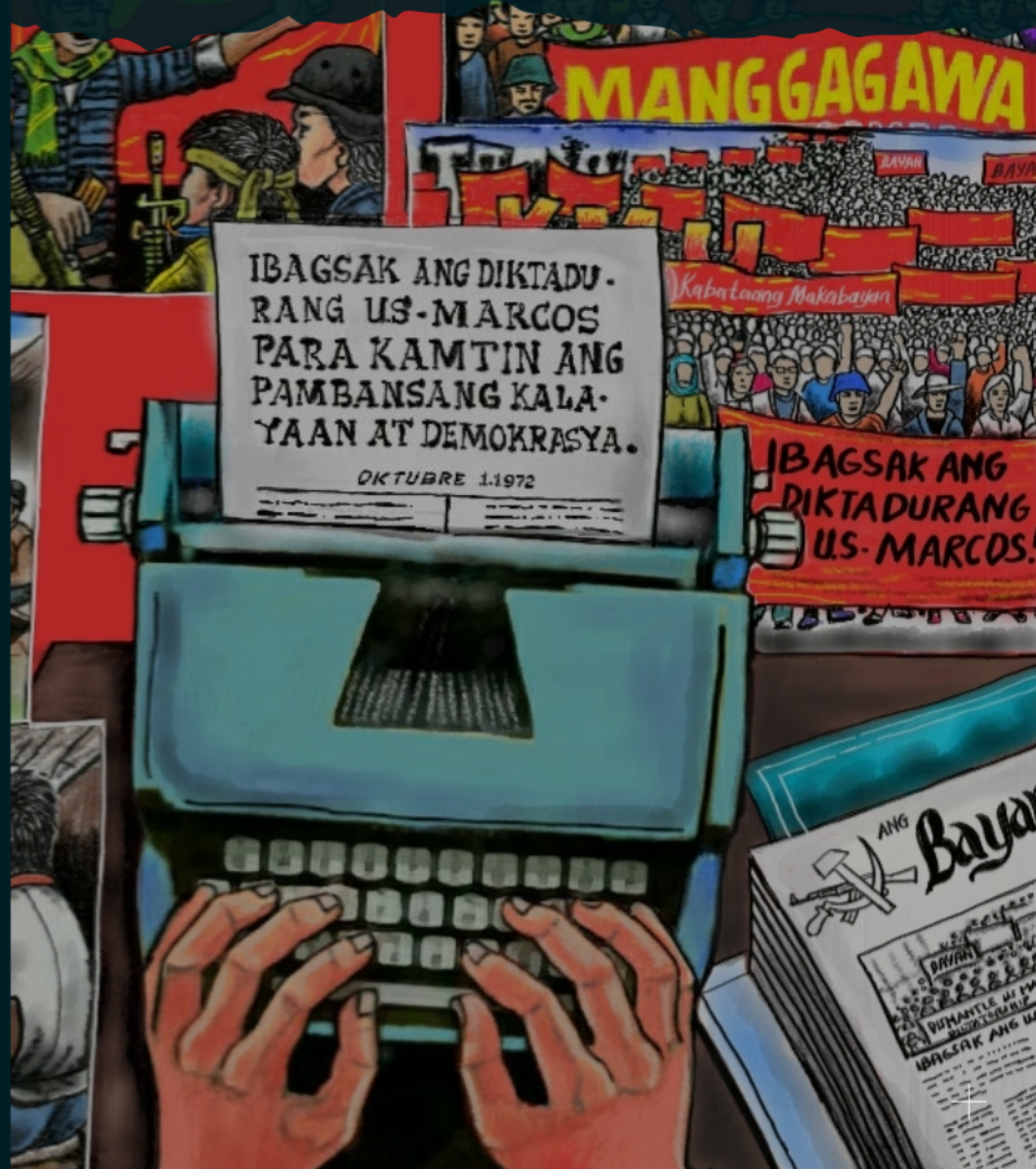




PAGLABAN

sa Batas Militar sa mga Pahina ng Ang Bayan



IBAGSAK ANG DIKTADURANG US-MARCOS
PARA KAMTIN ANG
PAMBANSANG KALAYAAN AT DEMOKRASYA.

OKTUBRE 1.1972

MANGGAGAWA

Kabalang Makabayan

IBAGSAK ANG
DIKTADURANG
US-MARCOS.

ANG Bayan



Paglaban sa Batas Militar sa mga pahina ng *Ang Bayan*



PAHAYAGAN NG KOMITE SENTRAL NG PARTIDO KOMUNISTA NG PILIPINAS
PINAPATNUBAYAN NG MARXISMO-LENINISMO-MAOISMO

2022

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Paghahandog

Ang librong ito ay iniaalay ng mga patnugot ng Ang Bayan sa uring manggagawa at magsasaka at sa malawak na masa ng sambayanang Pilipino at sa kanilang makasaysayang paglaban sa diktadurang US-Marcos at para sa pambansang demokrasya.

Espesyal na paghahandog din ito sa lahat ng martir at bayani na nabuwal sa mahirap na landas ng pakikibaka sa batas militar, at sa lahat ng mga ikinulong at tinortyur ng mga pasistang sundalo at pulis.

Pag-aalay din ito sa lahat ng kadre ng Partido na nangahas na pamunuan ang sambayanang Pilipino sa rebolusyonaryong landas. Gayundin, paghahandog ito sa mga naging Pulang mandirigma ng Bagong Hukbong Bayan na magiting na humarap sa bangis ng kaway.

Naka-ukol din ang librong ito sa lahat ng martir at bayani ng sambayanang Pilipino na nagpatuloy ng pakikibaka para sa tunay na kalayaan at demokrasya sa nagdaang mahigit tatlo't kalahating dekada laban sa mga nagdaang papet at pasistang rehimen.

Para rin ito sa kasalukuyan at mga darating pang salinlahi ng mga kadre ng Partido, mandirigma ng BHB, mga pwersa ng National Democratic Front at mga masang aktibistang nagsusulong ng mithiin para sa pambansang demokrasya at sosyalismo.

Foreword

I welcome this book, *Paglaban sa Batas Militar sa mga Pahina ng 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 law 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 semicolonial 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 system-

atize 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 various 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 infras-

structure 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 the Marcos I 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 meth-

ods 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 ₱5.9 trillion to ₱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 years 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 ₱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 Ma. Sison, Founding Chairman
Communist Party of the Philippines**

**Utrecht, Netherlands
September 1, 2022**

Papel ng *Ang Bayan* sa pamumuno ng Partido sa paglaban sa batas militar

Ang pagbabawal sa lahat ng anyo ng organisasyon at pagkakait sa kalayaan sa pamamahayag ang mga unang hakbang ni Ferdinand Marcos Sr. nang ipataw niya ang batas militar at itatag ang kanyang paghaharing diktadura.

Sa kabila ng hawak niyang kapangyarihan, nabigo noon ang diktador na buwagin ang Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas at ipahinto ang paglabas ng *Ang Bayan*, organong pambalita ng Komite Sentral nito. Sa maraming taon ng paghahari ng pasistang kadiliman, ang pahayagang *Ang Bayan* ang nagsilbing daluyan ng impormasyon na naglanta sa kabuktutan ng diktadurang US-Marcos, ng mga pagsusuri at panawagang nagbigay-tanglaw sa landas ng paglaban, at ng mga balita ng tagumpay ng sambayanang napukaw at nagbangon.

Sa gitna ng paghaharing militar ni Marcos, nagpunyagi ang Partido sa pamumuno sa sambayanang Pilipino at sa pagsulong ng kaniyang mga pakikibaka sa lahat ng larangan ng paglaban, higit sa lahat, sa larangan ng armadong pakikibaka. Ang walang-patid na paglalabas ng *Ang Bayan* ay salamin ng pampulitikang pamumunong ito ng Partido.

Tatlong taon bago ipinataw ni Marcos ang batas militar, naitatag na ng Partido ang Bagong Hukbong Bayan na nagsilbing sandata at bisig nito sa pagpupundar ng armadong pampulitikang lakas sa mga larangang gerilya sa kanayunan. Sa pamamagitan ng BHB, nabuo ang lakas ng masang magsasaka at kumalat ang apoy ng pakikibaka para sa tunay na reporma sa lupa. Mula sa siyam na ripleng awtomatiko at 60 Pulang mandirigma, paulit-ulit na lumaki ang BHB sa pamamagitan ng pakikidigmang gerilya at naghatid ng malalaking bigwas laban sa kaaway.

