla fighters outside the camp made sure that none of the enemy would be able to flee unscathed.

After having sufficiently dealt with the enemy, the main force of the Maranaw guerrilla fighters made an orderly withdrawal but at the same time left behind small detachments to cover its rear. A small guerrilla unit was left behind at the airport in order to strike at incoming enemy planes. This unit was subsequently able to harness airlifted enemy reinforcements and withdraw safely on October 22.

The seizure of Marawi City and annihilation of hundreds of enemy troops shook the fascist dictatorship to its base. This defeat of the reactionary armed forces occurred just after the dictator Marcos appeared twice on television with some “Mindanao political leaders” and boasted that because of martial rule the people of Mindanao had been thoroughly subjugated. So embarrassed by a defeat so large that it cannot be blacked out from the Marcos press monopoly, the fascist dictatorship ordered the massacre of scores of civilians in Marawi City and adjoining towns and barrios.

The Daily Express at first reported that the reactionary armed forces were able to kill 13 “raiders,” then only a few days later it admitted it was 70 “raiders” were actually killed. The massacre of civilians was perpetrated when the actual raiders had already completely withdrawn in correct guerrilla style. Angered by the brutality of the enemy, the heroic Maranaw fighters decided to counteract the fascist units sent out after them. As a result, only three out of 220 enemy troops survived the guerrilla assaults in November in Lanao.

Between major assaults against the enemy, the Mindanao guerrilla fighters have continuously launched minor assaults which when taken together constitute major assaults. On November 5, one unit of Mindanao guerrilla fighters wiped out a 15-man PC detachment at Camp Parang in Cotabato even as another unit wiped out a smaller number of enemy troops at Macarandag Bridge. During the first week of December, Tausug guerrilla fighters repeatedly wiped out whole enemy platoons in Sulu and Basilan. These incidents are of the type that frequently occur all over Mindanao.

The guerrilla fighters of Sulu have the distinction of bringing down two sabre jets (F-86F) and one transport plane (C-47) and seriously damaging

one more fighter plane of undetermined make. This is the answer of the guerrilla fighter of Mindanao to such flagrant abuses of the enemy as forcing the people to evacuate their homes and unharvested fields in order to create "free-fire zones" for air bombardments. It is very likely that helicopters have also been destroyed by guerrilla fighters in Mindanao.

To cover up its extreme inability to cope with the Mindanao situation, the fascist dictatorship has in a false gesture of benevolence offered to grant "amnesty" to guerrilla fighters in Mindanao and to allow free movement and trade between Sulu and other Mindanao Islands on one side and Sabah on the other. The guerrilla fighters have correctly responded such as enemy stratagem, which is calculated to disarm and defeat them. Since the last week of February this year, they have launched even more vigorous armed resistance.

On March 5 alone, the towns of Managoy, Datu Pisug, Bagong Bayan and Ampat-wang in Cotabato were taken over by Maguindanao guerrilla fighters. In the process, fifty enemy troops and five officers were confirmed dead. General Romeo Espino, chief of staff of the reactionary armed forces, has indicated through the Marcos press monopoly that the guerrilla fighters have taken over more than ten towns of Cotabato.

As usual after major offensive by the guerrilla fighters of Mindanao, the fascist dictatorship resorts to some terror tactics and then boast of having put the situation "under control." The fascist dictatorship has already deployed more than one-third of the reactionary armed forces to Mindanao and placed them at the disposal of the Central Mindanao Command and the Southwest Command. Not satisfied with these, the fascist dictator Marcos is frenziedly trying to organize local terror units whom he fondly calls the "kamagong." He is also dispatching tens of thousands of military trainees to Mindanao at no salary and without guarantee for pension in case of maiming or death for the unjust cause of the fascist dictatorship.

No matter how much military force is employed by the fascist dictatorship, the people of Mindanao are determined to wage armed resistance and win victory. Both the national minorities and the poor settlers are now moved to resist the enemy not because of religious beliefs but because of their determination to protect their lands from the big landgrabbers which include the US imperialists, the big comprador landlords and the big bureaucrats. The Communist Party of the Philippines is steadfastly counteracting the intrigues of the enemy and uniting the national minorities and poor settlers under the principle of self-determination and democracy.

The fascist dictatorship has presented itself as the common enemy of the national minorities and the settler masses. It has madly tried to create “peace and order” for the US and Japanese monopoly capitalists, the big comprador landlords and the bureaucrat capitalists to seize lands for their plantations, logging, ranches, mines and other enterprises. In the Sulu area, the enemy is doing everything foolish to assure the US oil companies of possible sources of oil.

The people in the frontiers of Mindanao are holding on to their arms and using them to repulse the enemy. They do so not because of communal conflicts of a religious nature nor because their arms are tokens of “manliness” as the fascist dictator Marcos would say. In any frontier area, the gun is necessary for repulsing the landgrabbers and bandits and for getting wild boar or deer from the forests.

By all indications, the various guerrilla units in Mindanao are waging an excellent form of people’s war as they alternate in launching attacks against the enemy and as they make the entire Central Mindanao Command and Southwest Command go mad within the circle made by the flames of armed resistance.

The armed resistance of Mindanao is an exceedingly important support and a necessary correlative of the armed resistance in other parts of the country. The reactionary armed forces are compelled to split their strength between far south and far north, thus making way for the people in-between, especially in the Visayas, to undertake revolutionary armed struggle. The attempt of the enemy to concentrate his forces in two directions, on both Northern Luzon and Mindanao, and his repeated setbacks in both battlefronts continue to sap his strength and morale.

THE NEW PEOPLE'S ARMY CELEBRATES ITS FIFTH ANNIVERSARY

March 29, 1974 (Special Issue)

Militant greetings from The New People's Army as it celebrates its fifth anniversary.

On March 29, 1969, this heroic revolutionary army was established by the Communist Party of the Philippines under the great torch of Mao Zedong's Marxism-Leninism Thought with the objective of defending and upholding and national and democratic interests of the broad masses of the Filipino people.

Since then, this army has steadfastly advanced the revolutionary struggle against American imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. It has been forged in the struggle against hostile military campaigns and has been able to overcome obstacles set by the enemy such as the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus and the imposition of fascist military rule. In just about five years, the revisionist factions such as Lava, Sumulong and Taruc were completely thrown into the dustbin of history.

Under the firm leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army has proven to be the most ready and reliable army with a national and mass character against the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos faction. Since the right-wing coup d'état by the feudal and fascist comprador puppet gang of Marcos, the cadres and fighters of the people's army advanced the comprehensive program of the people's democratic revolution with great strides, always paying attention to the concrete situation in localities in carrying out armed struggle, agrarian revolution and base construction.

A protracted people's war is necessary in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country like the Philippines. The countryside is the largest area that is mobilized in this revolutionary warfare. Compared to the others, this is where the enemy is weakest. Thus, the New People's Army firmly carried out the strategic principle of encircling the cities from the countryside over time. Here the victories in the battles of quick decision are gathered and the strong bases are firmly built in the countryside in preparation for the victory in the whole town.

The people's army is still in the stage of strategic defense. But within this framework it is attempting to annihilate the enemy's forces one by one and in increasing numbers in tactical offensives carried out to its definite advantage in the countryside. To risk everything on military offensives in the cities or on the enemy's main fortifications is untimely and gives the fascist puppets and their imperialist masters the greatest chance of defeating the revolutionary forces.

Contrary to what the US-Marcos dictatorship is alleging, the backbone of the people's armed resistance has not only remained unbroken but has grown stronger. In fact, the spokesmen of the fascist dictatorship were forced to admit on many occasions that the armed revolution intensified and expanded after the imposition of military rule. Over the past year, the New People's Army has annihilated enemy units from large squads to two-company sized formations in some particular battles. In large areas enemy spies and hostile elements were also eliminated.

Under the guidance of the revolutionary Party of the proletariat, the New People's Army is firmly rooted in the peasant masses and is able to expand greatly nationwide with the strong support of the toiling masses, the urban petty bourgeoisie, and the other progressive sections of the population. It has combat units in Cagayan Valley, Ilocos and mountainous provinces, Central Luzon, Southern Luzon, Eastern Visayas, Western Visayas and Mindanao. Guerrilla bases and guerrilla zones are being developed relentlessly.

Under each regional operational command, regular armed units of the New People's Army, as well as basic units such as armed propaganda groups and permanent guerrilla squads, develop their combat capability and reserve force through the formation of local temporary guerrilla units and militia units. They also ensure mass support by forming local organs of political power, different types of mass organizations for workers, farmers, fishermen, youth, women, children and cultural activists, and clandestine committees, groups, cells in specific lines of work.

The New People's Army has the actual and direct support of a mass base numbering hundreds of thousands of people. In all parts of the country, the vast masses of the people numbering tens of millions despise the fascist dictatorship of the US-Marcos regime, celebrate the successes of the New People's Army and yearn for liberation and democracy. Even more favorable are the conditions for the development of an armed revolution against an armed counter-revolution.

OTHER ARMED GROUPS FORMED IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE COUNTRY

There are the Bangsa Moro Army and the Muslim Revolutionary Forces that are fighting for the right to national self-determination and democracy of the national minorities in Mindanao. There are the Filipino Freedom Fighters, various people interested in guerrilla warfare and coup d'état, who are fighting for the armed overthrow of Marcos' fascist gang. Many powerful local political elite are secretly forming private armies to defend against the fascist atrocities of the Marcos executioners. Within the reactionary armed forces, there are already serious contradictions that manifest the rivalry between Marcos and his political opponents.

Under the leadership of the Party, the New People's Army always strives to ally and cooperate with all antifascist forces and promotes the dismantling of reactionary forces. It firmly supports the call of the National Democratic Front Preparatory Commission to all workers, farmers, teachers, students, journalists, businessmen and all those in the middle class, national minorities, patriotic political and religious leaders, antifascist soldiers in the reactionary armed forces strength and overseas Filipinos to unite in the effort to overthrow the US-Marcos dictatorship under the 10-point program of revolutionary action.

THE FASCIST DICTATORIAL REGIME OF THE US-MARCOS REGIME HAS CREATED ANOTHER CHAOS

It is now clear to the broad masses of the people that only a democratic armed revolution can destroy the fascist armed counter-revolution. They dare to speak, are militant and resist, instead of being fearful of the measures that suppress national and democratic rights such as mass arrests, mass detentions, forced evacuations, massacres, assassinations, arson, torture, blackmail, extortion and others. The Marcos monopoly on the press, the fake referendums and the self-aggrandizement are easy for the people to see through.

In order to carry out the fascist cover-up, the US-Marcos regime continued to increase the troops and equipment of the reactionary armed forces. In order to augment its regular troops in "surge campaigns" against the people, it uses the youth who are forced into military training as cannon fodder under the "kamagong concept" and also forces local barrio officials to build "home and community defense forces" (previously called "village self-defense

units”). It holds a political monopoly on the local police force through the Philippine Constabulary and the National Police Commission. It mobilizes various types of intelligence agencies and special teams to spy on people and carry out torture, humiliation, and killings.

Behind the military and police operations of Marcos’ fascist gang are the extended logistical assistance of the United States, the American military bases, the Joint United States Military Advisory Group (JUSMAG), the CIA agents in the AID and various agencies of the reactionary government and even the special attention given to the Philippines on by Ambassador William H. Sullivan, the infamous butcher of Indochina.

Behind the “joint civic action exercises,” American special forces are sent to different parts of the country, inside or near the guerrilla zones of the New People’s Army, to conduct [...] and psychological operations. Moreover, AID and the Peace Corps openly intervene in localities. American imperialism is really acting as the instigator and mastermind of the Marcos fascist dictatorship.

In exchange for the support of American imperialism, the fascist puppet leader Marcos serves the interests of foreign monopolies (especially the American one, which now has \$2.0 to \$3.0 billion in direct investment and the largest share of \$2.5 billion in foreign loans) the Marcos constitution and other laws that allow the free plunder of the people’s human and material resources and the indefinite repatriation of excessive profits in a way that prevails to those provided by the Laurel-Langley Agreement and the Parity Amendment.

The dictatorial regime shamelessly proclaims its servitude to foreign monopolies as its most brilliant achievement. Its “open door” foreign investment policy results in the plunder the social wealth of the people at a rate unparalleled in Philippine history. Even their Japanese allies succeeded in obtaining the long-dated unequal “treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation.”

There is no prosperity, except the prosperity enjoyed by the foreign monopolists and big landlords. That includes the oligarch Marcos, who is not only as their main political representative but as the richest oligarch today thanks to rampant corruption and decay. In order to create a false image of prosperity, the fascist puppet regime bragged of trade surplus and favorable balance of payments in the Marcos newspapers. This only confirms the preponderance of foreign monopolists, big compradors and big landlords and the wanton abuse of the vast masses of the people.

The so-called trade surplus is the result of the excessive export of the country's main products (timber, sugar, coconut products, copper concentrate and others) to obtain greatly depreciated US dollars, and also the result of mis-reporting, rampant technical smuggling, and huge import costs of non-capital and luxury goods. The so-called favorable balance of payments is the result of false data of the supposed trade surplus and income from unrecorded transactions (especially the inflated reported tourism income), increased foreign investment and borrowing, and doctoring of the amortization report on foreign monopoly banks.

The tax burden is growing heavier and heavier. This is to maintain the rotting bureaucracy and the parasitic military, and to raise the equivalent counterpart of foreign loans. The rot continues at all levels of the reactionary government. But in the new situation, Marcos' fascist gang monopolizes large-scale corruption after Congress has been abolished and there is no longer a two-party system to guard and divide the loot. The fascist military is constantly bribed with multiple promotions and pay raises, big special allowances, and operational control. Combined peso funds and foreign loans serve to augment the business operations and infrastructure of foreign monopolies and reactionary classes, especially Marcos' fascist gang.

Rapid inflation and currency devaluation, food shortages and [...] and low incomes are the common fate of the masses under the fascist dictatorship of the US-Marcos regime. The rapidly rising prices, the most striking manifestation of the local economic crisis, was caused by the crisis among imperialist countries, especially the United States, and by the fascist puppet regime that profits from the excessive export of raw materials, and rapid deficit spending on the military and pretentious non-economically beneficial projects. American oil companies, with the help of Marcos's fascist cronies, became notorious for extorting huge profits from a year's worth of domestic oil reserves when the October war broke out in the Middle East, and repeatedly increased the price of all basic goods in the country. As a result of excessive exports, there were shortages in grains and many other basic commodities. The cost of living rose to the point where the vast masses of the people were suffering in poverty.

Workers are openly barred from exercising their right to form unions, while the purchasing power of their wages has declined rapidly. Layoffs and unemployment are widespread. The peasant masses are made to be the beneficiaries of the so-called "land reform" and "land transfer" when in reality

they are subjected to the most brutal military campaigns. They are repeatedly made to buy land from landlords in installments even though they cannot afford it. They are also forced to join associations like “Samahang Nayon” and “Samah*Ang Bayan*” or participate in loan schemes like “Masagana 99” which are controlled and used by corrupt bureaucrats, landlords, rural banks and fertilizer companies so that they can be further dispossessed.

The urban petty bourgeoisie is not exempt from the political and economic abuses of the fascist dictatorial regime. Their income does not grow. Instead, it is further reduced due to the rapid increase in the cost of living and the taxes imposed. Unemployment is also getting worse. More than ever, the national bourgeoisie is oppressed by foreign monopolies and big comprador-landlords, who have huge, self-benefitting projects all aimed at siphoning off capital, stifling local business and making huge profits. Philippine-owned companies are being swallowed up by giant American and Japanese companies through mergers, service contracts, stock manipulation and joint ventures.

THE MAIN EFFECT OF THE GENERAL SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY WILL BENEFIT THE PEOPLE’S STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION AND DEMOCRACY

The “new society” is not different from the old semi-colonial and semi-feudal society that was further aggravated by the fascist dictatorship. This created more widespread resistance from the people. No amount of brutality can stop the steady advance of the revolutionary forces. On the contrary, the level of the armed revolution continues to progress in spite of momentary difficulties and weaknesses.

The Red fighters and commanders of the New People’s Army are actively studying their situations and learning from their experiences. They learn from positive and negative experiences, they rectify errors and deficiencies and set precise lines of action to reach greater success. Their lifestyle is simple. They work hard and fully rely on their initiatives and self-reliance, and every obstacle serves to strengthen their determination to struggle and succeed. They think and act for the greater good of the people. They also do not overlook the general situation in the country and the world.

REVOLUTION IS THE MAIN GOAL IN THE WORLD TODAY

It is clear that the crisis of imperialism cannot be resolved, especially by the two most powerful countries: American imperialism and Soviet social-impe-

rialism. The struggle of people for independence, of nations for liberation, and of the people for revolution against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction is moving forward ceaselessly. This is the glorious situation that the Philippine revolution is now embarking on.

China and other socialist countries continue to stabilize and promote revolution and socialist construction, participate and promote the global anti-imperialist struggle and act to isolate and defeat the two most powerful countries. In Asia, Africa and Latin America, armed struggle and other forms of struggle for national independence and democracy are being waged.

In South-East Asia, the people intensified their revolutionary armed struggle against American imperialism and its fascist puppets. They are doing everything to frustrate every maneuver of the two most powerful countries. The same holds true against the ambitious Japanese. The successful armed struggle of the Indochinese people continues to inspire the people of the world and warns American imperialism that aggression will ultimately be defeated. American imperialism was greatly weakened by its defeat at the hands of the Indochinese people and more than ever, the American people are watching the Philippines turning into the next Vietnam.

In South Asia, the two most powerful countries are exposing themselves as evil invaders and expansionists who deserve to be condemned and fought by the people. Even in the Middle East, they are condemned and resisted by the people because of their unequalled rivalry and collusion but always with the ulterior motive of seizing and dividing the loot at the expense of the people.

Despite all the talk about "appeasement" and "relaxation," American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism never stop maneuvering in their mad ambition to rule the world. The arms race and preparations for war is constant. In this way, they aggravated the oppression and exploitation of the people in countries within their sphere of influence. This causes unrest under their very noses.

The situation is not good among the capitalist countries because the crisis and contradictions among themselves. The two most powerful nations want to take full advantage of the situation in accordance with their respective selfish interests. With the development of recent events, Western Europe and Japan increasingly discover that they are on a collision course with two most powerful countries, whether together or separately. The proletariat and the peoples of the world see the profound effects of the contradictions of the imperialists and capitalists that benefit from them.

The New People's Army fully led by the Communist Party of the Philippines has the support of the broad masses of the Filipino people and the people of other nations. It is confident that it will successfully carry out its revolutionary duties now and in the future. The US-Marcos dictatorship is only a temporary stage in the downward spiral of a bankrupt political and economic system in the Philippines. The day will surely come when the people will be freed from the local and foreign oppressors and exploiters. True national freedom and democracy will be fully achieved by the Filipino people themselves.

Long live the New People's Army!

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Long live the Philippine revolution!

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES ENTERS THE SEVENTH YEAR SINCE REESTABLISHMENT

December 26, 1974 (Volume VI, Number 4)

The Communist Party of the Philippines now enters the seventh year since its reestablishment on December 26, 1968. The broad masses of the people and the rank and file of the Party and the New People's Army have great cause for rejoicing in this fact.

Year after year the Party has accumulated revolutionary victories and proven itself as the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat in the protracted struggle for national freedom and democracy against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

There is no party today in the country that is more tempered and more qualified ideologically, politically and organizationally to lead the revolutionary struggle for the broad interests of the people against the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique.

VICTORIES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

The reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines on the theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is a victory without which the Philippine revolution could not have taken a single step forward during the last six years. We have followed the principle that ideological building is the first requisite for Party building. Thus, we have vigorously propagated the scientific proletarian principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao and sought to apply them on the concrete conditions of our own revolutionary struggle.

The treasury of Marxist-Leninist works is so vast. But we have put stress on the reproduction, translation and circulation of those works that are most fundamental and most relevant to the present stage of the Philippine revolution. These works have reinforced our primary and intermediate courses of study and have also been of such a latitude as to allow anyone to do advance reading, especially for the advance course of study.

We have promoted not only the reading of Marxist-Leninist works, regular study classes and theoretical conferences for the purpose of achieving a comprehension of the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method but

also the application of such a stand, viewpoint and method through researches into the history and current circumstances of our people as well as social investigation at the grassroots for the purpose of ensuring and enhancing correct revolutionary activity.

Our struggle against Soviet modern revisionism and the Lava revisionist renegades has been very fruitful. This has served to heighten our ideological and political level. This has urged us to seek a better grasp of the revolutionary ideology of the proletariat and guard against our own weaknesses and negative tendencies. Correct ideas flourish in contention with wrong ideas.

Total victory has been decisively won against the Lava revisionist renegades. Before their shameless open surrender to the fascist puppet dictatorship, these traitors, hooligans and swindlers were defeated ideologically by our Party. We have stood in the forefront, together with the Communist Party of China and other Marxist-Leninist parties, in combating Soviet modern revisionism and social-imperialism. Our Party enjoys a high prestige not only within the country but also throughout the world.

Under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, especially that of Chairman Mao on revolution in a semicolonial and semifeudal country, we have correctly adopted the general line of people's democratic revolution through a people's war over a protracted period of time. The strength of the Party lies in its correct ideological and political line. We owe to this line every victory that we have won in the face of enemy military task forces, the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus and more than two years of unbridled fascist martial rule. A newly reestablished party with an incorrect line would have collapsed in the face of such enemy onslaughts.

The Party has scored a victory in preserving and tempering itself against such powerful odds. But the victory does not stop there. The Party has dealt hard blows against the enemy and has gained political strength by courageously leading the New People's Army and promoting an antifascist national united front.

The New People's Army created and led by the Party stands today as the only revolutionary army that the broad masses of the people have against the fascist counterrevolution in all regions of the country, with the exception of southwestern Mindanao where the Bangsa Moro Army is fighting for national self-determination. In every major region in the country, we are engaged in guerrilla warfare.

Our people's army has grown from a few guerrilla squads and a few rifles in one province in 1969 to several guerrilla companies and hundreds of rifles, distributed to several strategic points in the archipelago. In many areas we are now capable of wiping out whole enemy squads and in a few areas we are also capable of wiping out whole platoons and half-companies.

Our Party has struck roots in the regions of Cagayan Valley, Ilocos Montañosa-Pangasinan, Central Luzon, Manila-Rizal, Southern Tagalog, Bicol, Eastern Visayas, Western Visayas and Mindanao. We have won a victory in being able to shift Party cadres and members from Manila-Rizal to various other regions and from the cities to the countryside under extremely adverse conditions. Being a newly reestablished Party, enjoying the advantageous conditions provided by the first quarter storm of 1970 and the succeeding upheavals, we could not have one-sidedly attended to work in the countryside.

The Party has laid the main stress on mass work in the countryside. We adhere strictly to the strategic principle of encircling the cities from the countryside, where the people's army can be built and fight over a long period of time. Under the leadership of the regional Party committees, created and nurtured by the Central Committee, the New People's Army is developing guerrilla base areas and guerrilla zones.

The Party within the people's army and the localities is the leading force in the building of the organs of democratic political power, mass organizations of various types and local armed forces of various types. In this regard, we have carried out an antifascist and antifeudal united front policy of relying mainly on the poor peasants and farm workers, winning over the middle peasants and other middle elements to participate in the armed resistance and encouraging the rich peasants, local entrepreneurs, enlightened landlords and anti-Marcos power groups to support the resistance in one way or another against fascism and the worst of feudalism.

On a wide range in both urban and rural areas, we are indefatigably developing a national democratic front which involves developing the leadership of the proletariat through the Party, forging the basic alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry, winning over the urban petty bourgeoisie as a basic revolutionary force together with the toiling masses and encouraging the national bourgeoisie and the anti-Marcos sections of even the comprador-landlord class to support the armed resistance against the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique.

The antifascist underground has developed well. Being a party that has taken the road of armed revolution soon after its reestablishment, we have maintained the lead in building an antifascist underground spanning the entire archipelago and ranging over the rural and urban areas. Our allies have their own underground networks. And underground committees and groups of a united front character have been established.

A number of regional Party and army organizations have achieved self-reliance, especially in the areas of fierce fighting where there is no recourse but to be self-reliant. The productive efforts of the people, people's army and mass organizations have often been disrupted by enemy military operations. But even then our army units have not ceased to live and work with the people through thick and thin. We have succeeded to some extent in land reform work and tax collection and our allies have been generous to us.

The Party is still small and weak. We have barely started to fight. We are still in the early substage of the strategic defensive in our protracted people's war. But certainly we have the strength to help destroy the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique within a relatively short period of time, especially now that the domestic crisis and the world crisis of capitalism are daily worsening. Our participation in the antifascist united front is of decisive significance even now.

Whatever we have achieved can never be properly appreciated without a consideration of the difficulties that we have had to overcome and the sacrifices and martyrdom that have had to be incurred.

We started from scratch. The grave errors of the Lava-Taruc opportunists and revisionists had deprived us of the gains made by the people in previous revolutionary struggles. And we have had to fight soon after the Party reestablishment an armed struggle against a crescendo of armed reaction in a small archipelagic country which is under the sway of one imperialist power and where there is neither open war among the reactionaries nor inter-imperialist war.

The Party members in general are deeply imbued with a conscious iron discipline and spirit of self-sacrifice and service to the people. They recognize the rigors and risks of revolutionary struggle and they constantly remold their thinking so that they can do their revolutionary duties better with no fear of death or sacrifice and with no thought of seeking high positions, fame or wealth. Their honor lies in living, working and, if need be, dying for the revolution.

Only a handful of traitors and misfits have dropped out of Party ranks. They come into the sharpest contrast with those who have suffered martyrdom and those who have withstood torture in the hands of the enemy. They are shamed by the overwhelming number of Party members who have persisted in revolutionary struggle and who continue to increase. Indeed, the Party itself is not exempt from the universal law of contradiction.

FAVORABLE CONDITIONS FOR ADVANCING THE REVOLUTION

The objective conditions in the Philippines are more than ever favorable for advancing the revolution. The fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique has only served to aggravate the political and economic crisis of the Philippine ruling system.

In the entire semicolonial history of the Philippines, there has never been a regime more brutal, more servile, more corrupt, more bankrupt and more disorderly than the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique. In other words, there has never been a regime more hated by the broad masses of the people since the end of World War II.

The fascist dictatorship has not only failed to crush the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army but has also created the conditions for them to enjoy the highest prestige among all antifascist forces and to increase their strength in many respects throughout the archipelago.

The armed struggle for self-determination carried out by the Moro National Liberation Front and the Bangsa Moro Army has only intensified and expanded as a result of the criminal actions of the fascist regime. This struggle has served to weaken the enemy in every region of the archipelago.

The terror effect of the Marcos rightist coup has worn off and the situation is perking up for all antifascist forces. Because of the raging economic crisis, the fascist dictatorship will only hasten its downfall should it resort to terror worse than it has already unleashed. The weaknesses of the fascist dictatorship are already showing in its admission of the economic crisis and its increasing pretenses at reconciliation with its victims.

More and more leading elements of what the fascist dictator has sweepingly categorized as the Right have started to fight back. Marcos is now the one terrified by the united front between the Left and all other antifascist forces. His berserk attacks against all political forces and organizations that were in any degree critical of him has left him all alone at dead center.

The split within the reactionary ranks is not only something between some expatriates in the United States and the fascist dictatorship. Significant sections of the Catholic clergy and laity, some local power groups and anti-Marcos groups within the reactionary armed forces have started to stir. Marcos now is definitely more terrified by the possibility of a coup d'état against him and his fascist clique than by the military operations of our people's army. Certainly, he is most terrified by the combined strength of the antifascist united front which has already isolated his regime.

US imperialism has already gotten all that it wants from its fascist puppet and it calculates that it can keep these better by changing horses. It would not stake its interests on one puppet alone, especially when that one has become more of a liability than an asset in the face of the raging antifascist revolutionary movement. US imperialism is adept at making scapegoats out of its own puppets.

At this time, Marcos is already caught in a dilemma between maintaining the rigidity of his rule and opening the floodgates of public condemnation. Either way, he is bound to fall ignominiously. He cannot escape an ignominious downfall, except by going promptly against his own imperialist master and changing to some extent acceptable to the people the anti-national and antidemocratic character of his regime.

Marcos has left himself with no quarters by slavishly giving way through the Marcos constitution to US privileges far exceeding those under the 1935 constitution and the Party Amendment and by reversing principles settled by decisions in the Krivenko, Quasha and Luzteveco cases. He gains no new quarters by continuing to make anticommunist onslaughts. The Party always gives the highest priority to fighting its worst enemy.

All the bluff and bluster of the fascist dictator about "peace and prosperity" of his "new society" is gone. He cannot deny the misery and disorder of this old semicolonial and semifeudal society gone worse than ever before. He himself fallaciously said that autocracy and political tyranny are justified and tenable only when these bring about economic prosperity. But the truth remains that autocracy and political tyranny become even more unjustified and untenable under conditions of worsening economic misery.

Soaring prices, rampant unemployment, food shortages, continuous devaluation of the currency, increasing tax burden, excessive foreign and local borrowing, depressed prices of traditional exports and large trade deficits, increasing foreign domination of the economy and accelerated remit-

tance of profits by US and other foreign monopoly capitalists and unbridled deficit spending for the parasitic military, nonproductive projects and grossly overpriced infrastructure projects—these are the economic characteristics of the fascist dictatorship.

The fascist dictatorship shamelessly takes the utmost pride in suppressing the workers' trade union rights, particularly the right to strike, and in keeping Philippine labor cheap for the US and other foreign monopoly capitalists to exploit. The rate of unemployment and that of disemployment are running high and the soaring prices of basic commodities are ruthlessly eroding the stagnant wages of workers who manage to remain on their jobs.

The Marcos "land reform program" is all a farce. The "temporary land transfer certificates" are mere pieces of paper that tell the peasants that they can never afford to buy land from the landlords. Not a single poor peasant has acquired a single square inch of land from any landlord. On the contrary, the peasant masses are the principal target of enemy military operations and are required to render extra tribute through various organizations imposed by the fascist regime. Large tracts of land have been rapaciously seized from poor settlers and the national minorities for the benefit of US and Japanese agro-corporations. Feudal and semifeudal exploitation reigns with intensified rapacity in the countryside.

The urban petty bourgeoisie do not only find their democratic liberties suppressed but also find their fixed salaries or small non-salary incomes assailed daily by the inflation. The national bourgeoisie find themselves pushed out of business more than ever before by the foreign monopoly capitalists.

Millions upon millions of the people suffer intolerable exploitation and oppression. In the face of the fascist tyranny, they see no way out but to support or participate in the armed revolution. Marcos is our best teacher on state and revolution by negative example. Long after his downfall, the profound education being gained by the people now will continue to undermine foreign and feudal domination.

The fascist dictator disclaims responsibility for the economic crisis just as he disclaims the massacres, arson, torture and other barbarities committed by his regime. Before Proclamation No. 1081, he blamed everyone else but himself for the crisis. But now that he has a monopoly of reactionary authority and responsibility, he blames the entire world for the graver crisis that has arisen.

Marcos cannot explain away his own culpability by simply referring to the “world crisis” or “crisis caused by outside forces.” It is true that the crisis of US imperialism and the entire world capitalist system and the heavy toll of the two superpowers’ struggle for world hegemony and arms supremacy are shifted to semicolonial dependents like the Philippines in a more bitter form. But it is equally true that the fascist dictatorship is culpable for unbridled puppetry to US imperialism.

The corruption of the Marcos fascist clique is one big multiplier of the ills transmitted to the country by US imperialism. Marcos enjoys being a puppet to US and other foreign monopoly capitalists because he is well bribed for being so. This arch oligarch knows no bounds for amassing wealth in both stockholdings and lands. There is not a single privilege, concession, license, contract or loan agreement of some considerable value that does not involve a share for him.

The present crisis of US imperialism and the entire world capitalist system has been the severest and most turbulent since the end of World War II. The results for the Philippines are terrible. Inflation is imported through the commodities that are imported and the big comprador and bureaucrat capitalists combine to make the inflation even worse. Because of the breakdown in their industrial production at home, the foreign monopoly capitalists seek to maintain a high rate of profit by depressing the prices of raw materials from the developing countries like the Philippines. At the same time, they accelerate the remittance of profits on direct and indirect investment here and impose more and more loans that carry extremely profitable terms for them.

Like the US imperialists, Marcos harps on the line that the oil-producing Arab countries are responsible for the current world inflation. There has never been a more absurd line, especially as he obscures the role of the US oil majors and also the fact that developing countries have to cope with the crisis caused by the imperialists in the first place. The most profound causes of the present crisis of the world capitalist system lie in the two superpowers’ struggle for world hegemony and arms supremacy, the accumulated defeats of US imperialism in wars of aggression, the wanton overprinting and over-spending of US dollars abroad and the imperialists’ profligate consumption of the world’s resources.

Under the pressure of the world capitalist crisis, the fascist dictatorship has encouraged trade relations with the People’s Republic of China and has gone so far as to acknowledge interest in diplomatic relations. It is entirely

correct for China to remain firm on its policy of developing relations with the Philippines on the basis of the Five Principles of peace coexistence.

Any step towards full diplomatic relations between China and the Philippines constitutes a further defeat of the old anti-China policy of US imperialism, a counteraction to the two superpowers and a development of the relations between the Chinese people and the Filipino people, no matter what may be the subjective wishes of the Philippine reactionary government. The policy of peaceful coexistence is an integral part of the proletarian foreign policy of a socialist country.

China's relations with the Philippines serve to take advantage of a breach in the traditional hold of US imperialism over a semicolonial dependent and therefore serve in a certain way to support the Philippine revolution. Nevertheless, the relations between a socialist country and a reactionary country are distinct from the relations between the ruling class or clique and the revolutionary masses in the reactionary country.

The objective conditions in the world are favorable for advancing the Philippine revolution. US imperialism is in rapid decline and there is great disorder between this superpower and the other superpower, Soviet social-imperialism. Countries wanting independence, nations wanting liberation and the people wanting revolution are isolating and dealing hard blows on the two superpowers.

China and other socialist countries continue to make great advances in socialist revolution and construction as well as in their international relations. The Third World, including China as a developing socialist country, is firmly conducting an anti-imperialist struggle for national independence and state sovereignty. The lesser capitalist countries are also increasingly at odds with the two superpowers. Even as they collude to oppose revolution and the people and create the illusion that there is detente and diminution of their arms expansion and war preparations, the two superpowers are ceaselessly contending for spheres of influence, sources of raw materials, fields of investments and strategic positions. They keep on creating disorder and resorting to foul acts that threaten world peace and stunt the progress of mankind.

But then they merely create conditions on which revolutionary movements thrive. The revolutionary forces are confident of winning victory in their respective countries because of their just cause and self-reliant efforts and also because the two superpowers are encircled ring upon ring by countries, nations and the people fighting for their legitimate interests.

TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

We have stated our accomplishments and presented the overall situation. Inevitably, the tasks that the Communist Party of the Philippines must carry out need to be laid down. In this regard, problems that we face must also be pointed out. A firm grasp of the problems does not only clarify the tasks but also the methods carrying them out.

1. To everyone interested in raising his ideological level, reading and studying Marxist-Leninist works are indispensable. But to do so exclusive of the concrete conditions of the Philippine revolution is to fall into dogmatism. To muddle through in practice without theoretical guidance is to fall into empiricism. Both trends of subjectivism must be combated.

The problem of dogmatism arises not simply because we devote our attention exclusively or mainly to the reading and study of Marxist-Leninist works. The fact is that we are not yet well-read and well-versed in these. The problem of empiricism arises not simply because we plunge into practice with utter thoughtlessness and have too much of experience. The fact is that we are still ill-experienced. Indeed, we are a newly established party.

To combat subjectivism, we must apply ourselves to the task of linking revolutionary theory to revolutionary practice. Certainly, we must diligently read and study the Marxist-Leninist works and thereby grasp the fundamental laws of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. But the point is to link these with our concrete practice of the Philippine revolution.

To do so is not simply to plunge into practice and let practice pile on practice. Researches into the history and concrete circumstances of the Philippines must be continuously done. Social investigation of varying scope must be made wherever we are. Our practical activity must be summed up periodically and at critical junctures. In any case, the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method must be applied. Of course, there is a division of work in the making of researches, social investigations and summings-up. But these are done to raise the ideological level and deepen the knowledge of the entire Party within and outside of regular courses of study.

There are those who do not delve into the specific characteristics of the Philippine revolution. They engross themselves with looking for similarities between the Philippine revolution and other revolutions abroad and disregard the differences. They are obsessed with simple parallelisms and analo-

gies. They forget that principles and basic lessons may be drawn from revolutionary experience in other countries but these should not be superimposed mechanically on our own history and current circumstances. They forget that the soul of Marxism is the concrete analysis of concrete conditions.

There are those who pick out the biography of a great communist leader and impose this or parts of it on everyone as the sole measure of being a revolutionary. There are those who content themselves with reciting quotations and casting labels without investigation and analysis of the situation. There are those who move from one barrio to another without any prior social investigation and delivering the same set speech in the style of a preacher.

Even in the handling of the Party's basic documents, which are certainly attempts at linking revolutionary theory with revolutionary practice, there are those who cannot place matters in their correct historical context and would rather learn by rote what they can and forget all about what they cannot. Terms that we have used in critical writings against the Lava revisionist renegades who misled the Party for more than thirty years and who sabotaged a relatively large people's army are indiscriminately applied on anyone irrespective of circumstances and scope of responsibility.

Those who are relatively better read within the Party come from the petty bourgeoisie. If they do not cut off their petty bourgeois tails, the Party members who come from the toiling masses would always be able to insist that their individual knowledge is better founded on experience no matter how limited. Definitely, there is much more learning to be found among the toiling masses than among petty bourgeois elements who regard books as fetishes to impress people with. The correct thing to do is to let our Party members who are better read and those who are barely literate to help one another and advance together ideologically.

2. We have already pointed out that we are still in the early substage of the strategic defensive in our protracted people's war. We are not yet strong enough to be mainly responsible for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique. However, we can state correctly that we, together with the Moro National Liberation Front and the Bangsa Moro Army, have been mainly responsible for keeping alive the antifascist armed resistance and that we can make a significant contribution to an antifascist united front capable of overthrowing this regime within a relatively short period of time.

There are several possibilities regarding the life of the Marcos fascist dictatorship. One is that it will be extirpated by a coup d'état sooner or later. Before this can occur, US imperialism will have to seriously reckon with what will already be a hard-hitting broad antifascist and anti-imperialist armed movement, supported or joined in by anti-Marcos local power groups. Another possibility is that the Marcos regime will stay long because the New People's Army remains the only antifascist army fighting the enemy in the entire archipelago, with perhaps the continued exception of southwestern Mindanao.

A related possibility is that Marcos' "normalization" gimmick will hold because the anti-Marcos reactionaries will capitulate completely under some arrangement designed by US imperialism. The remotest possibility is that the fascist puppet regime will promptly change its anti-national and antidemocratic character to some extent acceptable to the people and develop Sino-Philippine relations as a full anti-imperialist weapon in the face of an anti-Marcos coup plan that is inspired by US imperialism and is intractably against us. We must be ready for every possibility and hold on firmly to our guns.

What is already a serious crisis of the ruling system will grow far worse in the coming year. The problems of the fascist puppet dictatorship will not be relieved by US imperialism. On the contrary, these will be aggravated by the much-worsened crisis that US imperialism itself is suffering from. On this score, we must act with ever greater confidence and perform our revolutionary tasks with ever greater militancy. United and determined to march forward, we can take full advantage of the disorder and chaos within the ruling system.

In adopting any policy, we must be fully aware of the specific conditions and be sure that our aim is realizable with the forces available on our side. The aim carried by the policy should mean a definite advance in our revolutionary struggle. The policy must be well understood by the Party cadres before it can be promoted and carried out among the masses. What constitutes Right and "Left" deviations should be pointed out at every phase in the implementation of that policy so that corrections and adjustments can be made.

We are fighting a people's war and we are doing so on the scale of guerrilla warfare. We cannot but fight on the basis of our own historical circumstances. We did not inherit a single rifle from the previous armed struggles of the

people, which had been sabotaged by the Lava-Taruc revisionists and opportunists. We were able to start only by seizing a few rifles from the completely new stock of the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique in 1969. There is no open war among the reactionaries in the areas where we have been and there is neither an inter-imperialist war directly involving our country.

It is absolutely correct to implement the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside. We the proletarian revolutionaries must build our army among the peasant masses. The countryside is the most extensive arena for our strategic defensive and tactical offensives. But we must also consider that our countryside is shredded, with the two largest islands Luzon and Mindanao set apart by the clutter of the Visayan islands in what is already a small country. To offset the narrowing effect of the archipelago on our fighting fronts, we must strive to achieve width and depth in our maneuvers by making full use of rough and well-forested terrain.

The problem with concentrating our small forces on such a terrain is that we deal more with homesteaders with their own freeholdings than with peasants suffering on the spot from the inequities of land ownership. Thus, if the entire revolutionary guide for land reform were to be considered, it can be said that we have not accomplished much in land reform work. But this is not to say that we are not dealing with feudal and semifeudal practices in the hinterlands and in the adjoining plains. We have no choice but to develop guerrilla warfare first in the frontier areas. There are the landgrabbers and usurers to deal with here. The reactionary government no less is the big landlord disposing of the land arbitrarily after the homesteaders have cultivated it. In the plains, our underground forces can approach land reform by adopting measures on the crop still in the fields, which cannot be guarded twenty-fours a day by the landlord and his running dogs.

Especially because we are waging guerrilla warfare, we must have a very flexible strategy and tactics. We have no regular mobile forces to embody the principle of concentration in relation to guerrilla forces that embody that of dispersion. We have to consider principal and secondary tasks, forces and directions as well as concentration, shifting and dispersion on the scale of guerrilla squads and platoons. Under these conditions, it is a difficult problem to carry out a policy of annihilation.