Malaki rin ang ginampanang papel ng mga kadre ng Partido

at mga pinamumunuan nilang masang aktibista sa muling pagpapasigla demokratikong kilusang masa laluna mula kalagitnaan ng dekada 1970. Naroon ang mga kadre sa pagsiklab ng kilusang welga sa mga pabrika at kilusang boykoteo sa mga kampus, na paglao'y humantong sa pagbuhos sa lansangan ng puo-puong libong mga manggagawa at kabataan.

Ang Bayan laban sa batas militar

Bukod sa tagapaglahad ng pagsusuri ng Partido at tagapagbudyong ng mga panawagan nito, ang pahayagang Ang Bayan ay nagsilbing tagapagsalaysay ng mga tagumpay at pagsulong sa pakikibaka ng sambayanan laban sa labing-apat na taong paghahari (1972–1986) ng batas militar ni Marcos.

Sa kabila ng pagsupil ni Marcos sa kalayaan sa pamamahayag, nagpunyagi ang Partido sa tuluy-tuloy na paglilimbag ng Ang Bayan. Patunay nito, sampung araw makaraan ang pagpataw ng batas militar, inilabas ng Komite Sentral ng Partido ang isyu ng Ang Bayan para ibalandra ang panawagang “Ibagsak ang diktadurang US-Marcos para sa pambansang kalayaan at demokrasya!” Bawat isyung inilalabas ng Ang Bayan na matiyagang minamakinilya at pinararami sa pamamagitan ng istensil ay mahigpit na inaantabayanan ng masang Pilipino.

Nagsilbi ang pahayagang Ang Bayan bilang balangkas sa pagbubuo ng Partido sa buong bansa at gayo'y sa pagkalat ng apoy ng paglaban sa buong kapuluan. Gayundin, nagsilbi itong gabay ng mga kadre ng Partido at masang aktibista sa buong bansa sa kanilang mga inisyatiba at pagsisikap sa pagupukaw, pag-organisa at pagpapakilos sa sambayanan. Hindi maitatatwa na naging mabunga ang pamumuno ng Partido sa pagpapakilos sa sambayanang Pilipino.

Ang kasalukuyang librong *Paglaban sa Batas Militar sa mga Pahina ng Ang Bayan* ay salamin ng naging mabungang pamumuno ng Par-

tido sa sambayanang Pilipino at ng pagpupunyagi nitong gamitin ang pahayagang Ang Bayan na instrumento sa paghugis at pagtala ng kasaysayan ng paglaban ng sambayanan.

Sadyang itinaon ang paglalabas ng librong ito sa paggunita sa ika-50 taon ng deklarasyon ng batas militar sa Setyembre 21, 2022. Batid ng mga patnugot ng Ang Bayan ang pangangailangang ilabas ang librong sa harap ng pagdurusa ngayon ng sambayanang Pilipino sa ilalim ng panibagong paghaharing Marcos, sa gitna ng lalong pagkabulok at lumalalim na krisis ng naghaharing sistemang malakolonyal at malapyudal.

Pakay ng librong ito na magsilbing sangguniang pangkasaysayan para labanan ang ginagawa ngayong pambabaluktot sa kasaysayan na pakana ng mga Marcos para palabasing “mga ginintuang taon” ang panahon ng pagdurusa ng sambayanan sa ilalim ng batas militar at para limutin ng masang Pilipino ang hindi mapatatawad na krimen ni Marcos Sr at kanyang mga kasapatat sa pagsupil sa bayan at pagpapayaman sa kapangyarihan.

Sa paglalabas ng mga pangkasaysayang artikulong ito, layunin ng librong ito ang magsilbing halawan ng aral para magsilbing gabay sa kasalukuyan at panghinaharap na pakikibaka ng sambayanang Pilipino at pagsusulong ng rebolusyonaryong kilusan hanggang sa makamit nito ang tagumpay.

Kung tutuusin, kahit walang deklarasyon ng batas militar, maraming aspeto nito ang patuloy na umiiral sa kasalukuyan: panggigipit, paninindak at panggagahis sa mamamayang Pilipino ng estadong terorista-pasista. Ang malalaking krimen laban sa sangkatauhan ni Marcos Sr at ng mga alipures niya sa AFP ay hindi pa naparusahan. Puo-puong libong biktima ng batas militar ang naghahangad pa rin ng katarungan.

Kahit napatalsik si Marcos Sr, ang mga istruktura ng pasistang paghahari na ipinundar niya—ang labis na malaking pwersang mili-

tar na sinanay ng US sa brutal na mga taktika ng panunupil—ay nananatili pa rin sa ngayon. Nagsusuot man ng iba't ibang maskara, nagpapatuloy ang pasistang paghahari sa Pilipinas, lalong nagiging mapanlinlang, habang lalong nagiging mabangis.

Hinihikayat namin ang mga mambabasa ng Ang Bayan—ang mga kadre ng Partido, mga rebolusyonaryong pwersa at lahat ng tagapagtaguyod ng demokrasya at pambansang kalayaan—na maramang basahin ang mga artikulo sa librong ito, namnamin ang mga aral at paghalawan ng inspirasyon para isulong sa bagong antas ang pambansa-demokratikong rebolusyon sa mga darating na taon.

Patnugutan, Ang Bayan
Setyembre 1, 2022

Pambungad

Ang librong *Ang Paglaban sa Batas Militar sa mga Pahina ng Ang Bayan* ay isang antolohiya o koleksyon ng 50 artikulong lumabas sa Ang Bayan sa panahon ng pakikibaka laban sa batas militar ng diktadurang US-Marcos (1972–1986). Naglalaman din ito ng karagdagang dalawang artikulo na naglahad ng mga pagsusuri ng Partido sa namu-muong diktadura bago ito itinatag ni Marcos.

Isinama sa koleksyong ito ang mahahalagang editoryal ng Ang Bayan na naglahad ng pagsusuri ng Partido at paglalata ng mga tungkulin sa paglaban sa diktadurang Marcos. Gayundin, nilaman ang ilang balita ng mga tampok na tagumpay sa larangan ng armadong pakikibaka, ligal na demokratikong kilusan, pagbubuo ng Partido, hukbong bayan at baseng masa. Naglalaman din ito ng mga artikulo na nagpapakita ng pagsusulong ng rebolusyonaryong kilusan sa ilang tampok na rehiyon at mga sektor.

Sadyang maraming iba pang mahahalagang artikulo na hindi na naisama sa koleksyong ito. Sisikapin ng Ang Bayan na mailabas pa rin ang mga ito sa ibang paraan sa hinaharap.

Ang mga artikulo ay nakasalansan alinsunod sa petsa. Nakasaad sa ilalim ng mga pamagat ng artikulo kung saang bolyum at anong bilang ng Ang Bayan iyon lumabas. Haluan ng mga artikulo sa English at Pilipino ang koleksyong ito. Sa mga artikulong lumabas sa kapwa wika, pinaburan ng mga patnugot ang isama ang Pilipino.

Ang teksto ng mga artikulong ito ay muling tinipa mula sa mga digital facsimile ng mga lumang isyu ng AB. Wala kaming binago sa mga ispelang at salitang ginamit, kahit pa ang pagbabaybay ay naiiba sa kasalukuyang sinusunod na alituntunin ng AB. Mapapansin sa ilang bahagi ang simbolong “[...]” na nagsasaad na hindi na mabasa ang mga salita mula sa orihinal na kopya.

Sinikap ng maging masinop sa pagrepaso sa mga teksto. Kung mayroon mang pagkakamali, mangyari lamang na ipaabot sa amin

upang iyon ay maiwasto.

Ikalulugod naming matanggap ang inyong mga komentaryo o katanungan tungkol sa librong ito.