The regional Party committees can start solving the problem of maintaining and developing at least a platoon of full-time guerrilla fighters in each fighting front rather than by assigning the three squads to points or areas

so far apart that they cannot help each other. A reasonable radius must be defined wherein the squads can concentrate or disperse to their advantage and wherein they can consolidate and expand within a reasonable period of time. Guerrilla base areas and guerrilla zones must be created and maintained commensurate to the strength of the guerrilla forces.

We must pay close attention to the dangers of adventurism and conservatism. We are adventurists when we make offensives unwarranted by the limited and superficial mass work that we have so far done in the area. We are conservative when we have developed sizeable mass support and a wide area of maneuver and fail to attack enemy units we are well capable of annihilating. If we neither conduct mass work nor wipe out enemy units, then we cannot expect to grow from small to big and from weak to strong.

We must be good at employing the guerrilla tactics taught by Chairman Mao which consist mainly of the following points:

Divide our forces to arouse the masses, concentrate our forces to deal with the enemy.

The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue. To extend stable base areas, employ the policy of advancing in waves; when pursued by a powerful enemy, employ the policy of circling around.

Arouse the largest numbers of the masses in the shortest possible time and by the best possible methods.

The only way by which we can heighten the effectiveness of our guerrilla units is to arouse, organize and mobilize the broad masses of the people. As a matter of fact, we cannot make any start in guerrilla warfare without painstaking mass work. We must build the organs of democratic political power, the mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth, women, children and cultural activists; and the local armed forces, like the half-time local guerrillas, the militia, self-defense corps and demolition teams.

Under conditions of fascist martial rule, the enemy commits all kinds of barbarities to force the evacuation and reconcentration of the people (as in certain parts of Cagayan Valley and Bicol) and set up “civilian home defense forces” (as anywhere our operations have caught enemy attention) in order to destroy our guerrilla base areas and guerrilla zones. We must vigorously arouse and mobilize the people to oppose these impositions which wreak havoc on their lives.

Before shifting to another front, because we do not wish all our guerrilla forces to be caught in a decisive engagement in one front, we must recruit as many of the people's local armed forces as possible into our full-time forces, implant among the people underground units apart from those that may be easily pointed out to the enemy by renegades and assign a stay-behind guerrilla force to harass the enemy forces.

While the bulk of enemy troops are tied down in fighting the people of southwestern Mindanao and in protecting the fascist dictator in Manila, we must develop the guerrilla base areas and guerrilla zones in every region in the country and respond to the people's demand for armed revolution against armed counterrevolution. It is our stand that the development of guerrilla warfare nationwide is the best defense and support for every guerrilla base area and guerrilla zone. It is the nationwide concert of our self-reliant guerrilla forces in different islands that will weaken the enemy and strengthen us.

In line with developing nationwide guerrilla warfare, we must go by the principles of centralized leadership and decentralized operations. The regional Party committees must maintain initiative in their respective regions. All Party cadres and members must learn how to find their own bearing. Self-reliance and the style of simple living and hard work must be promoted.

Even as a regional Party organization is concentrated on developing one, two or three fighting fronts, a wide range of underground network should be developed for purposes of intraregional propaganda and communications and for liaison with the Central Committee. Two kinds of underground network must be developed: one that is exclusively a Party network and another that has a united front character.

We must build the underground not only in the countryside but also in the cities among workers and other urban poor, the urban petty bourgeoisie, businessmen and other forces that may be brought into the antifascist united front. We must assign Party cadres and members who can move about legally to urban work. Anyone who can no longer work effectively in one place must be shifted to another place where he can work effectively.

3. The Party membership remains small despite all previous proddings, including an expansion plan with a minimum and maximum multiplier. Our policy of boldly expanding our membership and not letting in a single undesirable stand.

The broad masses of the people are seething with hatred for the enemy and the political work conducted by so few of us has been very fruitful. Conditions are favorable for increasing our membership; we are aware of so many who are eager to join the Party. Our enormous tasks demand that we must cast away sectarianism.

It is true that for some time after the declaration of martial rule the recruitment of Party members was disrupted. The most militant progressive elements were subjected to repression and were regarded by the enemy as indicators of the Party organization. But there has been more than enough time to overcome the disruption. We must not let the number of Party members remain stagnant while the enemy continues its wild attempts to crush us.

We can turn a bad thing into a good thing. Under fascist martial rule, those genuinely eager to join the Party are ready to suffer a thousand cuts to overthrow the emperor. We must open the door for them and welcome them. There is a great advantage that their entry into the Party is under conditions of far greater secrecy than ever before and their training is immediately in the underground or with the people's army.

Even before the fascist martial rule, the recruitment of Party members was already painfully slow. It seemed as if the typical Party member never asked himself how good a Party member he remained by failing to develop others into becoming Party members. Our rate of organizational growth has continued to be extremely low.

We have long clarified that recruitment into the Party involves Party members recommending the most advanced elements from the revolutionary mass movement and the people's army, providing them with basic Party education, giving them tasks and assigning them to a definite Party branch or group.

The regional Party committees are entrusted with the task of combating sectarianism and enlarging our Party membership. They must submit as soon as possible to the Central Committee their recruitment plans. Upon our organizational growth, we can assume greater responsibilities and move forward in our revolutionary struggle.

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Down with the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique!

Long live the people's democratic revolution!

Uphold the unity of the Party and give full play to the initiative of the regional Party committees!

Strengthen the New People's Army and the underground in both rural and urban areas!

Take advantage of the every worsening crisis of the local ruling system and US imperialism!

Down with the two superpowers!

Long live the Third World and all anti-imperialist people of the world!

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought!

STRENGTHEN THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' MOVEMENT

May 1, 1976 (Special Issue)

In celebrating this day, we are reaffirming our conviction to strengthen the revolutionary movement of the masses of workers in the realm of the national democratic revolution in the Philippines as well as the international proletarian revolution.

The objective conditions are far more favorable at present in strengthening the people's revolutionary movement within workers' ranks. The Party needs only to deepen its roots within the workers' ranks and arouse, organize and activate them in a more militant and systematic way than before.

The fascist dictator Marcos, with the prodding of US imperialism, is continuously worsening his political tyranny and heightening the economic crisis to the detriment of the working class and other sectors of Philippine society. There is no other recourse for the broad masses of the Filipino people but to wage a heroic and valiant struggle.

The fascist acts suppressing the right to strike, the right to unionize, the total elimination or curbing of workers' benefits which were attained through decades of painstaking struggles; the lowering of wage standards amidst galloping inflation and the rapid increase of unemployment—are conditions that drive the workers to advance their struggles, not only economically, but also politically.

The masses of workers are aware that the fascist dictator Marcos is doing everything to amass more profits for the comprador big bourgeoisie at the expense of gravely limiting workers' wages. Many of the "export industries" and "vital industries"—where the right to strike is forbidden by the fascist dictatorship—are owned by the comprador big bourgeoisie, represented by US and other foreign interests and the local big bourgeoisie-landlord class.

There is a rapidly increasing awareness among millions of workers that they should unite as a class to protect itself from these onslaughts and more importantly, to link up with other sectors in order to enhance the effectiveness of their struggle. Today, the unionized workers are coming out from the narrow view of unionism lorded over by union aristocrats, lieutenants of

capitalism, since the early part of the 1950s due to the errors and irresponsibilities of the renegade Lava gang.

Instead of being overcome by fear, the masses of workers are being forced by the fascist dictatorship to unite and struggle in unison. The 30 workers' strikes held since October of last year until February of this year are just a signal of bigger storms to come from the Manila-Rizal area and other regions wherein the majority of workers are concentrated.

We dare to predict that before the end of the decade, a tumultuous storm will occur, a storm much bigger than the First Quarter Storm of 1970 and participated by more masses of workers than students. But this even will only take place if the Party—as the political party and vanguard of the working class—can effectively undertake its tasks.

In learning from the planned demonstration which failed to materialize on January 25, we should give more emphasis in doing secret political work within the ranks of the workers, and popularize mass discussions in exposing workers' demands; popularize more strikes, slowdowns, work stoppages, picketing and other forms of protests in various factories in preparation for bigger political demonstrations in streets, plazas, and even in front of Malacañang.

There are many holes and cracks that we can exploit in the dam put up by the fascist Marcos dictatorship to stem all political and economic struggles. The 30 workers' strikes have demonstrated the weaknesses of this apparatus. If the Party will give more time and effort, we can gather a big force that will burst the fascist dam.

The Party should strengthen revolutionary propaganda and agitation in order to heighten the political consciousness of all workers, whether organized into unions or not; whether the union is genuine or not. Moreover, it should undertake solid organizing work in the midst of such propaganda and organizing campaigns.

The scarcity of Party cadres assigned to work within the workers' ranks should not be a deterrent. The key to this problem is to rely on the workers themselves. That is why we created workers' committees long before martial law was declared. As an underground force, this type of committee can cope better with the present condition.

The workers' organizing committee is a tool for undertaking social investigation, developing revolutionary propaganda and studies in Marxist ideology, developing worker activists and mobilizing the majority of workers to

create new unions or change old ones in order to truly serve workers' interests in politics and economics.

In starting a committee, we should have as members of the core, workers that have potential as revolutionary activists in their workplaces. These advanced workers should comprise the majority if not the total membership of the committee. The Party may assign one, two, or three cadres from the outside to this core who may in due time transfer their tasks to local worker activists. There can be from five to ten members who can constitute a committee. Under a committee, subcommittees should be created within the largest department or section in a certain workplace. Thus, a bigger number of workers can readily advance forward.

We should propagate revolutionary struggles with the goal of striving to embrace the workers around just demands and to provide them with political education before any open mass action can take place. In time of open mass actions, more worker activists will be tested and the Party can then further recruit and expand its ranks.

The workers' organizing committee is a temporary tool for expansion. This will be dissolved when worker activists have been integrated in the ranks of the local union and when a Party branch has been established in the factory.

Worker activists who are party members should not monopolize the official positions of the union nor should they place into leadership positions of the union all those who are heading up the local party branch. There are two reasons for this: one is that we do not want the party branch to be destroyed or paralyzed by the enemy when it attacks the union; another is that the democratic character of the union must be upheld.

There are two ways we can expand our organizational work and broaden the propaganda among the working masses. One is to expand from one factory to another to forge the unity among the working masses. Another is to mobilize workers to form mass organizations in their communities so that they can reach other workers from other factories.

By being active in organizing their local communities, the workers can unite not only among their fellow workers but with other oppressed and progressive sectors of the population like the urban petty bourgeoisie. They can assist in the process of uniting workers' organizations with other organizations in the democratic movement.

In many communities of the Manila-Rizal area and other cities, the vast majority of workers should be able to fight off attacks of the fascist dictator-

ship that uses the barangays against them. Last January 25, the fascist dictatorship ordered the barangays to carry sticks and wait for workers who were scheduled to march from different points of the city.

The working masses can turn the table around and defeat the enemy's tactics of pitting workers against each other. The barangay can be used as a forum voicing out demands and complaints against the fascist dictatorship.

Under the leadership of the Party, the working masses should be able to effectively unite with other progressive classes and sectors of the population in the city in order to broaden and expand the antifascist and anti-imperialist democratic movement. The working masses are the largest, most productive but most oppressed, most concentrated, most progressive, and most important force of the democratic movement in the city. However, they need allies, just as their allies need them, in order to expand and mobilize the antifascist movement.

As an organization of the working class, the Party is working closely with the peasant masses to advance the worker-peasant alliance, which serves as the basis for the broadest national and revolutionary united front. Even if they maintain their jobs in the city and wage revolutionary struggles in their workplaces, the workers should realize their relationship to the peasant masses, and the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside.

The revolutionary workers' movement, although primarily legal for a long time, is a powerful political support for the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside. The workers must continue to undermine and shake the enemy resolutely. The working masses must continually undermine and shake the enemy which it daily surrounds in the cities.

At present, the revolutionary workers' movement can provide concrete support for the revolutionary armed resistance in the countryside. Party cadres who are workers are warmly received in the countryside. They should systematically be sent there, especially in regions where they grew up or established roots. They can also collect funds, medical and military supplies, medicine, clothing, etc., to be sent to the countryside.

In the distant future, general strikes or general uprisings of workers in the cities will be launched in coordination with general offensives of the New People's Army. The workers should realize the great task they must carry out to accomplish the seizure of state power nationally. After the seizure of state power and after the national democratic revolution, the historic task of

the working class will intensify more in the stage of socialist revolution and socialist construction.

In raising the political consciousness of the workers, it is not enough to tell them of their great role and task in the Philippine revolution; we should also raise their enthusiasm by relating the glorious history, the revolutionary victories and continuing struggle of the proletariat and people of other countries and encourage them to contribute to the revolutionary struggles of the international proletariat and the whole of mankind against the two imperialist superpowers and all forms of reaction and opportunism.

There are many twists and turns along the revolutionary path. No major victories are achieved by the proletariat without sacrifice and suffering. We should be determined to accomplish our just goals and do everything we can. We are sure to win victory.

NEW PEOPLE'S ARMY SEIZES 43 RIFLES IN CENTRAL LUZON

December 21, 1976 (Special Issue)

In simultaneous raids by several guerrilla units, the New People's Army seized a total of 43 rifles from the "civilian home defense forces" of the reactionary government in five barrios of Mabalacat, Pampanga last November 22. Confiscated were 30 semi-automatic carbines, 9 automatic carbines and 4 Thompson sub-machineguns.

The military operation was planned on the basis of the most detailed knowledge of the target barrios and was so smoothly executed that not a single shot was fired.

Success of the operation was made possible by painstaking social investigation and mass work by small armed units among the people in the target and adjoining barrios.

A new level of guerrilla operations has been reached in Central Luzon. To undertake the raids, the regional command of the New People's Army was able to call in and concentrate in three days' time an unprecedented number of guerrilla units from several guerrilla zones in Pampanga and Tarlac.

These were divided into three raiding detachments. The first and largest took on the adjacent barrios of Calumpang and Malupa. The second took on the barrio of Atlu Bola, some ten kilometers from the first two. The third took on the barrios of Kamatsiles and Biyabas, some seven kilometers from Atlu Bola.

The three raiding parties simultaneously moved into the barrios at 4:30PM and moved out at night under cover of darkness. The enemy was caught completely unaware.

Enemy resistance was rendered impossible inasmuch as the New People's Army made sure that they held the initiative, had local superiority over the enemy at the given time and were prepared for any exigency.

As a result of the successful raids, there are now 43 more armed guerrilla fighters that the Marcos fascist puppet dictatorship has to contend with in Central Luzon.

The victory of the New People's Army under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines serves to puncture the arrogance of the enemy. It proves that armed resistance is surging forward in Central Luzon.

At the same time, the Red fighters in Central Luzon are conscious of the danger of becoming complacent as a result of the victory. They continue to keep the spirit of hard struggle and prudence in preparation for some more victorious actions and also for the counteractions of the enemy who has been riled by their victory.

The victory is inspiring to the people's army and the people all over the country. It shows that within the country arms are in abundance and that these need only to be seized from the enemy by one tactic or another (raid, ambush or some ruse) so long as mass work has been done well and mass support is available.

Originally expected by the Marcos fascist dictatorship to serve as an instrument for making the people fight the people, the "civilian home defense forces" (previously known as the "barrio self-defense units") has turned out over the years to be a good source of arms for the New People's Army.

Grasping the basic law of materialist dialectics, we can easily see that when the enemy puts up "civilian home defense forces" he is actually spreading arms thinly in different barrios and that each of these barrios can be the target of our political work or concentrated military operation to effect the transfer of arms from the reactionary side to the revolutionary side.

REVOLUTIONARY MASS MOVEMENT DEVELOPING RAPIDLY IN MANILA-RIZAL

December 21, 1976 (Special Issue)

The year about to end has witnessed the rapid development of the revolutionary mass movement in the Manila-Rizal region despite intensified repression by the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique.

There have been two major upsurges in the revolutionary mass movement. The first upsurge was a militant 6,000-strong demonstration at Plaza Bustillos on December 6, was the series of 80 workers' strikes, starting October 1975 and continuing up to June 1976. The second upsurge was the series of indoor and outdoor rallies in October 1976 against the fake referendum-plebiscite.

The first upsurge gave impetus to the outbreak of a total of about 150 strikes in Manila-Rizal and more than 250 strikes in other parts of the country throughout 1976. In all strikes during the year, close to 300,000 workers participated.

THE FIRST UPSURGE

The number of striking workers during the first upsurge totaled more than 100,000 in Manila-Rizal. The strikes were the workers' militant response to extremely intolerable exploitation under conditions of fascist rule. The economic struggle of the workers easily assumed the character of a political struggle as the big capitalists and the Marcos fascist dictatorship connived to suppress the strikes with brute force and did so even more harshly when the enterprise is owned by the US imperialists and Marcos cronies and is classified as "export" or "vital" industry.

Bukluran ng Manggagawang Pilipino coordinated the workers' strikes and put out a regular publication and other propaganda materials to arouse the workers on a wide scale. The Trade Union Congress of the Philippines, a dummy organization of trade unions operated by labor aristocrats in the pay of the Marcos fascist dictatorship, was completely isolated and put to shame before the worker masses as it frantically opposed the strikes and apologized for the fascist dictatorship.

Side by side with masses of workers, the masses of slum-dwellers continued to wage their struggle against the fascist campaign of demolition and eviction. Urban poor mass organizations sprouted and spread in active defense of the people's interests. These organizations employed various forms of mass struggles including human barricades, assemblies, petitions and seminars.

Indoor and outdoor rallies were held and participated in by thousands from various walks of life. A mass action which started off as an indoor mass protest at Sta. Cruz Church turned into a protest march to Plaza Miranda on November 23, 1975. This was followed by an even more 1975, aptly timed with the visit of then US President Gerald Ford. The wave of workers' strikes gave rise to a mass rally on May 1, 1976 at De la Salle College from where 5,000 worker rallyists took to the streets despite police and military barricades.

On June 5, several thousands of slum-dwellers and their supporters held a mass meeting which they called a "people's academy" at the Manila Cathedral. They opposed the scheme of evicting them from the Tondo foreshoreland and other adjoining area along Manila Bay to make way for Marcos' private real estate venture in connection with big construction projects financed by World Bank loans and public funds.

With increasing ferocity and desperation, the fascist dictatorship tried to cow the burgeoning mass movement with threats and actual physical suppression. Striking workers, protesting slum-dwellers, students and even religious sympathizers were hauled off by the busloads in several instances and detained at military camps. Mass leaders and suspected Party cadres were made the target of selective arrests and detention in line with the enemy's bankrupt tactic of crippling the mass movement.

But the revolutionary mass movement had developed in depth and scope. By trying to suppress it, the fascist dictatorship is lifting a rock only to drop it on its own feet. More oppression engenders more resistance.

THE SECOND UPSURGE

The second upsurge of the revolutionary mass movement included the October 3 indoor rally at St. Paul's College, the October 10 Plaza Miranda rally and the October 16 indoor rally at San Marcelino Church. Each mass protest action was attended by several thousands of people. The biggest was the October 10 demonstration at Plaza Miranda, which was attended by about 12,000 people.

Various mass organizations took up the challenge of the Marcos fascist dictatorship to engage in “free discussion” in connection with the fourth farce, the “referendum-plebiscite,” intended to eliminate once and for all the interim national assembly and replace it with the “*batasang pambansa*,” a mere “legislative advisory council” composed of Marcos’ handpicked henchmen.

The fascist dictator wanted to show off the “stability” of his regime to the International Monetary Fund-World Bank conference which he was compelled to make a show of force and expose its antinational and antidemocratic character. On October 3, hundreds of troops and police and scores of military vehicles were employed to bar the assembled rallyists from marching on to the IMF-WB conference. On October 10, more troops and police, assisted by hooligans, attacked the Plaza Miranda demonstration, causing death to two and injury to several scores. The mass of demonstrators fought back heroically. On October 16, the fascist dictatorship again tried but failed to intimidate the people from holding an indoor mass rally of indignation.

At every mass action, the people shouted: “Down with martial law!” “Fight for democracy!” “Down with the fake referendum plebiscite!” “Down with the IMF and WB—instruments of US imperialism!” “Marcos-Hitler-diktador-tuta!” It was a period of massive dissemination of antifascist and anti-imperialist propaganda in Manila-Rizal and all over the country.

REVOLUTIONARY ADVANCE AND ENEMY REACTION

The first and second upsurges of the revolutionary mass movement in Manila-Rizal are the products of the worsening conditions imposed by the fascist regime on the people and of painstaking efforts to arouse, mobilize and organize the people by the Party and mass organizations of a national democratic character.

Because of the intensifying political and economic crisis, resulting from the abuses of the fascist dictatorship and the world crisis of capitalism, the spontaneous currents of protest tend to outrun the mass organizing efforts of the Party. However, the Party perseveres in strengthening itself, performing well its mass work and winning more allies so as to transform the spontaneous movement into an organized and well-directed revolutionary effort.

In reaction, the Marcos fascist dictatorship and US imperialist agents are intensifying their efforts to crush the revolutionary mass movement that is rapidly growing. The recent clampdown on two religious-run publications is part of their attempt to smash even that which they call the “Christian Left” among

the Catholic clergy and laity. Indeed, the fascists are so evil and so fearful of even the rustling of leaves such that they cannot even tolerate “social action projects” and “social exposure programs” of the Catholic Church.

At the moment, a composite group of Philippine intelligence agencies and the US Central Intelligence Agency are engaged in joint intelligence operations against national and Manila-Rizal personnel of the Party and allies in preparation for further assaults. These operations, dubbed “Icarus” and “Sunrise,” involve long-term surveillance and infiltration.

The Manila station of the CIA is obviously engaged in some double-dealing with the Marcos fascist dictatorship. While covertly cultivating an anti-communist and anti-Marcos “third force,” it also works with the Marcos fascist dictatorship in anticommunist and anti-people operations.

The Manila-Rizal Party organization has done well in its political work as manifested by the first and second upsurges of the revolutionary mass movement. The Party Central Committee has directed it to work even harder to arouse, organize and mobilize the masses and to be more vigilant against the evil activities of the enemy.

CPP, NPA IN EASTERN VISAYAS RECTIFY ERRORS, REDOUBLE REVOLUTIONARY EFFORTS

June 15, 1977 (Volume IX, Number 7)

After rectifying errors of the past and heeding specific calls in “Our Urgent Tasks,” the regional forces of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People’s Army in the Eastern Visayas are surging forward in rallying and organizing the masses to the national democratic revolution.

Ang Bayan correspondents reported that more than at any time since the CPP and NPA took roots in that region, the agrarian revolution is being given adequate attention and so is the establishment of peasant and other mass organizations.

The correspondents said the enthusiastic and militant support being given by the masses has enabled NPA units to evade the enemy’s “encirclement and suppression” campaigns and undertake operations of their own against small and isolated units of the reactionary Armed Forces of the Philippines.

One such operation was the ambush sprung by two squads of Red fighters on a nine-man enemy patrol at the Dolores River in Northern Samar last March 16.

The people’s guerrillas killed six of the enemy troops and wounded another. The other two escaped by stopping a passing motorized banca and using the passengers as shield.

The Red fighters also confiscated two M-16s, an M-79 grenade launcher, a .38 caliber revolver, several M-16 magazines and several hundreds of M-16 and M-14 bullets.

Party cadres and Red fighters credited the relatively rapid consolidation and expansion of the revolutionary forces in the Eastern Visayas to the step-by-step implementation of the agrarian revolution. The peasants in that region are among the most exploited in the entire country.

“Our Urgent Tasks,” a document promulgated after the Third Plenum of the Party’s Central Committee, took note of lags in the implementation of the revolutionary land reform program and called upon cadres and fighters throughout the country to give it sufficient attention.

Only thus can the Party and its military arm speed up the mobilization of the exploited and oppressed masses in the countryside, the document added.

“Our Urgent Tasks” said that as early as the successful establishment of the peasant organizing committee over a large area in the countryside, even if only in some scores of barrios, “it is possible to take such a simple and easy first step towards land reform as the reduction of land rent through the systematic withholding of a certain part of the crop without the landlords’ knowledge.”

Along with this, it called for campaigns to reduce interest rates and eliminate usury, arrange fair prices with merchants, promote savings, mutual aid and simple exchange of labor and non-payment of debts under the fascist regime’s usurious “Masagana 99,” and raise production and productivity.

The document pointed out that these can be successfully undertaken “only if the peasant masses are well organized, united and have a high level of political consciousness.”

One error of the past in the Eastern Visayas was that although cadres and fighters carried on revolutionary propaganda among the peasants, emphasis was on the antifascist rather than the antifeudal aspects of the struggle. Party cadres in the region said there also was neglect in carrying out agrarian revolution.

The latest report said corrective measures are now being taken and that the antifascist, antifeudal and anti-imperialist aspects are being given their corresponding emphasis in the rural as well as urban areas. So are the legal, semilegal and illegal forms of struggle and how these relate to one another.

Citing the case of the two fighting fronts in Samar, our correspondents said CPP-NPA units are now more conscientious and persevering in social investigation and in the campaign to lower the land rent, increase the wages of farm workers, and popularize simple forms of cooperation, especially among the poor and lower-middle peasants.

They also said that in the last two harvests, the share of the parasitic landlords was reduced not only in the rice fields but in coconut plantations of several barrios. The campaign has since been expanded to other barrios, they added.

The average reduction of land rent has been 20 percent. This brought immediate relief to the peasants. But even this percentage is small considering the intense exploitation of the peasants, according to our correspondents.

On the surface, the sharing ratio in many areas of the Eastern Visayas, especially in remote areas, is 50-50. The peasant and the landlord are supposed to share equally in the farm expenses and then split the harvest 50-50.

But the peasant virtually shoulders all the expenses, including those for seedlings and the food and wages of farm workers whose help he calls upon during the planting and harvesting. His share, therefore, comes to only a small percentage.

Adding to the peasants' hardship are the primitive methods of farming still prevailing and the government's utter neglect in water conservation and irrigation.

The peasants depend only on the rains, overturn the earth not by plows but by having their carabaos pace the fields repeatedly, and have no access to pesticides or fertilizers.

As the Party cadres and Red fighters pursue the revolutionary land reform program, they also give close attention to workers in mining and logging camps and to fishermen in the coastal areas. The mobilization of the fishermen is of great importance because of the many islands in the region, according to our correspondents.

In the military sphere, they reported that political and military training of full-time guerrilla units is being intensified. In preparation for armed confrontations with the enemy, the Red fighters conduct raid, ambush and other drills and combat maneuvers.

Among their ideological guides are "Our Urgent Tasks," "Specific Characteristics of Our People's War" and the "Selected Military Writings" of Chairman Mao Zedong.

In the urban areas of the region, meantime, efforts are being redoubled to mobilize the workers, the urban poor, the petty bourgeoisie and nationalist businessmen. Party cadres now have a clearer perspective of the supportive role of white area work to the armed struggle in the countryside.

PEOPLE'S RALLY HELD IN METRO MANILA; AFP'S MASS-ARREST SCHEME FRUSTRATED

June 30, 1977 (Volume IX, Number 8)

Bogus national independence and the curtailment of democratic rights were denounced at a militant demonstration held June 12 at the St. Joseph's College in Quezon City.

Some 1,200 people succeeded in entering the college compound before fascist troops sealed it off at 4:30PM. This started a 16-hour war of nerves between the demonstrators and the uniformed goons of the fascist regime.

The college was a virtual detention center. The fascist military padlocked all the gates and prohibited vehicular traffic in front. They surrounded the college with 500 PC Metrocom troops, policemen, barangay guards and intelligence agents. They had with them two firetrucks, two big Metrocom buses and 20 other vehicles.

Inside the college, the demonstrators refused to be intimidated. They proceeded with their militant rally. Revolutionary unity characterized the gathering of workers, urban poor, *batilyos* (fish handlers), nuns and priests, and students and others.

To open the program, they sang the national anthem and the Internationale, hymn of the world proletariat, with fists upraised.

One after another, the speakers condemned fake national independence and the suppression of democratic rights under martial law, and rallied the people to change the situation.

They expressed their anger at the fascist regime by shouting such slogans as "Marcos, Hitler, diktador, tuta!" (Marcos, Hitler, dictator, running dog!), "Ibagsak ang imperyalismong Amerikano at Hapones!" (Down with US and Japanese imperialism!), "Isulong ang pambansang demokratikong rebolusyon!" (Carry the national democratic revolution forward!), and "Mabuhay ang anakpawis!" (Long live the toiling classes!).

There were 500 others who were unable to get inside the college before the fascist troops sealed it off. At about 5PM, they suddenly appeared at the Chinese garden at the Luneta national park in Manila and held a 15-minute demonstration. They marched and shouted revolutionary slogans. Before the

park guards and the fascist military could get there, the demonstrators had dispersed and mixed with the holiday crowds.

Suspecting that the demonstrators at St. Joseph's College would stage a march, the fascist military refused to let them out at the end of their protest action at 6PM. The demonstrators formed a 17-person negotiating panel to talk to the fascist military. They presented the following demands:

- (1) They be allowed to disperse peacefully without being arrested.
- (2) Traffic be allowed to flow so they could easily hop onto jeepneys and buses.
- (3) All military personnel to be moved 100 meters away so the intelligence would be able to take pictures.
- (4) They be allowed to leave before 9PM so they could beat the curfew and not be arrested for "violating" it.

The fascist military agreed to open the gates at 10:30PM. But the demonstrators detected a trap. Powerful spotlights were trained at the gate and soldiers were concealed in the dark. They decided not to leave that night.

They formed defense units when the fascist military threatened to arrest them for alleged curfew violation. They also organized a "mini-government" and all important matters were discussed in a democratic manner. They shared what little food they had and showed fraternal warmth toward one another. They also flushed out a few spies who had sneaked into the gathering.

Vehicular traffic was flowing in front of the college the following morning. The demonstrators decided to test the situation. A jeepney left the college full of demonstrators. The fascist military stopped the vehicle at the gate and took pictures. But they let it go.

Then the fascist military tried threats once again. Brig. Gen. Prospero Olivas, PC Metrocom chief, warned the demonstrators still inside that unless they all went out in three hours, it would be "legal" for him and his men to resort to force.

But the fascist military was no longer in control of conditions. Because of organized moves by the demonstrators, foreign newspapermen who had been contacted the previous night were assembled at the college. Also on hand were the demonstrators' families and other allies.

The demonstrators decide to leave. They were photographed as they went out the gate and boarded passing buses and jeepneys. But because they kept

watch and continually assessed the situation, and because they mobilized help from outside the school, they frustrated the military's scheme to arrest all of them.

In their assessment of the events of June 12-13, the demonstrators said the 16-hour siege of St. Joseph's gave them new insights into how to fight the enemy more effectively. They also sharpened their skills at organization and flexibility in a tight situation.

By their June 12 demonstration, the aroused masses affirmed once again their courage and determination to stand up against the US-Marcos dictatorship.

With all its goons and arms, the fascist dictatorship cannot stop a determined and united people from asserting their democratic rights against exploitation and oppression. Bigger and more militant mass actions are even now being planned.

MASS CULTURAL WORK ADVANCES IN NPA GUERRILLA ZONES

July 15, 1977 (Volume IX, Number 9)

In the different parts of the country today where guerrilla zones have been established, Party cadres, Red fighters and cultural activists from the peasant masses lead in developing popular forms of art and literature which serve as effective weapons in arousing and enlightening the vast masses in the countryside and heightening their level of struggle.

In revolutionary mass meetings and other forms of gathering in the zones, the Red fighters and peasants participate in the singing of well-loved songs such as “Pagbalikwas” (Breaking Free) or the declamation of a poem such as “Ing Bayaning Erabalu” (The Hero Nobody Knows) written by a Red fighter.

In Montañosa, a member of the armed propaganda unit operating in the region spearheaded the writing of a short play about sufferings and resistance of vegetable farmers, woodcarvers and other oppressed sectors in Benguet, Bontoc, Ifugao, Kalinga-Apayao, and in the lowlands.

The experiences of the masses and the NPA in resolving their day-to-day problems, their hatred of the enemy and the intensification of the armed struggle are vividly depicted in different forms of art and literature such as songs based on traditional, popular or original compositions, poems with meter and rhyme, narratives, one-act plays, posters and comic strips.

Providing a rich basis for these literary and artistic works are the narrations of the peasants about their present oppressed conditions and their wholehearted support of the NPA. They speak by way of comparison:

In the old times, with the HMB [old people’s army], it was like carrying a box which contained something you didn’t know. Neither did you know where you were bringing it to, and so you easily got tired. Today, however, with the New People’s Army, you know that you are carrying a load of gold. It is heavy, but you’re not letting it go. That’s because you know what you have and where you’re bringing it to.

With these as raw materials, the cadres of the NPA can work in collaboration with artists from the people in creating literary and artistic works which raise the revolutionary consciousness of the peasant masses through correct

analysis of their problems, widening their perspective and guiding their revolutionary struggles.

The peasants in the guerrilla zones enjoy comic strips such as those appearing in *Kalatas Komiks-Magasin* and picture magazines and posters from socialist countries such as the People's Republic of China and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

The various revolutionary publications such as *Ang Bayan* and regional mass newspapers guide the masses in the study of the present problems besieging the country, the revolutionary mass actions spearheaded by workers and peasants and the bright future of the struggle for national liberation and democracy.

Even as the countryside is developing into cultural bastions of the revolution, cultural work in the cities, particularly in Manila-Rizal, continues to provide strong support to mass actions such as strikes, boycotts and symposia organized by workers, urban poor and students against the US-Marcos regime. These mass actions give birth to new songs, poems, skits, posters and other visual works which are loved by the masses.

Among the new works produced in the course of mass struggles are original compositions such as "Mayo Uno" (May First) and "Awit ng Bota at Gantso" (Song of Boots and Hooks), the latter being about the batilyos. Workers' slogans serve as basis for new poems, such as "Ang Laban ng Isa ay Laban ng Lahat" (One Man's Struggle is the Struggle of All).

Revolutionary culture will reach new heights as the Party directs all cultural cadres and mass activists to produce and collect new works of art and literature in the service of the struggle in the countryside and cities. To add vigor to this movement, the publication of *Ulos* as a national magazine for revolutionary works will be resumed. While the US-Marcos dictatorship continues to disseminate the bankrupt culture of imperialism, feudalism and fascism and to suppress progressive works by the literary and art circles, the revolutionary culture of the masses of workers and peasants continue to grow and develop as potent weapons in their struggles.

200,000 STUDENTS IN 10 SCHOOLS RALLY TO RESURGENT PROTEST MOVEMENT

July 31, 1977 (Volume IX, Number 10)

The resurgent student protest movement in Metro Manila has mobilized almost 200,000 students in 10 colleges and universities and was resolutely pressing the Marcos fascist regime to heed their just demands.

United under the banner of the Alyansa ng Mag-aaral Laban sa Pagtaas ng Tuition Fee (Students' Alliance Against Tuition Fee Increases), the school youth served notice they would continue boycotting their classes for as long as the Marcos government vacillates on their just demands.

In a meeting last July 28, 50 student representatives from the different schools assailed the regime's Department of Education and Culture and the school administrations for dilly-dallying on their demands. They also formulated a new set of demands, among them the following:

- (1) Remove all troops and spies of the reactionary Armed Forces of the Philippines from the school campuses.
- (2) Restore the student councils which are prohibited under martial law.
- (3) Freeze all tuition fee increases.
- (4) Roll back tuition fees to their previous levels and refund excess amounts collected by the schools.
- (5) Conduct a thorough investigation into the harassment and intimidation of students by school administrations.
- (6) Withdraw letters of school administrations threatening the expulsion of student leaders.
- (7) Stop the arrest and detention of students.

The Alyansa also demanded that the DEC stops authorizing tuition fee increases without prior consultations with the students concerned and their parents. It pointed out that while the regime had been freely granting every petition of the schools to jack up tuition fees, there had been no improvement in school facilities and the quality of education.

The presentation of the demands to the Marcos government followed mass walkouts of students at the University of the Philippines, Araneta University

Foundation, University of the East, Adamson University, Trinity College, Philippine College of Commerce, University of Santo Tomas, Philippine Women's University, Feati University and Philippine College of Criminology.

The resurgent student movement sprang up during the school registration period early last month. At the start, there were only a few scores of students at UP struggling against the arbitrary tuition fee hikes which were being imposed in the guise of “democratizing” the state university.

The ranks of the protesting UP students swelled to thousands as classes were scheduled to get under way. Parents and teachers also were mobilized when the Marcos fascist regime unleashed the PC Metrocom at UP's Dili-man campus.

The movement soon spread to the privately owned colleges and universities where the students protested the 15 percent increase in tuition fees which the Marcos regime had been authorizing yearly since the imposition of Martial Law in 1972.

The students found unity and strength in the Alyansa. They distributed resolutions and manifestos, held mass meetings and cultural presentations, and launched walkouts and boycotts.

The mass movement reached a high point the last three weeks when almost 200,000 students launched simultaneous boycotts in the 10 colleges and universities.

The Marcos regime's response to the students was measured brutality.

At UE and UST, security guards under the command of the fascist AFP officers arrested and detained some protesting students and waited to see if this would scare of the others.

This inflamed the student ranks further and mobilized many more to join the Alyansa. It also fired the students to demand not just a rollback of tuition fees but the removal of all AFP soldiers and spies from the campuses.

At press time, while awaiting the government's reply to their demands, the almost 200,000 students in the Alyansa were conducting mass work and further expanding and strengthening their ranks.

CENTRAL LUZON HOLDS SUCCESSFUL REGIONAL PARTY CONFERENCE

July 31, 1977 (Volume IX, Number 10)

The Party and the people's army gained significant victory in Central Luzon with the recent holding of the Regional Party Conference at which a new Regional Party Committee was elected and a three-year program was approved.

Following is the complete text of the communique that was issued at the end of the Conference:

The Regional Conference of the Communist Party of the Philippines in Central Luzon was held last June 1977. Leading Party cadres from the various territorial organs, regional departments and bureaus, and Party organs within the people's army in the subregional district guerrilla zones attended the Conference. The Central Committee, the Party committees of two adjacent regions, and two national organs under the Central Committee sent their representatives.

The historic meeting was formally opened by Comrade Amado Guerrero, chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

In his speech, he cited the glorious revolutionary history of the region, where the Party was reestablished and the New People's Army founded, and where the Party first took root among the peasant masses.

"It was here that the Party gained experience and the necessities for expanding armed struggle to other regions," he said. "Even when we had only one guerrilla zone in Central Luzon, the region already played a very big role not only in expanding our revolutionary work in the countryside but also in developing the Party's national propaganda and strengthening the urban mass struggle."

Even as the Party and the people's army have overcome the difficulties in advancing the revolutionary movement, Comrade Amado Guerrero issued the call:

Now that we are stronger than at any time in the past, let us not relax our enthusiasm, perseverance and vigilance. To grow even stronger, we must keep to the style of closely uniting the masses, criticism and self-criticism, and hard work and simple living.

The delegates and representatives of other Party organs engaged in a lively exchange of ideas in summing up nine years of revolutionary struggle in the region under the leadership of the reestablished Communist Party of the Philippines, assessing present conditions of society and of the revolutionary forces, and defining the tasks to be fulfilled.

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought was the beacon light for the Conference in the study of experience, examination of specific questions or problems, and drawing up of plans and decisions. The document “Our Urgent Tasks,” issued by the Third Plenum of the Central Committee, concretely and effectively defined the present conditions of our revolutionary work, as well as the immediate tasks and trends of revolution in the coming years.

The Conference arrived at a deeper understanding and a firmer grasp of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and its living application in the Philippine revolution. Our experience has shown that a poor grasp of, or deviation from, fundamental proletarian principles results in failure, while a firm and creative grasp of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought by the Party, the people’s army and the organized masses ensures the advance of the revolution.

Objective conditions are excellent, both inside and outside the country, for the advance and victory of the people’s revolutionary struggle. Internally, the economic crisis will continue and worsen in the years to come. The ruling classes are imposing heavier burdens on the people. While the worker and peasant masses sink deeper into poverty and petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie are going bankrupt, the foreign capitalists, comprador big bourgeoisie, big landlords and bureaucrat capitalists in cahoots with the Marcos dictatorship gorge on ill-gotten wealth.

The US-Marcos dictatorship’s political power is rapidly crumbling, and the hour will soon strike when the people’s fierce blows send it to its final destruction. Workers, peasants, petty bourgeois, national bourgeois and other progressive sectors and associations—all are opposing or defying the oppressive decrees promulgated by the US-Marcos dictatorship.

The people realize more clearly than ever that only armed revolution can change this social system and bring about genuine democracy and national independence. In the cities and the countryside, millions of people all over the Philippines participate in advancing the revolutionary armed struggle. At the end of the current decade and more so in the next, the revolution will rush onward even faster and nothing can stop it: not the local ruling

classes nor US imperialism, and certainly not the meddling of the Soviet social-imperialists.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is the leading force that has upheld and will uphold the basic demands of the people. It has provided and will provide correct and steadfast leadership to the people's revolutionary struggle. Upon the declaration of martial law by the US-Marcos regime, the Lava revisionist clique completely turned traitor and entered into an unholy alliance with the reactionary government, while Marcos' reactionary rivals such as Macapagal and other bogus leaders either retreated into silence, took flight or made peace with the US-Marcos dictatorship. But the Communist Party of the Philippines remained on its course, steadily persevering in the revolutionary struggle. It is this that has won us the support and the even more enthusiastic participation of the people in the revolution.

The ideological, political and organization strengthening of the Party is the decisive link in the further advance of the revolutionary struggle to victory. It will guarantee the spread and growth of the people's revolutionary struggle, and sweep aside the obstacles put up by the reactionary puppets of US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

Arousing, organizing and mobilizing the broad masses of the people in revolutionary struggle lays the basis for the development of armed struggle and the steady advance of the revolution to final victory. The history of Central Luzon proves that when the people grasp and support the Party's correct program, they are a decisive force in toppling the power of the exploiting classes.