Tanging-Pabalita Agosto 26, 1972

Pahayag ng Patnugutan

SA'KALAKSA ANG REAKSIYONARYONG DEMOKRASYANG LARAP NG MGA PANGAYAWAN NG MARXISTA-KOMUNISTA SA PILIPINAS SA PANGAYAWAN NG MARXISTA-KOMUNISTA NG PILIPINAS

Ta mga ilano araw bano sumagit ang unang aniherrawo ng itatawang masaker sa Plaza Miranda, inilalat na reaksyonaryong mandalabang lakas ang ilano sarbo ng mga kabililit at mababa-mababa nabobomba na karamihay nangawari sa Orson City at ilano unang'y pagtawag sa ilang yunit ng Metrocon sa Marikina, Rizal. Sa utos ng nanggatong P.F.M.-Marcos, ang mga opisyal ng reaksyonaryong mandalabang lakas, labu-lalo na ang unang ng PC na si Fidel Paros at ang pinuno ng Metrocon na si Ventura, ay naghihilit na nabigyan ng mga hindi-kailalang na kasinamantalang na ang buong pagkanyon bayan at ang mga nanggatong demokratikong organisasyong pangmasa ang silang may kasagawan ng mga insidenteng ito.

Kailangang na ginawa-gawa lamang ang mga insidenteng ito unang higit sa lahat ay itinatag ang Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas, ang bayong nababang bayan, ang mga nanggatong demokratikong organisasyon at lahat ng iba nang reorganisibo at makababawong gawera. Sa pamamagitan ng paghuhumonging nasa "red alert" at pag-aantong hagdang lumaban dahil sa mga insidenteng ito na sila niero ang unibento, ang reaksyonaryong mandalabang lakas at ang piligay ng lumond ay nagtangkang lumikha ng kalalagang kasagapan sila unang atakibo o kaya'y pigilip ng ilano ang kasagapan sa masaker sa Plaza Miranda. Ipinat nisan na'y hindi natakot ni nalilano ang mga nanggatong at sila'y nanggatong na kasagapan" humilog bilang kasagapan sa kasilang demokratikong karamatan sa Plaza Miranda.

Ang mga insidenteng ito ng nabobomba ay wala kavit latikino na kabalasabano naghihilit na malabandil sa reaksyonaryong kilang kasagapan sa kabilalagan'y ilang kabilalagan ng mga nanggatong na kung may mga nanggatong karamat-dapat na nabobomba, ito'y dapat itong bay Marcos at sa mga nababang militar na laing nakakailid na bayon. Nay kabilal ang mga nanggatong na kung may mga nanggatong ilang na kasilang kasagapan, ito ay dapat isagawa nang walang kasagapanang sibileng o'walang kabilalagan.

Ang unang'y pagtawag na itong itinatag na bayong nababang bayan sa ilang yunit ng Metrocon sa Marikina, Rizal ay isa na nanggatong pagtawag na nangating P.F.M.-Marcos. Ipinat na ng mga reaksyonaryong ilalalagan ng reaksyonaryong mandalabang lakas na ang mga kasagapan sa karaman ng hoto ng Metrocon ay naghihilit-dung at sindi sa kasagapan ng retrato na ang patrol car ay pinagputan ng silang -14 gayong ilalalagan-bang sa silo na wala nang kasagapanang nakasagapan ang nanggatong.

(sa ilind)

Facsimile of front page of August 1972 special issue of Ang Bayan in Pilipino, a month before the declaration of martial law. In this two-page statement, the Party condemned the spate of bombings and fake ambushes in and around Metro Manila. The Party squarely puts the blame on the ruling Marcos clique for its schemes to perpetuate itself in power.

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 U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism for which the Marcos puppet reactionary regime serves as the bloodthirsty hatchetman.

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 vi-

olent 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 Malacañang 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 U.S. im-

perialism, 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 salvoes 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 have been exposed the rapacity and brutality of the counterrevolutionary state that is in the service of U.S. 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 Jan-

uary 30–31, AFP chieftain General Yan, Philippine Army chieftain General Iletto, 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 U.S. 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 isolating 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.

U.S. 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. U.S. 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 U.S. 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 U.S. 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 U.S. imperialism, shouts a million times about the "Maoists," he cannot conceal the fact that he is the political hatchetman 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 U.S. 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 semicolonial 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 counterrevolutionary 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 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 chief-tain 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 anticommunist 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 U.S. 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-mache crocodile with a U.S. 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 U.S. 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 counterrevolu-

tionary 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 U.S. 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 U.S. 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 semicolonial and semifeudal society have become too conspicuous to be camouflaged by mere rhetorics. Undeniable to the entire nation now are the blood-thirsty use of the police trained by the U.S. AID and the vicious military manipulated by the JUSMAG 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 U.S. 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 U.S. 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 U.S. 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 U.S. 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 U.S. 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 U.S., to facilitate the huge profit remittances of U.S. 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 U.S. 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, U.S. 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 U.S. imperialist privileges under the terms of such legislations 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 U.S. 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 sanc-

tion 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. U.S. 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, U.S. imperialism is in need of Japan as its fogleman 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 De-

mocratic 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 U.S. 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 U.S. 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 semicolonial 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 remoulded 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 standardbearer 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 U.S. 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 anyway diminish the insatiable greed of the U.S.-Marcos regime for power and wealth. It is a flimsy trick to adorn the ugly truth that the U.S.-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 U.S.-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. Everyday 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 U.S. 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 U.S.-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 U.S. imperialism at home and abroad has reached such a point that in a semicolony 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 U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism are unmasked more clearly than ever before.

The U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S.-Marcos regime flings at us have only served to stress the truth of our national and democratic integrity. The “anti-Maoist” conspiracy of the U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S.-Marcos dictatorship on the entire Filipino nation and people. This proclamation is in effect the formal declaration of civil war by the U.S.-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 U.S.-Marcos dictatorship, the conditions for the rapid advance of the Philippine revolution against U.S. 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 U.S.-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 counter-revolutionary violence, can be overthrown only through revolutionary violence. The U.S.-Marcos clique has only dug deeper its grave.

The Usurpation of Absolute Power by the U.S.-Marcos Dictatorship

With an autocratic arrogance reminiscent of absolute monarchy in feudal times, the U.S.-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 U.S.-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 highhandedly 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 re-

bellion” 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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 promul-

gated “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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S.-Marcos dictatorship is hell-bent 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 U.S. 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 U.S.-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 U.S.-Marcos dictatorship, blackmailed or actually put through sham trial in the military courts and punished arbitrarily. In the first wave of nati-

onwide mass arrests, conducted from 9:00 p.m. of September 22 to 6:00 a.m. 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 Kalaon 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 peddlars 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 U.S. imperialists. He is specially interested in suppressing protest mass actions against the U.S. 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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. The indefinite closure of all private high schools and colleges have 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 U.S.-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 Cus-

toms, 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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S.-Marcos dictatorship deliberately refuses even only to mention the U.S. oil companies and other U.S.-owned public utility firms in the Philippines.

The “takeover” of public utilities is neither to achieve nationalization nor to crush an armed opposition in 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 U.S.-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 ABS-CBN 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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S. imperialism and its puppets in the past has completely proven to be mere soap bubble. It is now completely gone. Because of its boundless greed for power and wealth, the U.S.-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 U.S. 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 U.S. 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 U.S.-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 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 U.S.-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 U.S. imperialism and at the same time perpetuating the Marcos puppet gang in power. To achieve its vile scheme, the U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S.-Marcos clique, which had been responsible for so many previous massacres. The false accusations of the U.S.-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 U.S.-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 turn-about from its previous propaganda of anticommunist lies, the U.S.-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 U.S.-Marcos clique.

The fascist tricks of the U.S.-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 casualtyless 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 U.S.-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”. Everyday

the front pages of the Manila newspapers would scream and the radio would blare with the quick allegations of the U.S.-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 "psy-war" 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 U.S.-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 eyewitnesses 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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 “con-

spiracy” that is supposed to be responsible for a “reign of terror” and “wanton acts of destruction on 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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S.-Marcos dictatorship.

“New Society” Means Nothing But the Worsening of the Old Society

The U.S.-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 U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism shall continue to afflict semicolonial 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 U.S. State Department soon after Proclamation No. 1081, the instalment of the fascist dictatorship in the Philippines does not conflict with the interests of U.S. imperialism. In fact, U.S. 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 U.S. “country team” (which includes the U.S. ambassador, the CIA chief of station, the AID director, the U.S. CIA director and the JUSMAG chief) and the board of directors and other top members of the American Chamber of Com-

merce 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 U.S.-Marcos dictatorship is the product of the vicious exploitation and oppression of the Filipino people by U.S. 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 U.S. 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 U.S. 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 antipuppet movement become that such a desperate measure as the instalment of a fascist dictatorship is resorted to. U.S. 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 U.S.-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 U.S. 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 U.S. imperialism to protect \$2.0 billion U.S. investments (in anticipation of the end of “parity rights”) and to maintain the Philippines as a strategic post in Asia.

U.S. imperialism is today extremely unsettled by the people’s outcry for the confiscation of U.S.-owned lands including the improvements thereon (like buildings, factories, equipment and other installations) and also for the immediate dismantling of U.S. military bases which occupy large tracts of public lands. Even in the realm of the legal anti-imperialist struggle, U.S. 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 U.S.-Marcos clique in order to distract public attention from the strong legal grounds for demanding the immediate end of U.S. imperialist domination. It dawned upon the U.S. 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 U.S. imperialism through such direct agents as the components of the U.S. “country team” and such other agents as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, U.S. monopoly firms, Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation and the like. The dictates of U.S. 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 U.S. dollar; sham negotiations on the unequal U.S.–R.P. treaties to achieve mere “adjustments”; “natio-

nal treatment”, “joint ventures” and “incentives”—special privileges for U.S. investments (nonexpropriation, investment insurance, unlimited dollar remittances, tax exemptions, driving up local credit sources, etc.); heavy foreign borrowings from the U.S. and “consortium” banks for nonproductive projects; increasing taxation to raise counterpart funds for foreign loans and to support a military build-up; fascist training of the reactionary troops and police; the five-year program for a “self-reliant defense posture”; special privileges for U.S. 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-a-vis the Filipino people, the Marcos fascist gang knows no bounds for its puppetry. It will throw the door wider open for U.S. 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 U.S.-Marcos dictatorship will subsequently resort to the use of U.S. aggressor troops, despite the hypocritical claim of the “Nixon doctrine” about supplying war materiel rather than U.S. 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 U.S.-Marcos dictatorship is exceptionally isolated at the moment and has to rely completely on its fascist troops. This extreme reliance on a par-

asitic 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 ₱1.2 billion has already been superseded. Even at the present troop level, military expenditures have already increased tremendously since the U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 "rumor-mongering".

At present, the U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S.-Marcos dictatorship is nothing but a phrase that

will go the way of all previous slogans of deception spewed out by the U.S.-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 U.S. imperialism, under conditions when the political and economic crisis of the ruling system is getting more and more acute everyday. In the “new society”, the basic sources of evil that are U.S. 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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 commander-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 U.S.-

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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S.-Marcos dictatorship.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is the party most pre-

pared 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 Tsetung 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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S. 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 U.S. 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 U.S.-Marcos dictatorship, provided they are not a mere faction of the military directed by U.S. imperialism to groom another puppet dictator.

Hereunder are a number of guidelines for developing or dealing with the various forces opposed to the U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 nonpayment 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 es-

tablished. 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 U.S.-Marcos 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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 sometime 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 U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. It is antinational to allow foreign-owned mass media like those owned by the Sorianos to

make propaganda in support of the U.S.-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 U.S.-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 antifascist 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 U.S.-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 U.S. 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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S. 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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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'etat with

another reactionary regime which they consider “democratic”; and the third one consists of those who oppose the U.S.-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 U.S. imperialism; the other has various notions of anti-imperialism. Enemy officers and troops who are opposed to the U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and they are determined to encircle it with the flames of people's war. The day will surely come when the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship is turned into ashes and is finally consigned to the garbage heap of history. By that time, the comprehensive revolutionary movement against U.S. 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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S. 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 U.S.-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 battlecry, "Makibaka, Huwag Matakot!" resounded most among the Filipino and non-Filipino demonstra-

tors. Numerous manifestoes from various anti-imperialist and anti-fascist 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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 G.I. Movement who were deported from the Philippines by the U.S.-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 U.S. 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 U.S. aggression in Vietnam, the American people are opposed to U.S. 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 U.S. monopoly capitalism and to the brutal and corrupt nature of the Marcos fascist puppet regime.

Thus, even such publications of U.S. 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 U.S. 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 decree have guaranteed to U.S. 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 U.S. 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 hundreds 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 signalled 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 U.S.-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 civil-

ians 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 strategem, 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 Ba-

yan 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 capital-

ists 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.

Ipinagdiriwang ng Bagong Hukbong Bayan ang ikalimang anibersaryo nito

March 29, 1974 (Special Issue)

Taglay ang pinakamilitanteng kagalakang ipinagdirivanag ng Bagong Hukbong Bayan ang ikalimang anibersaryo nito. Noong Marso 29, 1969, ang magiting na rebolusyonaryong hukbong ito na nakatalaga sa mga pambansa at demokratikong kapakanan ng malawak na masa ng sambayanang Pilipino ay itinatag ng Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas sa dakilang tanglaw ng Marxismo-Leninismo-Kaisipang Mao Tsetung.

Mula noon, ang hukbong ito ay sumulong sa tagumpay at higit pang tagumpay sa matatag na rebolusyonaryong pakikibaka nito laban sa imperyalismong Amerikano, piyudalismo at burukratang kapitalismo at napanday sa pakikibaka sa mga kaaway na *task force* na militar at pangingibabaw sa anumang kahirapang dulot sa mga buktot na pakana ng kaaway tulad ng pagsuspinde sa kasulatang habeas corpus at pagpataw ng pasistang paghaharing militar. Sa loob ng limang taon, ganap na napatapon sa basurahan sa daan ang mga rebisyonistang taksil na pangkatin gaya ng kina Lava, Sumulong at Taruc.

Sa ilalim ng ganap na pamumuno ng Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas, pinatutunayan ng Bagong Hukbong bayan na ito ang pinakahanda at pinakamapagkakatiwalaang hukbong may pambansa at pangmasang katangian laban sa pasistang rehimeng diktatoryal ng pangkating E.U.-Marcos. Sapul noong makakanang golpe de estado ng sukdulang komprador, piyudal at pasistang papet na gang ni Marcos, isinulong nang may ibayong lakas ng mga kadre at mandirigma ng hukbong bayan ang masaklaw na programa ng demokratikong rebolusyon ng bayan at sila'y laging kumikilos batay sa mga kongkretong kalagayan sa mga lokalidad sa pagsasagawa ng sandatahang pakikibaka, rebolusyong agraryo at pagtatayo ng base.

Kinakailangan ang isang matagalang digmaang bayan sa isang malakolonyal at malapiyudal na bayang tulad ng Pilipinas. Ang kanayunan ang pinakamalawak na lugar na nakikilusan sa ganitong rebolusyunaryong pakikidigma. Kung ihahambing sa iba, dito pinakamahina ang kaaway, lalo na sa mahuhusay na napiling lugar. Kaya, matatag na isinasagawa ng Bagong Hukbong Bayan ang estratehikong simulain ng pagkubkob sa mga lunsod mula sa kanayunan sa loob ng matagal na panahon; dito'y natitipon ang mga tagumpay sa mga labanan ng mabilisang pasiya at matatag na naitatayo ang malalakas na base sa kanayunan bilang paghahanda para sa tagumpay sa buong bayan.

Ang hukbong bayan ay nasa yugto pa ng estretehikong pagtanggol. Ngunit sa loob ng balangkas na ito'y nagkukusa itong lumipol ng mga puwersa ng kaaway nang pautay-utay at sa parami nang paraming bilang sa mga taktikal na pananalakay na isinasagawa sa tiyak na kalamangan nito sa kanayunan. Ang itaya ngayon ang karamihan o ang lahat sa mga pananalakay na militar sa mga lunsod o sa mga pangunahing portipikasyon ng kaaway ay di- napapanahon at nagbibigay sa mga pasistang papet at sa kanilang mga paginoong imperyalista ng pinakamalaking pagkakataong gapiin ang mga puwersang rebolusyonaryo.