Armed struggle is the principal form of struggle in the national democratic revolution. Only people's war can smash the reactionary state and establish the people's democratic dictatorship. We are presently in the stage of preparing and developing the revolutionary forces for people's war.

By waging and promoting different forms of mass struggle now, the people can be prepared for the all-around rise in the level of struggle. Mass struggles are the most effective means of arousing and mobilizing the great majority of the people to prepare for people's war. On the other hand, maintaining and advancing victories of mass struggles on all fronts are linked with the development of armed struggle in the countryside.

Armed struggle in Central Luzon is in the stage of expanding guerrilla warfare. The New People's Army has been and will continue to be the main Party organization in the countryside. It is the principal force in launching and developing armed struggle.

Today, the New People's Army in Central Luzon is stronger than at any time since the decisive defeat of the old people's army (HMB) in the 1950s. The New People's Army has increased its ability to concentrate its forces for tactical offensives from time to time. Extending over eight provinces of Central Luzon, its guerrilla zones have been established in strategic places of the region.

As if enacting a scene from the splendid future, the Party, the New People's Army and the revolutionary masses thwarted the biggest military operation ever launched by the enemy, who tried to seek out and disrupt the Conference. More than 500 PC, PA and PAF troops combed the mountainsides while the Conference was going on. But they found not even one shadow to chase.

With the approval by the Conference of the three-year Party program for Central Luzon, more and bigger victories will certainly be achieved by the Party, the New People's Army and the revolutionary people before the end of the 1970s.

The Conference elected the Central Luzon Regional Party Committee. The First Plenum of the Regional Party Committee was held immediately following the Conference. The Executive Committee and the Secretariat of the Regional Party Committee were elected, and important plans were discussed.

The holding of the Central Luzon Regional Party Conference is a decisive victory of the revolutionary struggle in the region over the last several years. It will definitely propel the revolution forward with more speed and more strength. The objective conditions are excellent, and the revolutionary forces, as indicated by the Conference, are correspondingly gathering strength. As a consequence, the people's revolutionary struggle will surely rise to new heights in Central Luzon.

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Long live the New People's Army!

On with the revolutionary mass movement!

On with people's war!

Down with US imperialism, feudalism and fascism!

Down with the reactionary government!

Long live the Filipino people!

REVOLUTIONARY NEWSPAPERS HOLD PROPAGANDA CONFERENCE

July 31, 1977 (Volume IX, Number 10)

A three-day propaganda conference of several revolutionary newspapers was successfully held recently.

Participating were representatives of the newspapers and two representatives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

In the first part of the conference, the participants gave a brief history of their respective publications. They then criticized themselves for their errors and shortcomings as reflected in the substance and style of their newspapers.

The conferees whole-heartedly accepted the criticisms of other comrades in the spirit of improving their work and further helping to arouse, mobilize and organize the broad masses of the people in the struggle against the exploiting and oppressive classes represented by the US-Marcos dictatorship.

After the criticism and self-criticism session, the participants discussed common problems, and agreed on steps to solve these problems and to forge close links and cooperation among them.

On the last day of the conference, the Central Committee representatives traced the history of the reestablished Party and of its military arm, the New People's Army. They pointed to the advance of the revolution in the different guerrilla zones and urban areas of the country's nine regions.

The Central Committee representatives pointed out that conditions for the advance of the revolutionary forces under the Party's leadership continue to improve, what with the successive crises brought about by the fascist dictatorship, the sharp divisions in the ruling classes, and the intensified exploitation and oppression of the Filipino masses.

The conference strengthened the ideological, political and organizations unity of the participants.

OPPRESSED KALINGA MASSES SUPPORT NPA MILITARY OPERATIONS

August 15, 1977 (Volume IX, Number 11)

Red fighters of the New People's Army have joined forces with the people of Kalinga-Apayao in carrying out armed resistance against the Marcos fascist regime which is driving the masses out of their homes and farms to make way for the Chico river dams.

Dangadang (Armed Struggle), revolutionary mass newspaper in North-western Luzon, reports that with the support of the revolutionary highland masses, NPA guerrilla fighters have ambushed scattered puppet troops of the fascist regime in the last few months.

The Red fighters have so far killed five government soldiers in these operations and seized two M-16s and plenty of ammunition from the enemy, according to the newspaper.

The first of these ambushes took place in Palpalayon, Tanudan, in April. Two puppet soldiers were killed. On May 12, the Red fighters killed a Sgt. Bulao in barrio Basao, Tinglayan, and on May 30, they killed C1C Rolando Mendoza of the pc detachment in Tanglag, Pasil. The most recent operation took place July 10, when Red fighters raided the PC camp in Basao and killed a puppet soldier. They seized two M-16s and many bullets.

In carrying out these operations, the people's army is giving vent to the people's anger over the forcible construction of four dams by the fascist regime on the Chico river up in the Cordillera mountains, from Bontoc to Kalinga-Apayao.

The entire project would submerge the homes and small landholdings of tens of thousands of Bontoc and Kalinga masses which have been built and cultivated over hundreds of years by generation after generation.

One major factor that has aroused the wrath of the affected Igorot masses is that they were never even consulted on a project that has a direct bearing on their lives. Characteristically, the regime drew up its plans and started implementation before making sham explanations to the people.

For the moment, the government is concentrating on Chico Dam 4, on the Kalinga-Apayao side of this province's boundary with Bontoc. But work has been interrupted time and again because of the militant resistance of the Igorots and their countrymen in the lowlands.

At the start, the masses and their *pangats* (tribal leaders) sent resolution after resolution to Marcos, telling him that his project would spell their death as a people.

When Marcos ignored these appeals, the masses escalated their resistance. They tore down the camps put up by surveyors and other technicians of the National Power Corporation at the dam site. They also confiscated the equipment of the NPC men and drove them off their lands.

The dictator reacted by instructing the puppet armed forces to arrest and imprison anyone who interferes with the project. Combining tactics, he also tried bribery as when he insulted an Igorot delegation by sending them off with some articles of clothing and some canned goods.

Marcos was rebuffed, as was his Presidential Assistant on National Minorities (Panamin). When Panamin chief Manuel Elizalde succeeded in bribing only a few corrupt *pangats*, he provoked violations of *budongs* (intertribal peace pacts) to make the Igorot masses fight among themselves.

The masses have successfully resisted these spitting tactics of the regime. On the other hand, they have been creative in widening their support of people overseas.

Marcos' bogus referendum last Oct. 16 gave them another opportunity to express their hatred for the regime. An independent newspaper of the religious, *Intercom*, reported a 100 percent boycott of the "referendum" by the villages of Tulgao, But-but and Tomiangan in Kalinga-Apayao, site of Chico Dam 4. Near-total boycotts were also reported at the proposed site of Chico Dam 2 in Bontoc.

The struggle took a higher form last February when militant Igorot men and women courageously swept past the guns of the fascist military to confiscate the tents, lumber and equipment hauled by the government to the site of Chico Dam 4.

Marcos' troops mauled the arrested men and women alike. At last report there were about 100 Igorot resisters in Camp Olivas and other detention center. They have staunchly refused to sign an "oath of allegiance" to the regime, a condition set for their release.

With all other forms of protest ignored and suppressed by the fascist regime, the Igorot masses are more enthusiastic than ever in joining the New People's Army to wage armed struggle against the enemy. The recent ambushes [...] by the NPA are just the start.

PERSEVERE IN REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE, SISON URGES KABATAANG MAKABAYAN

September 15, 1977 (Volume IX, Number 13)

A revolutionary storm is gathering in Manila-Rizal that will “surpass the first quarter storm of 1970,” Kabataang Makabayan founding Chairman Jose Ma. Sison said as he hailed recently the reinvigoration of the militant youth organization.

“The storm that will pound at the enemy will involve greater masses of workers and students than at any time in the past,” Sison said in a message to the KM rank and file.

In his analysis, there will be “repeated gigantic street demonstrations, each of which will be directly participated in by hundreds of thousands of marching workers and youths.”

The reinvigoration of KM and the resurgence of the democratic student movement, like the upsurge of the workers’ strike movement, he said, are part of the gathering storm. Revolutionary activists have persevered in painstaking political and organizational work among the youth and students through the first years of martial law.

Founded on Nov. 30, 1964, Kabataang Makabayan was at the forefront of the first quarter storm 1970, when great mass struggles were launched in Manila-Rizal and other urban centers.

Sison pointed out the need for a secret organization such as KM to link youth organizations in schools, communities and elsewhere. “Without this organization,” he explained, “the various struggles of the youth would become narrow local struggles that do not flow into one powerful revolutionary movement.”

Sison said:

I urge all members of Kabataang Makabayan to take seriously their membership in this organization. In the first place, it is a serious matter to join an underground revolutionary organization at a time that a fascist dictatorship is reigning over the land.

As members of Kabataang Makabayan, you can immediately contribute to the people’s effort to overthrow the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique and to take definite steps

forward in the long-term struggle to complete the national democratic revolution.

I am certain that more and more youth that are trained in revolutionary struggle by Kabataang Makabayan will eventually find their way into the ranks of proletarian revolutionaries and Red fighters, so long as their hearts and minds are truly with the toiling masses of workers and peasants.

At any rate, I wish to point out to all members of Kabataang Makabayan the three virtues of revolutionary militance, perseverance and vigilance. These must be developed through practical measures.

First of all, he stressed: “All KM members must be active in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the youth and linking them to the broad masses of the people on the national democratic line.”

He urged them to pay attention to propaganda work and united front building while taking a progressive stand on issues pertaining to the specific interests of the youth and to the general interests of the people.

On the other hand, he reminded KM members that they must “be tenacious, through the twists and turns of the revolutionary struggle,” explaining: “They must recognize that they are engaged in a protracted struggle to defeat not only the Marcos fascist dictatorship but also the forces behind it—US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.”

Sison cited the importance of promoting revolutionary studies “to enable the youth to become revolutionaries throughout their lives.”

He also emphasized the need to be sharper than the enemy. KM members, he said, must learn underground methods and outwit the enemy by combining legal and illegal methods.

More KM chapters must be formed throughout the country and all members should work with the workers and peasants and learn from them, Sison said.

Even as the revolutionary mass movement grows stronger in Manila-Rizal, he said,

There is also a gathering storm outside Metro Manila. The revolutionary forces in the countryside and the provincial urban areas have developed to a great extent since 1972. The revolutionary links between the cities and the countryside must always

be strengthened so as to secure the advance of the entire revolutionary movement.

Sison concluded:

Upon the growth of the revolutionary forces, the crisis of the ruling system cannot but become worse. Victory belongs to the people in the end.

IMPORTANCE OF MASS WORK STRESSED AS NPA MARKS 9TH ANNIVERSARY

March 31, 1978 (Volume X, Number 6)

On the tenth year of the revolutionary armed struggle, the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army must more than ever arouse, organize and mobilize the masses in their millions to fight militantly for their interests and put an end to the oppressive rule of the US-Marcos fascist dictatorship.

This was the central message in a speech delivered by a representative of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines to the Party cadres and Red fighters celebrating the ninth anniversary last March 29 of the establishment of the New People's Army.

"Conditions are excellent for the people's army to raise the level of guerrilla warfare," the Central Committee representative said. "We have the wide support of the masses. We only need to mobilize them in various ways and on the broadest scale to carry forward and win the revolutionary struggle."

The Central Committee representative expressed the Party and the army's firm faith and reliance on the masses—in their inexhaustible energies, creativity and initiative once they are aroused and see the correct path towards their emancipation.

The March 29 celebration, held in a guerrilla front in Luzon, showed in speech, drama and song the glorious history and deeds of the New People's Army, its basic principles and the bright future that it faces.

Even before March 29 arrived, cadres and Red fighters were already afire with its revolutionary spirit.

They heartily prepared to celebrate the day, nine years ago, when the Communist Party of the Philippines dared to form a new people's army, even with only a few men and a few rifles at the start.

For two days in every part of the camp, there were bright plans forming, vigorous singing, tireless rehearsals for a play written for the celebration, and a red banner and hammer and sickle being hurriedly finished.

Thus, when the program was about to begin at 7PM on March 29, there was no need to warm up the crowd. All at once, they burst into loud and militant singing.

Some songs spoke of a people rising up against their oppressors; and of the workers, peasants and other citizens responding to the call of armed struggle.

Others urged the Red fighters to serve the people wholeheartedly, to arouse and mobilize them so that the dream of freedom can be turned into reality, to rely on them as the real heroes and makers of history.

Leading cadres from various regions traced the roots and development of the revolutionary armed struggle in their areas—of how a few poorly armed men, with a firm belief in the justness of their cause, took root among their people and brought forth from them the bright blossoms of revolution.

All over the country, these blossoms are rapidly multiplying. This year, in every region, there has been a big leap in the growth and strength of the people's army. Not only have the cadres and Red fighters passed through and become steeled in the fire of big enemy attacks and campaigns, they have firmly grasped the lessons summed up from nine years of revolutionary armed struggle and are translating these into concrete victories and gains.

The cultural representations from the various regions showed vividly how deeply the people's army has taken root among the masses. In song, dance and poetry, the cadres and Red fighters unfolded the rich and lively culture which has sprung from the lives and struggles of the people. New songs and poems have been created as the process of breaking their chains sets free the people's minds and imagination.

The Red fighters also presented through narrative and action the start and growth of the revolutionary armed struggle.

Against the dark night lit up only by a big bonfire, hammer, sickle, red book and gun were raised to the sky to signal the people's awakening and taking their destiny into their hands. Workers, peasants, youth and students, intellectuals and other members of the oppressed classes stood together and expressed their readiness to fight and sacrifice until final victory.

The celebration ended with the cadres and Red fighters rededicating their entire being to the Party, the revolution and the masses, and with the singing of the "Internationale."

But until early morning of the next day, the spirit of celebration was still ablaze. All night, the cadres and Red fighters warmly exchanged experiences, summed up the lessons from the past and told stories of the people's support, steadfastness and determination in the revolutionary struggle.

In many other parts of the country, other Party cadres and Red fighters also raised their voices in song and pledged even greater victories and advances in the people's democratic revolution.

Even political prisoners joined their voices to the mighty celebration to show that the fire of struggle in their hearts continue to burn behind prison bars.

REVOLUTIONARY CULTURE BLOOMS IN MARCOS' DETENTION CENTERS

March 31, 1978 (Volume X, Number 6)

Their arms closely linked, the political prisoners stood fast and, with all their might, and the songs of struggle as they resisted the enemy's attempt to snatch comrades from their side and lock them up in other jails.

The fighting tunes and lyrics of their songs sprang straight from their defiance of the enemy and their lofty feelings towards their comrades and the masses of the people.

The occasion—when PC Metrocom troops attacked and beat up prisoners at Bicutan on July 11, 1977—once again demonstrated that culture can be a powerful weapon in the hands of the people, heightening their revolutionary unity and sharpening their determination to defeat the enemy.

A recent article in the newspaper *Liberation* (October 30, 1977) tells how different cultural forms—songs, poems, drama—have flourished in the US-Marcos dictatorship's political detention centers.

Well-known in the history of the Filipino people is the long poem “Florante't Laura” (1838), written at a time when the poet Francisco Balagtas was being persecuted and imprisoned. In this poem, Balagtas used allegory to describe the oppression of the Filipino people under Spanish colonialism.

In the 1950s, another great poet, Amado V. Hernandez, was jailed by the US puppet fascist regime. The experience inspired many fine poems, such as the famous “Lumuha Ka, Aking Bayan” (“Weep, My Country”), which predicts the uprising and liberation of the Philippines through armed revolution.

The sufferings and struggles of political prisoners today have given rise to a wide variety of forms of artistic expression, those that are newly created as well as those that have been handed down from earlier generations of revolutionaries.

At first, *Liberation* said, most of the songs in prison were those that had been popular in the First Quarter Storm of 1970. Soon, new ones were being written, such as “Nais Kong Lumaya” (“I Want to be Free”) and “Sumulong Ka, Anak-Pawis” (“March on, Workingman”). On the other hand, new lyrics were adapted to the old songs “Alerta” (originally a Katipunan march) and “Paghahanda” (“Getting Ready”).

When IPIL detention center in Fort Bonifacio was closed in 1975 and most of the detainees were transferred to Stockade 4 in Camp Crame, new songs were learned. New poems were composed, like “Ibong Malaya” (“Bird of Freedom”) and “Bilanggong Pulitikal” (“Political Prisoner”). New plays were collectively written and staged. With the arrival of prisoners from other regions, cultural life inside the prison was enriched even more with the revolutionary songs taught by the new arrivals, such as “Wang Wang” (an Igorot guerilla chant), “Tulayan” (A Tinggian song) “Agriing Ka, Agtutubo” (Ilokano) and “Diwang Walang Takot” (“Fearless Spirit”).

In 1976, prisoners from Stockade 4, Youth Rehabilitation Center and 5th CSU in Camp Crame were transferred to the newly built Bicutan prison. They brought with them the songs and poetry they had developed in their old detention centers.

When the Bicutan detainees were joined by scores of workers and urban poor of Manila, more songs were added to the common pool, like “Ang Martsa ng mga Iskwater” (“Squatters’ March”) and “Awit ng mga Batilyo” (“Song of the Fishhandlers”).

Since 1973, cultural programs have frequently been presented for the many relatives and friends who come to visit. Special preparations are made for occasions such as Christmas, Easter, June 12, May 1 and other special days.

“One important function of the songs, dramas and poems of the detainees is to bolster their collective steadfastness before and during mass actions like hunger strikes,” *Liberation* observed.

Cultural activities are flourishing not only in the prisons in the Manila area. The same thing takes place in provincial detention centers like Camp Olivas in Pampanga and Camp Vicente Lim in Laguna. Another aspect of cultural work by political prisoners is the production and sale of posters, greeting cards, pendants and other objects. Aside from helping them improve their livelihood, these craft works, by the messages they carry, also reach out to draw many more people to the revolutionary struggle.

“The richness of prison culture,” *Liberation* said, “shows that the fascist regime can never stifle the fire of revolution among those imprisoned for taking up the people’s cause.”

TRADITIONAL "BODONG," REAFFIRMS IGOROT UNITY VS. DAM PROJECT

July 31, 1978 (Volume X, Number 8)

Bontoc and Kalinga people recently concluded a *bodong* or peace pact reaffirming their unified resistance to the dams that the US-Marcos regime is setting up in the Cordillera mountains.

Hundreds of people from 10 barrios in the two provinces gathered last June 2-5, in barrio Bugnay, Tinglayan, Kalinga-Apayao, to participate in the *bodong* ceremony, according to *Ang Bayan* sources.

Many others wanted to attend, the sources added, but the people of eight barrios were so heavily guarded by Marcos' fascist forces that they could not join the *bodong*.

The Kalinga and Bontoc national minorities have been opposing, for the last 12 years, the construction of giant dams on the Chico, Pasil and Tanundan rivers. Not only will the dams deprive them of their livelihood but the people's entire way of life is seriously threatened if they are finally driven away and their ancestral lands are flooded over by the waters of the dams.

Participating in the *bodong* were the people of barrios Cagaluan, Tomiangah, Ngibat, Butbut Proper, Lukong, Buscalan, Bugnay, Betwagan, Anabel and Barlig.

At the democratic assembly, the people took turns in discussing their common problem. They decided to reconcile their former differences and forge a new *bodong* affirming their unity and, by this, the more effective pursuit of their struggle against the Chico dam project.

Led by their *pangats*, or traditional custodians of the peace pact, the people decided that not a single one of them would extend any form of help or cooperation with anyone connected with the building of the Chico dam. Particular mention was made of the fascist PC, Philippine Army (PA), PAN-AMIN, CHDF, and Kalinga Special Development Region (KSDR).

According to tradition, violators of the agreement are ostracized or cast out of the community, and "considered dead." They may not expect any kind of help from other *bodong* participants.

The proceedings were accompanied by festivities which further heightened the people's unity. By means of traditional and contemporary songs and dances, they enhanced their culture and gave it a richer content.

Many friends from the lowlands were there. They expressed their solidarity with the Kalinga and Bontoc people and promised to continue giving them various forms of support.

After the event, the visitors, accompanied by journalists, proceeded to barrio Ngibat to view the damage done to the village when it was shelled by the 60th Infantry Battalion (PA) last February 28.

Meanwhile, on June 30, members of the Association of Major Religious Superiors of Men and Women of the Philippines (AMRSMWP), holding their annual convention in Baguio City, sent a message to the Kalinga people.

The religious leaders condemned the "atrocities inflicted on [the Kalinga people] and the destruction of [their] land, property, and plantations." They also voiced support of the Kalinga struggle regarding the Chico dam project.

BENEFITS FOR WHOM?

The US-Marcos regime plans to construct four dams on the Chico and Pasil rivers, and four others on the Tanudan river. The whole project will cost P2.4 billion, to be borrowed from the US imperialist-controlled World Bank.

Marcos claims that the dams will boost the electrification of the entire Northern Luzon, and the irrigation program especially in Cagayan Valley.

But the real benefits are meant not for the people of Northern Luzon, but for the big foreign capitalists and big landlords.

The US imperialists, with their mines and logging concessions, need to have big amounts of electricity in Northern Luzon. Their corporations are fast shipping out the region's natural wealth, especially the resources found in the Cordillera mountains.

In addition, the US imperialists stand to make big profits from the project, from the high interest rates on the funds they are lending, and from the equipment they will sell to put up the dams.

On the other hand, irrigation facilities will be to the benefit of the big landlords in Northern Luzon. The biggest among them is Marcos, with at least 22,000 hectares in Isabela and Nueva Vizcaya, and thousands of hectares in other parts of the region.

Thus the Kalinga and Bontoc people have reason to revolt. If the projects push through the imperialists and local ruling classes will continue to rob

them of rich natural resources; it will also be the beginning of the end of their identity and culture.

About 342,000 hectares of land in Kalinga and Bontoc provinces will be submerged. To be included are many villages in the towns of Lubuagan, Pasil Tanudan and Tinglayan, and others in the towns of Tabuk, Bontoc and Sadanga.

About 15,000 families will be driven away. Many others will be forced out of the barrios and *sittios* in the watersheds along the banks of the Chico, Basil and Tanudan rivers.

The people will lose their means of livelihood. The project calls for the destruction of thousands of hectares of *payaw* or rice terraces, fields planted to coffee, vegetables and fruits, forest clearings or *uma*, and forests.

They are also fighting against the destruction of their *papatayan* or ancestral burial grounds, which are an important part of their customs and their way of life.

MILITARIZATION

Since 1965, when Marcos first ordered the National Bower Corporation to begin surveying the rivers, the people have been fighting to stop the project and to keep their lands.

But Marcos was anxious to start construction on the dams, so he sent fascist forces to try to suppress the people's struggle. Today, the barrios are saturated with elements of the 60th IB (PA), Task Force Hydra, MOREASCOM, PANAMIN, CHDF and KSDR. Outposts and camps have been built.

The militarization of Kalinga and Bontoc has resulted in the murder, torture, imprisonment and sexual abuse of hundreds of people. Houses, properties and crops are burned.

The people are harassed in other ways. The regime closed down many schools in Kalinga and Bontoc, and midwives and other medical personnel have been transferred elsewhere.

But the people of Kalinga and Bontoc have refused to be cowed, and they are stepping up their struggle not only against the Chico dam project but against the US-Marcos regime.

History has shown that the Igorot people have never accepted subjection by exploiters and oppressors. They know that armed struggle is the only way to victory.

FARM WORKERS, DETAINED AFTER PLANTING ON THE BIG LANDLORD'S PROPERTY

September 15, 1978 (Volume X, Number 17)

More than 100 sugarcane workers were arrested and jailed on July 30 in the city of Bago, Negros Occidental, because they planted food on a lot owned by a large landowner.

129 people were arrested during a dialogue between farm workers and Angel Araneta, the owner of the hacienda in Ma-ao village, Bago city. The dialogue was arranged by the military. After widespread public protests, the fascist military was forced to release those they imprisoned. During the dialogue with the landlord, the peasants refused to uproot the rice, bananas, sweet potatoes, corn and others they planted on Araneta's 12-hectare lot.

"We are hungry. We want to work but there is no work. Our children have stopped going to school. The land is vacant and not being used," reasoned the workers. Sugarcane workers are out of work for six months a year, waiting for the cane to be cut to take it to the sugar factory. During this time, farm workers do not get paid. (The daily wage for these peasant workers is only 7 pesos a day, if a minimum is given. Most often, they get paid for the entire season, thereby the pay is even less.)

Before they planted the crops, the farm workers told Araneta that they were willing to pay rent for the vacant lot within the 299-hectare hacienda. They intend to rent it for a year and plant food. The landlord refused their offer. When the farm workers confronted Araneta on July 30, fascist troops suddenly surrounded the meeting and arrested the peasants.

Eight officials and members of the National Federation of Tubuhan Workers (NFTW), including its board director, P. Edgar Saguinsin, were also arrested. Several organizations have condemned the detention of farm workers. Among them is the Free Legal Aid Group (FLAG), led by former senators Jose W. Diokno and Lorenzo M. Tañada, and Atty. Joker P. Arroyo. They also wrote to Marcos' Minister of National Defense, Juan Ponce Enrile, demanding the release of the detainees.

LAND REFORM

Bishop Antonio Fortich, who witnessed the arrest, also criticized the “ill manners and lack of common sense” of the fascist military. As a result, he resigned from the Church and Military Coordinating Committee, and he also asked other church representatives on the committee to resign.

“The release of the 129 detainees (is) a significant victory... in the work towards social justice in Negros, especially in the implementation of land reform,” said the Justice for Sugar Cane Workers Committee (JSWC) in Bacolod city.

The JSWC pointed out that the incident in Bago is “part of the larger and underlying problem of the exploitation of sugarcane workers caused by the hacienda system.” The committee added: “It is clear that land reform is one of the possible solutions to the problem of seasonal hunger (due to no work on the hacienda), which recurs in Negros every year.”

While the masses were starving, the vast lands owned by the absentee landlords were idle and the landlords were just waiting for a good opportunity to take advantage of it. The people’s determination to exercise their right to live and benefit from the land is just and correct, even though the reactionary state violently defends the landlord’s “right to private property.”

THE REVOLUTION ADVANCES IN THE 7TH YEAR OF MARTIAL LAW

September 9, 1978 (Volume X, Number 17)

As the US-Marcos fascist dictatorship enters its seventh year of oppressive and corrupt rule this month, the conditions are better than ever for the advancement of the national democratic revolution.

The strongest evidence of this is the accelerated expansion and consolidation of the Communist Party of the Philippines in all nine regions of the country: Northeastern Luzon, Northwestern Luzon, Central Luzon, Manila-Rizal, Timog Katagalugan, Bikol, Eastern Visayas, Western Visayas and Mindanao.

The continuing expansion and consolidation of the Party and its military forces, the New People's Army, draws strength from the strong support and enthusiastic participation of the Filipino people in the antifascist, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle.

On the other hand, the people's growing revolutionary support for the Party and the people's army stems from their complete rejection of the fascist regime and their increasing awareness of the fact that only the armed overthrow of the ruling clique and its fascist apparatus will redeem them from economic exploitation and political repression.

The US-Marcos faction imposed martial law on September 21, 1972 because it could no longer rule in the old way. The people of the country are now aware of the exploitation and oppression of American imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. More people are joining the national democratic movement.

Under martial law, the ruling classes intensified repressive measures against the people. This became its primary weapon. Deception continues to be used as a secondary tactic. But the regime cannot keep fooling everyone.

The people continue to be denied their already limited rights before martial law. They are increasingly being exploited for the benefit of American imperialism and its local accomplices.

“NORMALIZATION”

Today, after six years of the US-Marcos regime’s fascist rule, the oppression of the people is more intense than ever before.

The fascist puppet Marcos does not say anything about the “democratization of wealth” because the objective situation has been shown to the people that those are just words without meaning. He no longer brags about “freeing” the peasants from feudal oppression, because he knows nothing happened in his fake “land reform.”

Instead, he has asked the people to make more sacrifices as the economic crisis worsens at the end of the year.

In short, the people should expect nothing but more severe exploitation and oppression in the future.

As a consolation, Marcos promises “normalization,” the gradual return to “normal ways” before martial law. This is also a fraud, as demonstrated by the regime’s wholesale fraud and intimidation during the April 7 “election” for the fake “National Constitution.”

Under these conditions, the masses face these daily realities under martial law: reduced wages, rampant unemployment and underemployment; unrelenting increase in commodity prices, unrelenting tax burdens that sustain the parasitic Armed Forces of the Philippines and flashy and extravagant infrastructure projects; and repression of the political rights.

Then there is the daily brutality of the white terror of the reactionary state: spies everywhere; extortion by fascist troops; forced evictions and arson, both in rural and urban areas; and mass arrests, torture, assassination and murder.

At the same time, the regime has sold out the entire country. With more than P51.5 billion (over \$7 billion) in foreign debt, American imperialism is able to further tighten its stranglehold on the national economy, while growing exponentially by lending surplus capital.

MAIN BENEFICIARIES

American imperialism is the primary beneficiary of martial law, along with its local agents—the big bourgeois compradors and big landowners. This includes their closest and highest paid political and technical collaborators, which represents less than 2 percent of a population of 46 million people.

On the opposite side are the people—the workers, peasants, urban petit bourgeois and the middle or national bourgeoisie, who make up about 98 percent of the population.

The oppression and exploitation of the toiling masses of workers and farmers is the heaviest. Following them in the intensity of exploitation and oppression is the petty bourgeoisie and, finally, the national bourgeoisie.

These are the main contradictions in Philippine society. On one hand, the US Marcos fascist regime, which represents the narrow and selfish interests of the ruling classes, and on the other hand, the people, who number over 45,000,000.

It is true that there may be contradictions between Marcos and his American imperialist masters.

But their common goal is to increase the oppression of the people and keep the Philippines semi-colonial and semi-feudal.

At present, after six years of martial law, the people's lives have worsened. Below are some brief descriptions of their conditions:

THE WORKERS

Their daily wages have been pegged at P11, even though at three times that amount, a family still cannot afford to live decently. Their democratic right to strike, such as the right to form a free union and to assemble, is still suppressed.

EXPANSION OF THE WORKING CLASS

It is noteworthy that within the martial law, with the construction of more and more factories and businesses by the American and Japanese imperialists and their local compradors, the ranks of the working class have expanded.

As the workers improve in organization and in economic and political struggles against the big capitalists and the fascist regime, more are joining peasants in the armed struggle and take leading positions in the national democratic revolution and its subsequent socialist revolution.

The working class—the proletariat—is the most progressive and most revolutionary class in the history of the world.

THE PEASANTS

Peasants continue to suffer feudal and semi-feudal exploitation. Together with the workers, they constitute the productive forces of the people and their work creates enormous wealth. But like workers, they are exploited.

Peasants are aware that under martial law they do not own the land that they till with their very hands. They will never be able to pay the exorbitant price dictated by Marcos and the big landlords for the purchase of land.

The promise of “emancipation” under Marcos’ “land reform” will not be fulfilled. Peasant farmers are still victims of usurious policies of the US-Marcos group such as the “Masagana 99,”³ “Samahang Nayan,” etc.

The martial law regime even facilitated the direct imperialist exploitation of the peasantry. They are forced to buy expensive farm supplies such as pesticides, fertilizers and machinery, all big imperialist company products.

Like workers, peasants are denied the right to organize and form unions.

Because they make up the vast majority of the oppressed people, the peasants are the main fighting force of the revolution.

THE URBAN PETTY BOURGEOISIE

Professionals, students and others in this class are hit hard by the rising prices of goods and services that continue to erode their purchasing power on their fixed incomes. Their suffering is intensified because of the high taxes they pay and the suppression of democratic rights.

THE NATIONAL BOURGEOISIE

Although their situation is slightly better than the workers, peasants and petty bourgeoisie, businesses of national capitalists continue to go bankrupt; their businesses are quickly being eaten up by giant American and Japanese imperialist corporations. Most of them then become salaried managers, as a result of the anti-national policies of the fascist Marcos regime.

³ Masagana 99—an agricultural program initiated in 1973 to increase rice production through high-yielding variety (HYV) seeds, low-cost fertilizer, and herbicides. The program, supposedly led the Philippines to attain self-sufficiency in 1975–1976, but the credit scheme left poor peasants in debt and funneled cash to rich landlords.—*Ed.*

A UNITED FRONT

The workers support the peasants who make up the vast majority of the Filipino people in their basic alliance through the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, in order to lay the foundation of the national democratic united front. Especially in the past two years, more and more people are joining this alliance from the lower strata of the petty bourgeoisie. And as the revolutionary struggle progresses, the upper stratum of the petty bourgeoisie and progressive part of the national bourgeoisie are also encouraged to the revolution.

There are five political forces in the country today that can be divided into two: the revolutionary camp and the reactionary camp.

The vast majority of the people are in the revolutionary camp. They are forming mass organizations in every sector of society and are encouraged to actively fight and act in the people's war led by the Communist Party of the Philippines. The New People's Army is at the forefront of the revolutionary armed struggle. The revolutionary camp also includes the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) and its military force, the Bangsa Moro Army (BMA).

In the reactionary camp are 1) the US-Marcos fascist regime, its regular armed forces and paramilitary forces, 2) the anti-Marcos reactionaries, and 3) the renegade revisionist Lava group.

Let's talk about the reactionary camp first. The fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos faction is visible to all, because it controls the entire bourgeois state apparatus. It is primarily responsible for the exploitation and oppression of the people.

As can be deduced from their name, the anti-Marcos reactionaries oppose Marcos because he is monopolizing the political power they used to share. But like Marcos, they want to maintain the semi-colonial and semi-feudal nature of the people, and they themselves are willing to be tools of American imperialism.

At first glance, it could be said that their contradiction with Marcos worsened when he cheated them in the April 7 "election". But the truth is that they made a compromise. At the beginning of martial law, Marcos confiscated the properties of some of these reactionaries and imprisoned others. But not all.

Marcos allowed some leeway. He allowed some of these reactionaries some freedom to speak, organize and travel. Despite his "election" fraud, he still

opens the door to political opposition through the “National Constitution” and promises to hold local elections.

DEPENDENT ON IMPERIALISM

These reactionaries are now trying to gather the scattered forces of the oppositionist Liberal Party to prepare the political resistance against Marcos in the future. Some of them also formed the United Nationalist Democratic Organization (UNIDO also called “SocDem”), riding along with elements of petty-bourgeois revolutionaries and religious fanatics.

Although Marcos and his reactionary rivals were mostly trying to come to terms, there were still contradictions, because the anti-Marcos reactionaries kept reminding the American imperialists that Marcos was a burden to them. They continuously present themselves as a “reserve horse” for their American imperialist masters in case Marcos is removed. The anti-Marcos reactionaries are counting on the imperialists for a possible coup, but they are content with Marcos dividing the power between them.

Although in this article we list the renegade revisionist Lava group as a separate “political force,” in reality they have surrendered to Marcos. They have a “united front” of fascist puppet dictators who are allegedly against American imperialism. The leaders of this group hold high positions in the bureaucracy. Some of their cadres are assigned to government agencies, such as the Ministry of Agrarian Reform, and help in the “implementation” of the regime’s “land reform”.

Lately, the “leaders” of the Lava organizations have launched a “revolution” through a flurry of statements and letters in Marcos’ periodicals, in which they praise Marcos for his alleged pursuit of the “national development” (whatever that means). This opportunist group is supported by the Soviet socialist imperialists, who are just waiting to intervene between the American imperialists and the Philippines.

RED POLITICAL POWER

Let us now examine the revolutionary camp—the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People’s Army, and the Moro National Liberation Front and its military force, the Bangsa Moro Army.

All over the country today, in Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao, the Party boldly promotes the great flag of the revolution. Through the people’s army, it gradually established red political power in the countryside. And through

various revolutionary mass organizations, the Party continues to integrate more and more workers, peasants and petty bourgeois into its ranks.

The Party and the people's army suffered losses in some regions during the early years of martial law. But while the enemy is preoccupied with "search and destroy" operations in these regions, the Party is expanding to all other regions. Not only that, since then the revolutionary movement has regained the areas occupied by the enemy.

Now, as martial law enters its seventh year, the NPA is waging a people's war, from Luzon to Mindanao. Back then, the general emphasis was on expansion first, then consolidation; now, consolidation is first and expansion is second. Party cadres and Red fighters are sharpening the ideological, political and organizational work in 13 large-scale guerrilla fronts throughout the towns and raising them to the level of guerrilla base. At the same time, in Mindanao, the MNLF and its army are working wholeheartedly in the armed struggle for the right of the Moro people to self-determination.

STRUGGLE OF THE MORO PEOPLE

The MNLF must be defined as having a revolutionary part, a reactionary and submissive part. The submissive part consists of a few opportunists who were deceived and have sold out to the fascist regime. For the past year or so, the regime has been desperately trying to split the ranks of the MNLF/BMA, as it cannot win on the military front. The regime built an "organization," the so-called "Bangsa Moro Liberation Organization" (BMLO) and claims that the MNLF is disintegrating.

When no one paid attention to the "BMLO," which was led by pro-Marcos bourgeois politicians, the regime instead installed an opportunistic MNLF leader as the "chairman" of the Front, allegedly replacing Nur Misuari as head of the Central Committee of the MNLF. This plan also failed, as evidenced by the persistence of the MNLF and BMA in the armed struggle outside the fascist regime, in the defense of the rights of the Moro people. The MNLF and BMA continue to engage large sections of the reactionary AFP in guerrilla operations in many parts of Mindanao.

In the coming years, the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army will raise the armed struggle to a higher level and will complement and support it with larger and more daring revolutionary mass actions in the cities and provinces. The mass struggle in the cities and provinces will draw strength and inspiration from the armed struggle in the countryside.

Even the conditions in the world are in favor of the successful development of the democratic people's war in the Philippines. At a time when the movement of the peoples of the third world against the intervention and aggression of the two superpowers—American imperialism and Soviet social imperialism—Marcos has been trying to put himself at the front of the world stage. He wants to make people believe that he is really fighting against his boss.

But the revolutionary Filipino people cannot be stopped from shouting their complete rejection of his anti-democratic and puppet regime. Wherever they are, patriotic Filipinos overseas make that voice heard by all the people of the world who love justice and freedom. They passionately support the armed struggle of the Filipino people, which is part of the powerful current of revolution that is sweeping the world. The national democratic revolution continues to advance towards definite and shining victory.

MAY 1: WORKERS' MOVEMENT RESURGENT SHOWS THEY GRASP THEIR HISTORIC ROLE

April 30, 1981 (Volume XIII, Number 8) [incorrectly cited in original volume as: January 31, 1979 (Volume XI, Number 1)]

We greet the coming of May First this year at a time when the workers' movement has been clearly resurgent, and the armed revolution led by the political party of the working class has been reaping unprecedented gains.

Some 100,000 workers have gone on strike throughout the country since late last year in the following lines of industry: public transportations, manufacturing, mining, oil refining, agribusiness, hotel and restaurant, and banking.

Following the workers' lead, teachers, clerical employees and professionals also called strikes in the past five months. Through their organizations, they have raised demands for higher salaries and more allowances.

A significant part of this resurgence of the workers' movement is the political and organizational consolidation of the workers' movement—the proliferation and strengthening of open and clandestine groups and associations, from small study groups in factory departments to big confederations.

Through their strikes, marches and other mass actions, the workers are pressing their demand for increases in their wages which have been severely diminished by skyrocketing prices. The 27 percent hike in the daily minimum wage in the past year and a half falls miserably short of covering the 77 percent increase in gasoline prices alone over the same period.

Likewise, through various forms of action, including their defiance of the regime's anti-labor laws, the masses of workers keep on pressing for the removal of all restrictions on the right to strike. They have also been pressing for the genuine lifting of martial law.

By their heroic struggle which is supported by other sectors of the people, the workers are frustrating the dictatorship's attempt to prevent or break their strikes. They defy the strike ban in "vital industries," the 30-day notice, the requirement of a vote before striking, the rule limiting strikes to economic issues, and the ban on strikes called by non-recognized unions.

The workers are undaunted by threats from the regime's Ministry of Labor and Employment (MOLE), violent assaults conducted by military forces and

paid goons on their picket lines, arrests, manhandling, termination and suspension from work.

Numerous strikes have been going on one after the other, and often even simultaneously, in the face of stiff restrictions and outright suppression by the regime. This is a big achievement in itself of the workers' movement. The workers are tempered in the act of fighting the reactionary state itself which is a distinct political development for them.

Aside from this, strikes have also won for the workers some of their demands—wage hikes, payment of allowances withheld before, some improvements in working conditions, reinstatement of terminated and suspended workers, and termination or transfer of abusive supervisors.

Even the Marcos regime's act of throwing down or promising crumbs from the banquet table of big foreign and local capitalists results only from the overall advance of the militant workers' movement.

The movement of workers who are in the countryside consciously links up with peasant movements to take up common issues or to support the anti-feudal struggle.

The masses of Filipino workers are indeed contributing in no small measure to the overall advance of the anti-fascist, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist movement.

RECOGNITION OF THE WORKERS' ROLE

The fact that the working class holds the leading role in Philippine society and revolution is underscored by the resurgence of the broad and militant workers' movement and, more importantly, by the active and correct leadership of the workers' political party—the Communist Party of the Philippines—in the revolutionary-struggle of the entire people.

Comrade Amado Guerrero pointed out to us why the working class (proletariat) has the historic duty to lead the people's struggle for a free and democratic society. In *Philippine Society and Revolution*, he said:

The industrial proletariat is the most advanced force of production in the country today. It is internationally associated with the most advanced force of production in the imperialist countries and the world in general. It is associated with the most advanced form of economy, socialism. In the whole history of mankind, the proletariat has emerged as the most advanced

force of production by creating the modern means of large-scale production. On the basis of its economic status and political experience, the proletariat has become the most advanced political force internationally and nationally.

The great Karl Marx, together with Frederick Engels, was the first to point out the special role of the proletariat in the history of mankind, that of all the classes that stand to face the bourgeoisie, the proletariat alone is thoroughly revolutionary.