Taliwas sa ipinangangalandakan ng diktadurang E.U.-Marcos, ang gulugod ng sandatahang paglaban ng mga sambayan ay hindi lamang nanatiling di-nababali manapa'y lao pang lumakas. Sa katunayan, ang mga tagapagsalita ng pasistang diktadura ay napilitang umamin sa maraming pagkakataon na sumidhi at lumawak ang sandatahang rebolusyon sapul nang ipataw ang paghaharing militar. Sa kalilipas na taon, nalipol ng Bagong Hukbong Bayan sa maraming partikular na labanan ang mga yunit ng kaaway mula sa laking iskuwad hanggang sa laking dalawang kompanya. Sa malalawak na lugar ay nalipol din ang mga espiya ng kaaway at mga pusakal na

masasamang elemento.

Sa pamamatnubay ng rebolusyonaryong Partido ng mga proletaryado, ang Bagong Hukbong Bayan ay higit na malalim na nag-uugat sa masang magsasaka at nakapagpapalawak nang husto sa saklaw ng buong bansa taglay ang masiglang pagtataguyod ng masang anakpawis, ng petiburgesyang tagalunsod at ng iba pang progresibong tagalunsod at ng iba pang progresibong seksiyon ng populasyon. Mayroon itong mga panlabang yunit sa Cagayan Valley, Kailokohan at mga lalawigang bulubundukin, Gitnang Luzon, Timog Luzon, Silangang Kabisayaan, Kanlurang Kabisayaan at Mindanaw. Walang lubay na pinauunlad ang mga baseng gerilya at mga sonang gerilya.

Sa ilalim ng bawat panrehiyong pamatnugutan sa operasyon, ang mga regular na sandatahang yunit ng Bagong Hukbong Bayan gayundin ang mga binhing-yunit gaya ng mga sandatahang pangkat na pampropaganda at mga pamalagiang iskuwad gerilya ay nagpa-paunlad ng kanilang kakayahang panlaban at puwersang laan sa pamamagitan ng pagbubuo ng mga lokal na panahunang yunit ng gerilya at mga yunit ng milisya at tumitiyak ng pagatatuguyod ng masa sa pamamagitan ng pagbubuo ng mga lokal na organo ng kapangyarihang pampulitika, iba't ibang klase ng organisasyon pangmasa para sa mga manggagawa, magsasaka, mangingisda, kabataan, kababaihan, bata at aktibistang pangkultura, at mga lihim na komite, grupo, selula sa mga partikular na linya ng gawain.

Taglay ng Bagong Hukbong Bayan ang aktuwal at tuwirang pagtataguyod ng isang baseng pangmasang bumibilang ng ilandaang libong mamamayan. Sa lahat ng dako ng bayan, ang malawak na masa ng sambayanan na bumibilang ng ilampung milyon ay labis na napopoot sa pasistang diktadurang rehimen ng pangkating E.U.-Marcos, nagbubunyi sa mga tagumpay ng Bagong Hukbong Bayan at nagmimithi ng pagpapalaya at demokrasya. Higit pang napakainam

ng mga kalagayn sa pagpaunlad ng sandatahang rebolusyon laban sa sandatahang kontrarebolusyon.

Lumilitaw sa iba't ibang dako ng bayan ang iba pang sandatahang puwersa. Nariyan ang Hukbong Bangsa Moro at ang Rebolusyonaryong Puwersang Muslim na nakikibaka para sa karapatan sa pambansang pagpapasiya-sa-sarili at demokrasya ng mga pambansang minorya sa Mindanaw. Nariyan ang Filipino Freedom Fighters, sarisaring taong interesado sa pakikidigmang gerilya at golpe de estado, na nakikibaka para sa sandatahang pagpapabagsak ng pasistang gang ni Marcos. Maraming lokal na grupo ng mga maykapangyarihan ang lihim na nagbubuo ng mga sandatahang yunit upang magtanggol laban sa mga pasistang kalupitan ng mga berdugong Marcos. Sa loob ng reaksiyonaryong sandatahang lakas, mayroon nang malubhang hidwaang nagpapamalas ng tunggalian ni Marcos at ng mga karibal niya sa pulitika.

Sa pamamatnugot ng Partido, ang Bagong Hukbong Bayan ay laing nagsisikap na makipag-alyansa at makipagtulungan sa lahat ng puwersang antipasista at nagtataguyod ng paglansag sa mga reaksiyonaryong puwersa. Matatag nitong sinusuportahan ang panawagan ng Komisyon sa Paghahanda ng Pambansang Demokratikong Prente sa lahat ng manggagawa, magsasaka, guro, estudyante, mamamahayag, negosyante at lahat ng mga nasa panggitnang saray, pambansang minorya, makabayang lider na pampulitika at panrelihiyon, antipasistang sundalo sa reaksiyonaryong sandatahang lakas at mga Pilipinong nasa ibayong dagat na magkaisa sa pagsisikap na maibagsak ang diktadurang E.U.-Marcos sa ilalim ng 10 puntong programa ng rebolusyonaryong pagkilos.

Hindi kapayaapaan manapa'y ibayong ligalig ang nilikha ng pasistang diktadurang rehimen ng pangkating E.U.-Marcos. Higit na malinaw ngayon sa malawak na masa ng sambayanan na isang demokratikong sandatahang rebolusyon lamang ang makalilipol sa pa-

sistang sandatahang kontrarebolusyon. Sila'y higit na mapangahas magsalita, higit na militante at higit na mapanlaban sa halip na matakot sa panunugpo sa mga pambansa at demokratikong karapatan sa pamamagitan ng mga pasistang hakbang na tulad ng maramihang pag-aaresto, maramihang pagbinbin, sapilitang pagpapalikas, masaker, asasinasyon, panununog, pagpapahirap, blakmeyl, pangingikil at iba pa. Ang monopolyong Marcos sa pamamahayag, ang mga huwad na reperendum at ang papuri-sa-sarili ng mga pasistang buhong ay nakapagpapalungi sa sarili at madaling mahalata ng sambayanan.

Upang maisagawa ang pasistang pangungulimbat, patuloy na pinarami ng pangkating E.U.-Marcos ang mga tropa at kagamitan ng reaksiyonaryong sandatahang lakas. Upang maragdagan ang mga regular na tropa nito sa mga “kampanya ng pagdagsa” laban sa samabayanan, ginagamit nito ang mga kabataang sapilitang pinapagsanay sa militar bilang pambala sa kanyon sa ilalim ng “konseptong kamagong” at pinipilit din ang mga lokal na opisyal sa baryo na magtayo ng mga “puwersa sa pagtanggol ng tahanan at komunidad” (dati’y tinawag na “yunit sa pagtatanggol-sa-sarili sa baryo”). Hawak nito ang pampulitikang monopolyo sa lokal na puwersang pulisya sa pamamagitan ng Konstabularya ng Pilipinas at ng Pambansang Komisyon sa Pulisya. Pinakikilos nito ang iba’t-ibang klase ng mga ahensiya sa paniniktik at mga espesyal na pangkat para tiktikan ang mga mamamayan at magsasagawa ng mga paghihirap, pandudusta at pamamaslang.

Sa likod ng mga operasyong militar at pulisya ng pasistang gang ni Marcos ay ang pinag-ibayong lohistikang tulong ng Estados Unidos, ang mga Amerikanong base militar, ang Magkasanib na Grupong Tagapayong Militar ng Estados Unidos (JUSMAG), ang mga ahenteng C.I.A sa A.I.D. at iba’t-ibang ahensiya ng reaksiyonaryong pamahalaan at mangyari pa’y ang espesyal na atensiyong ibini-

bigay sa Pilipinas sa pamamagaitan ni Embahador William H. Sullivan, ang bantog na berdugo sa Indotsina. Sa likod ng “magkasanib na pagsasanay sa aksiyong sibiko,” maraming espesyal na puwersang Amerikano ang ipinadadala sa iba’t-ibang dako ng bayan, sa loob o kalapit ng mga sonang gerilya ng Bagong Hukbong Bayan, upang [...] at mga sikolohikal na operasyon. Bukod dito, ang A.I.D at ang Peace Corps ay lantarang nakikialam sa mga lokalidad. Talagang kumikilos ang imperyalismong Amerikano bilang tagasulsol at utak ng pasistang diktadurang Marcos.