From the experiences of class struggle throughout the history of mankind, Marx drew out the principles which now comprise the most advanced scientific thinking of the proletariat—Marxism. In the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (written in 1848), Marx and Engels called on the workers of the whole world to unite, face the bourgeoisie in their respective countries, and liberate mankind from all forms of exploitation. “The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains,” they said. “They have a world to win.”

The Communist Party of the Philippines correctly applies the lessons of Marxism, which have been enriched by Vladimir Lenin and Mao Zedong. More and more from the ranks of the workers and the entire people are zealously studying the most basic lessons of Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Zedong Thought and the most important points of its correct application to Philippine society and revolution—the national-democratic line.

Workers in ever-increasing numbers are being recruited into the Party. More and more workers are going to the countryside to join the New People's Army. An even bigger number is comprised by activists in the burgeoning workers' movement in the cities and central towns and even in isolated mines and logging camps.

Through the perseverance of cadres and activists working in underground study circles, cultural groups, committees of unions and federations, and in other worker aggrupations, open or secret, the deep social roots of problems in the factory are explained well to the masses of workers.

Strike issues are linked clearly with the general evils of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, and the strikes and other actions of the workers are linked to the overall struggle of the people for national freedom and democracy.

The most advanced elements among the working class grasp the lesson from Marx and its application to Philippine society: “The proletarians can-

not become masters of the productive forces of society, except by abolishing their own previous mode of appropriation, and thereby also every other previous mode of appropriation.”

In Philippine society, the working class cannot liberate itself from capitalist exploitation unless it liberates the whole Filipino people from semi-colonial and semi-feudal exploitation and oppression.

The Philippine proletariat performs its bounden duty through the correct leadership of the Party and the heroic participation of the masses of workers in the people’s democratic revolution. And this revolution has been winning victories that have no parallel in any other period of the country’s history.

MASSES, NPA SHOW FINE EXAMPLE OF HOW TO DISINTEGRATE CHDFS

January 31, 1979 (Volume XI, Number 2)

The revolutionary mass movement in the countryside is wrecking the reactionary government's scheme to use CHDF paramilitary forces in blocking the advance and growing strength of the armed struggle led by the New People's Army.

Two recent reports, from Ifugao and Pampanga, prove that victories are won by the revolutionary people when they are firmly united and uphold the armed struggle that is destroying the enemy's strength in the vast Philippine countryside.

In Ifugao province, the people of several barrios acted together to dismantle a PC-CHDF unit that had been established to break up the close ties between the masses and the people's army and cut off the former's support for the NPA.

When the fascist unit was set up in 1977 in barrio Loboong, Banawe, the people were told they would have to live in the barrio center, and they were then forced to stay at the CHDF headquarters and near the schoolhouse, according to *Dangadang*, mass newspaper in Northwestern Luzon (September 1978).

The people were prohibited from leaving the barrio, working in their small clearings, gathering firewood and continuing with their woodcarving. On the other hand, they were given no other source of income.

While the people were kept like prisoners inside the barrio, the fascist military exploited and abused them even more. Extortion, threats, maulings and shooting incidents were common.

So a mass campaign was launched to smash the PC-CHDF unit in the barrio. The people militantly protested and refused to obey their orders. Their relatives pressured individual CHDF members to resign.

People in the neighboring barrios of Bokiawan, Hapao and Nunggulungan, meanwhile, made common cause with the Loboong residents' struggle. They fought against the PC-CHDF order forbidding travel between the different barrios.

On March 3, 1978, an MPA unit ambushed and killed an abusive PC trooper who was one of those leading the CHDF unit in Loboong. “The people were overjoyed,” *Dangadang* reported, and fear struck the hearts of the fascist military. From then on, the CHDF unit in Loboong began to crumble. Its members left the barrio one by one, others resigned. The two remaining PC soldiers were forced to return to their own camp.

WEAPONS ARE RECALLED IN PAMPANGA

Last December 15, in Pampanga, the reactionary military recalled the weapons issued to CHDF units in 25 barrios in the town of Mexico, fearing their seizure by the NPA.

The order to recall the arms was issued by Camp Olivas, PC-IMP Region III headquarters, aiming to prevent their confiscation by the people’s army, according to the mass newspaper *Himagsik* (January-February 1978).

Those peasants who had been forced to join the CHDF were glad to have been disbanded. It meant that they would have more time to work on the farm, which had been neglected because they were required to do guard duty at CHDF headquarters and join raiding operations against the people’s army.

Others, who had committed crimes against the people, lived in terror upon losing their guns, *Himagsik* said. Many of them took to sleeping in the municipal building while others left the town.

The NPA had carried out a series of operations to disarm CHDF units, the latest of which was the raid on Tuklong, Sta. Ana, Pampanga, last November 17. Thirteen rifles were added to the arsenal of the people’s army in this raid.

But the reactionary government has not given up its CHDF program. According to a new policy, CHDF members must devote their full time to counter-revolutionary activities. Instead of receiving salaries from the reactionary government like the regular troopers, they have been promised P100 monthly, to be paid by the peasants in the barrio. In addition, each farm-worker is being required to give P2 to provide CHDF men with cigarettes and snacks.

The reactionary state wants to increase the total number of CHDF personnel, who now total 75,499 all over the country, according to the regime’s Defense Ministry. Plans are being made to recruit young people who are being given military training in school under the CAT program, for example. These youths will be used as additional forces in the campaign to suppress the people rising in struggle.

But the parents are fully aware of the senselessness of sending their children to die in the service of the fascist dictatorship. Thus, they are not allowing their children to become tools in the reactionary state's vicious scheme.

Acting together, the people and their army are dismantling CHDF forces all over the country, and the latter's weapons are being seized and used to overthrow the US-Marco dictatorship's fascist rule.

STRIKES PREPARING WORKING CLASS FOR LEADING ROLE IN REVOLUTION

January 31, 1979 (Volume XI, Number 2)

Moro strikes broke out in various parts of the country in recent months, proof that the working class is growing more conscious of the need to lead other democratic classes in the struggle against exploitation and oppression.

One of the most recent was the strike declared by 800 workers of the Balayan Sugar Central, Inc. (BSCI) in Balayan, Batangas, last January 15.

Stopping operations, the workers presented 21 demands, including job reclassification, standardization of wages, free hospitalization, sick leave, security of tenure and removal of armed guards inside the central during working hours.

The workers, who are members of the Bisig ng Batangas Labor Union, first struck in April 1978 when the management refused to recognize their union. The strike was successful, but it was followed by the arrest of union leaders.

Last January 19, the Ministry of Labor ordered the workers to return to work within 24 hours, otherwise their strike would be declared illegal. The workers refused. Up to this writing, the strike is still going on.

The principal stockholders of the BSCI are Soledad Dolor, a big landlord and assemblywoman in the bogus Batasang Pambansa, and the Philippine National Bank.

HACIENDA WORKERS

In Victoria, Laguna, some 400 workers of the Fernando-Cayco Farms struck last December 14 demanding higher wages, 13-month pay and Christmas bonus, according to Balita ng Malayans Pilipinas (December 31, 1978).

The hacienda harvests 130 *cavans*⁴ of rice per hectare. The hacienda's big income is further proven by the recent procurement of tractors and the hiring of an agriculturist receiving P29,000 a year.

The workers are also fighting against the management's selective granting of sick leave and vacation leave, low rates for overtime and for work on the night shift, indiscriminate lay-offs, low retirement pay, and the abuses of the overseer.

⁴ A *cavan* is 75 liters.—*Ed.*

BMP also reported that students of the University of the Philippines at Los Banos showed their solidarity with the workers by joining the picket line and soliciting help for the strikers. The fascist military fired shots into the air in an attempt to break the strong unity of the students and workers, BMP said.

Also in Mindanao, striking workers of the Davao Chewing Tobacco scored a victory when the management was forced to give in to their demands.

The strikers, who are all women, fought for the implementation of the minimum wage law, vacation leave, sick leave and maternity leave, aside from free hospitalization and Christmas bonus.

According to *Asdang*, revolutionary newspaper in Mindanao (December 1978), the strike started November 6 and ended November 14. The MOL and the fascist military harassed the strikers by breaking the picket line and arresting 12 picketing workers while a negotiation was going on.

After a few weeks, the workers faced another maneuver by the capitalist who announced his plan to close down the factory which produces chewing tobacco, allegedly because of his losses and his old age. Because of this, the militant women workers are waging new forms of struggle to safeguard their right to work.

ANOTHER STRIKE IN MINDANAO

Also successful was the strike of some 400 workers of the plywood division of Vicmar Development Corporation in Cagayan de Oro City, also in Mindanao.

By waging a strike which lasted 20 days, from November 14 to December 4, the workers forced management to pay their salaries which had been delayed for five months, according to *Asdang* (December 1978).

The military again interfered in this strike. The National Intelligence and Security Agency (NISA) interrogated the strike leaders in an effort to force them to admit who “incited” them to strike. But the militant workers firmly replied that their exploitation forced them to unite and fight.

Meanwhile, the Federation of Miners of the Philippines (FMP) demanded the lifting of martial law in some parts of the country and the restoration of the right to strike, in resolutions approved at their convention last December 10 in Manila.

The federation could have gathered more courage to demand the lifting of martial law in the entire country, and refused to be fooled by the so-called normalization program of the US-Marcos fascist regime.

The FMP called for full restoration of the workers' right to strike, an across-the-board wage increase, the right of workers in government-controlled or -owned corporations to unionize, and the passage of a law requiring union membership for every worker.

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL STRUGGLES

Those struggles clearly show the intensifying economic struggle within the system ruled by US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

Economic struggles in the factories are only initial steps, although they are necessary and justified. The toiling masses must take the decisive step of raising their economic struggles to the level of political struggles to attain true democracy and prosperity.

In the document "Our Urgent Tasks," the Party Central Committee makes this call:

We must promote the strike movement and must make it so widespread and so intense to demonstrate to the entire nation and people that the fascist ruling clique and the big bourgeoisie are so puny and weak and so rotten to the core. We must promote the economic strikes and transform them into political strikes and political demonstrations. We must hit the big bourgeoisie (the foreign monopoly capitalists and the comprador big bourgeoisie) the hardest. The rate of exploitation is highest in their enterprises.

The document also stated:

In this time of severe economic crisis, the masses of workers are stirring and pushing forward their economic struggle. We must get into this economic struggle and raise it to the level of the political struggle so that the entire working class will not only be able to fight most effectively for its own interests but also link itself fully with the rest of the people in the powerful flow of the people's democratic revolution.

RESISTANCE RADIO STATION SET UP ON PANAY ISLAND

February 15, 1979 (Volume XI, Number 3)

A fighting radio broadcast went on the air from somewhere in the Panay mountain ranges last January 1.

Radio Madya-as is aired by the national democratic movement in Western Visayas. Initially it made two separate transmissions that lasted about three hours.

According to *Daba-Daba*, mass newspaper in Aklan and northern Antique, Radio Madya-as' first broadcast was in Aklanon, Ilonggo, Pilipino [Filipino] and English at 1:10am. News and commentaries from revolutionary newspapers were read, as well as various manifestos issued by people's organizations. Revolutionary songs and poems were also aired, each one followed by a short discussion from the announcer.

The second broadcast, from 3:15 to 4:50am, was in English. Topics discussed covered the US-Marcos dictatorship's plan to hold local elections, the reactionary state's scheme to suppress and destroy the revolutionary mass movement in both the city and countryside, and international news.

Barrio people celebrated the start of a radio program that is truly intended for them and dedicated to their service.

FASCIST REGIME EATS OWN WORDS; NPA FLOURISHES IN CAGAYAN VALLEY

March 15, 1979 (Volume XI, Number 12)

It was the night of December 31, 1978 that the revolutionary masses of Cagayan province (Cagayan Valley) went into action.

On business establishments, electric posts, walls, markets, buses, jeepneys and tricycles in the Cagayan towns of Appari, Lallo, Gattaran, Baggao, Amulung and Tuguegarao, the masses strung up streamers and pasted posters in militant support of the revolutionary movement and firm opposition to the US-Marcos fascist dictatorship.

The slogans proclaimed: “Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!”, “Long live the New People’s Army!”, “Long live the people!”, “Smash martial law!” and “Carry the armed struggle forward!”

Still other slogans read: “Fight for democratic rights!”, “Combat military atrocities!”, “Stop military operations!”, “Stop evacuations!”, “Reduce the prices of commodities!” and “Increase wages!”

The massive “Operation Poster-Streamer” was the people’s reply to the order of the fascist dictatorship to “eradicate” the NPA in the region by the end of 1978.

The order was given by the regime’s defense minister, Juan Ponce Enrile, a native of Cagayan. In response, the 21st Infantry Battalion (Philippine Army) and other units of the reactionary Armed Forces of the Philippines, launched O-Plan (Operation Plan) “Aurora Borealis.”

Earlier, the fascist regime had beefed up its paramilitary forces in the region by creating what it calls the “posse comitatus,” an enlarged version of the notorious CHDF, with town mayors leading these units.

A SLAP ON MARCOS, ENRILE

Administering a stinging slap on Enrile and his master Marcos, the people in the region displayed a fine example of revolutionary initiative and boldness and, in the process, showed how vulnerable the forces of the martial law regime are.

In front of the church near the 21st IB camp in Temblique, Baggao, the people put up a large streamer reading “21st IB Kriminal!” The streamer

stayed on until after noon when the puppet soldiers finally mustered enough courage to remove it.

In retaliation, the fascist military conducted searches on people's homes in the Baggao town proper. They found nothing.

And in Gattaran, the regime's most diehard puppet, Mayor Fruto Elizaga, was terrified when he discovered a people's streamer right in his municipal hall. The streamer read: "Smash martial law!"

Actually, this was not the first time the regime had bragged about "wiping out" the NPA in Cagayan Valley. In the early months of martial law in 1972–73, Brig. Gen. Tranquilino paranis, commander of the regime's Northeast Command (Noreascom), had boasted of "sanitizing" the Sierra Madre mountains in a short while.

FIVE BIG ENEMY CAMPAIGNS

Many years have passed since then, and despite the five big military campaigns by the enemy, the people's army has sprung back time and again and continue to gather strength day after day.

The first of these operations was the one launched by 7,000 enemy troops from 1971 to August 1972, the second, from September 1972 to March 1973, the third, from December 1975 to March 1976, the fourth from December 1977 to the first quarter of 1978, and the fifth, code-named O-Plan "Aurora Borealis," which ended, last December 31.

The NPA not only has survived all these counter-revolutionary campaigns of the enemy but continues to flourish. The mass actions on the night of December 31, 1978 attest to the NPA's close links with the people in the region.

The advance of people's war in Cagayan Valley can also be gleaned from the statement issued by the Executive Committee of the Party Regional Committee on December 26, 1978 commemorating the 10th anniversary of the Party's reestablishment.

The committee reported through its official organ, *Lagablab* (Flame), that since the first regional Party conference in August 1977, the Party and people's army have made big strides in the region, especially in mass work. It said:

Party Members, Areas of Operation Double

We more than doubled the number of towns we operate in, compared to those before the conference. Where we used to operate almost exclusively in mountain areas, we are now in touch with

the masses in the foothills, lowlands and even in some provincial capitals and key towns in the region. The political prestige and influence of the revolutionary movement... has reached areas beyond our areas of operation.

Since the conference, the Party membership has also more than doubled. Because the majority of new members come from the ranks of local mass activists, Party work has advanced in the localities and among revolutionary mass organizations, and local Party organizations have acquired bigger roles. This offers an excellent condition for the expansion of the mass movement. It also lays a strong foundation for the development of our guerilla warfare.

...Our regional Party organization is now stronger ideologically, politically and organizationally.

Of the regional Party conference of August 1977 itself and the program it drew up, the executive committee said these pinpointed fundamental errors in the region in past years, launched a rectification campaign and strengthened inner Party unity, deepened comprehension of Marxism, and advanced revolutionary work.

It was after the 1977 conference that the Party led the revolutionary forces in breaking through enemy blockades from the narrow areas they had previously been confined in so they could carry out mass work in more towns than before.

NPA SCORES MILITARY VICTORIES

While concentrating on mass work, Party cadres and Red fighters have also been carrying out military operations against scattered enemy forces.

Among the most recent are the followings

- (1) Red fighters ambushed a PA patrol in Mabirabira, Gattaran, Cagayan, last December 9. They killed three puppet troops and wounded another, and confiscated two M-16 rifles, two ammunition belts, magazines and ammunition.
- (2) Red fighters killed five puppet troops and a CHDF member at the boundary of San Mariano and Benito Soliven, Isabel, last October. They confiscated five M-16s, two Garand rifles and hundreds of ammunition.

- (3) In San Pablo, Isabela, Red fighters killed three mercenaries and confiscated two .45-caliber pistols and a .38-caliber revolver.
- (4) In an encounter in Hagan, Isabela, they killed an AFP officer and seized his M-16 rifle.
- (5) In an ambush in barrio San Lorenzo, Hagan, Red fighters killed three sergeants and seized their arms—two .45 pistols and a .38 revolver. Dead on the spot were T/Sgt. Eladio Gubguban, S/Sgt. Romeo Blando and Sgt. Martin Balatan, intelligence officers of the 5th IB (PA).

Meanwhile, the peasant folk of Bunugan, Baggao, Cagayan, are still talking about how a youth activist seized an M-79 (grenade-launcher) from a patrol of the 21st IB (PA) on the night of last November 28.

According to the report, the puppet soldiers were tired after checking up on a nearby barrio. The youth activist waited for them to fall asleep and then sneaked into their ranks to seize the M-79. He fired at the soldiers before making contact with the NPA and turning over the weapon.

As in other parts in the country, the Party organization and NPA units in the Cagayan Valley enjoy the people's support.

This the regime itself was forced to acknowledge when December 31, 1978 came and went and the NPA continued to flourish in the Cagayan Valley.

In a radio interview, in Cagayan, key AFP officials in the region admitted before Enrile their failure. Some of their remarks went like this:

“...The NPA is highly mobile...” “...When we conducted military operations in Cagayan, they were in Isabela...” “...When we conducted operations in Isabela, they were in Cagayan...” “...Their mass support is good and very effective.”

VARIOUS REGIONS TRACE NPA GROWTH SINCE ITS FOUNDING

April 30, 1979 (Volume XII, Number 8)

Ang Bayan has continued to receive reports and news items from the different regions about the celebration of the 10th anniversary of the New People's Army last March 29.

Larab (Spark), revolutionary mass newspaper in Eastern Visayas, traced the rapid advance and growth of the people's army in the region.

According to the paper's editorial, the Party Regional Committee formed the first people's army unit from seven Red fighters armed with two automatic carbines, one semi-automatic carbine, one belt-action rifle and homemade guns primed with match heads.

In August 1973, the unit began operating in the hinterland barrios of the towns of Calbiga, Pinabacdao, Sta. Rita and Basey in Western Samar.

Today the people's army has several regular guerrilla squads and platoons, all well-armed, and several hundreds of people bearing home-made rifles, organized into militia units.

Of the 70 towns in the island of Samar, 40 are now part of the guerrilla zone and fronts of the three provinces of Eastern, Northern and Western Samar. Numerous military actions have been successfully carried out since the first ambush launched by the people's army in barrio Nabutasan, Calbiga, on May 20, 1974.

As the New People's Army enters its 11th year, [*Larab* said,] we must all exert ourselves to make it grow bigger and stronger, for it is the Party's leading mass organization in the advancement of the armed struggle, the principal form by which we crush the class enemies. We must try to improve the skills and quality of our Red commanders and fighters. We must try to win victories in the tactical offensives launched by the New People's Army units.

Silyab (Flame), mass newspaper in the Bicol region, gave an account of the celebration held on March 29 by Red fighters and the revolutionary people in a barrio of Albay province. Marking the festivities were songs, poems and speeches by the people's fighters and the masses. There was also a short play showing how reactionary troops abuse the people.

In its editorial, *Silyab* recalled the beginnings of armed struggle in the Bicol region, starting from the initial efforts of three Red fighters in Tigaon, Camarines Sur, in 1970, the rapid expansion to nearby towns, and the first NPA attack launched in Iriga, Camarines Sur, on August 21 of the following year.

From 1973 to 1975, the newspaper went on, 400 enemy troops were deployed in Sorsogon province. They were met by the combined forces of the NPA with its rifles and the revolutionary people, with their hidden pits, traps and other native means of defense. “The people in this province truly came to realize that their well-being depends on the revolution,” *Silyab* added. Criminals disappeared and the peasants got a much bigger share of the harvest. But these gains were negated when several leading cadres turned traitor.

Today, however, the revolutionary movement in Bicol is picking up again, having become richer by many previous lessons. The NPA continues to grow bigger and more vigorous in the region, with the people’s firm support.

IN THE PHILIPPINES AND ABROAD

Northwestern Luzon’s mass newspaper *Dangadang (Armed Struggle)* cited the growth in numbers and in strength of the New People’s Army not only in the region but all over the country. Armed struggle is being waged by the Party and the army with the firm support of the people, and it is winning more and more victories, the newspaper added.

It was not only in the Philippines, but also overseas, that the revolutionary people celebrated the 10th anniversary of the CPP and NPA. *Ang Katipunan*, organ of the Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP), reported that about 250 Filipinos and Americans gathered at the Mission Cultural Center in the city of San Francisco in California last January 7 to mark the Party’s anniversary. Discussions centered on the history of the reestablished Communist Party of the Philippines and its leading role in the revolutionary movement.

Speakers from the KDP and the International Association of Filipino Patriots (IAFP) gave talks on the different aspects of the struggle and reported on the stages of the Party’s development since its reestablishment on December 26, 1968.

The meeting, which lasted for over two hours, also featured revolutionary songs describing the struggle of the Filipino people against the martial law regime and US colonial domination of the Philippines.

The Party’s anniversary was celebrated not only in San Francisco but in other US cities like New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Seattle, Los Angeles,

San Diego and Washington D.C., and in Hawaii. The occasion was also marked in the cities of Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver in Canada.

PEASANTS, MAIN FORCE OF REVOLUTION, STEEL SELVES IN MASS STRUGGLES

May 15, 1979 (Volume XI, Number 9)

As people's war in the Philippines advances to a higher level, the role of the peasant masses as the principal force of the people democratic revolution becomes more important than ever.

Like their class brothers in various other parts of the country, the peasants of Cagayan have been launching massive, organized and united actions against abuses by fascist soldiers of the US-Marcos dictatorship. They are also opposing projects of the Marcos government, which have been harming their interest rather than helping them.

According to *Baringkuas*, revolutionary newspaper, the Cagayan peasants' recent series of mass actions started last February 26 when more than 2,000 of them demonstrated in front of the church in Gattaran town to denounce the cruelty and abuse of soldiers of the 21st Infantry Battalion of the Philippine Army. They also demanded the ouster of Gattaran Mayor Fruto Elizaga.

The demonstrators said they were fed up with the excesses and repression committed by Elizaga and members of the "peace comitatus" which he heads. Not a few people have been killed, tortured and humiliated by Elizaga and his goons.

Last March 10, more than 600 peasants from six barrios of Lallo town marched to the town center and distributed copies of an open letter to the mayor. The letter denounced abuse by soldiers of the 21st IB assigned to eastern Cagayan.

In Tuguegarao, capital of Cagayan, some 700 peasants from Lallo, Gattaran and Baggao met with Gov. Teresa Dupaya and three town mayors on March 24. The peasants presented to them a petition against military abuses in their respective barrios.

In the town of Temblique on April 1, 1,000 peasants rallied while 2,500 others demonstrated in San Jose town. The mass actions started as early as 5AM when the peasants left their homes with placards and streamers.

Temblique demonstrators assembled at the 21st IB headquarters. Col. Antonio Palafox, battalion commander, was forced to listen to the peasants'

grievances and to promise action on these, especially those that have to do with his soldiers' abuses.

NIA PROJECT OPPOSED

The peasant Bassos of Lallo and Gattaran demonstrated again on April 24. Some 2,000 of them assembled at the Lallo municipal hall and marched towards the town of Camalaniugan to protest against projects of the National Irrigation Administration which had been destroying their farms.

They were stopped by the mayor of Lallo and his goons before they could get to their destination. Twenty of the peasants were arrested and brought to the PC barracks in Aparri town where they were beaten up.

The peasant masses persisted in their protest action despite the intimidation, arrest and manhandling by the fascists. On the contrary, the fascist abuses served to strengthen their determination to fight the oppressors and exploiters.

On April 30, more than 4,000 peasants from Lallo, Gattaran and Baggao assembled for a demonstration in Tuguegarao, Cagayan's capital. Soldiers of the 117th PC Company stopped them right at their assembly points.

But more than 1,000 of the protesters slipped through the enemy cordon and, with their streamers and placards, proceeded to Aparri instead and held their demonstration there.

The enemy arrested 72 peasants in the April 30 mass action, including several barangay captains and barangay councilmen.

These mass actions are enriching the experience of the peasant masses to enable them to carry out their task, along with the working masses and other oppressed classes, to bring about the downfall of the present ruling system.

True, they suffer increased oppression in the process, but they know that this is just a part of the struggle, and that the struggle itself is steeling them to become the revolutionary movement's invulnerable force.

Hundreds of thousands of them are active in the mass organizations led by the Communist Party of the Philippines in the countryside. It is noteworthy that the majority of the Red fighters of the New People's Army come from the peasant class, the principal force of the people's revolution.

PATRIOTIC HEALTH WORKERS FORM NEW MASS ORGANIZATION

May 31, 1979 (Volume XI, Number 10)

Progressive members of the health sector established recently a mass organization to work for the fulfillment of their revolutionary aspirations. This is the Makabayang Samahang Pangkalusugan (MASAPA), or Nationalist Health Association.

It is the aim of these members of the sector—doctors, nurses, dentists, midwives, pharmacists, medical technicians, sanitary inspectors and others—to take part in the revolutionary movement which is laying the foundation for a national democratic society that would truly look after the health of the Filipino people.

In a document ratified at its first national conference entitled “The National Democratic Program for the Health Sector,” the MASAPA discussed the people’s state of health, the root causes of their health problems, and ways of cutting the roots of these problems.

The association pointed out that the people’s health problems are part and parcel of the present exploitative system which must be overthrown so that a comprehensive national democratic health system can be established.

The nation’s health is in very bad shape under the US-Marcos fascist dictatorship. Pneumonia and tuberculosis which are now under control in developed countries remain the two top killers of the Filipino people.

The MASAPA gave statistics showing that 80 percent of the national population is malnourished, and that for every 1,000 babies born, 55.3 die in infancy.

Due to the grave lack of health manpower and facilities, 62 out of every 100 Filipinos who die receive no medical attention.

To give an idea of this lack, the MASAPA said that in the rural areas, there is only one nurse for every 20,000 people. It added that in sizeable areas of Mindanao, only one public health physician is expected to serve every 38,520 population.

There is also a serious shortage of hospital facilities. Metro Manila has the most hospitals, but these are not enough to serve the people in the region. Only one hospital bed is available for every 626 people.

IT'S WORSE IN THE PROVINCES

The situation is worse in the provinces where there are less hospitals. In Camarines Sur, there is only one bed for every 1,712 people, and in the Cagayan Valley region, one bed for every 1,152.

In the face of this serious lack of health personnel and facilities, the US-Marcos regime shows indifference. In the current national budget, the regime allocates only P1.3 billion to the nation's health needs while it appropriates P5.5 billion for the fascist military.

Their knowledge of the deplorable state of health of the Filipino people and its causes brought the MASAPA members together. They are aware that their sector plays an important role in developing a new and progressive health system.

As a preliminary step, the MASAPA adopted a seven-point program at its first national conference on December 30, 1978. The program calls for measures to:

1. Combat the imperialist domination of the Philippine health industry.

US imperialism and other foreign capitalists dominate the health industry of the Philippines. Because of their monopoly, they have reaped huge profits and occupied a strategic position in the entire health system.

From 1967 to 1971, for instance, the Walter-Chilcott Laboratories (Phils.), Inc., made a profit of P11.09 million, or more than 600 percent of its initial investment. Richardson-Merrel (Phils.), Inc., earned a net profit of P8.4 million, or more than 400 percent of its capital stocks, and Parke-Davis and Co., Inc., recorded profits of P5.5 million, or more than 200 percent of its initial capital.

Through massive advertising campaigns, the imperialists develop among the people a dependency on their expensive drugs and medical equipment for which less expensive substitutes are available locally. Health workers themselves have been brainwashed into prescribing these drugs.

Enlightened members of the health sector must take an important role in the struggle to break the foreign domination over the health industry and towards nationalization of this industry. Native health knowledge and practices must be developed and elevated to the level of science. Research work on the country's herbs and other raw materials for medicine must be improved.

EXPOSE AND OPPOSE ENEMY PROPAGANDA

2. Oppose the use of health as a tool of the US-Marcos fascist dictatorship.

The US-Marcos regime uses health programs to mask the imperialist exploitation of the country, deceive the people and maintain its rule.

Projects of such front organizations as USAID, Panamin, Catholic Relief Services and the Peace Corps are conspicuous in areas of the countryside where the people's armed revolutionary struggles are raging. Their aim is to show that the US-Marcos regime is taking care of the people's health when in fact it is neglecting them.

Health workers must carry forward the most vigorous propaganda campaign to expose and oppose the fascist dictatorship's use of bogus health care to support and glorify its existence.

Their propaganda movement should be situated within the broad ongoing propaganda waged to make the people aware of the realities of imperialist and feudal rule.

3. Develop health programs to strengthen the revolutionary mass movement in the urban as well as rural areas.

The MASAPA called for the setting up of programs that would fill the needs of the revolutionary movement in the cities and the countryside.

In the countryside, such programs must arouse, mobilize and organize the peasantry for the agrarian revolution. They must go hand in hand with the effort of building basic mass organizations of peasants, youth, women, children and cultural activists in the barrios.

In the cities, health programs must contribute effectively to the development of a broad people's democratic movement that is distinctly anti-fascist and anti-imperialist and supportive of the antifeudal movement in the countryside.

SERVICE IN THE PEOPLE'S ARMY

4. Gather the most extensive support of the health sector for the armed struggle.

Health workers can make big contributions to the armed struggle advancing in the countryside. Some may become Red fighters of the New People's Army. Others without having to join the army can assist in developing the health system in guerilla fronts.

They can conduct training courses in guerilla bases and zones on simple diagnosis and treatment, minor surgery, acupuncture, herbal medicine, first-aid, nutrition and food preservation, and others. They can provide direct medical, surgical, dental and nursing services.

5. Uphold the democratic right of health workers to organize and fight for their genuine welfare.

Like the worker and peasant masses, the petty bourgeoisie to which most health workers belong is exploited and oppressed under the fascist regime. The nurse's salary is as low as P263.33 a month. Even doctors are badly paid. Government physicians, for instance, receive a monthly minimum wage of only P800. Many resident physicians in city hospitals receive only P350 a month even after five years of intensive medical training.

Unemployment is also rampant among health workers. According to the Philippine Nurses Association, 25 percent of all registered nurses have no jobs.

The regime has been exploiting the problem. Instead of attending to the country's lack of health services, it has been sending nurses to such countries as Papua New Guinea and Saudi Arabia to earn badly-needed dollars for the regime.

6. Work for a reorientation of the health educational system and propagate a nationalist and democratic health consciousness.

Institutionalized health education is grossly Western-oriented, highly commercialized and isolated from the people. This is the inevitable result of US imperialist domination of Philippine society.

Health workers must wage a determined campaign to reorient the system of health education and remold the values of health students, workers and professionals. Either in schools or in their sphere of work, they must continually expose and oppose colonial and elitist values in health care.

7. Promote solidarity with all progressive health workers abroad and seek their support for the revolutionary struggle.

US imperialism is the ultimate culprit behind the crisis of health in the Philippines. But despite its distinct local manifestation, it is an international phenomenon and is inextricably linked with the problem of world capitalism.

The MASAPA said that health workers could make a special contribution to the forging of an international anti-imperialist unity by promoting solidarity among all progressive health workers of the world. They must develop the closest links with all progressive health workers in other countries, especially those under puppet governments and fascist dictatorships such as the US-Marcos fascist regime.

While struggling against US imperialism, the health workers must also be alert to the maneuvers of the other superpower, Soviet social-imperialism, which seeks hegemony throughout the world.

The MASAPA also called upon Filipino medical workers who are abroad to return to the Philippines, serve their countrymen, and participate directly in the people's democratic revolution.

THE FASCIST REGIME IS LIKE A CONFUSED FIREFIGHTER

June 30, 1979 (Volume XI, Number 12)

With the raging armed struggle in the vast countryside, the advantages of the archipelagic character of the Philippines to the revolution are becoming increasingly apparent.

The fascist US-Marcos regime is like a confused firefighter who does not know which fire to put out, as multiple guerilla fronts of the New People's Army, supported by the masses, have launched attacks.

At present, the forces of the revolution are small and weak, but by increasing their number and strengthening them, the specific characteristics of the country's geography will be more useful in dispersing the enemy forces. Small units are easier to crush. From the initial disadvantage, the fact that our country's terrain is dense can be turned into an advantage.

According to the latest report by *Ang Bayan*:

- (1) Three automatic rifles were confiscated by a NPA unit when they ambushed seven members of the 21st Infantry Battalion of the Philippine Army (PA) on April 18 in Pangalbatan, Baggao, Cagayan.
- (2) Four mercenary troopers were killed and three others wounded in the ambush, which was enthusiastically supported by the revolutionary masses. The armament of the people's army was increased by one M-203 (combination of M-16 and M-79 grenade launcher), and two M-16 rifles including ammunition.
- (3) In Eastern Visayas, the fascist military has launched a major operation against the NPA and the people. In newspapers controlled by the regime, the enemy claims that it is winning. But in actual combat, the opposite is true. For example, the reported deaths in battle of Red fighters, particularly in the towns of Matuginao and Gamay in Northern Samar, are simply not true.

ENEMY OPERATION IN SAMAR

It was also reported in news outlets controlled by the regime that there was an encounter between NPA and reactionary troops in Bangon, Gamay, on June 1, in which two were killed, one was injured and three were cap-

tured among the town's guerrillas. The truth is that it was a fake encounter between two "enemy" groups. One was a unit of the Military Intelligence Group (MIG) which was pretending to be an NPA unit harassing the local people, and the other was a group from the National Intelligence and Security Agency (NISA).

The enemy operation was a reaction to a series of successful tactical operations by the NPA in recent months in Samar, especially the raids on four towns in April and May (*Ang Bayan*, June 25, 1979)

Enraged by unwavering support of the masses to the revolution in Sta. Rita, Capas, Tarlac, they inflict abuses and violence against the people. But the people's rage and determination to struggle until victory grows stronger.

The enemy did everything to prevent the masses from honoring the three heroes of the revolution who died in a battle on June 11 in that village. Roadblocks were placed on the way to the village, and those who wanted to pay tribute were harassed. But the masses pressed on to proceed to the place where the martyrs sacrificed their lives by passing through the fields. Hundreds came to witness the burial.

After the funeral on June 14, a minibus carrying 38 children, elderly and women was on its way home to the village. A truck full of fascists blocked and rammed into it. Two villagers died instantly and 33 were seriously injured when the car overturned and crashed into a store.

Earlier, on the day of the gun battle, enemy strafed and destroyed two houses where Red fighters were resting. After that, the enemy stole three pigs, carpentry tools, pots, P300 and even children's clothes from two houses.

Dictatorship Is in Grave Crisis on Eighth Year of Martial Law

September 21, 1979 (Special Issue)

The US imperialist-dominated Philippine economy is in shambles as the inflation rate climbs steadily to the 30 percent mark. More and more of the worker and peasant masses are being reduced to eating *lugaw* (rice porridge) or just two meals a day. Desperate over the growing protest of the people throughout the land, the US-Marcos fascist dictatorship has intensified its open terrorism. It is increasingly resorting to massacres and such barbarities as beheading its victims. The national democratic revolution is resolutely surging onward in all 10 regions of the country. The Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and the revolutionary mass movement are now preparing to shift to a higher level of the strategic defensive in the people's war. These were the concrete conditions in Philippine society as the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique completed seven years of martial law last September 21 and started its eighth year of oppressive and corrupt rule.

The last seven years have seen a sharpening of the principal contradiction in the country: that between US imperialism, the comprador bourgeoisie and the landlord class, on the one hand, and the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie, on the other.

This contradiction sharpened even further in the past year as US imperialism and the local ruling classes, whose interests are embodied in the fascist dictatorship, intensified the exploitation and oppression of the people.

The clearest manifestation of exploitation this year was the two big increases in the price of gasoline and other oil products decreed by the oil cartel and obediently carried out by the fascist puppet Marcos.

BIGGEST PRICE HIKES SO FAR

The ninth and tenth such increases within martial law, and the biggest thus far, these two price hikes triggered an unprecedented increase in the prices of all prime commodities and essential services which reduced even further the already severely limited incomes of the people.

Thus today, premium gasoline costs 3 per liter where it was only 0.37 before martial law, and ordinary gasoline costs 2.80 per liter where before it was only 0.31.

Supposedly to enable the people to cope with the spiraling prices, Marcos decreed a 2 increase in the daily minimum wage, from 11 to 13. This at a time when a family of six would be hard put trying to make ends meet with a daily minimum of 45 or even 50.

Connivance between master and puppet is very evident in the last two gasoline price hikes. The imperialist oil cartel gets 36 percent of the increase while the Marcos puppet regime gets 60 percent in the form of specific taxes.

This explodes the nonsense, often foisted upon the people by the US-Marcos clique, that it is the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) that should be blamed for every increase in the price of gasoline and other oil products.

Imperialism simply wants bigger superprofits while the Marcos puppet regime wants more and more taxes to sustain and ever-expanding Armed Forces of the Philippines and extravagant infrastructure projects from which it extracts millions upon millions of pesos every year in graft.

Not to be outdone by the oil cartel, the other imperialist firms and their local henchmen, the big bourgeois compradors, take advantage of every increase in oil prices to jack up their own superprofits. They merely pass on to the people the added cost of oil they need in their operations, and then add some more to their prices to fatten their pockets.

30 PERCENT INFLATION

In the face of the deepening economic crisis for which US imperialism and the fascist puppet Marcos must bear responsibility, the dictatorial regime has admitted to a 21 percent rate of inflation as of July and to 23.2 percent as of August.

Today, the regime's own experts admit that this would go beyond the 30 percent mark before the end of the year.

That the intention of US imperialism and its fascist puppet is to squeeze everything they can from the Filipino people is evident in other recent events.

For instance, the imperialist-controlled International Monetary Fund ordered Marcos this year to remove whatever feeble price controls there had been, and to increase the taxes even more. The fascist puppet immediately complied.

He hardly had any choice in the matter since he wants to borrow more from the IMF and from such other international usury agencies of imperialism as the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank. As of today, the country's foreign debt stands at almost 70 billion (\$8.7 billion). With the fascist puppet Marcos hopelessly addicted to foreign loans to run his regime, and the IMF, WB and ADB willing to lend at usurious rates of interest, the country's foreign debt is expected to increase to more than 72 billion (\$9 billion) before the year ends.

Meantime, doing the bidding of his financial masters, Marcos and the rubber-stamp Batasang Pambansa are busy churning out one tax measure after another to enable him to borrow more from the imperialists and support a national budget expected to shoot past the 40-billion mark next year.

NEW TAXES

The fascist regime intends to increase the residence tax from 1 to 10, and also the tax on electric consumption, on workers and professionals leaving to work abroad, on public utility operators, on lending by financial institutions, and on capital gains for business enterprises.

All these will hit the people directly or indirectly. They will directly shoulder the increased residence tax and the tax on those going abroad to work, and will be made to indirectly shoulder the other taxes by being made to pay higher prices for the goods and services they buy.

There are other important indicators of the further deterioration the national economy under the US-Marcos clique.

There is the balance of trade (BOT), which is the difference between what the Philippines spends for its imports and what it earns from its exports. Another is the balance of payments (BOP), which is the difference between the amount of foreign exchange that enters the country and the amount that goes out.

The regime's own Central Bank admits that during the eight-month period from January to August this year, the Philippines had a BOT deficit of 8.8 billion (\$1.1 billion). It exported 17.9 billion (\$2.24 billion) worth of goods but imported 28.4 billion (\$3.55 billion) worth. The BOP deficit for the same period was 4.3 billion (\$540 million).

The Marcos puppet regime can expect no relief from his US imperialist masters because the United States itself is in the throes of its gravest economic crisis since World War II. In fact, US imperialism is shifting to its

semi-colonies like the Philippines much of the burden of its crisis, accounting in great part for the country's staggering BOT and BOP deficits.

While imperialism cannot help the Marcos puppet regime in the economic sphere, it is using military aid to suppress the Filipino people. For its continued use of its military bases here, imperialism will give its puppet an additional military aid in the amount of 800 million (\$100 million) every year for the next five years.

PROTESTS SPREAD FAR AND WIDE

In the face of the deepening economic crisis brought on by the US-Marcos clique, the people are up in arms from Aparri in the north to Jolo in the south. Their protests are ringing out so loud and clear that even the anti-Marcos reactionaries are trying to take advantage of the situation by being more strident in their criticisms of the fascist puppet regime (see story on page 5).⁵

The workers and peasants, who comprise the vast majority of the population and are the most exploited and oppressed as well, are the hardest hit in the current economic crisis.

Many do not even make the 13 daily minimum wage decreed by the fascist regime because the big capitalists cheat the workers openly while the regime looks the other way. The problem becomes all the more stark when we consider that at the last count, there were at least 11.5 million Filipinos unemployed or underemployed, or 40 percent of the country's labor force.

The urban petty-bourgeoisie, which includes the vast majority of intellectuals like teachers, student youth, low-income professionals, office clerks and lower government officials, have to cut down on food and other basic necessities or borrow at usurious interest rates because their fixed salaries cannot cope with the ever-increasing prices and taxes.

Though leading relatively comfortable lives, those in the national bourgeoisie are oppressed as well by US imperialism, the comprador big bourgeoisie and the fascist puppet regime. Many are at the edge of bankruptcy or about to be swallowed up by the imperialist and comprador firms.