Kapalit ng suporta ng imperyalismong Amerikano, inihain ng pasistang pinunong papet na si Marcos para sa kapakinabangan ng mga monopolyong dayuhan (lalo na ng Amerikano, na ngayo’y may \$2.0 hanggang \$3.0 bilyong tuwirang pamumuhunan at pinakamalaking bahagi sa \$2.5 bilyong dayuhang pautang) ang konstitusyong Marcos at iba pang kautusang nagpapahintulot sa malayang pagdambong sa mga kayamanang-tao at materyal ng bayan at sa walang-takdang pag-uui ng labis-labis na tubo sa paraang dumadaig sa mga ipinagkakaloob ng Kasunduang Laurel-Langley at Susog Parity. Walang kahihiyang ipinagpapasikat ng pasistang rehimeng dikatoryal ang pagkapapet nito sa mga dayuhang monopolyo bilang pinakamaningning nitong nagawa. Ang “bukas na pintong” patakaran nito sa dayuhang pamumuhunan ay nagnanakaw ng kayamang panlipunan ng sambayanan sa bilis na walag kapantay sa kasaysayan ng Pilipinas. Maging ang mga saibatsung Hapones ay nagtagumpay na makuha ang matagal nang nakabiting di-pantay na “kasunduan sa pagkakaibigan, komersiyo at nabigasyon”.

Walang kasaganaan, liban sa kasaganaang tinatamasa ng mga dayuhang monopolista at malalaking panginoong maylupa na kinabibilangan ng punong-oligarkong si Marcos hindi lamang bilang pangunahing pampulitikang kinatawan kundi bilang pinakamayaman ngayon sa pamamagitan ng walang patumanggang katiwalian

at kabulukan. Upang makalikha ng huwad na larawan ng kasagana-han, araw at gabi'y ipinangalandakan sa mga pahayagang Marcos ng pasistang papet na rehimen ang surplus sa kalakalan at ang paborableng balanse sa bayaran. Ipinahihiwatig lamang ng mga ito ang kasaganaan ng mga dayuhang monopolista, malalaking komprador at malalaking panginoong maylupa at ang walang habas na pang-aabuso sa malawak na masa ng sambayanan.

Ang tinatawag na surplus sa kalakalan ay bunga ng labis na pag-luluwas ng mga pangunahing produkto ng bayan (troso, asukal, produktong niyog, konsentradong tanso at iba pa) upang makakuha ng lubhang napamurang dolyar-Amerikano, at bunga rin ng pagpapaliit sa ulat, dahil sa walang habas na pagpupuslit na teknikal, ng malalaking gastos sa pag-aangkat ng mga di-kapital at luhong kalakal. Ang tinatawag na paborableng balanse sa bayaran ay bunga ng pinalsipikang datos ng diumano'y surplus sa kalakalan at ng kita mula sa di-nakatalang transaksyon (lalo na ang pinalaki sa ulat na kita sa turismo), pinag-ibayong dayuhang pamumuhunan at pangungutang at pagpapaliit sa ulat ng amortisasyon sa mga dayuhang bangkong monopolyo.

Pabigat nang pabigat ang pasaning buwis. Ito'y upang mapanatili ang bulok na burukrasya at ang higit pang parasitikong militar at makapag-ipon ng mga katuwang na pondo sa mga dayuhang pautang. Patuloy ang kabulukan sa lahat ng antas ng reaksiyong pamahalaan subalit sa bagong kalagayan, minomonopolisa ng pasistang gang ni Marcos ang malakihang katiwalian, ngayong wala nang kongreso at sistemang dalawang-partido upang mabantayan at mahati ang nakaw. Paulit-ulit na sinusuhulan ang pasistang militar ng maramihang promosyon at pagtataas ng sahod, malalaking espesyal na alawans, at kontrol sa operasyon ng bisyo. Ang katuwang na mga pondong piso at dayuhang pautang ay kapwa nagsisilbi lamang na pampalaki sa operasyong pangnegosyo at imprastraktura ng mga da-

yuhang monopolyo at mga reaksiyonaryong uri, lalo na ng pasistang gang ni Marcos.

Mabilis na implasyon at debalwasyon ng salapi, kakulangan sa pagkain at [...] at mababang kita ang iisang kapalaran ng malawak na masa sa ilalim ng pasistang rehimeng diktatoryal ng pangkating E.U.-Marcos. Ang mabilisang tumataas na presyo, ang pinakamatingkad na manipestasyon ng lokal na krisis sa ekonomiya, ay likha ng mga imperyalistang bayang batbat ng krisis, lalo na ng Estados Unidos, at ng pasistang papet na rehimen na nagpapasasa sa labis na pagluluwas ng mga hilaw na materyal at sa mabilis na paggastang-deposit sa militar at sa mga di-ekonomiko ngunit pasikat na mga proyekto. Ang mga kompanyang Amerikano sa langis, sa tulong ng pasistang gang ni Marcos, ay lubhang napabantog sa kasamaan sa pagkamal ng labis-labis na tubo mula sa isang taong reserbang langis na mabibili sa bayan nang sumiklab ang digmaan ng Oktubre sa Gitnang Silangan, at paulit-ulit na nagtaas ng presyo ng lahat ng pangunahing bilingin sa bayan. Bunga ng labis na pagluluwas, ang kakulangan sa pagkain ay lumawak mula sa butil hanggang sa maraming iba pang kalakal at nagpataas sa gastos ng pamumuhay hanggang sa puntong nagugutom ang malawak na masa ng sambayanan.

Hayagang pinagbabawalan ang mga manggagawa sa paggamit ng kanilang karapatan sa pag-uunyon, gayong mabilis nang bumaba ang kakayahang-pambili ng kanilang sinasahod at laganap ang pagpapataalsik sa trabaho at kawalan ng trabaho. Ang masang magsasaka ay ipinamamaraling benipisyaryo ng “reporma sa lupa” at “paglilipat ng lupa” gayong sa katunaya’y isinasailalim sila sa pinakaimbing mga kampanyang militar at paulit-ulit na inuutusang bumili ng lupa mula sa panginoong maylupa sa hulugang kahit kaila’y hindi nila kayang bayaran. Pinagsasabihan din silang sumapi sa mga asosasyong tulad ng “Samahang Nayon” at “Samahang Bayan” o kaya’y lumahok sa mga plano sa pagpapautang tulad ng “Masagana 99” na kontrolado at

ginagamit ng mga bulok na burukrata, panginoong maylupa, bangko rural at mga kompanya ng pataba upang sila'y lalong alisan ng pag-aari.

Ang petiburgesiyang tagalunsod ay hindi ligtas sa mga pampulitika at pang-ekonomiyang pang-aabuso ng pasistang rehimeng diktatorial. Ang kadalasa'y pirmihan at limitadong kita nila ay nababawasan pa dahil sa mabilis na pagtaas ng gastos sa pamumuhay at sa napakaraming tuwirang tasasyong ipinapataw sa kaaway. Palala rin nang palala ang kawalang-hanapbuhay sa hanay nila. Higit sa rati, ang pambansang burgesiya ay iniipit ng mga dayuhang monopolyo at malalaking komprador-panginoong maylupa, na may malalaki't makasariling proyektong pawang naglalayong huthutin ang nakukuhang kapital, pigilin ang lokal na negosyo at kumita ng malalaking tubo. Ang mga kompanyang aring-Pilipino ay nilalamon ng mga dambuhalang kompanyang Amerikano at Hapones sa mga pagsasanib (merger), kontratang panserbisyo, manipulasyon ng sapi at sama-samang pagnenegosyo (joint venture).

Ang pangunahing tunguhin ng pangkalahatang kalagayan sa bayan ay sa kapakinabangan ng pakikibaka ng sambayanan para sa pambansang pagpapalaya at demokrasya. Ang "bagong lipunan" ay dili iba't ang lumang malakolonyal at malapiyudal na lipunang higit na pinalala ng pasistang diktadura. Ito'y lumikha ng higit pang malawak na paglaban ng sambayanan. Hindi mapipigil ng anumang kalupitan ang matatag na pagsulong ng rebolusyonaryong puwersa. Sa kabilang dako'y patuloy na tumataas ang antas ng sandatahang rebolusyon bagamat sa ilang lugar at sa ilang panahon ay nagkakaroon ng mga pansamantalang kahirapan at maging ng mga kabiguan.