The economic crisis has taken such a turn for the worse in the past year that more and more people, especially worker and peasant families, now eat

⁵ Refers to page 5 of that issue of *Ang Bayan*.—Ed.

only twice a day. Others eat *lugaw* to stretch their meager budget for rice while still others make do with nothing more than *kamote* (sweet potato).

The people's protest against the US-Marcos fascist dictatorship takes on many forms. It may be a worker going on strike despite the strict prohibition of the regime, a small employee bitterly denouncing to his relatives and friends, the wholesale robbery of public funds by Marcos and his cronies, a student boycotting his classes because of high tuition fees and repression on campus, or a peasant supporting or joining the New People's Army.

In their millions, the masses of the people are increasingly being aroused, mobilized and organized for the national democratic revolution.

US-MARCOS REIGN OF TERROR

All these have so alarmed the US-Marcos clique that it has intensified repression this year in an effort to cow the people into silence. In the last few months, it has been committing mass murder, notably in Samar (see *Ang Bayan*, August 31-September 15, 1979), Western Central Luzon, Bicol, Aklan, Davao, Cagayan Valley and Basilan.

Arson, rape, torture, forced mass evacuations, intimidation, arbitrary arrests and illegal detention are becoming daily occurrences in the countryside as the mercenary AFP tries to crack down on Party cadres, Red fighters of the NPA, and the revolutionary masses.

HIGHER LEVEL OF STRATEGIC DEFENSIVE

Today, many thousands of Party elements and Red fighters are arousing, mobilizing and organizing the masses in all 10 regions of the country—Northeastern Luzon, Northwestern Luzon, Eastern Central Luzon, Western Central Luzon, Manila-Rizal, Southern Tagalog, Eastern Visayas, Western Visayas and Mindanao.

Although small and weak in relation to the personnel and firepower of the enemy, the New People's Army continues to build up strength and combat experience in numerous guerrilla operations. It now has 29 guerrilla fronts in 39 provinces all over the country except Manila-Rizal.

From the Party's reestablishment on December 26, 1968 and the NPA's founding on March 29, 1969, people's war in the country went through the early substage of the strategic defensive, the stage that precedes the strategic stalemate before going on to the strategic offensive.

Our people's war is still in this early substage, but we are now in the process of moving on to the advanced substage of the strategic defensive. The Party, New People's Army and the revolutionary mass movement are now making every effort to consolidate their ranks for this advance towards a higher level of the armed struggle.

Side by side with the national democratic revolution under Party leadership is the armed struggle being waged by the Moro people for their right to self-determination, under the leadership of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF).

Together, the two revolutionary movements are gradually stretching the mercenary forces of the US-Marcos fascist dictatorship, making the enemy spread his forces thinly across the land.

Conditions in the country are more excellent than ever for the advance of the national democratic revolution. This is the national situation as the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique enters its eighth year.

THE MASSES FOILED THE ENEMY, HOLD 2 BIG RALLIES IN CEBU, SAMAR

October 15, 1979 (Volume XI, Number 17)

More than 9,000 workers, farmers and other citizens launched two large rallies in Eastern Visayas in September to condemn the fascist US-Marcos dictatorship as it enters its eighth year of military rule.

The first of these mass actions was held in Cebu City on September 21, and the next in Catbalogan, Western Samar, on September 23. In two rallies, citizens raised the antifascist, antifeudal and anti-imperialist stance.

There were 4,000 citizens who participated in the march-demonstration in Cebu and more than 5,000 in the rally in Catbalogan, according to *Larab*, a mass newspaper in the Eastern Visayas region.

With the fascist regime deploying 6,000 puppet troops and paramilitary agents to carry out its terrorist campaign on the island of Samar, the mass action in Catbalogan placed strong emphasis on the immediate expulsion of fascist forces from the area.

What the people of Samar demand from the dictatorship are: 1) the dismantling of martial law throughout the country; 2) release of all political prisoners; 3) regime compensation for damaged property and lost lives; 4) stopping the alleged “pacification” campaign on the island of Samar and in other parts of the town; 5) expulsion of all military forces of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) from Samar; and 6) harassment of displaced people who want to return to their respective barrios and towns.

The rally in Cebu echoed demands of the people of Samar and also presented their specific demands, such as stopping the expulsion of the urban poor to allow the construction of an “export processing zone” that will benefit the imperialist corporations of the EU.

HARASSMENT BY THE AFP EXPOSED

During the rallies in Cebu and Catbalogan, AFP troops harassed participants. But the determination of the militant people to assert their democratic rights was strong, and they successfully exposed the exploitation and oppression under the fascist military rule.

The mass action in Cebu, held at Freedom Park in that city, was launched and attended by workers, the urban poor, farmers, youth and students, teachers and social activists among church people.

They gathered at the Carbon market and then marched with streamers and placards proclaiming slogans such as “Down with the US-Marcos dictatorship!”, “Stop militarization!” and “Free all political prisoners!”

They distributed pamphlets and donations for the antifascist, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle.

At the Freedom Park, representatives from people’s organizations spoke about the exploitation and oppression under martial law.

The representative of workers condemned the ban on the strike, the representative of the urban poor condemned the plan to demolish houses to accommodate the imperialist corporations, and the representative of the farmers condemned the plan to divert the water which is needed in their farm o the proposed export processing zone.

Young people, students and teachers joined workers, farmers and the urban poor. They also condemned the growing, intensifying fascist attacks on urban campuses. The youth also performed a play depicting the oppression and struggle of the people.

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PROPAGANDA

Aside from the September 21 mass actions, the people of Cebu have taken up creative ways of national democratic propaganda.

On the night of September 21 and the following three nights, workers and students launched a poster/paint graffiti actions in Cebu and Toledo. Walls and fences bloomed with slogans painted and pasted by the people. The urban poor who live on the beach floated banana trunks with banners bearing anti-war slogans.

According to Larab, the rally in Cebu City was well planned and held, just like the rally in Catbalogan, the Capital of Western Samar.

From September 21, two days before the rally in Catbalogan, 3,000 farmers and hundreds of fishermen from the interior villages of the towns of Basey, Sta. Rita, Talalora, Villareal, Calbiga, Zumarraga, Pinabakdao, Paranas, Motiong, San Jorge, Gandara and Catbalogan, and Calbayog City started to assemble. An estimated 2,000 students, teachers and the poor of the city met them and joined the rally.

When September 23 arrived, at 8 o'clock in the morning, the citizens gathered and began to march. They circled Catbalogan, carrying banners and placards expressing their opposition to martial law, and simultaneously shouted slogans supporting the revolutionary movement.

Slogans such as "Down with martial law!", "Marcos, Hitler, dictator, lap-dog!" and "Stop the militarization!" were written on placards and streamers.

FASCIST RIOT

Before this, the fascist military, led by Lt. Col. Romeo Fernandez, began various attempts to intimidate the people.

He deployed 600 soldiers and agents to Maulong, Burak, Canlapwas and Kilometro Uno which were the entrances to Catbalogan from other towns.

On September 23, they searched all vehicles and passengers in an attempt to prevent the entry of demonstrators. Students and teachers were also warned not to join the rally. Three students were investigated in connection with the mass action to be launched.

But the people were not intimidated by the fascist military. So that same day, in the church square near the PC camp, the rally continued even though it was turned around by hundreds of fascist troops with .30 caliber guns aimed at the citizens.

Four farmers and a priest gave speeches, and some students performed a play. They spoke about the effects of fascist militarization on peasant life, the fascist violence on the island, and the resistance to the unparalleled terrorism and brutality of the martial law regime. Those who spoke expressed their confidence that the citizens would defeat their enemies.

The play showed the history of the struggle and resistance of the masses of Samar against oppressive foreigners and natives, from the time of Sumuroy against the Spanish colonialists, of Lucban and the Pulahanes against the American colonialists, and up to the present.

The mass action would have ended peacefully if the fascist soldiers had not dispersed the demonstrators with force. When the last speaker finished, the agents followed to arrest him. But the people intervened and surrounded the speaker to protect him.

In the chaos, the arresting agents' plan fails. In this formation, the citizens suddenly ran away from the square. Seeing that the masses were not afraid, the fascists cocked their armalite rifles and prepared to shoot the people.

A priest intervened and told the military that the people would return to the plaza if they were to disperse them. This is what happened.

In the days succeeding, the military launched a campaign to deceive people (“psychological warfare” as they called it). They told them to “stop taking to the streets in illegal rallies to air their grievances to the illegal rallies,” and instead bring them to military officials or the courts.

They also asked the church people for a “conversation” allegedly towards the formation of a coordinating committee between the church and the military.

All in all, the rally once again demonstrated the unity and courage of the people of Samar. And because of their firm unity, they successfully exposed absurdity and weakness of the fascist martial law.

PEOPLE HAVE THE PARTY TO LEAD THEM TO NATIONAL FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY

December 31, 1979 (Volume XI, Bilang 21)

The Communist Party of the Philippines is relatively young. Last December 26 the Party celebrated the 11th anniversary of its reestablishment in 1968 by a group of Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries.

But young though the Party may be in years, it has proven to be the only political party in the entire history of the Philippines that can truly lead the Filipino people to independence, freedom, democracy, unity and prosperity.

In the 11 years of its existence, it has succeeded in establishing regional Party organizations throughout the land. It has a fine people's army spread out in 29 guerrilla fronts from Luzon to Mindanao. It has revolutionary mass organizations in all places where it has taken deep root, be these in the rural or urban areas.

At the moment, it is further strengthening a broad national united front of the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie, to complement the armed struggle raging in the countryside.

Indeed, as Party members, Red fighters of the New People's Army and the revolutionary Filipino people looked back last December 26 to the work of the past 11 years, they had all reason to be proud of the Party's achievements.

But in looking back, they could also see that all the brilliant victories achieved so far have been made possible by a lot of hard work and paid for by tremendous sacrifices. There have also been errors made, but these were learned from and rectified. They could see that, as revolutionaries before them have said, revolution does not travel a straight line but proceeds in zigs and zags.

And they could remember with affection and pride the comrades who have given up their lives or have undergone unspeakable torture at the hands of the enemy and continue to be imprisoned, all for the eventual liberation of the people from US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

Today's national democratic revolution is a continuation of the revolution launched against Spain in 1896, but with a basic difference. That of 1896 was of the old type, that is, it was led by the liberal bourgeoisie, while the present one is of the new type, that is, it is led by the proletariat.

In a way, it is also a continuation of all the revolts waged by the Filipino people against exploitation and oppression over the last more than 400 years.

A LOOK BACK TO THE PAST

Our history shows that our people have never been passive in the face of exploitation and oppression, be the exploiters and oppressors foreigners or home-bred ones. Throughout the more than 300 years of Spanish colonization, there were at least 200 revolts of uneven scope and duration.

Considering that the people far outnumbered the occupying Spanish troops, any one of these revolts should have succeeded in overthrowing the colonizers. But every single one of these spontaneous uprisings was suppressed. Why?

An important consideration is that the people were divided at the time of the Spanish conquest, which started in the 16th century. They were divided into classes (the rulers and the ruled) and into so many tribes and communities. They had no sense of nationhood, and it was to the Spanish colonizers' interest to keep them divided and even drive them farther apart.

Thus, the colonizers used the local rulers to suppress the people. And thus did they use one tribe to put down the next tribe. Our history is full of accounts of the colonizers' tactic of "divide and rule." For instance, they used lowland Filipinos to invade the land of the Igorot masses up in the Cordillera mountains. And they used Filipinos from Luzon and the Visayas to fight the Moro people in Mindanao.

It was not until the second half of the 19th century that the people fully developed a sense of nationhood, of oneness. This historic process was helped along by the efforts of the educated Filipinos or *ilustrados* who launched the Propaganda Movement against Spanish exploitation and oppression.

Whatever merits they had, the *ilustrados* who were based in Europe did not seem to have been exposed to the writings of Karl Marx and his comrade Frederic Engels, who evolved the theory of scientific socialism.

One of the more prominent of the Filipino propagandists, Jose Rizal, traveled to Germany, the homeland of Marx and Engels, but nowhere in his many writings does he mention these two great revolutionaries or their teachings.

Here at home, the worker Andres Bonifacio was reading up on the French revolution, but he too seems not to have been influenced by Marxism. He led in the organization of the Katipunan, the membership of which was com-

posed mostly of workers and peasants united in the resolve to wage armed struggle to drive out the Spanish colonizers.

THE *ILUSTRADOS* VACILLATE

True to their class characteristics, the *ilustrados* vacillated when they heard of the Katipunan's organization and its plan to launch armed revolution. Rizal ended up discouraging and even denouncing the Katipunan, the formation of which he had partly inspired by his patriotic writings.

Other bourgeois liberals like Emilio Aguinaldo, who deposed and killed Bonifacio, were soon at the leadership of the revolutionary movement.

True, the revolutionary movement whose leadership was seized by Aguinaldo and the other *ilustrados* was on the verge of completely throwing out the Spanish colonizers by 1898. But when the forces of US imperialism appeared on the scene, the vacillation of their class once again reared its ugly head.

Those in the revolutionary leadership who had entered into compromises with the Spanish colonizers were now capitulating and even collaborating with the US invaders. Those who fought on soon surrendered or were captured.

In the main, the national democratic revolution started by Bonifacio and his comrades was suppressed at this point in time.

But as testimony to the patriotic and democratic aspirations of the Filipino workers and peasants who made up the bulk of the revolutionary army, they fought on even as most of their *ilustrado* leaders were already engaged in counter-revolution.

FOUNDING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Against this backdrop, and with the growth of the Filipino working class, Crisanto Evangelista and fellow workers founded the Communist Party of the Philippines in 1930. They had been tempered in the trade union movement and were soon reading the works of Marx and the great Russian revolutionary, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

Evangelista and his comrades were on the right track. The Philippine working class which was just in its embryonic stage in the 19th century was now coming into its own. Through the CPP, the Filipino proletariat was now armed with the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism and was drawing inspiration from the triumphant October Socialist Revolution of 1917 in Russia.

But well-intentioned as they were, Evangelista and his comrades had their own share of shortcomings and mistakes. One of these was the mechanical

merger of the GPP and the Socialist Party of the Philippines in 1938. The mistakes were multiplied manifold when the Lava brothers took over the leadership of the merger party.

The workers and peasants who joined the party-led Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon (Hukbalahap) showed their valor and bravery in many a battle against the Japanese invaders in World War II. With the same dedication, they fought the class enemies after US imperialism had returned to reimpose its rule.

But the Lava leaderships committed one grave error after another, first swinging to the right (capitulationism and parliamentarism), then to the “left” (adventurism), and then back to the right.

The Lavas were, and continue to be, unremolded petty-bourgeois intellectuals. Along with the capitulationism of the former Socialist Party leader Luis Taruc, the Lavas’ grave mistakes soon succeeded in wrecking the party and in liquidating the revolution.

By 1958, for all intents and purposes, the armed struggle had been abandoned and the party, too, had been liquidated when the Jesus Lava leadership decreed its disastrous “single-file” policy. Lava finally surrendered to the enemy in 1964.

What remained of the Communist Party of the Philippines founded by Crisanto Evangelista and his comrades were now only a few Marxist study groups made up mostly of student and worker activists.

THE PARTY’S REESTABLISHMENT

It was from the ranks of these groups that emerged the Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries who met in congress on December 26, 1968 to reestablish the fallen party. They repudiated the Lavaite revisionism and founded the new Party on the firm foundation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

There were but a few of them when they convened the Congress of Reestablishment and again when they met on March 29, 1969 to found the New People’s Army. But they set the correct political line and were certain that before long, the broad masses of the Filipino people would be rallying to the national democratic revolution they were launching.

They were correct in their expectation.

Where the Lavaite revisionists abandoned armed struggle and chose parliamentarism, the leadership of the reestablished Party chose armed struggle with parliamentary struggle only in a secondary and supportive role.

Where the Lavaite had engaged the relatively weak people's army in decisive battles against the enemy in the expectation of victory in' the brief period of two years, the Party enunciated the strategy of protracted people's war advancing wave upon wave from the countryside to the enemy's centers of power.

Where the Lavaite turned their backs on the people and embraced the US-Marcos fascist dictatorship, the Party is now rallying the people into a powerful national united front to confront the fascist dictatorship.

The Party has a clear idea who the people are—the workers, peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie who collectively make up more than 90 percent of the population and who are exploited and oppressed under the present semicolonial and semifeudal system.

The Party likewise has a clear idea who the people's enemies are—the US imperialists, the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class who do the exploiting and oppressing and currently rule through the US-Marcos dictatorship. Together, these ruling classes in the country make up no more than 2 percent of the population.

The Lavaites, on the other hand, have this muddled idea that they should enter into a "united front" with Marcos because he is a "nationalist" and is "anti-imperialist." How typical of the Lavaites to turn things upside down?

HOW FAR WE HAVE ADVANCED

The record of the reestablished Communist Party of the Philippines speaks for itself. In the relatively short span of 11 years, it has succeeded in expanding throughout the country under the most difficult conditions of fascist martial rule.

Before martial law was imposed in 1972, the revolutionary movement gained momentum through the First Quarter Storm of 1970 and the mass struggles of the ensuing period which succeeded in disseminating the national democratic program throughout the land.

Martial law was imposed by the US-Marcos clique assertedly to dismantle the revolutionary movement. It did inflict some damage earlier on, but instead of crushing the revolution, it created conditions which accelerated the revolution's advance.

The Party today has thousands upon thousands of dedicated cadres and members, many more Red fighters, and several million workers, peasants

and other people banded together in revolutionary mass organizations or supporting the revolution in various ways.

As the Party members, the Red fighters of the New People's Army and the revolutionary people were observing the 11th anniversary of the Party's reestablishment, they were making preparations for the advance of the people's war from the early substage of the strategic defensive to its advanced stage. (After the strategic defensive comes the strategic stalemate, and then the final stage of strategic offensive).

The Party Central Committee has called for consolidation in the ideological, political and organizational spheres as a necessary step for this advance. While expansion continues, greater stress is placed on consolidation for the present period.

All told, the Filipino people have been struggling for 400 years and more against foreign and local exploiters and oppressors.

And they finally have a revolutionary political party—the Communist Party of the Philippines—that is leading them to the independence, freedom, democracy, unity and prosperity that they have been aspiring for all these years.

AGRARIAN REVOLUTION ACHIEVES BIG GAINS IN EASTERN SAMAR

April 30, 1981 (Volume XIII, Number 8)

Relying mainly on their own mass strength and the impetus given by the advancing armed struggle, the peasant associations are pushing forward the agrarian revolution in Eastern Samar's rice bowl.

This summarizes a recent report by *Ang Bayan* correspondents in the Eastern Visayas.

Launched during the harvest season of 1980 in four barrios of the Oras river valley, the anti-feudal mass campaign quickly spread like wildfire, and before the year ended, had encompassed 166 barrios and 70 sitios in the towns of Oras, Dolores, Arteche, San Policarpo, Can-avid, and Maslog.

Some 11,000 poor and lower-middle peasants and farm workers took action to lower the land rent and the payment for hiring draft animals, reduce the landlords' share in the yield from coconut plantations, and increase farm wages. In many places, they had the interest rates on loans lowered.

During the mass campaign, the peasant associations were able to draw the support of several thousand middle and rich peasants, as well as teachers and small retailers in the barrios. As expected, the people's militia was ready to provide security and safeguard their gains.

In intensity, breadth and depth, this mass campaign has had no parallel in the history of the peasant movement in the Eastern Visayas region. This is likewise the case in the changes that occurred in the alignment of classes there.

This is remarkable, since the campaign was waged while the Marcos regime's mercenary troops were intensifying their attacks against the people.

CONCENTRATION OF FEUDAL POWER

Vast landholdings and a good number of work animals owned by the biggest and most powerful landlords in the province are found in these six towns. Their political power is also most concentrated in this whole area.

Because they control the means of production, the landlords can impose the most exploitative conditions of tenancy. Without having to lift a finger or to put in the least investment, the landlords appropriate 50 percent or more of the total harvest.

Before the core of the peasant associations were formed in some barrios in 1976, a common sight was of convoys of boats heavily laden with harvested grain traveling downstream to the town centers. The masses raged at the sight of this bounty, fruits of their own labor which they could not keep.

They saw in this another cycle of poverty, hunger and diseases—still another period of toil that would end with the same sight of a bountiful yield, at the next harvest being taken from them.

This has driven more and more toilers to embrace without the least hesitation the Party's revolutionary land reform program, and the need for waging armed struggle till victory.

Up to harvest time in 1979, agrarian revolution in the area was sporadically implemented on the sitio and barrio levels. The peasant associations then used the tactic known as "operasyong sukot" (secretly withholding part of the landlords' share in the harvest).

This yielded only small economic benefits, but more important was the fact that many of the peasants no longer viewed the landlords' ownership of the land as something "sacred"; they knew now that the people's labor—their labor—is decisive. In the course of this struggle, they accumulated strength and gained initial experience in concerted action.

The peasants say this was just in preparation for future confrontations with the landlords.

MASS CAMPAIGN GATHERS MOMENTUM

The 1980 campaign reflected advances from that of 1979.

At the level of one or two towns, the peasant associations chose three to five of the most advanced barrios to launch the campaign. Initial mass actions were staged once the following requirements were met:

- (1) The results of social investigation and class analysis had been evaluated based on these, the principal and secondary targets were pinpointed;
- (2) Campaign goals and tactics had been set, explained to the basic masses, and disseminated to the majority of the people;
- (3) The central leadership had been formed to administer and oversee the campaign; and
- (4) Other mass organizations, including support groups from the middle forces, had been prepared to participate or help in the peasant struggles.

Our correspondents further explained that with such prerequisites met, initial actions succeeded and the landlords effectively isolated. Moreover, the middle forces were drawn to participate in an organized manner.

These were important factors for sustaining the mass campaign until it fully attained its tactical goals.

As the campaign gained momentum, the peasant associations immediately attended to problems that cropped up. One problem was to prepare to avoid or effectively meet retaliation from the landlords and the fascist regime supporting the latter.

BIGGEST LANDLORDS CONFRONTED

On the whole, the peasant associations confronted the big landlords one at a time while continuing to launch “operasying sukot” against small and middle landlords.

Determining the main targets, they pinpointed those who were despotic and were blocking the advance of the revolutionary movement, and those who were not.

The toiling masses did not directly confront the despotic landlords. Instead, they strived to win over or at least neutralize the landlords’ overseers. In this way, the landlords lost their “eyes and ears” even as their share of the harvest was effectively decreased.

On the other hand, those who did not oppose the movement were faced with a big mass force of peasants—the biggest mobilization the associations could muster. While displaying mass strength, the associations painstakingly explained the reason for the peasants’ demands, and pursued these with flexibility.

Our correspondents illustrated why this tactic was effective. In Oras, the first target was one of the five biggest landlords in the entire province. He had opposed the goals of the campaign.

When he realized that his share of the harvest was dwindling, he dismissed his overseer and the tenants he mistrusted. He personally took charge of the harvesting of rice and coconuts. But his share was greatly diminished just the same.

He then used his influence and his money in an effort to uncover the “thieves” and to stop them from selling the products “stolen” from his land. But the peasants got around the fascist military’s order directing the town

merchants to report and reject products being sold to them by people who had no land titles or tax declarations to show.

Some businessmen advised the landlord not to be greedy, “otherwise you might lose everything.” They reminded him of what had happened to Anacta, a superintendent of the Ministry of Education and Culture in the province.

“He completely lost his share in the harvest, and his carabaos were even confiscated from him.” Now, Anacta could not even set foot on his land unless escorted by fascist troops.

Since then, the landlord who tried to oppose the mass campaign has rehired his men and desisted from further setting up obstacles to the campaign.

In Dolores, the peasant association agreed to postpone, until the next harvest, the 50 percent reduction, in the landlord’s share, as agreed upon. The landlord even shed tears when the peasants showed concern for his two sons detained by the military and the abuses he himself had experienced at the hands of fascist troopers.

After this confrontation, other middle and small landlords rushed to seek out members of the revolutionary movement and asked to be briefed on the “new system.” They said it was better that they knew by how much their share was to be reduced, instead of being suspicious of their tenants.

WORKERS WHO JOIN PEOPLE'S ARMY TAKE LEAD FOR OTHERS TO FOLLOW

April 30, 1981 (Volume XIII, Number 8)

They exemplify the revolutionary traits of their class—they are disciplined, serious in work, firm in implementing policies, persevering, diligent in study, clear and concrete in speech, mentally alert and creative, Ka Terio explained.

Ka Terio's face lit up with admiration as he talked about the comrades from the working class who had joined the New People's Army to participate directly in the revolutionary armed struggle. He talked mainly about Ka Narding and Ka Benny, both of whom are former mine workers in the Eastern Visayas.

Himself now also a Red fighter who came from the urban petty bourgeoisie, Ka Terio got to know Ka Narding and Ka Benny very well when all three of them worked together in a guerrilla front. He found out many details about the personal life and political development of the two comrades. He tells their stories:

Ka Narding had worked in the mines for six years, and Ka Benny, 10 years. At first, they were ordinary union members. Later, a Party cadre doing political work in their area contacted and organized them.

From then on, they developed quickly. The Party cadre carried on political discussions with them and gave them many revolutionary reading materials. They diligently studied many topics about the nature of present Philippine society and about the need to solve the problems of the people in a revolutionary way.

At the mine site, Ka Warding and Ka Benny already experienced in concrete terms the reality of imperialism. The mine, one of the biggest in the country, is owned by American and Japanese imperialists, in partnership with several local big comprador capitalists.

Ka Warding would sometimes call his co-workers to the open pit. Then he would point to the huge excavation on the side of the mountain—three kilometers wide in some places—and tell the miners: “That's imperialism. It takes away our wealth and leaves us with nothing but an empty hole.”

They experienced the intense exploitation at the mines. In 1974, when the sale of copper was booming in the world market, each mine worker received only P1 for every P20 the company netted, according to figures the miners themselves got hold of.

The average pay then was P14 for eight hours back-breaking labor. And this kind of work was always done under the constant threat of death or grave injuries from cave-ins. The 10,000-strong workforce of the mine produced around 40 percent of the country's yearly output of copper. Other minerals like gold and silver are also mined there.

The two worker comrades felt the first stirrings of political consciousness in the course of their union struggles. They saw at once that the law and the fascist military always sided with the exploiters.

Then PC commanding general, Vincente Raval sent soldiers to bust their strike. The PC even planted intelligence agents at the mines to spy on the workers and to harass them.

They also realized whom the yellow labor leaders served. When martial law was imposed, union elections that were supposed to be held every three years were called off. Union officers were promoted to the rank of supervisors. The workers were also forced to pay excessive monthly dues to the union officers. There was dictatorship in the country, and dictatorship in the yellow union as well.

POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS ADVANCES

By studying these experiences, the Party cadre in touch with Ka Narding and Ka Benny helped them to further raise their level of political consciousness. Their political consciousness advanced even more when they studied the Party's "Program for a People's Democratic Revolution" and discussed about proletarian internationalism and the role of the working class in the development of world history.

Their further study of the basic problems afflicting Philippine society and of the Filipino people's struggle to attain their national and democratic aspirations helped them to progress from the narrow day-to-day concerns of unionism to the wider scope of revolutionary activism.

It was very easy for them to grasp the meaning of bureaucrat capitalism. The mayor of the city where they lived is the brother of Col. Marcelino Barba, Marcos' brother-in-law. This mayor contracted workers for the mines,

some 2,000 workers. For each worker he recruited for the mines, he got a P2 cut from the worker's daily wage.

Ka Narding and Ka Benny also readily saw what feudalism is. Most of the workers they worked with were former peasants or came from peasant families. They were familiar with the problem of land among the peasants. The parents of Ka Narding were themselves tenant farmers.

The two comrades were also familiar with the collusion between the imperialists and the landlords. They saw that the company, which is located in the countryside, does not pay the peasants for any destruction caused by the mines on their fields. But when land owned by the big landlords is damaged in any way, payments are quickly made.

They also saw vast ricelands converted into sugarcane plantations, sugar being in demand in the world market and needed as raw material in the imperialist firms producing all sorts of food products.

Soon, Ka Warding and Ka Benny advanced further in their revolutionary activities.

After the day's work in the mines, the two attended to their political tasks. The various departments and facilities of the mines were spread out over an area 15 kilometers wide. Not minding the distances they had to travel back and forth, they would conduct propaganda and organize the workers.

After some time, they were also organizing the peasants in the surrounding areas.

They were aware of the fact that the peasants are the closest class allies of the workers. They also knew that the working class could achieve its liberation only with the liberation of all exploited and oppressed classes in the country.

Knowing fully well that the fate of the revolution is decided by the advance of the armed struggle, both Ka Warding and Ka Benny took a step farther in their political development and joined the NPA. In the countryside, Ka Benny was assigned to a people's army squad, while Ka Narding became active in consolidation work in a guerrilla zone.

STRONG SENSE OF DISCIPLINE

In the countryside, their strong sense of discipline was immediately noticed. They always spoke frankly and to the point. Their heads were not cluttered up by any mental baggage. They always felt happier when there was work to do, and they did their work with enthusiasm.

Indeed, in their day-to-day work, they brought to life the principle of simple living and hard struggle,

Ka Benny's knowledge of scientific production methods was a great help to comrades. He used to be a machinist. He put his knowledge to good use by helping to repair guns and other military equipment. He also devised ways to improve farming methods and taught this to the peasants in the guerrilla zone.

On the other hand, Ka Narding used to handle "quality control" in the mines. He is the quiet type and very studious. He helped a lot in carrying out social investigations. He often struck up discussions with comrades about socialism and about how socialist construction is being carried out in the People's Republic of China.

In the simplest and most concrete language, Ka Narding explained to the peasants the nature and goals of the people's democratic revolution. He has helped a lot in the work of conducting education work among the peasant masses in their zone. It is a great advantage to the revolution that workers and peasants share their experiences and learn from one another.

As the revolutionary workers' movement grows in breadth and depth, more and more workers desire to become full-time Red fighters. The development of Ka Narding and Ka Benny proves this.

The workers' experience in scientific production, in collective work and organizing, and in trade union struggle against their exploiters, are the golden fruits warmly received and shared with the masses in the countryside and the guerrillas of the people's army.

Furthermore, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the scientific theory that guides the Philippine revolution, is most easily grasped by the workers. It is, after all, the ideology of the proletariat, the revolutionary ideology that has sprung from the class struggles of the workers of the whole world.

With the help and encouragement of the Party, many workers are now preparing to go to the countryside; many are eager to participate directly in the armed struggle which is the main form of struggle against the enemies of the working class and of the rest of the Filipino people.

And what of the workers' families? Their wives and children also have tasks to perform in the revolution, and they are preparing themselves for these.

15,000 JOIN MOST MILITANT, BIGGEST DEMO IN ISABELA

June 15, 1981 (Volume XIII, Number 10)

Some 15,000 workers, peasants and other people of Isabela faced down the guns of fascist troops to hold a 12-kilometer-long march last April 19 condemning the continuing terrorism and deception by the US-Marcos dictatorship.

It was the biggest and most militant mass action in the history of the province. Its high level of organization and coordination was likewise unprecedented; the participants came from 114 barrios of 13 towns, including the capital town of Ilagan.

Armed only with a few bolos and stones they picked up along the way, the marchers broke through six armed blocking forces of the enemy and confronted the highest civilian and military officials in the province. They dispersed only after receiving assurances that their just demands would be listened to.

The demonstrators marched under the banners of the Alyansa ng Mamamayan ng Isabela para sa Kalayaan at Demokrasya (People's Alliance of Isabela for Freedom and Democracy) and the Alyansa ng Mamamayan ng Asyenda Sah Antonio at Santa Isabel para sa Libreng Pamamahagi ng Lupa (People's Alliance of Hacienda San Antonio and Hacienda Santa Isabel for the Free Distribution of Land).

The marchers came from the towns of Roxas, Mallig, Magsaysay, Santo Tomas, San Mariano, Benito Soliven, Tumauni, Santi ago, Gordon, San Mateo, Cabagan, San Pablo and Ilagan.

Their ranks were comprised of workers from six logging companies in Isabela, peasants from the various barrios, students and even children, women, professionals and church people, and stretched two kilometers along the highway. Interspersed among the marchers were 100 streamers and about 300 placards.

Their demands centered on the distribution of land to peasants, especially those at Hacienda San Antonio and Hacienda Santa Isabel, both in Ilagan, who are being ejected by the big bourgeois-landlord Eduardo Cojuangco; the full recognition of the workers' right to strike; and a stop

to the massacres and other atrocities being perpetrated by the regime on the people of Isabela.

According to *Baringkuas* (*Arise*), underground newspaper in Northeastern Luzon, the route of the march reverberated to the people's slogans: "Land and justice to the peasants!" "Raise wages, restore strikes!" and "End military violence and atrocities on the people!"

Every barrio along the route bloomed with militant slogans painted or pasted on the walls. Leaflets were also distributed.

The demonstrators thwarted every attempt by the fascist military to block their way and to disperse them. At every turn, the fascist were confronted by the angry masses and had to step aside lest they taste the people's wrath.

At Hacienda San Antonio, 6,000 demonstrators had just assembled and were about to march when six members of the Civilian Home Defense Forces (CHDF) armed with high-caliber rifles blocked their way. The CHDF goons were told to step aside. Trembling, they did as they were told.

Two more CHDF units, each having seven heavily armed men, also tried to block the marchers' route in barrio Ballacong and barrio Anggasian. The marchers were ordering them to step aside when a 30-man PC-INP "riot squad" arrived with a firetruck equipped with a water cannon.

Immediately, 400 of the demonstrators surrounded the regime's mercenaries and told them flatly, "We will counter with violence any wrong move you make!" Seeing that the people were ready to fight, the PC soldiers, policemen and CHDF members all withdrew.

Meanwhile, some 9,000 demonstrators were also marching from the direction of Hacienda Santa Isabel. They thwarted all attempts by the PC, INP and CHDF to stop them.

TWO GROUPS MEET

The two formations converged at the Malalam bridge at Hagan and were about to march to the town center when still another group of 30 PC soldiers blocked their ways. This time, the fascists were bent on violence.

A PC soldier stabbed one of the marchers—Villamor Larugal of Hacienda San Antonio—while other soldiers tried to frisk the demonstrators and confiscate their streamers and placards.

The people's anger which had long been building up finally exploded.

They picked up stones and, like hornets, descended on the fascists, who scampered in all directions. Not a few of the peasants had their bolos

unsheathed. The demonstrators also confiscated the truncheons and shields of those they caught up with.

Resolved to proceed with the march, the people reorganized their ranks. While they were doing this, the Isabela governor, Faustino Dy, arrived with the PC provincial commander, Co. Florendo, and 30 more PC soldiers.

“What do you want, a fight?” Dy challenged the demonstrators, while trying to appear fearless.

The demonstrators answered by picking up stones and prepared for a showdown with Dy, Florendo and the other fascist military men. In a split second, Dy had his arms outstretched and very nervously pleading that the problem be solved in a diplomatic way.

The confrontation lasted five hours, from 10AM to 3PM. The people went home victorious.

They attained the goal of the march, which was to make Dy’s group promise in public to help solve the hacienda people’s land problem. More important than this, the Isabela people proved once more that no one can stand in the way of the people organized in their thousands and determined to fight for their interests.

PARTICIPATION IN STRUGGLE MOLDS REVOLUTIONARY FAMILIES

June 15, 1981 (Volume XIII, Number 10)

“We are preparing to go to the countryside.”

Kasamang (Comrade) Rosie was referring to herself and her two children, Lisa, 8, and Mardi, 6. Barely four months had passed since husband Ka Fidel, a worker in an industrial equipment factory in Metro Manila, had gone to the countryside and joined the New People’s Army.

I don’t expect us to live as one family in the countryside, [said Ka Rosie.] But our going there will make communications, faster and easier between Ka Fidel and me and between the children and their father. I will take up tasks in the guerrilla zone and the children will learn from the masses and the comrades.

Ka Rosie had never expected this radical change to overcome her family. Like any other mother, she had wanted her children to go through college and a good living so their standard of living could be uplifted.

But the family could not be immune to the exploitation of the broad masses. The economic crisis and oppression that intensify around her awakened the thoughts and feelings of Ka Rosie for revolutionary change.

As her political consciousness developed, Ka Rosie did not allow herself and her family to become barriers to the revolution. She began instead to support Ka Fidel’s participation in the struggle and later took active part in it, too.

Both Ka Rosie and Ka Fidel repudiated their feudal and bourgeois thinking toward their marriage and their offspring. They committed themselves to build a revolutionary family that is based not on any economic gain they could get from each other, nor on feudal sentimentalism, but on collective efforts to advance the revolution.

A revolutionary relationship looks at women as partners of men in struggle and not to be confined to the home.

I assumed responsibilities assigned to me by the Party branch in our territory. Whenever I had to attend a meeting in the morning, I hardly had time to clean the house or prepare our meals. It was Ka Fidel who did the household chores when he arrived

from the factory. As I came home in the afternoon, he had laundered and ironed our clothes.

Children are considered heirs in revolutionary struggle and not as a source to depend upon in the parents' old age. At a tender age, they are already exposed to revolutionary activities.

THE CHILDREN ARE AWAKENING

The children are beginning to understand. Ka Fidel would tell them stories every night from the illustrations in revolutionary books or underground publications. We would teach them revolutionary poems and songs. They have learned to chant revolutionary slogans.

I would bring the children to school and fetch them after classes. Whenever I have to rush and attend meetings, I cannot accompany them to school, so I bring them along to our meetings. There are times when I would bring them from school directly to demonstrations. I just take care that they do not get sick and they can still catch up with their lessons. They pass on leaflets even to their teachers and invite them to symposiums.

I bring Lisa along to "saturation drives" (Leafleting) in neighboring factories. Before 2PM, especially during mass campaigns, we position ourselves at the factory gates and distribute leaflets to workers passing through.

At rallies and marches I would be asked why I bring along the kids knowing well the danger they are exposed to. I'd tell them the children have their rights and it is correct for them to participate in the struggle for their own future.

A revolutionary family also prepares the children for more and greater sacrifices...

Once, I heard the kids talking about their father. Mardi asked Lisa whether she would cry should their father, now a Red fighter, perish in battle. "No, I won't," said Lisa, "I'll be angry and I'll kill our enemies."

We would often talk to the children and tell them that sooner or later they would have to stop attending school in the city and go to the countryside. Not so much because we want them

to be near their father, but more so to serve the masses. If their father should give up his life ahead of us, my children and I will continue in struggle.

Communists and other revolutionaries hold up as a model this family for taking the correct path. Truly, the revolution is for all the exploited and oppressed, and participation in the struggle knows no sex or age barriers.

The US-Marcos dictatorship is up against a formidable force not only of individual men and women but of the entire families who are joining the revolutionary struggle.

BICOL PARTY ORGANIZATION HOLDS FIRST CONFERENCE

February 15, 1982 (Volume XIII, Number 26)

The regional organization of the Communist Party of the Philippines in Bicol successfully held its First Regional Conference last December in the midst of intense operations in the area launched by the dictatorship's mercenary troops.

The conference was attended by delegates with an average of five years' experience in territorial work, in the people's army and in various lines of work.

The assembly summed up the ten-year experience of the regional Party organization and made an assessment of the political situation in the Bicol region. It plotted a course of action for three years and passed resolutions on important matters.

Ideological, political and organizational unity was attained by the conference with the guidance of such important documents as: "Specific Characteristics of Our People's War," "Our Urgent Tasks," "Message of Comrade Amado Guerrero to the First Regional Conference of Northeastern Luzon," and others.

The conference elected the First Regional Committee which, in turn, elected its executive committee and secretariat.

SUMMING-UP OF EXPERIENCE

In summing up the history of the Party organization of the region, the conference drew lessons from its positive and negative experience.

The ambush of an enemy unit in August 1971 in Iriga, Camarines Sur, signaled the start of people's war in the region. From then on, guerrilla zones in the region grew by leaps and bounds.

After the imposition of martial law, the revolutionary movement suffered temporary setbacks in the region, particularly in Sorsogon.

But because the Party and the New People's Army were deeply rooted in the masses, people's war in the region picked up once again. This resurgence received impetus from the appearance of "Our Urgent Tasks" which guided the work of Party cadres in the area.

In its attempts to arrest the growth of the revolutionary movement in the region, the US-Marcos dictatorship beefed up its mercenary troops in the so-called critical areas of Bicol.

Stepping up their repression of the masses, the fascist troops failed to stem the revolutionary tide. They only succeeded in driving the people to embrace more closely the cause of the national-democratic revolution.

The First Regional Conference of the Party in the Bicol region was held at a time when our people's war had entered the advanced sub-stage of the strategic defensive.

In the light of this new situation, the opening of new guerrilla fronts and the expansion and consolidation of existing ones are foremost among the tasks laid down by the conference.

ARMY AND PEOPLE FIGHT TOGETHER FOR VICTORY IN PEOPLE'S WAR

March 31, 1982 (Volume XIV, Number 2)

“Digmaang Bayan—sagot sa, batas military!” (People’s war is the answer to martial law!) When the people first raised this slogan, the New People’s Army was small and weak, and the revolutionary movement still had a lot to learn, and do, about the armed struggle.

Today, the NPA has steadily grown stronger in the thirteen years since it was created on March 29, 1969, and the challenging slogan has proved to be as correct as ever.

The US-Marcos regime imposed open terrorist rule in 1972 in order to enforce the continued domination of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism over a people that had begun to awaken and revolt.

With the violent seizure and holding of state power, greater numbers of people saw that armed revolution was the solution to the problems besetting Philippine society. The reactionaries used their power like an iron hand that gripped the people tighter, and dealt heavier blows on the fledgling revolutionary movement. Among the people, the intense desire to rise up and destroy that power developed and spread. It was in this fertile ground that the people’s democratic revolution sank deeper roots and began to flourish.