Ang mga Pulang mandirigma at komander ng Bagong Hukbong Bayan ay masiglang nag-aaral ng kanilang kalagayan at naglalagom ng kanilang karanasan. Natututo sila kapwa sa kanilang mga positibo at negatibong karanasan, nagwawasto ng mga kamalian at ka-

kulangan at nagtatakda ng mga tumpak na linya ng pagkilos upang maabot ang mas mataas na antas ng tagumpay. Sila'y mamumuhay nang simple, puspusang gumagawa at lubusang nagpapatingkad ng kanilang inisyatiba at pag-asa sa sarili at ang bawat pagpapakasakit ay nagsisilbing pampatibay sa kanilang determinasyong makibaka at magtagumpay. Sila'y nakatalagang laging mag-isip at kumilos alang-alang sa malawak na nakakarami sa sambayanan at hindi nila kinaliligtaan ang pangkalahatang kalagayan sa bayan at sa daigdig.

Rebolusyon ang pangunahing tunguhin sa daigdig ngayon. Lalo't lalong lumilinaaw na hindi malutas-lutas ang krisis ng imperyalismo, lalo na ng dalawang bayang sukdulan ng lakas, ang imperyalismong Amerikano at sosyal-imperyalismong Sobyet. Walang tigil na sumusulong ang pakikibaka ng mga bayan para sa kasarinlan, ng mga bansa para sa pagpapalaya at ng sambayanan para sa rebolusyon laban sa imperyalismo, makabagong rebisyonismo at lahat ng reaksiyon. Ito ang maningning na kalagayang pinaglulunsaran ngayon ng rebolusyong Pilipino.

Ang Tsina at iba pang bayang sosyalista ay patuloy na nagpapatatag at nagbubunsod ng rebolusyon at konstruksiyong sosyalista, lumalahok at nagtataguyod sa pandaigdigang pakikibakang antiimperyalista at kumikilos upang mahiwalay at magapi ang dalawang bayang sukdulan ng lakas. Sa Asya, Aprika at Amerika Latina, walang lubay na inilulunsad ang sandatahang pakikibaka at iba pang anyo ng pakikibaka para sa pambansang kasarinlan at demokrasya.

Sa Timog-Silangang Asya, pinasidhi ng sambayanan ang kaniyang rebolusyonaryong sandatahang pakikibaka laban sa imperyalismong Amerikano at mga pasistang papet nito at ginagawa nila ang lahat upang mabigo ang bawat maniobra ng dalawang bayang sukdulan ng lakas gayundin ng ambisyosong Hapon. Ang matagumpay na sandatahang pakikibaka ng sambayananang Indotsino ay patuloy na nagbibigay-sigla sa mga mamamayan ng daigdig at nagbababala

sa imperyalismong Amerikano na walang mapapala sa wakas ang pananalakay. Ang imperyalismong Amerikano ay labis na napahina ng pagkatalo nito sa kamay ng sambayanang Indotsino at higit sa rati'y minamatyagan ng sambayanang Amerikano ang pagiging isa pang Biyetnam ng Pilipinas.

Sa Timog Asya, inilalantad ng dalawang bayang sukduhan ng lakas ang kanilang sarili bilang mga kagilagilalas na mananalakay at ekspansiyonistang nararapat kondenahin at labanan ng mga mamamayan. Sa Gitnang Silangan man, sila'y kinukondena at nilalabanan ng mga mamamayan dahil sa kanilang pagpapakahusay sa agawan at sabawatan ngunit laging sa imbing layuning kamkamin at paghahatian ang nadambong sa kapinsalaan ng sambayanan.

Sa kabila ng kung anu-anong usapan hinggil sa “paghupa” at “pagluwag”, ang imperyalismong Amerikano at sosyal-imperyalismong Sobyet ay walang tigil sa pagmamaniobrahan sa kanilang hibang na ambisyong pagharian ang daigdig at hindi sila tumutugot sa pagpapalwak ng armas at paghahanda sa digmaan. Sa ganito'y pinalulubha niila ang pang-aapi at pagsasamantala sa mga mamamayan ng isang bayang nalalagay sa kanilang saklaw ng impluwensiya. Ang dulot nito sa kanila ay ligalig sa mismong harapan nila.

Hindi mabuti ang lagay sa hanay mga bayang kapitalista palibahasa'y nililigalig ng krisis ang lahat ng bawat isa sa kanila. Hangad ng dalawang bayang sukduhan ng lakas na samantalahing lubos ang kalagayan alinsunod sa kanya-kanyang makasariling interes. Kaya sa pag-unlad ng mga pangyayari, lalong natutuklasan ng Kanlurang Europa at Hapon na sila'y nakakabangga ng dalawang bayang sukduhan ng lakas, magkasama man o magkahiwalay. Naki-kita ng proletaryado at ng mga mamamayan ng daigdig ang malalim na epekto ng mga kontradiksiyon ng mga imperyalista at kapitalista na nakabubuti sa kanila.

Ang Bagong Hukbong Bayang ganap na pinamumunuan ng Par-

tido Komunista ng Pilipinas ay itinataguyod hindi lamang ng malawak na masa ng sambayanang Pilipino kundi gayundin ng mga mamamayan ng lahat ng iba pang bayan. Malaki ang tiwala nitong mata-gumpay na maisasakatuparan ang mga rebolusyonaryong tungkulin nito ngayon at sa hinaharap. Ang diktadurang E.U.-Marcos ay isa lamang pansamantalang yugto sa pabulusok na landasin ng isang bangkaroteng sistemang pampulitika at pang-ekonomiya sa Pilipinas. Tiyak na sasapit ang araw na mapalalaya ang sambayanan mula sa mga katutubo at dayuhang nang-aapi at nagsasamantala sa kanila. Ang tunay na pambansang kasarinlan at demokrasya ay ganap na matatamo ng sambayanang Pilipino mismo.

Mabuhay ang Bagong Hukbong Bayan!

Mabuhay ang Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas!

Mabuhay ang rebolusyong Pilipino!

Pumapasok ang Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas sa ikapitong taon mula nang muling itatag

December 26, 1974 (Volume VI, Number 4)

Ang Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas ay pumapasok ngayon sa ikapitong taon mula nang ito'y muling itatag noong Disyembre 26, 1968. Ang malawak na masa ng sambayanan at ang kasapian ng Partido at ng Bagong Hukbong Bayan ay may malaking dahilang magbunyi sa katotohanang ito.

Taun-taong ang Partido ay nag-iipon ng rebolusyonaryong tagumpay at nagpapatunay na ito ang rebolusyonaryong taliba ng proletaryado sa matagalang pakikibaka para sa pambansang kalayaan at demokrasya laban sa imperyalismong Amerikano, piyudalismo at bukratang kapitalismo.

Walang Partido ngayon sa buong bayan na mas subok at mas kwalipikado sa ideolohiya, pulitika at organisasyon upang pamunuan ang rebolusyonaryong pakikibaka para sa malawak na interes ng sambayanan laban sa pasistang rehimeng diktador ng pangkating E.U.-Marcos.

Mga Tagumpay ng Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas

Ang muling pagkakatatag ng Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas sa batayang panteorya ng Marxismo-Leninismo-Kaisipang Mao Tsetung ay tagumpay na kung wala'y hindi makasusulong ni isang hakbang ang rebolusyong Pilipino nitong nakaraang anim na taon. Sumusunod tayo sa prinsipyong pagbubuo sa ideolohiya ang unang rekisito sa pagbubuo ng Partido. Kaya masigasig tayong nagpapalaganap ng mga siyentipikong prinsipyong proletaryo nina Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin at Mao at nagsisikap na gamitin ang mga iyon sa kongkretong kondisyon ng sarili nating rebolusyonaryong pakikibaka.