The broad foundations of revolutionary warfare were carefully laid down throughout the Philippines. The people were patiently aroused, organized and mobilized against an enemy that had grown even more brutal than before. And by launching small military actions, the NPA gradually built up its strength and gathered more experience.

The efforts by the NPA and the people to advance the revolution from a difficult situation bore fruit after a few years. Starting from the second half of the 1970s, tactical offensives began to be launched more often in various guerrilla fronts in Central Luzon, Isabela, Kalinga-Apayao, Quezon, Samar, and Mindanao. Increased firepower, fresh experience and understanding of warfare, stronger confidence in the ability to win—all these were valuable gains achieved in those battles.

GREATER ROLE

By the end of the 1970s, the NPA had begun to assume a bigger role in the advancement of revolutionary armed struggle throughout the archipelago. The enemy strengthened its forces deployed in the NPA's guerrilla fronts. In areas where the people's army had grown strong, the enemy began to plan on the strategic level, and its commands were centralized. Systematic attention was paid to the campaign to deceive the people and lure them away from revolution, while heightening terrorism and stepping up espionage.

As the 1980s began, the NPA was already showing itself capable of stepping up—and not merely maintaining—the level of fighting. Despite closer political and military confrontations with the enemy, tactical offensives were launched more often in well-developed guerrilla fronts. Successful offensives were also launched in fronts that had only recently been developed.

Such an increase in the NPA's capacity to fight involves three factors.

Firstly, a sufficiently broad and stable mass base has been built up in every major area of the Philippines, enabling guerrilla warfare to be pursued without much constraint. Secondly, there has been an increase in the formation of full-fledged guerrilla units whose main task is military work. And thirdly, territorial Party organizations have been set up in the guerrilla fronts, assuring continuous and all-sided supervision over various activities.

MASS STRUGGLES

As the fighting rose to a new level, political campaigns launched by the people also intensified.

In the past several years, just like the tactical offensives, mass actions carried out in the NPA guerrilla fronts have become bigger, more frequent, more widespread and coordinated. In the main, the people uphold an anti-fascist stand, linking to its other issues affecting their livelihood—land rights, higher costs of farm production, low prices of agricultural products, opposition to projects that harm the people, corruption of local officials, depressed wages in industry, and many others.

These mobilizations are a measure of the people's organized strength, and act as a powerful shield against the enemy's attacks. If they don't succeed in causing the withdrawal of schemes cooked up by the reactionaries, at least they block these.

In the past few years, mass actions have increasingly been held in urban centers outside Manila-Rizal, expressing the broad unity of different people's sectors. Following the example set in the guerrilla fronts, protest actions in urban centers like Cebu, Bacolod, Cagayan de Oro and Baguio have upheld the anti-fascist struggle and linked anti-imperialist and anti-feudal issues to it.

Opposition to the US-Marcos regime has broadened on a nationwide scale, even as support grows overseas for the Filipino people and their armed struggle for national democracy.

It is a fact that today, there exists a solid foundation for people's war to win victory in the Philippines. The New People's Army derives its strength from a mass movement unprecedented in scope and depth.

That is why walls everywhere proclaim the people's ardent support for their army, and local reactionaries tremble at the mere whisper of its name.

TASKS OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE

Strengthen the people's army at a faster pace, intensify guerrilla warfare, exert more effort to mobilize the broad masses of the people—these are the main tasks involved in people's war today.

The people's army must gain strength more quickly. The revolutionary movement is now in a position to pay close attention to this. The truth is that the NPA has not been growing as quickly as the movement's other components which have been advancing vigorously. The rapid growth of the people's army will be decisive in taking full advantage of the great opportunities for promoting the revolution that are present in the current situation.

While continuing to engage in mass work, the people's array now has military work as its main task; that is, it must build itself into a strong fighting force. Full-fledged guerrilla units, armed propaganda units, militia units and partisan units should multiply. Emphasis is being laid on the development of full-fledged guerrilla units on the platoon or undersized platoon level.

The people's army must acquire better weapons and war equipment. Military skills will be regularly and systematically studied and upgraded with training programs and politico-military conferences.

Intensifying guerrilla warfare means carrying out sustained, more frequent, increasingly bigger and coordinated tactical offensives in the various guerrilla fronts. Aside from these, small units will step up military operations outside the limits of the guerrilla fronts, even up to the town centers and cities.

The primary objective of intensified guerrilla warfare is to beef up the people's army. It also aims to provide the people with more arms, remove obstacles to the progress of mass work, and oppose enemy campaigns and military operations in a more active way.

POLITICAL MOBILIZATION

All-out mobilization of the broad masses of the people is fundamental in the speedy and effective implementation of the first two tasks. The components of popular mobilization are propaganda, organizing and mass campaigns.

Expanding and consolidating the support base requires increased propaganda efforts, in order to make known to greater numbers of people the aims, program, policies and methods of the people's democratic revolution.

Political mobilization finds concrete expression in the formation and consolidation of different kinds of organization on the barrio, town, district and provincial levels; and in the setting' up of local organs of political power that represent and enforce the people's interests. With the establishment of a formal organization of the national united front in the coming years, activities will move to an advanced level on a nationwide scale.

These mass organizations serve as channels for the people's creative efforts to assert their interests in the economic, political, cultural, health, education and other fields. To do this, the mass organizations lead in launching various mass campaigns that not only result in satisfying particular demands, but also function as vehicles for revolutionary propaganda and as a method of consolidating the ranks of the organized masses.

Meanwhile, improving the people's livelihood is a permanent concern, in order to meet their own needs and also those of the people's army at present and in the future.

Tasks directly related to the armed struggle constitute a most important part of mass mobilization. In fact, these are the tasks to which people in the guerrilla-fronts are most accustomed. Red fighters are recruited from among them. They set up their own militia units to look after the barrio's security and defense. They actively collect arms, ammunition and military equipment while also seizing these from the enemy. They join NPA military operations. They provide the screen so that the people's fighters can move without being detected by the enemy, and at the same time they keep tab of the enemy's movements to report these to the Red army.

ON TO A NEW LEVEL

“People’s war is the answer to martial law!” Valiantly carrying forward people’s war, the revolutionary movement did make the regime move one step backward. Last year, the label “martial law” was formally removed from the form of political rule.

Even so, power remains a monopoly of the ruling clique, and it continues to rely on the reactionary military to enforce this power. With the aid of the United States, the regime has embarked on a program to provide its regular combat forces with better arms, more modern equipment and increased mobility.

Not surprisingly, the regime has failed to attract the support of the bourgeois reformists. Instead the latter are now seeking a remedy for their political paralysis, outside the bounds of parliamentarism, as when many of them joined the boycott movement in 1981. Quite a number of them have come around to conceding the correctness of armed revolution against a highly unpopular regime.

While the economic crisis in the Philippines continues to worsen, the US-Marcos regime is becoming more isolated whatever step it takes to put a “normal” face on a society wracked by deep contradictions.

The people’s war that we are carrying through on a new level has been more than just an answer to martial law. It is a people’s war for victory, a people’s war to attain prosperity and happiness for the Philippines of the future.

REVOLUTION GAINS MORE GROUND IN NORTHEAST LUZON REGION

March 31, 1982 (Volume XIV, Number 2)

The revolutionary mass movement in Northeast Luzon is advancing. This piece of news is a slap in the face of the fascist dictatorship after its several attempts to crush the revolutionary movement in the region since 1972.

In the past two years, the revolutionary mass movement in the region, particularly in Isabela and Cagayan, has shown more vigor than ever.

Thousands upon thousands of people from contiguous barrios and towns participated in political actions such as the boycott of "presidential elections," protests against atrocities of reactionary troops, and mass evictions.

Among the biggest mobilizations were the boycott campaign from May to June 1981 (46,000), the struggle in two Isabela haciendas from November 1980 to May 1981 (20,000) and the antifascist campaign in eastern Cagayan from August to September 1980 (13,000).

Antifeudal struggles covered wider areas. More than 10,600 peasants (or approximately 40,000, including their families) benefitted from the agrarian revolution in one year alone.

Mass organizations are in the forefront of the campaign to confront the landlords. Organizing committees and full-fledged mass organizations on the barrio level are being formed to lay the groundwork for associations on the town level.

Revolutionary organizations, activities and influence have extended to a number of town centers. This expansion is an important factor in the coordination of mass actions at the town level, and later, at the district, provincial and regional levels.

Such expansion also makes it possible to bring about closer coordination between regional and national mass campaigns. It also plays a key role in effectively organizing students, professionals, semi-proletarians and other forces in the urban areas.

All these developments show that a large portion of the region's two million population has come under the leadership or influence of the revolutionary movement.

PROTEST ACTIONS

The need to unite and wage revolution is readily put across to the masses of the region by relating their own problems to the problems of the whole nation and pointing out the responsibility of the dictatorship for all these.

A case in point is the campaign against the “presidential elections.” During the campaign period, some 15,000 people from 114 barrios of Isabela marched toward the capital to protest their eviction from two haciendas. At the same time, 16 inter-barrio rallies were held in 11 towns in the region to denounce the dictatorship’s election schemes.

In these campaigns, the people from the region defiantly asserted their democratic rights. Armed only with bolos and stones, they forced the fascist troops to withdraw or met them head on, as has happened in a number of instances.

At one time, the masses snatched the shields and truncheons of the fascist troops who attempted to block their march toward Isabela’s capital. In another incident, some 4,500 bolo-wielding peasants surrounded and turned back government surveyors and their fascist escorts en route to Hacienda Sta. Isabel.

The level attained by the mass struggle in Isabela is remarkable, to say the least. The broad and open antifascist campaign was sustained for seven months. Several times, protest actions were coordinated with each other.

In places where consolidation work is being conducted, protest actions have been launched simultaneously in five to ten barrios. About 1,000 to 5,000 people joined these actions which reached urban centers.

Open protest actions have also been staged in areas that are still in the initial stage of consolidation. These are held simultaneously in two to four barrios, with 200 to 700 people participating.

AGRARIAN REVOLUTION

In all the region’s guerrilla zones, land rent has been reduced, particularly in rice and corn lands. In advanced areas, the prevailing land rent is equivalent to $\frac{1}{4}$ or 25 percent of the net rice harvest, and $\frac{1}{6}$ or 16.5 percent of the gross corn harvest. In areas that are in the initial stage of consolidation, the prevailing land rent is equal to $\frac{1}{4}$ of the gross income.

Refusal to pay land rent is widespread in Isabela. More and more peasants in other areas no longer pay amortization to the Land Bank as well as debts owed to other government agencies. As a result of the movement’s growing

influence, the landlords themselves, not a few times, instituted changes of their own accord.

Many landlords have reduced land rent from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{1}{3}$ of the gross harvest, or from $\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{1}{4}$.

The masses' livelihood has also considerably improved as a result of the wage increases won by farm workers, lower rent on farm machinery, the struggle against usury, and the acquisition of carabaos.

MASS ORGANIZATIONS

Hiding a part of the harvest from the landlord as a means to lower land rent is still widespread in expansion areas. But in areas where the movement has taken root, peasant associations openly confront the landlords.

Peasant associations have been reorganized on a broad scale and more full-fledged mass organizations have been formed along the class lines. The leading role of poor peasants and agricultural workers are given full play in these associations to effectively wage agrarian revolution.

In one year alone, the number of organized masses had nearly doubled and the number of activists has increased by almost 50 percent. Many women and youth joined organizations.

These organizations perform such varied tasks as intelligence work, procurement of supplies, caring for the guerrilla's families, and elimination of informers and thieves. Children, with ages ranging from five to 12 years, frequently serve as couriers of the people's army.

The mass organizations are also active in conducting general mass courses and in distributing the revolutionary mass newspaper in the region, *Barinkuas*. Revolutionary education among the barrio folk is conducted by mass organizations and mass activists. In addition, locally created revolutionary songs and poems are being popularized by the mass organizations.

The organizations being developed in the countryside are mainly illegal and secret in form. However, legal organizations are used to expand and advance the mass movement in areas outside the region's guerrilla zones and also to serve as screen for underground activities in the barrio.

The basis for unity in the mass organizations has been raised from the level of labor exchange to that of waging antifeudal and antifascist struggles. The organizations are no longer preoccupied solely with problems of production, but have turned their attention to political mobilization on problems concerning land, wages, usury, eviction and terrorism by the dictatorship.

Through these mass organizations, the initiative of the people is given free rein for various tasks that serve their interests and that of the revolution.

Many activists are trained to lead barrio committees in military work, education, health, finance, and other tasks. Experiences derived from these activities play an important role in the setting up and administration of revolutionary people's government at various levels.

Meanwhile, in capitals and town centers, swelling numbers of workers have been organized in sawmills and other places where workers are concentrated. Scores of student activists have come up to devote their full time to the revolution. Increasing numbers of professionals such as teachers, doctors, lawyers, government employees and church workers have been reached and mobilized for the revolution.

ARMED STRUGGLE

The advance of the revolutionary movement has laid the ground for the further growth of the armed struggle and the people's army in the region. As the masses are aroused and mobilized, more guerrilla fighters, reserve forces and supporters are produced.

Scores of activists from various mass organizations have joined the people's army these past two years. Material and technical support have been systematically obtained as a result of gains in the agrarian revolution. In many cases, enemy plans have been thwarted and fascist troops demoralized by the masses who resisted fascist attacks in towns and barrios.

Indeed, the revolutionary mass movement in Northeast Luzon has come a long way after the Party, the people's army and the masses hurdled the hardships brought about by the enemy's prolonged encirclement and suppression campaigns from 1972 to 1976.

By thoroughly studying the problems and shortcomings in revolutionary work in various fields then and now, the movement's mass work has advanced since 1977 and continues to reap victories up to the present.

MASSES IN SAMAR ACT VS. FOREST DENUDATION

April 15, 1982 (Volume XIV, Number 3)

Stop the rapid denudation of the forests—this is the call raised by a broad mass campaign now gaining momentum in Samar, the country's third largest island.

The campaign aims to check the operations of big loggers, while allowing the people to pursue *kaingin* farming (clearing of forest lands for cultivation) on the mountain slopes, under reasonable regulations.

Almost half of the forests of Samar have been destroyed in the last ten years. The entire island is expected to be completely logged over soon if export logging continues unabated.

Big companies and concessionaires are the big culprits, denuding the forests without any restraint nor consideration for the damage they do to the people's interest.

Because of excessive logging, soil is eroded from the mountainsides, riverbeds are silted and get shallower, and floods hit the plains below during the rainy season. What's more, the natural resources that should be conserved for the people's long term benefit are recklessly squandered.

A more immediate problem is posed by the fascist military's use of forest clearings in the mountain areas. These are turned into landing fields when airborne troops are brought in for campaigns of repression against the people's army and the people of the hinterlands. From the air, forest clearings serve as location aids for the pilots of enemy airplanes and helicopters. On the ground, they function as the center of gravity of the operations being carried out by the fascist troops.

Take the case of the biggest logging company in Samar, San Jose Timber (SJT), which is owned by Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile. It has been turned into a fascist military base from which to attack the people. It will be recalled that 45 barrio people were massacred in Las Navas, Northern Samar in 1981 in the fascists' drive to get them out of the concession.

Kaingin farming, on the other hand, also accounts for some forest denudation. But there's a big difference between the destruction caused by the big logging companies and the people's clearing and planting activities on the mountain slopes. This kind of farming contributes to food production,

which is important especially in areas where food supplies are scarce and the fascist military often makes raids.

Most *kaingin* farmers are poor settlers, although better-off peasants also have wide *kaingin* areas under cultivation.

On that basis, the people have united to step up the attacks on SJT, for example, while collectively working out solutions to offset the temporary production decrease resulting from the voluntary imposition of controls on *kaingin* farming.

INITIAL SUCCESSES

The timely mass campaign began in 1981, and it has already had some initial successes.

The revolutionary movement was able to paralyze SJT operations for most of 1981. Last December, the New People's Army, together with hundreds of local people, made almost simultaneous raids on four SJT equipment depots located in three districts. They destroyed over P30 million worth of logging and road building equipment. A tugboat and a barge belonging to the company were sunk in the Catubig River. Such losses for SJT will surely result in an even greater slowdown in their logging operations this year.

Other logging companies observe self-imposed limits on their operations after learning about the damage done to the people by excessive forest destruction.

Meanwhile, among the people, positive results have been obtained from the *kaingin* policy. This came about through patient efforts made by comrades to get broad support for the policy, especially from the better-off peasants, and to find solutions to the initial difficulties arising from *kaingin* control.

In one district, the peasants collectively decided which areas are still open to *kaingin* farming, and which areas are not. At the same time, they introduced measures to make up for the initial decrease in production resulting from the limitation of areas that can be cleared and farmed. They agreed on the following steps:

- Promoting the spirit of cooperation and mutual help, they exchange their labor for free, lend farm implements to each other, and lend out seedlings without interest.

- Vegetable gardening is promoted along with poultry and livestock raising. They also look for additional sources of livelihood like hunting and rattan gathering.
- The revolutionary movement recognizes their right to the *kaingins* which they had earlier abandoned and encourages them to return to these areas and resume farming.

The comrades made it clear that kaingin farming is not prohibited, much less is it bad, as long as it is practiced in accordance with a rational policy of conserving forest resources. Even logging activities, they explained, can be of benefit to the people's livelihood.

Although better-off peasants were among those affected by the policy, they found it easy to cooperate in the campaign, being convinced of its positive points. Like the other people in the barrio, their physical security and their livelihood were being threatened by the increasing attacks carried out by the fascist AFP on land and from the air. Troops on operation would suddenly be landed and massed in the forest clearings. In the district mentioned earlier, hundreds of sacks of rice had already been hauled away in the fascists' helicopters even as killings and arrests were carried out right and left.

CONSERVING THE FORESTS

The people's firm support for the campaign is motivated by the importance they give to the common welfare. They are willing to place the common good over individual interests not only at present but up to the future, when a truly new society shall have been established.

As of now, the revolutionary movement in Samar aims to take full advantage of their island's mountainous, forested and well-populated terrain in order to advance protracted people's war in that part of the country. It is easy to see the relationship between forest conservation and the need to conserve and further increase the revolutionary movement's political and military strength.

It was in the forested mountain areas where the NPA first gathered strength in Samar. It was there also where the first mass organizations were created and became strong.

It was in these areas where the fascist military first suffered, and continues to suffer, combat defeats. The enemy has found it extremely difficult to find the guerrilla units of the people's army moving swiftly and secretly from place to place, protected by the thick forest cover.

The people's enthusiastic campaign assumes great importance in the light of the increasing attention now being given by the people's army to military work and the building of guerrilla bases in selected parts of the island.

But the movement takes a still longer perspective. This early, the proper management and conservation of our forest resources will surely benefit the people in the years to come. The country's natural wealth can be put to maximum use for the all-sided development of the national economy, under the people's democratic republic that the Filipino people will establish in the future.

CHDF UNITS IN ZAMBOANGA SUR OUTWITTED, DISARMED BY NPA

April 30, 1982 (Volume XIV, Number 4)

Units of the New People's Army outwitted and disarmed three units of the Civilian Home Defense Forces (CHDF) in Dumingag, Zamboanga del Sur, last March 26.

In the series of operations, the people's army confiscated 31 semi-automatic rifles (30 Garand rifles and a carbine) and plenty of ammunition. The guerillas also punished two CHDF men who owed blood debts and were diehard minions of the fascist military.

Wearing uniforms of the Philippine Army, the people's guerillas first took a 14-man enemy unit by surprise in Barrio Karangán. Then they raided the smaller CHDF groups in Barrio Manlabay and Bukayan. Not one CHDF unit put up a fight.

This was the second time in five months that the people's army carried out a big arms-confiscation operation on the CHDF units in the province. On November 5, Red fighters seized 37 firearms from CHDF units stationed in the nearby town of Mahayag. The harvest included 33 Garand rifles (not 30 as reported in *Ang Bayan*, February 15), two carbines and two handguns.

In these operations, the people's guerillas also used the same ruse. They made the CHDF men believe they were soldiers of the regime, who had come to give military training.

The poor settlers and the Subanon minorities in those forested and hilly towns in Western Mindanao, fight side-by-side with the NPA against the schemes of the US-Marcos regime, especially those that serve the interests of imperialist firms.

This unity is the key in the rapid growth of the people's army in the area and the spread and intensification of guerilla warfare against the troops of the fascist regime's Southern Command (Southcom).

OVERTHROW THE US-MARCOS FASCIST DICTATORSHIP, ESTABLISH A REVOLUTIONARY COALITION GOVERNMENT

An Urgent Message to the Filipino People

October 7, 1983 (Volume XV, Number 8)

I. THE NATIONAL SITUATION

The US-Marcos fascist dictatorship is inextricably in crisis and is now in a position of extreme political isolation. Its power is rapidly eroding, it is losing its political grip, and is troubled by growing internal dissension. The process of its eventual disintegration is inexorably in motion.

The rapidly expanding and intensifying anti-dictatorship mass movement in the urban areas and the fast advancing armed struggle being carried out by the people's armed forces in the countryside attest to the dictatorship's isolation and are heightening this isolation all the more.

The current economic crisis, dramatized by the two recent devaluations of the peso is wreaking havoc on the livelihood of the people and in fueling their anger even more.

Each day of militant and revolutionary struggle by the people is steadily shaking and weakening the very foundations of the dictatorship and is bringing it closer to total collapse.

A. THE PEOPLE'S ANGER EXPLODES, AFTER YEARS OF STEADY BUILDUP

In Metro Manila as in other cities of the country, millions of our people have been boldly and militantly marching on the streets and carrying out other forms of mass struggles in open defiance of the fascist dictatorial rule of the Marcos puppet regime and its master and principal supporter, US imperialism.

They have one common, unifying aim: to end the exploitative, oppressive, corrupt and traitorous dictatorship which has brought so much violence, pain and suffering to their lives.

What has triggered the current explosion of the people's anger and contempt for the US-Marcos dictatorship was the brutal and treacherous assassination of former Senator Benigno Aquino Jr. upon his arrival from the United States last August 21.

Aquino, the foremost leader of the bourgeois liberal opposition in the country, had suffered almost eight years of solitary confinement in the regime's prisons and three years of exile in the United States. Despite the grave risk and the heavy odds, he was finally coming home for the avowed purpose of rallying, reorganizing and unifying the fragmented forces of the legal opposition to fight the Marcos regime.

At the particular time of Aquino's homecoming, the regime was bedeviled by the worsening political and economic crises of its own creation. It could not afford to have Aquino adding to its problems and threatening its increasingly precarious hold on power. In its desperation, the regime decided to have him shot and killed at the airport on his arrival, just seconds after he had been placed under arrest.

The masterminds of this cowardly crime were the ruthless dictator Marcos himself, his capricious and overly ambitious wife Imelda Marcos, Marcos' most trusted lackey in the reactionary Armed Forces of the Philippines, Gen. Fabian Ver, and the warlord Eduardo Cojuangco, whose economic empire has grown many times over during martial law because of the patronage if his compadre Marcos.

Secondarily responsible for Aquino's assassination is US imperialism—in particular, the Reagan administration in the US—for abetting the Marcos regime in its use of fascist terror and in riding roughshod over the Filipino people's national and democratic rights. US imperialism's coddling of, and increased support for, the Marcos regime made possible its impunity and brazenness in murdering Aquino.

What has angered the Filipino people was not only the assassination, although this was enough to give rise to popular outrage. It is the vicious but clumsy efforts of the regime to cover up its own crime and shift the blame to others, including the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army. Like his idol Hitler, Marcos presumes that a lie repeated over and over again can be believed by the people.

Given the circumstances under which it was to assassinate Aquino, the regime must have expected that there would be a public furor. But it must have also felt that it could weather the storm, so to speak, until the crime would gradually recede from the national consciousness and be finally consigned to oblivion.

The regime clearly misjudged the temper of the people. They deeply grieved the death of Aquino, and their long pent-up anger that has accumu-

lated over the years exploded in a massive display of outrage and solidarity against the regime.

In the hundreds of thousands, they patiently lined up to view Aquino's martyred body. In the millions, they marched in the rain for many hours at his funeral procession, or massed along the funeral route. And on September 21, the 11th anniversary of the imposition of martial law, the people gathered at Manila's Liwasang Bonifacio to stage the biggest anti-dictatorship rally ever.

Before and after Aquino's funeral and the massive September 21 demonstration, there have been many more protests actions in various parts of Metro Manila and in other cities around the country, including Baguio, Angeles, Legaspi and Naga in Luzon, Cebu, Bacolod and Iloilo in the Visayas, and Davao, Cagayan de Oro and Zamboanga in Mindanao.

Workers and other urban poor, peasants, students and other youth, professional church people, businessmen, employee of private corporations and even employees of the government demanded not only justice for Aquino and for all other victims of fascist violence and abuse. They wanted the end of the Marcos regime.

Many of those attending the recent rallies and demonstrations had been participants of many a mass action against the dictatorship long before Aquino's murder. But many more had previously been politically timid and inactive, voicing their protests only within the family circle or among trusted friends. Now they are out on the streets protesting openly.

Very striking has been the presence of whole families and clans, including children, at the mass actions. And there have been any number of ways by which the people have expressed their protest aside from the marches and rallies. There have been picketing of the big commercial and service establishments owned by the Marcos clique, boycott of newspapers owned and controlled by the clique, letters to the editor, telephone calls to live radio programs, publication, reproduction and dissemination of manifestos and other propaganda materials, sticking of posters in public places, painting of slogans on walls, and such other activities as indoor rallies, symposiums and convocations. The "noise barrage" has become an effective weapon in rattling the enemy, as had been confetti thrown out of high-rise buildings.

The aroused people are giving free rein to their boundless creativity, initiative, boldness and courage.

Swept along by the massive anti-dictatorship movement, bourgeois liberal oppositionists have also stiffened their determination to fight the Marcos

regime with the few capitulationists and collaborationists in their ranks relegated to the background, at least for now.

Even big comprador capitalists and big landlords not belonging to the Marcos clique have been helping organize and joining some of the bigger protests actions, notably at the financial and commercial areas in Makati and in Manila's Binondo district. They want to make it known that they, too, have had enough of the regime's corruption, mismanagement, deception and terrorism.

In its desperation, the Marcos regime has ordered its soldiers, policemen and agents provocateurs to shoot directly into the ranks of demonstrations and even bystanders, forcibly disperse peaceful gathering with truncheons, teargas, water cannons and guns, set up checkpoints to harass and intimidate. It has threatened to reimpose martial law, although martial law has been prevailing continuously in the country since 1972.

These measures are clearly meant to terrorize the people into abandoning their open mass struggles against the regime. But these have merely served to fuel the people's anger even more. The untainted people have been launching even more mass actions and in more places throughout the country than before. They are being politicized through their direct participation in the struggle and are being steeled for even more militant struggles ahead.

As already pointed out, the Aquino assassination galvanized our people to struggle. But their hatred towards the regime did not develop overnight. It has been building up over the years, and specifically from early 1981.

It was in 1981 that the regime announced the "lifting" of martial law. It was in that year that the regime held a "presidential election". It was also in that year that the regime announce the completion of its "normalization" programs.

The lifting of martial law fooled nobody, of course. For one, Marcos retained and continued to wield all the fascist powers he had grabbed since 1972, and even added new ones. For another, instead of scaling down fascist repression to conform with the supposed abolition of martial law, the regime actually intensified militarization through the country, especially in the countryside.

The "presidential election" was nothing but a carbon copy of the regime's earlier falsification of the popular will under martial law. With no opposition candidate running, the regime merely went through the motions of an election and proclaimed that Marcos had "won" another term of six years in the presidency. As for "normalization," what it actually meant was that

institutionalization of the fascist dictatorial rule of the Marcos clique and its US imperialist masters.

All these—the fake lifting of martial law, escalated repression and militarization, the bogus presidential election, and the institutionalist of fascism—heightened the people’s anger and resistance, and intensified the regime’s political isolation,

But these were not all. The continuously deteriorating national economy took a nosedive in 1981 due to the unbridled corruption and destructive policies of the Marcos regime, including its submission to the increasingly heavy impositions of US imperialism.

Continuing and intensified political tyranny and economic exploitation thus combined to make life for the people more miserable than ever before. It also firmed up their militant and revolutionary struggles against the US-Marcos dictatorship.

To the workers masses, continuing martial law and the economic crisis meant a further diminution of the value of their meager wages, intensified capitalist exploitation and layoff from work, the suppression of their rights to organization and militant unions and to strike, and the lack of job opportunities. The response of the worker masses was to launch a strike movement. In terms of number of strikes and strikers, the more than 400 strikes launched by 154,000 workers in 1981-2 was one of the most brilliant periods in the history of the workers’ movement in the Philippines. Hundreds of thousands of workers also participated in rallies and broad political demonstrations as they stepped up their struggles against fascism and imperialism, and against feudalism in solidarity with the peasant masses. The workers, too, were sending their most politically advanced members to swell the ranks of the New People’s Army or to the urban revolutionary underground.

To the peasant masses, continuing martial law and intensified militarization—and their worsening economic crisis—meant hunger, massacres, forced evacuations and reconcentrations in “strategic hamlets,” landgrabbing, arson, extortion and robbery, rape, arbitrary arrests and torture. Their response was not only to launch increasingly bigger antifascist and antifeudal class struggles but to join the New People’s Army increasing numbers and to extend support in various other ways, such as sharing their roofs and their meager food stocks with the people’s guerrillas, and gathering intelligence on the enemy. These made possible the accelerated expansion and advance of armed struggle all over the country.

To the urban petty bourgeoisie, continuing martial law and the economic crisis meant diminution of the value of their already low salaries, increasing taxes and other arbitrary exactions from their pay envelopes, increasing prices of goods and services, and suppression of their democratic rights. The attempts of the regime to deceive them through the controlled mass media only fueled their anger. Their response was to openly protest and assert their political and economic rights. Among these were public and private school teachers, doctors, nurses and others in the health sector, bank and insurance employees, and court employees, and other functionaries of the government. Students and other youth victimized by ever-increasing tuition fees, a fascist educational system and suppression of their democratic rights, were at the forefront of the urban mass movement, along with the workers, church peoples and professionals. The urban petty bourgeoisie, too, was contributing its share to the ranks of the people's army and to the urban underground movement.

To the national bourgeoisie, continuing martial law and the economic crisis meant increasing taxes, being squeezed out of credit facilities which were a monopoly of the Marcos clique and the giant transnational corporations, and unfair competition from American and Japanese foods being dumped here in ever-increasing quantities with the acquiescence of the Marcos puppet regime. The national capitalists are extending aid to the national-democratic revolutionary movement in various ways.

The bogus presidential election of 1981 gave rise to what was then the biggest-ever national alliance that rallied a majority of the nation's voters to boycott the "election." The bourgeois liberal oppositionists boldly joined and strengthened the massive boycott movement, thus effectively frustrating the regime's attempts to entrap them into joining and giving it some semblance of legitimacy to its electoral farce.

The Marcos regime's reaction to all these was characteristic of its past behavior: intensified repression. This included even more militarization in the countryside, arbitrary arrests and detention under the notorious presidential commitment order of PCO, and "salvaging" of the summary and clandestine execution of suspected "subversives." Slyly, Marcos also signed antedated presidential decrees increasing to death the penalty for sedition and rebellion.

In succession, the regime used the PCO to round up antifascist and progressive workers, church workers, journalists and other citizens.

In the case of the arrested and detained labor leaders, their “crime” was to press their demands for the workers’ right to strike and other union rights. In the case of those in the church sector, the “crime” of the arrested priests, nuns and members of the laity was to engage in social action work which included helping the victims of fascism seek justice. In the case of those in the mass media, the “crime” of the arrested journalists was to try and strike a balance in their reporting and comments on Philippine society.

In the face of the regime’s repression, the broad anti-dictatorship alliance staged a series of protest campaigns. It protested against “salvagings” and demanded the release of all political detainees and prisoners, the repeal of the PCO (which Marcos, with characteristic duplicity, replaced with the equally repressive, preventive detention action, or PDA), and the repeal of secret decrees. At the time when the Reagan administration and the Marcos regime were renegotiating the military bases agreement, the alliance demanded the removal of these bases from the Philippines. It also opposed US imperialist domination of the economy, including the control over it of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB).

When the Marcos regime chose to assassinate Aquino, it unwittingly unleashed the current massive mass movement demanding the end of puppet fascist rule and of the US-Marcos regime itself.

B. THE ARMED STRUGGLE IS RAPIDLY ADVANCING DESPITE THE REGIME’S INTENSIFIED “COUNTER-INSURGENCY” PROGRAM

Even as it was announcing the “lifting” of martial law in 1981, the US-Marcos regime was pouring more and more of its mercenary troops into the New People’s Army’s guerrilla fronts and guerrilla zones throughout the country.

With the Reagan administration supplying not only the logistics but also the blueprints, the puppet regime launched such operations plans (O-Plans) as “Katatagan” and “Cadena de Amor.” Despite the fancy names, these O-Plans simply meant troop saturation and terrorism, massive and prolonged military operations, population relocation and control, cosmetic reforms in the AFP, arbitrary killings of civilians for increased “body count.” Coercing local officials and civic organizations to join in the “counter-insurgency” program, fake surrenders of supposed “NPAs,” and vicious “psychological warfare” (“psywar”) and disinformation drives.

The regime dispatched battalion upon battalion to sow terror in the Quezon-Bicol area, Mindanao, Samar, and the Central Cordillera ranges.

Altogether, it has about 55 combat battalions operating the NPA's guerrilla fronts, and about 15 combat battalions in the guerrilla fronts of the Moro National Liberation Front-Bangsa Moro Army (MNLF-BMA).

While the AFP still enjoyed (and still does) numerical and logistical superiority over the people's guerrillas, its combat forces were actually being stretched thin over the vast countryside. It came to a point where the AFP was pulling personnel from desk jobs and civilian assignments and throwing them into combat duty.

To augment its overstretched regular forces, the AFP set up more and more units of the so-called Civilian Home Defense Force (CHDF) and other paramilitary units by coercing barrio people to join. Local bullies and petty criminals were likewise enlisted in the CHDF with promises of opportunities for plunder through extortion and bribery.

As it scraped the bottom of the barrel of its resources, the AFP also compelled policemen and fireman, private security guards, *baranggay tanods* and *rondas* to assist in "counter-insurgency" programs and in breaking peaceful strikes and rallies. It also resorted to provoking tribal wars among the national minorities, especially in the Cordillera ranges in Northern Luzon, and arming pseudo-religious fanatic organizations in the Visayas and Mindanao.

The regime's intensified militarization and terrorism scheme resulted not in the suppression of the people's armed struggle, but in its more rapid advance through the archipelago.

Millions of workers and peasants joined and actively supported the revolutionary armed struggle against the fascist regime. The CHDF became a relatively convenient source of rifles and ammunition. Many local policemen were giving valuable information to the people's army and mass organizations. Combat units, propaganda detachments, logistical and medical support organizations, and people's militia units of the people's army expanded at an accelerated pace.

The NPA and the revolutionary masses not only have frustrated the massive and prolonged military operations on the enemy, they have succeeded in expanding previously existing guerrilla fronts and guerrilla zones and even established new ones. There are three principal reasons for this.

First, increasing numbers of the people are directly participating in the armed struggle and giving it more political and material support. The most politically advanced among the worker and peasant masses, students and others from the urban petty bourgeoisie, and from the national minorities

swelled the ranks of the New People's Army. They were also extending such material support as guns and ammunition, medicine, food and shelter. They also helped in intelligence gathering.

Second, the NPA is hewing closely to the correct strategy and tactics of people's war with due regard to the specific characteristics of our country. It has close links with the masses and relies on them, conducts systematic political education among them and mobilizes them mass struggle. The NPA is fighting a protracted war, gradually building its strength in the countryside while systematically extending armed struggle throughout the archipelago, including the cities. It gradually weakens the enemy through numerous blows. It avoids decisive engagements with numerically superior enemy forces while annihilating his relatively small, scattered and vulnerable units.

And third, with their valor, devotion to duty and high sense of discipline, NPA cadres and Red fighters have wholeheartedly shouldered the heaviest of sacrifices, to the extent of giving up their lives, for the people's national and democratic interests.

The NPA's guerrilla fronts and guerrilla zones now cover almost all the provinces and major islands in the country. The people's army is now in all provinces in Northern Luzon except Batanes, in all provinces of Central Luzon; in almost all provinces and major islands in Southern Luzon; in all major islands of the Visayas; and in 15 of 18 provinces on the mainland of Mindanao (the MNLF-BMA is in seven mainland provinces and in tree island-provinces of Mindanao). Our bigger and more advance fronts are the size of a province, and the NPA operational areas now extend to cities which adjoin or are within our guerrilla fronts.

The frequency and magnitude of the NPA's tactical offensives are increasing from day to day. Its ambushes, raids and sparrow and city partisan operations are gradually decimating and demoralizing the enemy, while enabling the people's army to confiscate his arms and strengthen itself.

The NPA has boldly and creatively developed effective guerrilla tactics such as combing numerous and widespread small guerrilla operations with occasional attacks on platoon and company-sized enemy forces; inter-provincial and inter-regional coordination of tactical offensives and counter-campaigns; harassing or destroying isolated enemy outposts and then wiping out enemy reinforcements; other forms of feints and decoys; harassing and slicing the main force of enemy convoys or columns to annihilate its advance or rear units, disarming enemy troops without firing a shot or with a minimum

of firefights, through surprise, propaganda and bold actions; and combining military operations with the political actions of the people.

In each of the two years 1981 and 1982, the NPA seized almost 1,000 high-powered firearms from the enemy. And in the first six months of 1983 alone, it seized over 1,000 of the enemy's high-powered arms. In the same six-month period, the NPA killed or wounded 1,500 of the enemy's regular troops and paramilitary forces, including 50 unit commanders (among them colonels) and staff officers. In addition, the people's army captured or cased the surrender of 400 to 500 more regular troops and paramilitary men of the enemy. In line with the NPA's struck rule of conduct, all captives were accorded considerate treatment, including medical attention for their wounds, and immediately released.

The AFP's O-Plans "Katatagan," "Cadena de Amor," and related "counter-insurgency" programs have ended up as dismal flops. Its troop-saturation operations in Mindanao, Quezon-Bicol, Samar, the Cordillera ranges and Cagayan Valley have resulted in the further expansion and intensification of the people's guerrilla warfare.

To cover up its failures, the AFP has been killing more barrio people just to jack up its "body count," and staging mock surrenders of "NPAs" by compelling the barrio people to attend "peace rallies" and then forcing them to pledge allegiance to the regime.

Even as guerrilla warfare has been spreading and intensifying in the NPA's areas of operations, the armed struggle being waged by the MNLF-BMA has also been picking up in its own guerrilla fronts and guerrilla zones, some adjoining the NPA's in southwestern and central Mindanao. This attests to the Moro people's steadfastness in fighting for their right to self-determination and other democratic rights which the Marcos regime and US imperialism continue to suppress.

With the anti-dictatorship mass movement sweeping the country, even conservative, traditional Moro leasers have been threatening to support the MNLF-BMA's struggle, unless the Marcos regime stops its assaults on the people's freedoms.

In many parts of Mindanao today, the NPA and BMA are helping each other in various ways in confronting a common enemy, the US-Marcos dictatorship.

Of late, there have also emerged small armed groups, or groups preparing for armed struggle, against the dictatorship. Our Party and our people's army

are prepared to assist these groups in all ways possible, within our limited resources. In fact, we are already extending such assistance, including political and military training, to some of them

C. THE NATIONAL UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM, US IMPERIALISM AND FEUDALISM IS RAPIDLY EXPANDING, ALONGSIDE AND COMPLEMENTING THE ARMED STRUGGLE

The national united front against fascism, US imperialism and feudalism is the broad-based alliance of all democratic classes, sectors and organizations struggling against the US-Marcos fascist dictatorship. It has been expanding rapidly since 1981. The massive protest movement now surging throughout the land is expanding the ranks of the united front even more.

The groups and organizations encompassed by the revolutionary united front have different programs and tactics, but are united in their common aim to fight and overthrow the dictatorship and establish a democratic, independent, and united Philippines. While resolving their differences in a fraternal manner, they fight the common enemy in armed and in open mass struggles.

The formal organization of the revolutionary united front, the National Democratic Front, is consolidating and expanding its ranks, with more and more organizations rallying to its banner. These include our Party and people's army, and the various other revolutionary organizations of Marxists, national-democrats, Christians and Christian socialists, liberal democrats, nationalists and national minorities.

The NDF is national because it is committed to, and is struggling for, genuine national independence free from imperialist and other foreign interference and dictation, and for national unity. And it is democratic because it is committed to, and struggling for, the political, economic and social interests of the democratic classes, strata and sectors of society. In particular the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie.

The NDF and the MNLF have been cooperative with each other, undertaking joint projects here and abroad to isolate and fight the fascist dictatorship. The NDF has also been fostering friendly relations with legal opposition parties and organizations.

Overseas, the NDF's solidarity efforts have already resulted in the establishment of fraternal and friendly relations with various parties, national liberation movements, democratic organizations and even with governments

that are in sympathy with the Filipino people's revolutionary struggles. The NDF extends support to them as well.

The NDF now has units operating in the United States, Canada, Europe, our neighbor countries in Asia and the Pacific, in the Middle East and in Latin America and Africa. While consolidating gains already made, the NDF is expanding its overseas work further. United front building and the armed struggle complement and support one another. Together, they are gradually and steadily pushing the US-Marcos dictatorship to its final downfall.

D. THE GRAVE ECONOMIC CRISIS IS CAUSING THE PEOPLE UNTOLD MISERY AND IS HEIGHTENING THE ISOLATION OF THE US-MARCOS DICTATORSHIP.

Economic backwardness and economic crises are inherent in a semi-colonial and semifeudal society much as the Philippines. The national economy has been in almost continual crisis since the imposition of martial law in 1972 and, indeed, since the Marcos clique assumed power in 1966.

Its puppetry and collusion allowed the monopoly capitalists, particularly US imperialists, to plunder the country's natural and human resources, dump their industrial and consumer foods in the Philippine, export their surplus capital here, and take control of the Philippine banking and financial system. Dependent on imperialist banks and lending institutions for investments and loans, the regime unswervingly followed their dictation in order to get the foreign funds it needed. US imperialism has thus imposed an import-oriented "development program" that ties the Philippine economy to the production of agricultural and mineral raw materials, plus a few final and semi-processed foods, for the advance capitalist countries. Imperialist subsidiaries monopolize Philippine manufacturing, in recent years, they have invaded the countryside as well, setting lucrative agribusinesses in partnership with members of the Marcos clique.

Serving as imperialists dummies and henchmen has been highly profitable for the ruling clique. They pocket huge amounts from foreign loans and contracts. They monopolize entire sectors of the export trade (like sugar and coconut), as well as the import trade. The bulk of their profits are invested abroad, and the rest is dissipated in extravagant living. In the 16 years that the clique has been in power, it has combined bureaucrat capitalism with the worst of the clan system (including the "compadre" system) to make official corruption reach unprecedented levels. Government funds are squandered on the so-called crony corporations, and splurged on showcase projects and the per-

sonal aggrandizement of the Marcos couple. The specific crimes of the Marcos clique against the national economy would make a long list indeed.

The economy's deterioration speeded up in 1979 and 1980. In 1981, it took a nosedive as its internal weaknesses failed to withstand the numerous effects of the economic crisis raging in the US and other world capitalist system. The country's principal exports were selling badly in the world market. Foreign and domestic debts grew by leaps and bounds. There were huge deficits in the National government budget, the balance of trade, and the balance of payments. Unemployment and underemployment climbed to more than 40 percent. More and bigger taxes were imposed. Consumer prices soared, led off by gasoline (which became more expensive locally despite the lowered selling prices set by the oil-exporting countries). Shortages of basic commodities controlled by the Marcos clique, like sugar, cooking oil and soap, occurred regularly. The Philippine financial system almost collapsed as big bourgeois compradors and big landlords in the Marcos clique failed to repay the billions of pesos loaned to them by the government; billions more of the people's money was then poured into their bankrupt corporations to keep them from going under.

In 1981, the gross national product (GDP) grew by only 4.7 percent, the lowest rate of growth since 1971. In 1982, it plunged even lower—2.6 percent, the lowest since 1963—giving an indication of the economy's severely weakened state. Another indication was the shortage of foreign exchange for imports, debt repayments and capital repatriation by foreign corporations; not enough dollars were entering the country. In 1981, the balance of payments deficit was already massive at \$560 million. The following year, it skyrocketed to \$1.1 billion, the biggest BOP deficit since 1946. This year, the deficit is expected to reach \$2 billion. The Philippines foreign debt, too, has been steadily piling up. In 1981, the country already owed almost \$16 billion to foreign banks and lending institutions; in 1982, this climbed to \$18 billion, excluding interest. At the urging of the IMF, the regime devalued the peso last June. From an exchange rate of P9.17 to \$1 at the start of 1983, it became P11 to \$1.

In the past six weeks since the Aquino assassination, with the Marcos regime sharply isolated and defied from all sides, the economic situation has taken a dramatic turn for the worse. American, Japanese and other foreign corporations have actually withdrawn \$200 million of their investments in the Philippines. Wealthy Filipinos have been frantically transferring capital

abroad. New investments dropped by at least 60 percent from August to September, as foreign investors backed away and local banks refused to lend. Private banks abroad are also awaiting the lead of the IMF before lending any more funds to the Philippines. On October 5, the regime devalued the peso once more, fixing the new rate at P14 to \$1; already, it is talking about another devaluation before the year ends.

The crisis is causing unprecedented hardship to the vast masses of the Filipino people, especially the toiling masses whose real incomes have been purposely held down by the regime. Since “development” is geared to production for export, workers in the factories, mines and plantations are being made to toil harder for their shrinking wages. In a modern-day version of the slave trade, the regime is stepping up its campaign to export dollar-earning Filipino labor abroad, closing its eyes to the rampant abuses and exploitation to which the migrant workers are subjected. Peasants are being driven off their lands to make way for huge agro-corporations. Those who continue to till the soil are barely better off, because the prices of their produce have been depressed for a long time, even as the goods and services they buy become more expensive. The urban petty bourgeoisie are hounded by the problem of making both ends meet while trying to provide for a better future (by acquiring education and their own homes, for example). Filipino capitalists have been losing their investments and thousands of small factories and businesses are closing down. Even the big corporations are cutting down on operations by laying off tens of thousands of workers while intensifying the exploitation of those they retain.

The regime has always claimed that the economy’s troubles are due to the severe crisis that the US and the capitalist world is going through, giving rise to protectionism and dampened markets for Philippine raw material exports. True enough, the US crisis inevitably affects the Philippine economy, since the latter is firmly attached as an appendix of the imperialist system. A very apt description has been made that when the US economy sneezes, the Philippine economy immediately suffered from a severe case of bronchopneumonia. And even if the US economy recovers from its cold, it takes a much longer time for the local economy to recover, if at all.

In the present case, US imperialism has been trying to cushion the impact of its own problems by deliberately shifting a large part of the burden to the Philippine and its other semi-colonies. In practical terms, this took the form of preventing any appreciable increase in the minimum wage of Filipino

workers, thus extracting bigger profits from direct US investments, imposing high interest rates another onerous provisions in exchange for loans to the Marcos regime reducing the price of Philippine exports to the US, and increasing the prices of US finished products that are dumped here.

Fundamentally, therefore, it is US imperialism domination and control, not a “natural” consequence of global recession that is decisive in keeping the Philippine economy in a perpetual state of crisis. Such domination and control has found its most reliable collaborators on the big bourgeois compradors, big landlords and big bureaucrat capitalists who make up the Marcos clique. Together, US imperialism and the clique have forced the Philippines to remain a backward agricultural economy, a beggar on the sidewalks of the world.

E. BUFFETED BY WORSENING ECONOMIC CRISIS, THE MARCOS FASCIST REGIME IS IN A POSITION OF EXTREME POLITICAL ISOLATION

With the economic crisis worsening day after day, with millions of our people launching militant anti-dictatorship mass actions, with the armed struggle continuing to advance in the countryside, and with the world appalled by the Marcos regime’s brutality and lying in the Aquino case, the regime has been pushed into a position of extreme political isolation.

The rifts within the ruling classes are rapidly widening. Bourgeois liberal oppositionists have ranged themselves with the people, as have more and more businessmen. In increasing numbers, the politically advanced bourgeois liberal oppositionists now declare themselves in favor of armed struggle. Even anti-Marcos bourgeois compradors and landlords are now openly protesting against the regime.

Underscoring the isolation of Marcos inner circle is the fact that even standing officials of the regime have had to be pushed in deeding Marcos, his wife, Ver and Cojuangco in the Aquino assassination case (at least two cabinet ministers flatly refused.) Some of these officials have been privately denouncing the regime’s murder of Aquino, and speaking against the more greedy, arrogant and conniving in Marcos’ inner circle. Similar grumblings are increasingly being heard among officers and men of the AFP. Also, government employees have been boldly attending the anti-dictatorship mass actions in increasing numbers. A pro-Marcos rally broke up when the government employees burned their placards and streamers and joined a bigger anti-dictatorship rally.

Taken together, these indicate the rapid erosion of power and gradual disintegration of the macros regime.

The regime's desperate measures to control the situation—firing on the crowds of September 21, dispersing gathering and rallies by the use of force, charging those arrested with capital offences, deploying more troops in Metro Manila to assist in suppression—failed to dampen the combative fervor of the people. It was just like trying to put out a fire by pouring gasoline on it.

Even as the foundations of the entire dictatorship have been shaken by the constant pounding of the people's struggles, it is not about to collapse entirely.

Marcos still counts with the support of a large part of the reactionary AFP, the upper echelons on which are personally beholden to him and which are as eager as he is to preserve their ill-gotten wealth and unlimited power under the present fascist dictatorial bureaucracy.

Marcos also continues to count on the support of US imperialism, although it may appear to hold itself some distance away from time to time. After all, he has given his imperialist masters incontrovertible proof that he is still their most reliable puppet among all the local reactionaries, and is the most rabidly anti-Communist among them.

Though bloodied and weakened, the US-Marcos dictatorship is still capable of launching fierce and violent assaults against the people and will not readily buckle down. It may try to divide the broad anti-dictatorship alliance by giving minor political and economic concessions to anti-Marcos businessmen and bourgeois politicians while intensifying its exploitation and oppression of the people. That is why it is imperative that the people vigorously strengthen their mass organizations, armed forces and organs of political power, and heighten their revolutionary vigilance and determination while carrying out open mass struggles and the armed struggle on an ever wider and higher scale.

Through these, we can effectively repel the fascist dictatorship's political and military counter-attacks, progressively develop the people's revolutionary strength, and be able to continuously deal harder and harder blows against it until its final downfall.

F. REELING FROM ITS OWN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CRISES, US
IMPERIALISM ORDERS MARCOS AND OTHER PUPPET DICTATORS TO
INTENSIFY THE PEOPLE'S EXPLOITATION AND OPPRESSION

US imperialism is reeling from its worst economic crisis in half a century. Recession and high interest rates have caused the bankruptcy of thousands of American industrial and commercial establishments, resulting in the mass lay-off of millions of American workers, many of whom have been reduced to poverty.

Compounding its economic crisis, and directly linked to it, are the militant and revolutionary anti-imperialist struggles of peoples around the world who are being made to shoulder a large part of these crises, especially in imperialism's semi-colonies in Asia, Latin America and Africa.

Right in the United States, the American people are stepping up their struggles against exploitation by the ruling US monopoly capitalists and against imperialism as a whole. They are in solidarity with the severely exploited and oppressed peoples in the semi-colonies of imperialism.

Given its economic and political crises, and its escalating contention with the other superpower, the Soviet Union, US imperialism is whipping up an anti-Communist hysteria among its cohorts in the world imperialist front and among its fascist puppet regimes in the semi-colonies. This is true in El Salvador and other parts of Central America as it is true elsewhere, including the Philippines.

This is why even if Marcos is the most bloodthirsty and oppressive tyrant in the world, if he continues safeguarding imperialist interests and is rabidly anti-Communist, he will continue getting political, economic and military support from US imperialism.

In extending such support, US imperialism expects Marcos to protect and promote its economic and political interests in the Philippines, and indeed in the area of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) where Marcos has often spoken for US imperialism. It likewise counts on Marcos to maintain Clark Air Base, Subic Naval Base and other US military installations in the Philippines which enable it to maintain its hegemony in the region and as far away as the Middle East.

This is why when the Marcos regime murdered Aquino and set off a furor throughout the world, the immediate reaction of the Reagan administration in the US was to exonerate the regime. In the ensuing days, as evident of the

regime's guilt piled up, the potion taken by the Reagan administration was to stick by it—guilty or not—in order to protect the political, economic and military interests of imperialism here.

The imperialist chieftain Reagan has postponed his state visit to the Marcos regime, previously scheduled for early November. This does not indicate any withdrawal of support from Marcos, much less is it an act of hostility towards him. Rather, the postponement was due to Reagan's fear of the aroused Filipino people, and to the growing public opinion in the US and elsewhere in the world against the fascist dictatorship in the Philippines.

The economic crisis in the US and the growing anti-Marcos sentiment among the American people and in the bourgeois liberal section of the US Congress and mass media, may prevent the Reagan administration from being overly generous with political, economic and military support to the Marcos regime.

Even so, and even it appears to distance itself from the Marcos regime from time to time, the Reagan administration will extend to the regime all support it can muster, for now and for the foreseeable future.

II. WHAT MUST WE DO?

A. THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION IS THE ONLY WAY BY WHICH THE PEOPLE CAN ATTAIN NATIONAL FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY

Philippine society is semi-colonial and semifeudal.

Semi-colonial, because although US imperialism is supposed to have granted political independence to the Philippines in 1946 after almost 50 years of direct colonial rule, it continues to control the country in all major spheres—political, economic, military and cultural. With collaboration from its puppets among the local ruling classes, the US has perpetrated its domination of the Philippines through numerous unequal treaties and other US impositions on the country. And semifeudal, because its economy has been deliberately kept backward, remaining a supplier of raw materials to capitalist countries and an importer of industrial goods and consumer products; because feudal and semifeudal relations of production continue to be prevalent in the vast countryside; and because US imperialism has continually blocked national industrialization, allowing capitalism to develop only to a limited extent and making it a mere adjunct of the imperialist system.

Under martial law, Philippine society's semifeudal character has become even more pronounced; there has been no genuine land reform, whatever the lies of the dictatorship. And feudal and semifeudal exploitation not only has been intensified. It has been aggravated by massive landgrabbing to accommodate giant US agrocorporations, government corporations, and private corporations owned by the Marcos clique.

The semi-colonial and semifeudal system is ruled by US imperialism and by the local ruling classes—the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class. Together, they subsist and flourish by exploiting and oppressing the people, the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle or national bourgeoisie.

Imperialism and the local ruling classes use all the instrumentalities of the state—particularly the armed forces, the police, the courts and the prisons—to enforce their rule over the people.

Class conflict is inevitable in our society because the people resist exploitation and oppression. The more imperialism and the local ruling classes exploit and oppress the people, the more the people struggle to be free from plunder and tyranny.

Under martial law, the fundamental contradiction between US imperialism and the local ruling classes, on the one hand, and the Filipino people, on the other, took on a sharper form. The principal conflict is now between the people on the one hand, and US imperialism and the Marcos clique of comprador big capitalists, big landlords and big bureaucrats, on the other.

Caught in between, the liberal section of the domestic bourgeoisie and landlord class is being steadily driven to sling with the people by the insatiable greed and extreme vindictiveness of the Marcos fascist clique, its continuing monopolization of power and the denial of privileges to rival comprador big capitalists and big landlords that has been theirs as a matter of course before 1972, and US imperialist support for the clique.

Before martial law, US imperialism and the local ruling classes asserted their rule over the people through their two principal parties, the Liberal Party and the Nacionalista Party. The two parties periodically engaged in electoral contests and alternately held state power on behalf of the ruling system. US imperialism backed up all reactionary parties while giving bigger

support to whichever was more aid⁶ and capable in safeguarding and promoting imperialist interests.

The economic and political crises perennially besetting the system were to change this patten in reactionary rule. In 1970, the economic crisis which had been festering over a number of years took a turn for the worse when US imperialism ordered the peso devalued and its exchange rate “floated.” From the previous exchange rate of P3.90 to \$1, it became P6.43 to \$1.

The resulting dislocation and hardship in the lives of the people moved them to rally in great numbers to the national-democratic mass movement under the leadership of our Party. As the mass movement flourished and grew, the Marcos regime increasingly resorted to fascism.

Marcos suspended the writ of habeas corpus in August 1971 after he had ordered the bombing of a big rally of the opposition Liberal Party at Plaza Miranda, killing nine people and wounding over a hundred others. Almost the entire LP leadership was maimed.

Violence and deception by the regime brought on more widespread and more militant and revolutionary struggles by the people, who were demanding an end to US imperialist privilege and domination in the Philippines and an end to the fascism, puppetry and corruption of the Marcos regime.

A constitutional convention was called to make the people believe that necessary reforms were being made. This was clearly meant to dampen the people’s revolutionary fervor, but as expected, it ended up a failure. By 1972, deception was becoming less of an effective weapon; the US-Marcos clique was no longer believed by reason of its habitual lying and duplicity.

On the prodding of US imperialism, the Marcos regime fabricated a “state of rebellion” through a series of bombings in Metro Manila and other provocations its carried out and conveniently blamed on “subversives.”

So, although the national-democratic forces were still comparatively weak and the semi-colonial and semifeudal system was in no immediate danger of being overthrown in the short term, the Marcos regime declared martial law, with US imperialism’s encouragement and support. He unleashed the reactionary AFP in unmitigated civil war against the people.

Among Marcos’ first official acts under martial law was to imprison some of his political opponents in the LP, including Senator Aquino, along with thousands of antifascist and progressive elements from the various demo-

⁶ Correct word unknown—*Ed.*

cratic classes and sectors of society. The mass media were placed under his control. He also seized the properties of many of his political enemies.

He cancelled elections, abolished the legislature for he now ruled by decree, abolished the opposition party, and virtually converted into casual employees all officers of the judiciary, from the justices of the Supreme Court down the last municipal judge. While going through the motions of saying he respected the constitution, he had it consigned to the garbage can and imposed a “constitution” of his own.

State power was now the monopoly of the US-Marcos clique. In the ensuing period, it moved to consolidate that power. It turned the AFP into a vast private army of its own, and the bureaucracy, including the government financial institutions, into its private preserve.

In general, these state institutions still exist to serve the reactionary ruling system. But in particular, they are now used to fatten up and entrench the Marcos clique as well as US imperialism.

The AFP and its paramilitary units were used to full advantage to harass, intimidate, torture, arrest, detain and “salvage” those that the Marcos clique perceives as its enemy or who posed a threat, real or imagined, to its indefinite rule. From its size before martial law, the AFP was expanded many times overnight to fight any foreign enemy but to suppress the Filipino people themselves.

With the blessing of US imperialism, the Marcos fascist clique used the bureaucracy, along with the military, to bludgeon its rivals in the ruling classes, as well as to extract billions of pesos in kickback and money stolen directly from the government till. The government’s financial institutions were made to loan out billions of pesos to the clique, and to guarantee its foreign loans. These were never paid back and the people are now made to cover these amounts through increased taxes and other arbitrary exactions.

Graft and corruption have been rampant in the puppet government long before martial law. But it was just picking pockets then compared to wholesale plunder of public funds by the Marcos clique in its 11 years of fascist rule. Staring with the Marcos couple, corruption has come to pervade the AFP and bureaucracy as never before.

Today, many of the officers and men of the AFP starting with its chief of staff, Gen. Ver, are involved in all sorts of crimes, including the extraction of huge kickbacks out of military purchases, kidnapping for ransom, big time extortion and robbery-holdup, carnapping, trafficking in narcotics, smug-

gling, dollar salting and running gambling and prostitution syndicates. As they kill with no compunction, in city and countryside alike but specially in the countryside.

Marcos, who presides over the whole rotten system, has become more arrogant and ferocious than ever when dealing with the people. Every citizen who complained about the system or who demands meaningful reforms runs the risk of being branded a “subversive” and dealt with as such.

But the same arrogant and ferocious Marcos is the meekest and most docile of puppets in dealing with his US imperialist masters. He readily acts the heaviest of their impositions upon the Filipino people. He has, in fact, surrendered to US imperialism almost total control of the national economy. The Marcos clique and the government it heads are completely alienated from the people, and even from those in the ruling classes who are not members of the clique.

The “democratization of wealth” that the Marcos clique promised upon its imposition of martial law has come to mean the further funneling of the national wealth to the clique and to US imperialism.

And the “new society” it promised to establish turned out to be the same old semi-colonial and semifeudal society, only much worse. Capitalist, feudal and semifeudal exploitation of the people has been intensified all the more, and political tyranny has resulted in the torture, imprisonment, force evacuation and death of hundreds of thousands of our people.

The semi-colonial and semifeudal ruling system as administered by the Marcos clique and its imperialist masters is rotten to the core. Its process of decay cannot be reversed, nor can it be slowed down. The system is totally beyond redemption and has become totally intolerable to the people. It must be changed completely.

There are some in society who still believe that the nation’s grave problems would be solved just by removing Marcos and replacing it with somebody else (who, under the present system, can only be another puppet of US imperialism). And there are those who wish for the conditions that prevailed before martial law.

But neither group responds to the Filipino people’s national democratic aspirations and to their dream of a united Philippines which has been driven apart by the civil war launched by the US-Marcos dictatorship.

Their national aspirations demand no less than the establishment of a truly independent Philippines, freeing the country’s economic, political, social

and cultural life from imperialist and all other foreign meddling, dictation and control. They are demanding the dismantling of the US military bases and the withdrawal of all US troops. They want to abrogate all unequal treaties that give foreign governments, specially the US and Japan, a better deal than Filipinos in their own land. The Filipino people want to live in harmony with their neighbors, pursuing a foreign policy of non-alignment and peaceful coexistence.

Their democratic aspirations demand that establishment of political and economic rights for all the patriotic and democratic classes and sectors of society. These entail, and include, the release of all political prisoners, the repeal of all fascist laws and decrees, the complete dismantling of the entire structure of fascism and the establishment of a popular democratic government; the replacement of the AFP by a genuine national people's army truly serving the people and the nation, genuine land reform and the abolition of feudalism, nationalist industrialization, economic upliftment and political autonomy for the national minorities, justice and compensation for all victims of fascism, the confiscation of the Marcos clique's ill-gotten wealth, and the restoration of properties the regime had arbitrarily seized.

These can be attained not by any superficial changes in the ruling system but by overhauling the system.

But the Marcos clique and its US imperialist masters will not voluntarily and peacefully give up power. They refuse to brook any meaningful reforms. To perpetuate itself in power, the US–Marcos clique committed the massacre at Plaza Miranda, fabricated conditions which it used as an excuse to impose martial law, declared civil war on the entire Filipino people, raped the constitution, rigged up elections, referendums and plebiscites, persecuted the few opposition elements who could not be cheated, set up its own “opposition” through bribery and threats, amassed untold wealth, and assassinated former Senator Aquino.

Moreover, the Marcos clique is terrified at the prospect of having to face up to its crimes before the people's own judgment. It knows only too well the fate that befell such fascist dictators as Somoza in Nicaragua and the shah of Iran.

While it continues to enjoy the support of a large portion of the AFP and the continuing and even increased support from US imperialism, the Marcos clique will fight ferociously to remain in power.

The regime keeps itself in power and tenaciously holds on to power by means of counter-revolutionary violence. Clearly, the only way to overthrow it and the whole rotten system is to wage people's armed revolution. This is the path of the people's democratic revolution.

The objective of this revolution, which is also characterized as the national-democratic revolution, is to overthrow the fascist dictatorship and pave the way for the establishment of a democratic coalition government.

It will be this government's primary function to assert and defend national independence and to promote the welfare of the toiling masses of workers and peasants and of such democratic strata of society as the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie.

To carry out the revolution, we undertake people's war adapted to specific Philippine conditions. People's war is a combination of armed struggle and of open mass struggles in countryside and city alike, with armed struggle principal and decisive between the two.

The armed struggle is being advanced day after day by the people's own armed forces. And the current surging anti-dictatorship mass movement in the urban areas is rapidly expanding the national united front of all patriotic and democratic classes and sectors against fascism, US imperialism and feudalism.

With the armed struggle making big strides throughout the country, with millions of our aroused people ready to be organized and mobilized, with even the well-off sectors of society openly fighting the dictatorship, and with the dictatorship beset by economic and political crises, we urge our people to support and join the people's democratic revolution against the US-Marcos fascist dictatorship.

We call upon our people to rally to the slogans, "Struggle for democracy, Freedom and national unity!" "No compromise with the US-Marcos dictatorship!" "Advance people's war!" and "Overthrow the US-Marcos dictatorship and establish a democratic coalition government!"

B. CAST AWAY ILLUSIONS AND OPPOSE ALL CAPITULATIONISTS AND COLLABORATIONISTS

In the wake of the Aquino assassination and the ensuing upsurge of the anti-dictatorship mass movement, some bourgeois-liberal oppositionists hastily put together a "third alternative" program with "Marcos resign" as its slogan.

As supposedly envisioned by them, the Marcos clique would be made to step down from power in the face of popular clamor, and would be replaced by a “caretaker government.” The immediate function of such a government would be to a) investigate the Aquino assassination and punish the guilty parties; b) start the process of national reconciliation by extending general amnesty to all political offenders; c) draft a new constitution that reflects the popular will; and d) call general elections for president, vice-president, members of the *Batasang Pambansa* as well as all local officials, and ensure that such elections would be free, orderly and honest.

While the first two demands are obviously window dressing to attract popular support, the bourgeois-liberal politicians are conspicuously silent on the other fundamental issues being raised by the people. Moreover, their demand for the drafting of a new constitution is cancelled out by the fourth demand, which is apparently the meat of the question for them. Thus, the program represents a retreat from the previously stated position of the bourgeois-liberal politicians calling for the complete dismantling of US-Marcos fascist rule and the removal of US bases from the Philippines. It is becoming increasingly evident that these politicians simply want to be in Malacañang themselves instead of Marcos, and abandon the people’s struggle if it is no longer useful to them. Marcos himself has already said he will never resign, underscoring his resolve to stay in power by ordering the AFP to shoot at peaceful demonstrators.

More recent developments show that these bourgeois oppositionists have retreated further from their original proposals. Some of their leaders have dropped their stated demand for the resignation of Marcos and for a “caretaker government” to take over, and are now calling upon the regime to merely call general election that would be “free, honest and orderly.”

Moreover, leaders of this small group of politicians are now negotiating with the US ambassador for a substantial share of power alongside the Marcos clique.

It is to be noted that this small group of politicians started making noises about “elections” even before Aquino has been buried, and even as they hypocritically mouthed the late senator’s resolute words that “there can be no deal with a dictator, no compromise with dictatorship.”

Their indecent haste to rake political hay out of the Aquino assassination became more apparent by their own subsequent actions. Their “third alternative” program and their use of the slogan “Marcos resign” are nothing but

a skimpy cover for the attempt to curry favor with the US, and advance their own personal ambitions and big bourgeois-landlord interests. Their stated demand for “free, orderly and honest” elections is mere lip-service because they themselves know that such cannot be possible in an atmosphere of fascism. They are trying to ride the crest of the current mass movement merely to be able to bargain for a share of power in the reactionary state, either through bogus elections or thorough secret deals.

These politicians have cleverly hooked their “third alternative” program to the “Marcos resign” slogan, and in so doing are actually serving the dictatorship. They are keeping the people from taking a more active and militant part in the struggle to oust the regime by giving Marcos yet another “last chance” to strike a bargain with his opponents. They are encouraging the masses to once again pin their hopes on the sincerity of a different set of politicians, thus limiting the people’s role in the political life of the nation. Further, the unity of the anti-dictatorship alliance is gravely threatened by the “third alternative” program which spreads anti-Communist propaganda and scares the people away from revolution.

On the other hand, there are democratic organizations and groups which have similarly raised the slogan “Marcos resign” not to maneuver for a share of fascist state power with the US-Marcos clique but to thoroughly expose and weaken the regime.

Their objective in raising the slogan is to broaden and invigorate the anti-dictatorship mass movement by rousing and mobilizing as many as possible among the politically timid and inactive sectors of society, and encouraging various types of mass actions, including multisectoral strikes.

Along with the slogan “Marcos resign,” these democratic organizations and groups also raise more important and combative slogans that rally the people against any compromise with the dictatorship, against fascist laws and other instruments of fascist repression, against US imperialist dictation and control and for the people’s basic democratic rights.

In this way, raising the “Marcos resign” slogan helps and becomes an integral part of the whole people’s struggles against the US-Marcos dictatorship.

Lately, there have also been “critical collaborators” calling for “national reconciliation” under the auspices of the Marcos regime. Though small in number, they can also be divided into two groups: there are the well-meaning ones and there are Marcos’ own men masquerading as oppositionists.

The well-meaning ones bat for some of the people's democratic demands while hesitating on many others. This is because they have too much to preserve under the present system and are not willing to take risks, they lack confidence in the people but at the same time are afraid of consequences of unrelenting mass struggles, and they are still holding out hope—hoping against hope, to use a cliché—that the incorrigible Marcos would somehow reform.

The Marcos men posing as oppositionists are a different breed. They are asking for “reconciliation,” but on the Marcos clique's terms. This group includes Tatad and Roy of the Marcos-sponsored “Nacionalista Party,” Canoy, the evidently pro-Marcos wing of the Pusyong Bisaya led by Logarta, and the Lavaite revisionist renegades.

While we should reason with the well-meaning “critical collaborators” and try to win them over, we must expose and reject the likes of Tatad, Roy, Canoy, Logarta and the revisionist renegades.

Then there are the few in the ranks of the bourgeois-liberal oppositionists akin to those raising the “Marcos resign” slogan for their selfish interests who continue to be obsessed with the regime's “election.” Their obsession borders on foolhardiness, if not capitulation and collaboration.

The people can and must take advantage of the regime's electoral farce to launch mass actions exposing and opposing the regime. But they must reject any move to make them rely on such elections: as a means of ousting the regime, since this is not possible in an atmosphere of fascism. Free, honest and orderly elections are possible and can be held only in an atmosphere of national freedom and democracy, after the overthrow of the US-Marcos dictatorship.

We must also reason and struggle against the few who continue to hope that US imperialism would stage a coup d'état to remove Marcos from power and replace his rule with a bourgeois-liberal regime.

Because of its crises and its escalating contention with the Soviet Union, US imperialism has shed off its masks as a “guardian of democracy” by setting up and maintaining fascist puppet regimes. This is the essence of the “Nixon doctrine” which provides that American soldiers would be spared as much as possible but that US imperialism would provide maximum support to fascist puppet regimes suppressing the people's anti-imperialist and democratic struggles.

US imperialism is not about to dismantle fascism in the Philippines. As already pointed out, it may keep its distance from the Marcos puppet regime

from time to time as its interests dictate, but on the whole it continues to bank on Marcos to promote imperialist interests here and suppress the people's revolutionary struggles.

For the foreseeable future, US imperialism will do all it can to prop up the tottering Marcos regime.

C. ADVANCE THE ARMED STRUGGLE THROUGHOUT THE LAND WHILE
INVIGORATING AND EXPANDING THE PEOPLE'S OPEN STRUGGLES AND
BUILDING THE NATIONAL UNITED FRONT

As already pointed out, the armed struggle and the national united front against fascism, imperialism and feudalism complement and support one another.

The armed struggle gradually decimates the armed strength of the enemy and confiscates his arms and military equipment, and thereby strengthens itself. Comparatively weak at the start in relation to the enemy, the people's army constantly strengthens itself until it gains parity with the enemy and then overtakes him. That is when the people's army goes on the strategic offensive and finally crushes the enemy's armed forces.

The national united front is the alliance of the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie against the US-Marcos dictatorship. With the basic alliance of the working class and the peasantry as its firm foundation, it unites the whole people to isolate the enemy diehards. Under present conditions in Philippine society, the national united front also attracts the bourgeois-liberal sections of the comprador bourgeoisie and landlord class to further isolate the dictatorship and concentrate the heaviest blows on it.

The surging anti-dictatorship mass movement is spreading rapidly in urban areas throughout the country is strengthening and expanding the national united front ranged against the US-Marcos dictatorship. The fascist dictator Marcos may bluster and threaten as he has been doing, but he cannot effectively suppress a determined people asserting their rights in a collective and militant manner.

With every advance of the armed struggle in the countryside, the people in the urban areas are all the more inspired and emboldened to fight for their economic and political rights. This they do in a variety of ways—by going on strike, holding demonstrations on the streets, holding indoor rallies, going on “mass leaves,” boycotting, holding long marches, passing

around and signing petitions, producing and disseminating manifestos and other anti-dictatorship material, etc. As more and more people in the urban areas are steeled in these collective struggles and the level of their political consciousness is raised, more and more of them give direct support to the armed struggle. And the more militant mass actions there are, the more the politically timid and inactive sections of the population are aroused and rallied to join. The mass actions also effectively debunk the Marco regime's claim that it enjoys the support of the people and that it has their mandate to remain in power.

We call upon more of our people to join the New People's Army, serving either in its fighting units in the countryside or cities or in its logistics, medical and information organization. Others may collect and send such material support such as guns and ammunition, medicine, money, food and other everyday needs of our fighting men and women. They may also extend such other important support as keeping track of enemy movements and plans and reporting these, or gathering intelligence on enemy diehards and others with blood debts to the people, who will sooner or later be dealt revolutionary justice for their crimes.

Those among our people who so desire may form their own armed groups to fight the dictatorship. The New People's Army is ever ready to extend them such assistance as political and military training, and coordination in the launching of tactical operations.

We call upon those of our people who remain in the urban areas to work for and strengthen the broadest possible alliance and solidarity among all democratic organizations that are in open struggle against the dictatorship, so as to blunt and frustrate the enemy's counterblows.

Beyond the enemy's eyes and ears, the National Democratic Front, the formal organization, of the national united front against fascism, imperialism and feudalism, is building up its strength and expanding its ranks. The NDF is the body that binds together all the revolutionary parties, movements, organizations and groups in the country, and plans and coordinates their revolutionary relations with other anti-dictatorship organizations and forces, including those engaged in open, legal struggle.

In the National Democratic Front, each of the participating parties, movements, organizations and groups enjoys independence and initiative. But these entities plan, unify and coordinate their actions so as to present a

solid front against the enemy, and be able to deliver the most effective blows against him.

D. BUILD UP OUR ORGANIZED STRENGTH WHILE CONTINUALLY DEALING THE HEAVIEST MILITARY AND POLITICAL BLOWS ON THE US-MARCOS DICTATORSHIP

While our people are dealing the heaviest blows on the enemy is the armed struggle and in the open mass movement, we must build up our organized strength even more. Conditions are excellent for this.

Millions of our people are prepared for open mass struggles, as shown by their enthusiastic participation in the more recent anti-dictatorship mass actions. While encouraging their initiatives in launching mass actions of various types. We must develop an organized, sustained and militant movement that delivers increasingly heavy blows on the enemy.

We must set up and expand many different types of organizations—those that are open and legal, and those that are underground; urban-based and rural-based; big and small; sectoral and multisectoral; those that focus on immediate issues, and those that have a broader perspective. These organizations must be consolidated by developing their internal unity and strengthening their leadership on the basis of the organizations' anti-dictatorship stand and objectives step by step, and also to test and develop further the abilities and militancy of individual members and the entire organization.

We call upon the people to take their own initiatives in the formation of solid and militant organizations in their respective sectors and areas of work, study or residence. The dictatorship, after all, still pretends to uphold the people's right to organize for the promotion of their legitimate interests and to oppose its existence of particular policies.

Let us expand and consolidate the underground revolutionary organizations and the revolutionary underground in general. This will ensure, in turn, the steady expansion and advance of the open mass struggle and of the armed struggle, while foiling the enemy's attempts to attack the open movement and its activists.

In support of these efforts, we call upon our people to intensify the production, reproduction and dissemination of the national democratic newspapers and manifestos and other reading materials. We urge them to help raise the level of political consciousness of the less advanced ones, through such readings, public forums, small groups discussions, and similar undertakings.

As we pound away at the enemy in more and ever bigger mass actions, we must make certain that these efforts are immediately complemented by solid organizing and consolidation work.

E. NEUTRALIZE AND WIN OVER THE ENEMY'S SOLDIERS AND PARAMILITARY MEN AS WELL AS LOWER-RANKING GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND EMPLOYEES

The vast majority of those comprising the reactionary AFP and such adjuncts of the AFP as the police and firemen, members of the CHDFs and the *baranggay tanods* come from the ranks of the people.

For instance, most of the ordinary soldiers of the AFP and most of those in the CHDFs come from worker and peasant families.

Many of them are today in the services of the US-Marcos dictatorship not because they believe in it but because they have been forced to join (as in the case of AFP draftees and CHDF men) or because they could find no employment elsewhere.

Most of the high-echelon officers of the AFP are corrupt and owe personal loyalty to Marcos. They are enjoying wealth and privileges gained under fascist martial law. Similarly infected are many in the middle echelons of the AFP's officer corps.

In contrast, the ordinary soldiers are lowly paid. In many instances, their salaries and allowances are delayed or deducted from corrupt superiors. They are disillusioned, as are uncorrupted officers in the lower and middle echelons who are realizing that "service to the country" has come to mean service to the narrow Marcos clique and to US imperialism.

Similarly lowly paid are policemen, firemen, CHDF men and *baranggay tanods* who, by the decree of the dictator, are part of the reactionary armed forces.

We call upon the ordinary soldiers and lower-ranked officers of the AFP, the policemen, the firemen, the CHDF men and the *baranggay tanods* to stop allowing themselves to be used by the fascist dictatorship.

We urge you to defect to the side of the people, with your arms if possible, if you cannot leave now for any reason, you must refrain from committing crimes against the people, and must disobey orders that jeopardize the people's interest. If units of the New People's Army carry out an ambush or a raid, and you are called upon to surrender, do so immediately. You will be disarmed but not harmed. Do not risk your life for the people's enemies.

We also call upon those in the bureaucracy, especially the ordinary workers and employees as well as the low and middle-level officials, to come over

to the side of the people. Those who cannot now quit for any reason can remain in their jobs and gather information to pass on to the people's forces, sabotage office operations, or confiscate and pass on office supplies and equipment which can be used by the underground information network.

Many of our people have friends and relatives in the AFP, in the dictatorship's paramilitary units, and in the bureaucracy. Talk to them, write to them, and reason with them. Ask them to stop serving US imperialism and the Marcos clique and to come over to the side of the Filipino people.

F. ISOLATE THE US-MARCOS DICTATORSHIP THROUGHOUT THE WORLD AND SEEK THE BROADEST SUPPORT FOR THE PHILIPPINE REVOLUTION

The National Democratic Front already has units operating in various parts of the world seeking support for the national democratic revolution in the homeland, and likewise expressing solidarity with foreign comrades and friends who are themselves carrying out anti-imperialist and democratic struggles.

They have likewise been conducting political and organizational work among the hundreds of thousands of our countrymen who are temporarily working abroad or are residing there permanently, and enlisting their help in the struggles of those in the homeland.

However, much remains to be done. Our reservoir of support throughout the world is so vast and so deep, and yet we have only started to tap it.

While the NDF units abroad work painstakingly to expand and consolidate their ranks and their areas of operations, we call upon our countrymen overseas to help isolate the US-Marcos dictatorship by means of mass mobilizations and by means of propaganda and through all public forums available. They can appeal to the governments and democratic institutions and organizations in their present places of residence to deny any form of assistance to the Marcos clique. We also call upon these countrymen to send material support to the revolution in the homeland and also help solicit political and material support from foreign friends.

We address a special appeal to our brethren, the American people. Support our just struggle against the Marcos regime and US imperialism by opposing the Reagan administration's continuing and even increased support to the regime. As our revolution advances, help us oppose the intensifying wholesale military intervention of US imperialism as took place in Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos, and as is starting to happen now in Central America and the Middle East.

Those of us in the Philippines who have relatives and friends abroad are called upon to communicate with them to let them know about true conditions in the country and to appeal to them to contribute their share in overthrowing the dictatorship that has caused us so much suffering and misery.

With each of us doing his or her share, and all of us acting in concert, we are hastening the downfall of the hated dictatorship and paving the way for the attainment of national independence, democracy, national unity and prosperity for this and for all generations of Filipinos to come.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES
October 7, 1983

NPA IN BICOL, MINDANAO SEIZES MORE THAN 330 ARMS

November 9, 1983 (Volume XV, Number 9)

Guerilla warfare is rapidly intensifying in the fronts of the New People's Army (NPA) as indicated by partial reports from southern Luzon and Mindanao. More than 330 arms were seized by Red fighters in these military actions.

A recent statement of the Central Committee (*AB*, October 1983) revealed that more than 1,000 high-powered rifles were confiscated by the NPA all over the country during the first six months of this year.

From March to September, 84 high-powered rifles were seized in 22 military operations in southern Quezon and Bicol. Among these were 74 M16s, two M203s, one M79, one bar and others. They were taken from eight raids, six ambushes, seven sparrow and partisan operations and a sniping operation.

In these tactical offensives, the Red fighters killed 53 enemy soldiers and wounded many others. Aside from these, seven INP and CHDF personnel were punished.

One of the latest military operations of the NPA in Bicol was the raid on a PC detachment in Ligao, Albay, last September 18, which netted nine M16s and an M79. A PC soldier was killed and the remaining five surrendered. In the heat of battle, the detachment commander scampered away, leaving his men behind.

The captives were released after their wounds were treated and they were admonished not to allow themselves to be used by the regime against the police. A student who had been forced to work without compensation by the fascist troops was also freed. The comrades burned down the barracks before retreating.

Meanwhile, in Mindanao, more than 250 high-powered arms were confiscated by the NPA in 50 military operations from January to May, based on reports of *Mindananaw* (May-June issue) and *AB* correspondents' reports. *Min-dananaw* is the National-Democratic Front (NDF) newspaper in Mindanao.

The 50 military operations consisted of 15 raids, 15 ambushes, 11 disarming operations, and nine sparrow and partisan operations. More than 100 government soldiers were killed in these operations, including a number of officers.

PROTESTS GAIN MOMENTUM

November 9, 1983 (Volume XV, Number 9)

The mass movement against the US-Marcos dictatorship continues to gain momentum in spite of the regime's threats and restrictions. Thousands of people continue to participate in marches, rallies and other mass actions against the US-Marcos regime and for national freedom and democracy. The protest actions have not been confined to Metro Manila but are also being held in the urban centers of many provinces. Some of these are the following:

- Rally in Baguio City last November 15. The 50,000 rallyists denounced the collusion of the Marcos regime and US imperialism in ravaging the land, and the regime's fascist repression.
- Rally of more than 25,000 professionals in Makati, center of finance and commerce, last November 11. This was the biggest protest rally which has been held there since September. Participants included lawyers, doctors, nurses, teachers, office employees, families of political detainees, and others.
- People's Congress last November 5 at the Araneta Coliseum. The Congress capped the activities of the first national assembly of the Nationalist Alliance for Justice, Freedom and Democracy. The assembly passed a "Manifesto for a Democratic and Independent Philippines" which strongly assailed the US-Marcos dictatorship. The Congress was attended by more than 18,000 people from many parts of the Philippines who represented various social groups and strata.
- Women's rally last October 28 at the Quirino Grandstand (Rizal Park). The 10,000 women who marched for justice and freedom represented many organizations who came together on this occasion to protest against the regime.

Aside from those mentioned above, rallies were held in communities in Metro Manila and also in Pampanga, Tarlac, Bulacan, Quezon, Albay, Camarines Sur, Iloilo, Negros Occidental, Misamis Oriental, Davao City and Zamboanga City.

PHILIPPINE REVOLUTION DEVELOPS LINKS OVERSEAS

December 10, 1983 (Volume XV, Number 10)

As the peoples of the world step up their struggles against US imperialist aggression, intervention and interference, the Filipino people's revolutionary struggle acquires broader significance and greater support from abroad.

The Philippine revolution is part and parcel of the national liberation movements that are rapidly making progress in US semi-colonies in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Many of these movements are currently going through varying stages of the struggle to overthrow US puppet regimes and seize political power, while several, having won victory in recent years, are fighting back attempts by the imperialists and local reactionaries to recover their power (as in the case of Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Nicaragua).

In the capitalist countries, the severe economic crisis and the danger of nuclear war are adding momentum to the working-class and other people's movements. Launching massive strikes, demonstrations, pickets and other mass actions, these are opposing governments allied to the United States, the major imperialist power. They are blocking the deployment in Western Europe of additional US nuclear weapons. The Japanese people are also taking action to resist the scheme that would revive militarism serving US interests in Asia.

On the other hand, the world anti-imperialist struggle counts on the socialist countries which are the direct targets of subversion and attack by US imperialism.

The Philippine revolution makes its own contribution to this international movement, both through armed struggle that is the principal means of overthrowing imperialist domination locally, and through broad-based open mass movements overseas.

In return, the Philippine struggle is enjoying firmer support from abroad. Overseas publications, symposiums and conferences feature discussions on the Philippine situation and the resistance being waged by the workers, peasants, national minorities, women and other oppressed and exploited people in Philippine society. Individuals and organizations exert pressure on international organizations to take up the cudgels for the

Filipino people whose rights are being violated. In addition, an increasing number of organizations and political blocs and parties have recognized and are maintaining ties with the National-Democratic Front (NDF) as the Filipino people's legitimate representative.

POLICIES

Ever since the inception of the national-democratic resolution led by the reestablished Party, Filipino revolutionaries have steadfastly held to the principle of relying on one's own efforts. The people can cast off the three evils of society only if they persist in long and difficult struggle.

But invaluable assistance can be rendered to our self-reliant efforts by the political and material support of friendly, progressive and revolutionary organizations and forces outside the country. The experiences of revolutions in other countries have shown that the powerful support of people all over the world are an extremely important element in the struggle for victory of peoples wanting to gain their freedom.

The Filipino people also must be conscious of fulfilling their responsibility to uphold the struggles of other peoples and nations against imperialism, colonialism and all reaction. We must give as much help as we can, and in time, our capacity to do so will certainly increase.

As our people's war advances and inflicts heavier blows on the enemy, direct US military intervention will threaten to snatch the fruit of victory from the hands of the Filipino people. This early, therefore, the peoples of the world must be mobilized to forestall such a possibility, and to completely isolate US imperialism and its puppet fascist dictatorship from the international community. Other imperialist powers must also be neutralized, Japan first of all, as well as the Soviet Union which continues to recognize and assist the local revisionist clique that surrendered to the US puppet regime a long time ago.

The firm unity of the world revolutionary movement, and the building of a broad international united front against imperialism, will surely quicken the pace of political and material support that all peoples fighting exploitation and oppression have a right to receive.

TASKS

Friends and revolutionaries abroad have already given a lot of support to the revolutionary Filipino people, who have gratefully accepted it and received to reciprocate, if not immediately, then certainly in the future.

Such support has been extended, and needs to be further developed, on two levels: comprehensive support to the entire national democratic struggle, and support on the basis of specific issues. It has taken different forms, ranging from open mass actions and propaganda, to open recognition of the NDF.

Today we are faced with the task of generating political and material support from abroad, specifically direct support, on a broader and bigger scale than before.

Bearing this in mind, we must develop more contacts and cooperation with peoples, countries, movements, organizations and political parties outside the country on the basis of a mutual desire to unite on principles and objectives, whether on a general or on a limited level.

Filipinos residing abroad must be aroused, organized and mobilized. Through their organizations and activities, they can directly participate in the revolution in the motherland, and give it their support.

Another task is to engage in extensive and systematic propaganda work to oppose the US-Marcos dictatorship, expose the exploitation and oppression suffered by the Filipino people, project their revolutionary struggle, and launch appeals to support the national-democratic revolution and particular struggles.

At the same time, Filipino revolutionaries rally behind other revolutionary movements and organizations, specially the anti-imperialist ones, and the governments of oppressed peoples and nations.

In order to carry out these tasks, it is necessary to build and strengthen the Party and the NDF organizations in different parts of the world, making them self-reliant and secure from enemy attack.

In their struggle against the most powerful country in the history of the world, the people of a small country like the Philippines have enjoyed the ardent support of other peoples, particularly since we have been able to advance the struggle by relying mainly on our own unity and strength. By resolutely confronting our tasks in overseas solidarity work, that support can become a mighty flow of aid to the Philippine revolution.

CPP: REESTABLISHED ON SOLID FOUNDATION

December 26, 1983 (Volume XV, Number 10)

Fifteen years ago, during the last week of December 1968, a meeting was being held in a Pangasinan barrio. It was to have a far-reaching significance in the history of revolution in the Philippines. Attended by 12 delegates, veterans and new blood of the revolutionary movement, the meeting was none other than the Congress of Reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

The congress ratified three basic documents which served as the ideological foundation to rebuild the Party and enable it to lead the national-democratic revolution in the Philippines. "Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party" upheld the guiding theory of the Party—Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, set the three main tasks of the Party, summed up the old Party's experience since its founding in 1930 (*AB*, November 1982) and pointed out the mistakes and weaknesses of its past leadership. The "Program for a People's Democratic Revolution" analyzed Philippine society and unfolded the general and particular tasks embodying the Party's political line. The Party Constitution, which became the organizational guide for Party building, elaborated on the principle of democratic centralism and gave it substance.

The Party's reestablishment signaled the renewal of struggle for the advancement of the people's democratic revolution. It was a result of the efforts of Filipino revolutionaries in the midst of events which transpired in the 1960s.

SITUATION

The anti-imperialist movement in the colonies, semi-colonies and independent nations gained greater headway in the early part of the 60s. This trend was borne out by the intensification of the war of liberation in Vietnam, the victory of the revolutionary forces in Algeria and Cuba, the development of liberation movements in Africa and Latin America, and the spread of the non-aligned movement.

In the socialist states, the struggle between the proletarian revolutionary line and the revisionist line came to the fore. In the midst of this struggle, the Communist Party of China launched a broad mass movement which became

a channel for the people's immense revolutionary enthusiasm and the propagation of Marxist-Leninist principles.

Here in the Philippines, there was a nationalist awakening among intellectuals—students, teachers, businessmen—and US imperialism was assailed in publications, conferences, symposiums, and pickets before the US embassy. The students and teachers also fought for academic freedom and freedom of expression in the face of witchhunting of people suspected by the state of being subversives.

Meanwhile, at the start of the 60s, the Communist Party of the Philippines had no collective life to speak of, as a result of the incorrect line laid down by the Jesus Lava leadership since the last part of the 50s. In the wake of military defeats, the Jesus Lava leadership switched to an empiricist way of thinking, and subsequently set the line of waging parliamentary struggle as the main form of struggle and disbanded the platoon and company-size armed units led by the Party.

Lava also put a stop to the recruitment of new Party members and instituted the liquidationist “single file” policy. Accordingly, each Party member had contact only with two others, one from whom the member received instructions, and the other, to whom he passed on instructions. As a result, contacts were readily ruptured and even Jesus Lava himself had lost touch with Party cadres by 1964, when he voluntarily surrendered.

But even before his surrender, new cadres had appeared and a few Party members of long standing became active again, and thus, the Party was brought back to its feet and mass organizations were built.

By the middle of the 60s, the mass organizations had launched a mass movement which dwelt on the question of national freedom and democracy, and protested US aggression in Vietnam and Philippine involvement in this aggression. With the burgeoning of the mass movement, mass organizations proliferated and grew strong. These also served as channels for the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought.

INTERNAL STRUGGLE

With the upsurge of the mass movement, Party activists insisted on launching a rectification movement based on a summing up of the Party's experience, as a requisite for establishing a new direction and program. But discussions on the summing up were obstructed by the Lavaites who took

over leadership from Jesus Lava. Thus, the Party situation and the road to be taken by it could not be placed in the proper perspective.

The struggle in the international communist movement was also reflected in the Party. Marxists-Leninists inside the Party upheld the line of waging armed struggle as the principal form of struggle in order to attain national freedom and democracy. On the other hand, the Lavaites clung to the line of parliamentary struggle and insisted that conditions did not warrant the launching of armed struggle to seize political power.

The struggle between the two lines spilled into the mass organizations so that disagreements divided the two camps, those upholding the revolutionary line and those upholding the revisionist line of the Lavaites. The two sides aired their arguments in publications, meetings and public assemblies in the city. Seeking to prevent correct revolutionary ideas from reaching the membership of mass organizations in the countryside, the Lavaites even threatened activists of the opposite camp who dared to bring their ideas to the masses there.

Since the two lines were irreconcilable, it was inevitable that the two camps would go their separate ways. Consequently, even the mass organizations were splintered. In espousing the revisionist line, the sections retained by the Lavaites, like their clique, were left behind by history. Succeeding events have shown the utter bankruptcy of the Lavaite line—to the extent that genuine revolutionaries were caused to be murdered—culminating in the surrender of the Lavaites to the Marcos regime in 1974.

REESTABLISHMENT

In the struggle between the two lines, those advocating the revolutionary line maintained that there was a need to launch the people's democratic revolution to a new and higher level to overthrow the US-controlled reactionary state and establish a revolutionary people's government. Since the Lavaite leadership was neither willing nor able to assume this task, there was no other recourse but to rebuild the Communist Party of the Philippines, based on the correct ideological line.

The laying of the ideological foundation was central to the rebuilding of the Party. This was not only a matter of recognizing Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as the guiding theory, but also of drawing lessons from the Party's past experience. The rectification movement which was subsequently

carried out, together with the study of theory and drawing up of a program, became part of the preparations for the rebuilding of the Party.

In the latter part of 1968, almost 20 former members of the old Party and 75 members of Marxist-Leninist circles forged ahead with these preparations.

Although only a small number constituted the Party when it was reestablished, it had a solid foundation. The establishment of the correct ideological, political, military and organizational line ensured the growth and strengthening of the Party, and enabled it to acquire a definite and strong capability to lead the people's democratic revolution to victory.

OUR PARTY HAS COMPLETED 15 YEARS OF LEADERSHIP

December 26, 1983 (Volume XV, Number 10)

On December 26, 1983, the Communist Party of the Philippines completes fifteen years of leadership of the Filipino people in their historic mission to overthrow the present reactionary state and win the national-democratic revolution.

Since its reestablishment in 1968, the Party has taken a long and uphill road. Bitter sacrifices and stinging disappointments have not been lacking along the way. But the Party's correct ideological and political line, and its selfless service to the cause of the masses have won it the trust and support of the millions of the poor and the oppressed. Today, of all those ranged against the US-Marcos fascist dictatorship, the Party and the forces it leads have the most stable and most vigorous armed forces, the most extensive and durable organization, and the widest and most fruitful contacts with the positive forces in Philippine society.

Of all the political organizations in the Philippines, the Party and the forces it leads have the most extensive and deepest ties with the masses of workers, peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie, as well as the most wide-ranging and mutually supportive contacts with progressive and revolutionary parties, organizations and people abroad.

In the field of armed struggle as well as non-armed struggle, in the open mass movement and in the underground, in the cities and countryside, a decisive role is played by the Party and the national democratic forces that it leads.

LAYING A GOOD FOUNDATION

In its formative years (1968 to 1976), the Party laid and strengthened the foundation of protracted armed revolution against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

Intensifying contradictions were already shaking up, even then, the reactionary system that embodies these three great ills of Philippine society, and various ideological currents and political programs were contending amidst the widespread public clamor for social change.

From 1968, the Party resounded the call for such change by means of armed revolution. Within a few months after reestablishment, it founded the New People's Army, which lost no time in launching armed struggle under the banner of national democracy. From the initial guerrilla zone in Central Luzon, the seeds of people's war sprouted in Northern and Southern Luzon, and reached as far as the Visayas and Mindanao.

Revolutionary mass organizations were rapidly set up, expanded and consolidated, marching at the head of the massive propaganda and mobilization campaigns of 1970-2. The workers movement and the student movement brimmed with enthusiasm, and the intellectuals, urban poor and other progressive sectors had their own movements too. Reaching the broad masses of the people, they disseminated the aims, program and methods of the national-democratic revolution, and while airing the people's problems, attacked the reactionary state and opposed revisionism and reformism.

Members of the Party—who had increased to more than two thousand in 1972 from less than a hundred in 1968—underwent intensive ideological, political and organizational tempering during this period, with the great majority being trained as cadres.

Thus, when fascist martial law was imposed in 1972, the Party and the forces led by it were not only able to execute an organized withdrawal in the face of savage enemy suppression. The gains of the earlier period—the setting of a clear and correct ideological, political, organizational and military line, firm leadership over the mass movement, the establishment of roots among the basic masses, the launching of armed struggle, Party building—were put to good use by the revolutionary forces in facing up to the new conditions of fascism and advancing the tasks of revolution.

The fascist dictatorship's heaviest blows were directed against the Party, people's army and mass organizations, and also against the forces of the Moro National Liberation Front in Mindanao.

Still, the NPA rapidly expanded the territory on which it was operating, for everywhere the suffering masses were eager for revolution. By 1976, the guerrilla forces of the people's army had been deployed in strategic areas outside Manila-Rizal. Regional organizations in nine regions all over the country stood on a firm territorial base. Mainly through unremitting mass work conducted by the people's army, the revolutionary alliance of the working class and the peasantry became broader and deeper.

In the urban areas, the forces that had stayed behind learned to cope with the new conditions, and created new methods of carrying out clandestine work while striving to preserve the fire of the people's resistance. Tasks related to the national united front were undertaken in 1973, at a time when confusion reigned among the traditional political forces that had been knocked out by the Marcos clique when it seized the monopoly of state power.

If, in the earlier years, its organizational setup was hardly more than skeletal, and the revolutionary line concerning various questions remained on a general level, the Party's practice from 1973 to 1976 was able to give more definite and concrete shape both to the theory of Philippine revolution and to the structures and methods of the revolution. The basic documents of reestablishment, and Comrade Amado Guerrero's Philippine Society and Revolution, were followed in 1974 by the Specific Characteristics of Our People's War. At the end of 1975, the Central Committee held its third plenum, after which were clarified "Our Urgent Tasks," in 1976. That same year, the Party put forward its proposal to give more substance to the Ten-Point Program of the National Democratic Front. Comprehensive social investigations and summings-up began to be undertaken.

Persisting along the correct line, under the firm leadership of the Central Committee, and through the unyielding exertions of Party members, gradually we were able to turn the situation around. By 1976, after eight years of unflinching effort, we had attained closer unity and deeper understanding of the revolutionary line and tactics, we had built a Party with a national and mass character, the people's army had gained some strength, and the united front had taken shape.

RECOVERY AND UPSURGE

In the period that followed, 1977 to 1980, the fascist dictatorship stepped up repression against the people and the revolutionary movement. The enemy was able to concentrate on the NPA's guerilla zones and fronts, especially with the decline of the Moro armed resistance after the signing of the deceptive Tripoli Agreement. National politics ran a more complicated course with the dictatorship's employment of deception—the policy of "normalization"—to trick the people away from the road of revolution and attract the anti-Marcos politicians into reconciling with the regime.

The Party, however, had amassed a rich store of lessons from the experience of the preceding years. Even as it suffered heavy damage every time its

cadres would fall into enemy hands (including Comrade Amado Guerrero and comrade Dante in 1976-77), its cadres and members, tempered in struggle, proved their ability to sustain the momentum and push forward. Step by step, strong Party organizations were built up, repeatedly being tested and consolidated.

Open mass struggles were launched, linking particular and sectoral issues to broader questions and struggles. The various Party organizations became familiar with different tactics in handling these mass struggles both in the countryside and urban areas.

Expansion work in the guerrilla fronts resulted in a 200 percent increase in the number of towns that they covered—from 135 in 1976 to 376 in 1980. In several fronts at the same time, more attention began to be paid to the consolidation of the guerrilla fronts. Several of these took the lead in systematically implementing agrarian revolution, attending to the masses' political education, setting up mass organizations, and Party building at the barrio level.

The NPA's splendid victories on the battlefield were both a result and a condition of such political and organizational advances in the guerrilla fronts. One by one, then in coordination, its tactical offensives multiplied, became more frequent and more widespread. In 1980, the Red fighters had four times as many high-powered weapons as they did in 1976. New tactics were developed for the present stage of the war. At the end of this period, it had become evident that our people's war had entered the advanced substage of the strategic defensive.

The urban revolutionary mass movement derived a good part of its strength and vigor from these victories of the armed struggle and the mass movement in the countryside, as well as from the spontaneous initiatives of the worker and student masses in fighting for their political and economic rights. The middle forces stood up and declared their grievances, particularly when fake elections were conducted for the *Batasang Pambansa* in 1978—although at the time, the joint rule of the Marcos clique and its imperialist masters was not yet sharply targeted for attack. Both here and abroad, closer relations were forged between the revolutionary movement and its various political allies.

GAINING MORE STRENGTH

The swift, all-sided advance of 1977-1980 developed and spread, and was then outstripped by the victories of the last three years.

The people's army continued to gain strength as it went ahead with the setting up and strengthening of fulltime guerrilla units in the districts and fronts. These units rapidly acquired the capability to plan and carry out raids and ambushes against enemy camps and regular troops—not just in the hinterland but also along highways, on the edges of big cities and towns, and even in the very center of certain municipalities. During the last three years more than 3,000 high-powered rifles were seized by the people's army, most of them in the battlefield. Meanwhile, the NPA's militia and urban partisan units are increasingly capable of carrying out more and more military actions. The armed propaganda units continue to play an important role.

Party district committees began to function smoothly, thus widening the party's cadre base from which will be drawn the many thousands of trained people needed to lead the armed struggle, the mass movement and united front work. The district committees are seeing to the tasks of comprehensively educating the masses, setting up tightly knit mass organizations and coordinating mass mobilizations within their scope, while building and strengthening the local Party organizations on the section and branch levels.

Under conditions quite different from those obtaining in the guerrilla fronts, the urban mass movement kept pace with the overall advance of the revolution. The organized national democratic forces were in the forefront of the big and sustained mass mobilizations in recent months. To the board masses acting in spontaneous and unorganized fashion, they creatively projected the revolutionary line and calls. The network of underground organizations is being strengthened and expanded.

The sudden expansion of the anti-dictatorship front in the second half of 1983, the further intensification of the NPA's guerilla warfare, and the building up of the national-democratic mass organizations, are all factors favoring the advance of the united front from the level of alliances and coalitions centered on particular issues towards the formation of broader organizations capable of uniting all positive forces in the common struggle against the dictatorship. While objective and subjective limitations presently hamper the ripening of conditions for such an advance, the Party is leaving no stone unturned to overcome those limitations and work for militant and firm unity within the anti-dictatorship front. The National Democratic Front, to which the Party adheres, enjoys the warm support of revolutionary and progressive people.

Overseas, the struggle of the Filipino people for national freedom and democracy is winning the sincere support of many movements, organizations

and people. The National-Democratic Front is earning widespread recognition as the legitimate representative of the Filipino people, on the other hand, our revolutionary movement is actively participating in the promotion of closer unity and mutual assistance within the world anti-imperialist front.

MASS BASE AND SOLID ORGANIZATION

These successes would have been impossible, and the decisive seizure of political power would be impossible, if we had not taken deep root among the masses and built a solid organization, thus transforming correct ideas into powerful actions by millions of people. At the start, most Party members were of urban petty bourgeois origin. We vigorously expanded among the worker and peasants, so that this year, total Party membership is estimated to reach 30,000, the big majority of whom come from the toiling masses, are assigned to the countryside, and attached to basic units.

From the original six regional Party organizations that had been established by 1972, the number had grown by 1976 to nine regional organizations to cover the entire Philippines. In 1980, there were 12 regional Party organizations. Present data show 17 regional and subregional organizations, aside from 11 province-size organizations.

Systematic development is being undertaken of organs assisting in the work of leading committees, and intermediate organs from regional level downwards are being beefed up. Meanwhile, recruitment is briskly going on at the basic level of Party branches and groups.

From the beginning, the entire Party organization at all levels has generally practiced strict adherence to the principle of democratic centralism, although problems did crop up at certain times, and the lack of cadres and organizational experience were limitations that had to be solved. Now that a considerable number of cadres has been developed, and the general level of the rank-and-file membership is fast rising, democratic centralism (whose most important instrumentality is the committee system) is being implemented in a more essential and effective way.

Cadres make up the party's backbone, and today they compose about a third of our membership. Through proper tasking and guidance, and the steady effort to raise their political consciousness and ideological level, the Party nurtures its cadres and prepares them for heavier responsibilities. They are taught how to lead, helped to deepen their understanding of the teachings of the great Communists, and guided in solving problems.

A Party standing as an integral whole, with a single center of leadership, having higher and lower leading organs, in which the minority is subordinated to the majority, and all of whose members obey decisions—this is the advanced detachment of the Filipino working class,

UNITED AND DISCIPLINED

The high level of unity and organizational discipline of Filipino Communists, which sets our Party apart from all other political forces in the nation express the Marxist-Leninist ideology that binds us all as one mind, one heart and one will.

Giving a national form to Marxism-Leninism has been a task that the Party took seriously from the outset. Starting from a general grasp of the principles of the world proletarian revolution and of revolution in a semi-colonial and semifeudal country, within a few years we had drawn preliminary lessons from the concrete analysis of concrete conditions and the practice of revolution in the Philippines. In the last three years, political, military, economic questions have been explored in a considerable number of studies produced through collective research, discussion and experience.

On the other hand, the classics by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao are not as widely and intensively studied as they used to be before 1972. Mainly, this is due to the lack of readings, especially those translated into the Philippine languages. Thus empiricism has been the dominant erroneous ideological trend for some time, following the period when, on the contrary, dogmatism was the predominant erroneous trend.

Our Party has been steeled in thoroughgoing struggle against revisionism and assorted shades of reformism. Its continued healthy growth depends to a large extent on our vigilance and opposition to counterrevolutionary and non-proletarian ideas inside and outside our ranks. Conferences, summings-up and study courses are good channels for the exchange of knowledge and forums for the struggle of ideas, and they ought to play a more effective role in the future.

The party's ranks are disciplined because of the attention given to the ideological remolding of cadres and members. In our 15-year history, only a small percentage among us has become corrupted or passive. In the face of death, or at the hands of the enemy's torturers, Communists have made exemplary sacrifices. Day by day, the overwhelming majority of comrades persist in simple living and hard struggle, cultivate a lofty collective spirit,

and devote themselves to the service of the people. Wholeheartedly they correct mistakes and overcome their shortcomings and weaknesses, for the sake of the highest interests of the party, the revolution and the people.

They are aware the victory of the Philippine revolution is a fulfilment of their proletarian internationalist duty, and that it is a small but significant step toward humanity's ultimate attainment of world communism.

Through our own efforts, and with the immeasurable support of the Filipino people, the national-democratic revolution which we lead already has many achievements to be proud about.

The revolutionary forces, however, still lack sufficient strength to overthrow the fascist dictatorship and establish a revolutionary coalition government in the next few years. Decisive battles lie ahead of us. In the past 15 years, we have struggled so much and learned much, and this gives us the confidence to confront those decisive battles—resolutely, boldly, and with a more profound understanding of society and revolution.

FIFTEEN YEARS OF STEADY ADVANCE

	1968–69	1972	1976	1980	1983
Party membership	-100	2,000+	2,000+	10,000	30,000 ^a
Regional Party Organizations	0	6	9	12	17
Guerrilla Fronts	2	10	21	28	45
Towns	7	43	135	376	530 ^b
Provinces	2	9	31	43	53
NPA Rifles	35	600	1000	4,000+	10,000 ^c
NPA Fulltime & Part-time guerillas	50	1,000+	1,500+	8,000	20,000 ^c

^a including subregional organs

^b 1983 figures

^c estimate

NPA SEIZES 523 FIREARMS IN TWO BIGGEST RAIDS

April 1985 (Volume XVII, Number 2)

Red fighters of the New People's army confiscated 421 high-powered rifles and two handguns in a raid on the armory of the Visayas Maritime Academy in Bacolod City last March 25. They successfully concluded the sortie without having to fire a single shot. Earlier, in January, a big raid in Zamboanga del Sur also yielded over a hundred firearms for the people's guerrillas.

These are the biggest arms confiscations conducted by the NPA in its entire history. The biggest numbers of firearms confiscated previously were in operations in Mabini, Davao del Norte, in 1982 (49 rifles), in Mabalacat, Pampanga, in 1976 (43); and at the Philippine Military Academy in Baguio City in 1971 (also 43).

Seized from the VMA armory were 400 Garand rifles, five M16s, five carbines, 11 Thompson submachineguns, two handguns, two hand grenades, and many rounds of ammunition. Also seized were some hundreds of firing pins, more than enough for the number of depinned Garand rifles.

It was past 7 in the evening, and a short brownout had just ended, when the first group of guerrillas entered the VMA campus and proceeded to the building housing the armory. They easily disarmed three guards, including a petty officer of the Philippine Navy. The guerrillas talked to the captives and treated them well in accordance with the strict NPA rules. They managed to get one of them to open the vault containing the Garand rifles and did not have to use the oxyacetylene torch they brought along. As the vault was being opened, the other guerrillas riding two trucks were signaled to enter the campus.

The entire operation, carried out by tens of guerrillas most of whom carried only pistols, was over in less than an hour. The entire raiding force then sped away safely from Bacolod and toward a guerrilla front.

The PC regional command, which got a report on the incident only after an hour, was completely taken by surprise. The VMA, located nine kilometers from the heart of Bacolod City, is owned by Ambassador Roberto Benedict, the Marcos clique's principal henchman in the Western Visayas. The raid sent shivers down the spines of the reactionaries in the island and sent shock waves to Malacañang and Camp Aguinaldo. because of the heavy

military and political implications and consequences of the raid. They ended up concocting the canard that the confiscated rifles had no firing pins, heaping blame on one another, and rooting disciplinary measures on a number of lower-ranked officers. [See page 8 for a comprehensive article on Negros.]⁷

The Red guerrillas, on the other hand, displayed in the raid a high level of daring based on revolutionary steadfastness and previous solid investigation work. The raid turned out to be a fitting and exemplary part of the celebration of a historic occasion four days later—the 16th anniversary of the New People’s Army.

In Zamboanga del Sur, more than 100 firearms, including 83 high-powered rifles and a machine gun, were seized by the NPA in a raid on January 4.

According to an official report, a big guerrilla force raided the PC-INP armory in Tabina town, that province, and disarmed the security force of Mayor Ganub.

⁷ Refers to page 8 of that issue of *Ang Bayan*.—*Ed.*

PEOPLE'S STRIKE IN BATAAN: A HEAVY BLOW ON THE REGIME

June 1985 (Volume 17, Number 5)

(The fascists deployed a tank, but the masses met it headlong. And the media broadcast across the land, and even abroad, that and other scenes of the people's strike that paralyzed Bataan. The hatred long felt by the people against the dictatorship came to the fore. And everyone was awed by the courage they displayed! Exemplary militance and solidarity were shown by the people's strike in Bataan, as well as by other that have been launched in Mindanao and other parts of the country. In the spirit of sharing experiences and lessons, and in line with the policy of Ang Bayan to accommodate "guest articles" from various collectives and individual comrades, we are presenting here a translation of the full text of an article from Himagsik, the revolutionary news magazine of Central Luzon, on the people's strike in Bataan. Subheads were provided to conform to AB's style.)

A true-to-life drama and historic political offensive. Such was the people's protest strike in Bataan last June 18-20.

It had a complete cast of characters. And like any other story, the people were the heroes — the valiant Bataan folk along with supporters from other Central Luzon provinces and from Metro Manila. They overflowed the streets in their thousands, paralyzed the normal activities of Bataan, mounted barricades, rumbled forth as they marched, staged the rallies, and others. Their battle cries: Hold the operation of the nuclear plant! Oppose militarization! Overthrow the US-Marcos dictatorship! For three days, they raised the banner of the invincible and powerful force of the united people of Bataan.

The dictatorship's fascist military played the role of villains par excellence. Before and during the strike, it brandished its horns and bared its fangs to terrorize. But, like a dog with the tail between the legs and with its knees trembling, it retreated in the face of the people's advancing force.

The people's strike in Bataan was a thunderous success for the struggle of the Filipino people. Specifically, we can cite the following achievements:

A BLOW ON THE DICTATORSHIP

First, the people's strike was a powerful and effective blow on the US-Marcos dictatorship. It rocked the economic and political foundations of the reactionary state in Bataan.

During the strike, the socio-economic activities of almost all of the province's 12 towns were totally paralyzed. A general strike was declared by the workers at the Bataan Export Processing Zone (BEPZ), Bataan Refining Company (BRC), Bataan Pulp and Paper Mills, Inc. (BPPMI), Paragon Paper Mills, Inc. and other factories. Even the workers at the nuclear plant were reported to have stopped working. Public and private vehicles stayed put. The farmers were out manning the barricades. Fishing boats remained moored; the fish and other seafoods wholesaling terminal in Orani was deserted. Commerce stood still. Banks were closed. So were other small and big business establishments.

Meanwhile, the teachers and students from elementary to college declared a general boycott of classes.

On the political side, the provincial capitol and the town halls acquired the silence of a graveyard. In those three days, political power slipped from the local bureaucracy. It was in the field of struggle, wielded by the masses.

The fascist military desperately tried to nip in the bud the people's strike or thwart it. Earlier, a number of antinuclear activists were arrested. Military troops prowled the streets with small tanks (armored personnel carriers or APCs) as if they were girding for combat. Aboard one of the tanks, Col. Andaya (PC commander for Bataan) admonished the people not to join the strike. Operators and drivers of public utility buses and jeeps were also sternly warned against joining.

During the strike, the military rammed a tank against the barricade at Pilar. Troops, accompanied by tanks, menaced the barricade at Orani. The two marches from Pilar and Orani were blocked; one demonstrator was arrested.

These acts of harassment only served to sharpen all the more the wrath of the masses, fired their courage and steeled their determination to press forward their struggle. A shining example: they braced their own bodies against the tank that was attempting to sweep away the Pilar barricade. Ultimately, the enemy backtracked. Fully isolated from the masses, the fascist military was forced to swallow one by one the threats it had aired.

SHOW OF UNITY

Second achievement: the people's strike showed the strong and broad solidarity of the people of Bataan. It was strong because it was founded on a firm grasp of the issues; broad because it spanned all the democratic classes and sectors throughout Bataan.

The people's strike bannered antinuclear and anti-militarization slogans. It was clarified that one aim of intensified military terrorism in Bataan was to intimidate the people into giving up their opposition to the nuclear plant. The US-Marcos dictatorship was clearly pinpointed as the root of the nuclear and militarization problems. The masses moved as one in the people's strike with a firm grasp of these issues.

Some 25 national, regional and local organizations of farmers, workers, fishermen, students and youths, teachers, church persons, women, lawyers, media men, and other classes and sectors spearheaded, supported or sympathized with the people's strike. Majority of the people of Bataan participated in the strike, directly or indirectly.

The march on the last day of the strike (June 20) was the biggest mobilization ever in the history of the open mass movement in Bataan. At peak strength, 50,000 people were marching down the street. Meanwhile, each of the barricades was manned 24 hours a day by 2,000-8,000 valiant and self-sacrificing men and women.

Thousands upon thousands of others spontaneously attended programs at the barricades or lined the streets to cheer the marchers on, and showed their deepest solidarity. Along the march routes, many were moved to tears by the scene unfolding before them; many offered drinking water and coffee, dried clothing, food or candies, and invited some of the marchers to rest in their homes... How great the masses are!

All these manifestations of the strong and broad unity and intense struggle of the people of Bataan drew the focused attention of the entire people and even of the enemy. The people's strike enjoyed full media coverage. It was a propaganda victory, thanks to the concerned local and foreign reporters.

MASSES STEELED IN STRUGGLE

Third, the masses were steeled in preparation for higher-level and more complex struggles.

The people's strike in Bataan was the highest and boldest form of struggle reached by the open mass movement in Central Luzon. The enemy attempted to declare it illegal. But the people successfully asserted its legitimacy. The general strike was successfully launched and sustained. The barricades were mounted and effectively defended. Military blockades were forced to give way to the marches. Confrontation with the fascist soldiers took place to face them down or to fight them off if necessary. The ranks of the participants were kept disciplined, solid and safe despite the enemy's various acts of terrorism and slander.

On the technical aspect, people in the barrios contributed and worked together for three days to prepare food for the thousands of protesters. All in all, they came up with 360,000 meal bags of rice and viand. These do not include the bread, coffee, chocolate porridge, juice and similar contributions from the masses. They also worked together in preparing and making placards, streamers, street barriers, transportation, raincoats, thousands of torches and other needs.

This capacity to direct a high-level form of struggle reflected a strong leadership and a high level of unity and coordination among the participating people and organizations in the strike.

GLIMPSE OF THE FUTURE

And fourth, the people's strike gave a glimpse of the succeeding developments of the open mass movements in cities and other urban areas—armed popular uprisings.

Armed popular uprisings are the violent assault of the people on the centers of political power in cities and town centers such as municipal and capitol buildings. The aim is not yet to immediately seize political power but to weaken to a great measure the enemy's political power and introduce the new revolutionary power in the cities and town centers.

The people's strike in Bataan had some components of armed uprising like the paralyzation of the economy, general strike, barricades and a certain measure of confrontation with the military in the streets. And there was readiness on the part of the people to fight and to make sacrifices in order to take their destiny into their own hands.

On the stage of the political struggle in Bataan, the transformation of a people's strike into an armed popular uprising is no longer far off. This will take place in consonance with the popular uprisings in various parts of Luzon, the Visayas and Mindanao.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS AND CREDIT

The editors of *Ang Bayan* would like to thank its staff and volunteers who helped encode these articles.

We also thank the comrades who donated their old copies of *Ang Bayan*.

Some digital copies of *AB* come from the UP Library archive. We are depositing these copies in the Web Archive.⁸

⁸ Philippine Revolution Web Central, *Internet Archive* (https://archive.org/details/@prwc_philippine_revolution_web_central).

Collection “Works of Maoism”

1. *Collected Works (1968-1987)*
Communist Party of Peru
2. *Selected Works, Volume VI*
Mao Zedong
3. *Selected Works, Volume VII*
Mao Zedong
4. *Selected Works, Volume VIII*
Mao Zedong
5. *Selected Works, Volume IX*
Mao Zedong
6. *Selected Works, Volume I*
Mao Zedong
7. *Selected Readings from the Works*
Jose Maria Sison
8. *Selected Works, Volume II*
Mao Zedong
9. *Selected Works, Volume III*
Mao Zedong
10. *Selected Works, Volume IV*
Mao Zedong
11. *Selected Works, Volume V*
Mao Zedong
12. *Documents of the CPC,
The Great Debate, Vol. I*
13. *Selected Works, Volume I*
Ho Chi Minh
14. *Documents of the CPC,
The Great Debate, Vol. II*
15. *Documents of the CPP,
The Second Rectification Movement*
Armando Liwanag
16. *Documents of the CPP,
Resistance to Martial Law*
Ang Bayan

Collection “New Roads”

1. *From Victory to Defeat: China’s
Socialist Road and Capitalist
Reversal*
Pao-yu Ching
2. *Silage Choppers and Snake Spirits*
Dao-yuan Chou
3. *Which East is Red?*
Andrew Smith
4. *Mao Zedong’s “On Contradiction”
Study Companion*
Redspark Collective
5. *Critique of Maoist Reason*
J. Moufawad-Paul
6. *Like Ho Chi Minh! Like Che Guevara!*
Ian Scott Horst
7. *Critiquing Brahmanism*
K. Murali (Ajith)
8. *Operation Green Hunt*
Adolfo Naya Fernández
9. *Of Concepts and Methods*
K. Murali (Ajith)
10. *The German Communist
Resistance*
T. Derbent
11. *Revolution and Counter-Revolution*
Pao-yu Ching
12. *A Commentary on the Compendium
of the Social Doctrine of the Church*
CNL
13. *The World Turned Upside Down*
Amit Bhattacharyya
14. *Politics in Command: A
Taxonomy of Economism*
J. Moufawad-Paul

Collection “Colorful Classics”

1. *Marxism-Leninism-Maoism Basic Course: Revised Edition*
Communist Party of India (Maoist)
2. *Philosophical Trends in the Feminist Movement*
Anuradha Ghandy
3. *Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla*
Carlos Marighella
4. *The Communist Necessity*
J. Moufawad-Paul
5. *Maoists in India: Writings & Interviews*
Azad
6. *Five Golden Rays*
Mao Zedong
7. *Stand for Socialism Against Modern Revisionism*
Armando Liwanag
8. *Strategy for the Liberation of Palestine*
PFLP
9. *Against Avakianism*
Ajith
10. *Specific Characteristics of our People's War*
Jose Maria Sison
11. *Rethinking Socialism: What is Socialist Transition?*
Deng-Yuan Hsu & Pao-yu Ching
12. *Fedai Guerillas Speak on Armed Struggle in Iran*
Dehghani, Ahmadzadeh, Habash, Pouyan, Ashraf
13. *Revolutionary Works*
Seamus Costello
14. *Urban Perspective*
Communist Party of India (Maoist)
15. *Five Essays on Philosophy*
Mao Zedong
16. *Post-Modernism Today*
Siraj
17. *The National Question*
Ibrahim Kaypakkaya
18. *Historic Eight Documents*
Charu Mazumdar
19. *A New Outlook on Health*
Advocators
20. *Basic Principles of Marxism-Leninism: A Primer*
Jose Maria Sison
21. *Toward a Scientific Analysis of the Gay Question*
Los Angeles Research Group
22. *Activist Study—Araling Aktibista (ARAK)*
PADEPA
23. *Education to Govern*
Advocators
24. *Constructive Criticism*
Vicki Legion

Collection “Foundations”

1. *The Foundations of Leninism*
Joseph Stalin
2. *Wage Labour and Capital
& Wages, Price and Profit*
Karl Marx
3. *Reform or Revolution?*
Rosa Luxemburg
4. *Socialism: Utopian and
Scientific*
Frederick Engels
5. *The State and Revolution*
V. I. Lenin
6. *Labour in Irish History*
James Connolly
7. *Anarchism or Socialism?
& Trotskyism or Leninism?*
Joseph Stalin
8. *Manifesto of the Communist
Party & Principles of
Communism*
Karl Marx & Frederick Engels
9. *Essays in Historical Materialism*
George Plekhanov
10. *The Fascist Offensive
& Unity of the Working Class*
George Dimitrov
11. *Imperialism, the Highest
Stage of Capitalism*
V. I. Lenin
12. *The Origin of the Family, Private
Property and the State*
Frederick Engels
13. *The Housing Question*
Frederick Engels
14. *The Modern Prince
& Other Writings*
Antonio Gramsci
15. *What is to be Done?*
V. I. Lenin
16. *Critique of the Gotha Program*
Karl Marx
17. *Elementary Principles
of Philosophy*
Georges Politzer
18. *Militarism & Anti-Militarism*
Karl Liebknecht
19. *History and Class Consciousness*
Georg Lukács
20. *Two Tactics of Social-
Democracy in the Democratic
Revolution*
V. I. Lenin
21. *Dialectical and Historical
Materialism & Questions of
Leninism*
Joseph Stalin
22. *The Re-Conquest of Ireland*
James Connolly
23. *The Eighteenth Brumaire of
Louis Bonaparte*
Karl Marx
24. *The Right to Be Lazy
& Other Studies*
Paul Lafargue
25. *The Civil War in France*
Karl Marx
26. *Anti-Dühring*
Frederick Engels

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>27. <i>The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky</i>
V. I. Lenin</p> <p>28. <i>Marxism and the National and Colonial Question</i>
Joseph Stalin</p> <p>29. <i>“Left-wing” Communism, an Infantile Disorder</i>
V. I. Lenin</p> <p>30. <i>The Poverty of Philosophy</i>
Karl Marx</p> <p>31. <i>The Mass Strike</i>
Rosa Luxemburg</p> <p>32. <i>Revolution and Counterrevolution in Germany</i>
Frederick Engels</p> <p>33. <i>Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR & Commentaries</i>
Joseph Stalin & Mao Zedong</p> <p>34. <i>The Labor Movement in Japan</i>
Sen Katayama</p> <p>35. <i>On Education</i>
N. K. Krupskaya</p> <p>36. <i>Falsificators of History</i>
Joseph Stalin</p> | <p>37. <i>Woman and Socialism</i>
August Bebel</p> <p>38. <i>The German Ideology</i>
Karl Marx</p> <p>39. <i>The Condition of the Working Class in England</i>
Frederick Engels</p> <p>40. <i>The Right of Nations to Self-Determination</i>
V. I. Lenin</p> <p>41. <i>Materialism and Empirio-Criticism</i>
V.I. Lenin</p> <p>42. <i>The Holy Family</i>
Karl Marx & Frederick Engels</p> <p>43. <i>The Class Struggles in France</i>
Karl Marx</p> <p>44. <i>One Step Forward, Two Steps Back</i>
V. I. Lenin</p> <p>45. <i>History of the CPSU(B) Short Course</i>
Joseph Stalin</p> <p>46. <i>Ireland and the Irish Question</i>
Karl Marx & Frederick Engels</p> <p>47. <i>On Communist Education</i>
M. I. Kalinin</p> |
|---|--|

Collection “Tales From the Front”

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1. <i>Prison Diaries and Letters</i>
Felix Dzerzhinsky</p> <p>2. <i>Warriors, Poets, Friends</i>
Joven Obrero</p> | <p>3. <i>Bright Clouds</i>
Hao Ran</p> |
|--|--|