Ang kabang-yaman ng mga akdang Marxista-Leninista ay napakalawak. Subalit nagdiin tayo sa reproduksyon, pagsasalin at sirkulasyon ng akdang pinakapundamental at pinakamakatatuturan sa kasakuluyang yugto ng rebolusyong Pilipino. Ang mga akdang ito ay pampalakas sa ating mga kursong primarya at intermedia at mayroon ding saklaw na nagpapahintulot kaninuman na gumawa ng sulong na pagbabasa, laluna para sa sulong na kurso.

Itinataguyod natin hindi lamang ang pagbabasa ng mga akdang Marxista-Leninista, regular na mga klase sa pag-aaral at mga komperensiyang panteorya sa layuning maunawaan ang paninindigan, pananaw at pamaraang Marxista-leninista kundi ang paggamit ng gayong paninindigan, pananaw at pamamaraan sa pamamagitan ng mga pananaliksik sa kasaysayan at kasulukyang kalagayan ng ating sambayanan gayundin ng pagsusuring panlipunan sa hanay ng masa sa layuning matiyak at mapasigla ang tumpak na rebolsyunaryong aktibidad.

Ang ating pagbaka sa makabagong rebisyonismong Sobyet at mga taksil na rebisyonistang Lava ay mabungang-mabunga. Nag-silbi itong pampataas sa antas natin sa ideolohiya at pulitika. Nag-tulak ito sa ating magsumikap na sapulin nang mas mahusay ang rebolsyunaryong ideolohiya ng proletaryado at magmatyag sa sarili nating kahinaan at negatibong tendensiya. Ang mga tumpak na idea ay lumalago sa pakikitunggali sa mga maling idea.

Ganap ang tagumpay na mapagpasiyang natamo natin laban sa mga taksil na rebisyonistang Lava. Bago ang kanilang walang kahihiyan lantarang pagsuko sa pasisatng diktadurang papet, ang mga traidor, maton at manggagantsong ito ay nagapi na ng atin Partido sa ideolohiya. Tumatayo tayo sa larangan, kasama ang Partido Komunista ng Tsina at iba pang partidong Marxista-Leninista, sa pagbaka sa makabagong rebisyonismo at sosyal imperyalismong Sobyet. Mataas ang prestihiyo ng ating Partido hindi lamang sa sarili nating

bayan kundi maging sa buong daigdig.

Sa pamamatnubay ng Marxismo-Leninismo , laluna ng sa Taga-pangulong Mao tungkol sa rebolusyon sa bayang malapiyudal at malakolonyal, tumpak na nagamit natin ang pangkalahatang linyang ipakipaglaban ang demokratikong rebolusyon ng bayan sa pamamagitan ng digmaang bayan sa loob ng mahabang panahon. Ang lakas ng Partido ay nasa tumpak na linya nito sa ideolohiya at pulitika. Utang natin sa linyang ito ang bawat tagumpay na nagkamit natin sa harap ng mga task force na militar ng kaaway, suspensiyon ng kasulatan sa habeas corpus at mahigit na dalawang taon ng walang taros na pasistang paghaharing militar. Ang isang partidong muling katatatag at di-tumpak ang linya ang linya ay babagsak sa harap ng gayong mga atake ng kaaway.

Ang Partido ay nagkamit ng tagumpay sa pagpapanatili at pagusbok sa sarili sa harap ng gayong kalakas na mga kasalungat. Subalit hindi lamang naririto ang tagumpay. Ang Partido ay nakapagpalasap ng matitinding dagok sa kaaway at nagkamit ng lakas sa pulitika sa magiting na pamumuno sa Bagong Hukbong Bayan at pagtaguyod sa nagkakaisang prenteng anti-pasista.

Ang Bagong Hukbong Bayan na likha at pinamumunuan ng Partido siya ngayong nakatayong tanging rebolusyonaryong hukbo na taglay ng malawak na masa ng sambayanan laban sa pasistang kontrarebolusyon sa lahat ng rehiyon ng bayan, maliban sa timog-kanlurang Mindanaw kung saan nakikibaka ang Hukbong Bangsa Moro alang-alang sa pambansang pagpapasiya-sa-sarili. Sa bawat pangunahing rehiyon ng bayan ay naglulunsad tayo ng pakikidigmang gerilya.

Ang ating hukbong bayan ay lumaki mula sa ilang iskuwadgerilya at ilang riple sa isang lalawigan noong 1969 hanggang sa ilang kompanyang gerilya at daan-daang ripleng ipinamahagi sa ilang estratehikong lugar sa kapuluan. Sa maraming lugar ay kaya na natin

ngayong lumipol ng buo-buong iskuwad ng kaaway at sa ilang lugar ay kaya na rin nating lumipol ng buo-buong platun at kala-kalahating kompanya.

Ang ating Partido ay nakapag-ugat na sa mga rehiyon ng Cagayan Valley, Ilocos-Montanos-Pangasinan, Gitnang Luzon, Manila-Rizal, Timog katagalugan, Bicol, Silangang Kabisayaan, Kanlurang Kabisayaan at Mindanaw. Nagkamit tayo ng tagumpay tungo sa iba't-ibang rehiyon at mula sa mga lunsod tungo sa kanayunan sa kabila ng lubhang mahihirap na kalagayan. Palibhasa'y isang muling katatag na Partido na nagtamasa ng nakaalwang kalagayang dulot ng unang sigwa ng unang kuwarto ng mga taong 1970 at ng mga sumunod na pag-aalsa, hindi natin maaring isahang-panig nag pagtuunan ang gawain sa kanayunan.

Ang Partido ay pangunahing nagdidiin sa gawaing pangmasa sa kanayunan. Mahigpit tayong sumusunod sa estratehikong prinsip-yong kubkubin ang mga siyudad mula sa kanayunan kung saan naka-pagbubuo at nakakalaban ang hukbong bayan sa loob ng mahabang panahon. Sa pamumuno ng mga panrehiyong komite ng Partido na likha at aruga ng Komite Sentral, ang Bagong Hukbong Bayan ay nag-papaunlad ng mga base at sonang gerilya.

Ang Partido sa loob ng hukbong bayan at sa mga lokalidad ang namumunong puwersa sa pagbubuo ng mga organo ng demokratikong kapangyarihang pampulitika, iba't-ibang tipong organisasyong pangmasa at iba't-ibang lokal na sandatahang puwersa. Kaug-nay nito'y isinasakatuparan natin an antipasista at antipiyudal na pa-takarang nagkakaisang prente ang pag-asa nang pangunahin sa mar-alitang magsasaka at manggagawang bukid, pag-aakit sa paggit-nang magsasaka at iba pang paggitnang elemento upang lumahok sa sandatahang paglaban at paghimok sa mayamang magsasaka, lokal na negosyante, naliliwanagang panginoong maylupa at mga grupo ng kapangyarihang anti-Marcos upang suportahan ang paglaban sa

pasismo at pinakamasahol na piyudalismo.

Sa malawakang saklaw, sa lunsod man o sa kanyunan, tayo at walang pagod na nagpapaunlad ng pambansang demokratikong prente na kinapapalooban ng pagpapaunlad sa pamumuno ng proletaryado sa pamamagitan ng Partido, paghihinang sa saligang alyansa ng proletaryado at uring magsasaka, pag-akit sa petiburgesiyang lunsod bilang isang saligang puwersang rebolusyonaryo, kasama ng masang anakpawis, at paghimok sa pambansang burgesiya at mga anti-Marcos na seksiyon ng uring komprador-panginoong maylupa upang suportahan ang sandatahang paglaban sa pasistang rehimeng diktador ng pangkating E.U.-Marcos.

Mahusay na umuunlad ang antipasistang kilusang lihim. Bilang partidong tumahak sa landas ng sandatahang rebolusyon pagkatatag na pagkatatag muli, nananatiling napamunuan natin ang pagbubuo ng antipasistang kilusang lihim na nagdurugtong sa buong kapuluan at sumasaklaw sa kanayunan at kalunsuran. Ang ating mga alyado ay may sariling lambat ng kilusang lihim. At itinatatag ang mga lihim na komite at grupo n may katangiang nagkakaisang prente.

Ilang panrehiyong organisasyon ng Partido at hukbo ang nakaasa na sa sarili laluna sa mga lugar ng mahigpit na labanan na walang mababalingan kundi ang umasa sa sarili. Ang produktibong pagsisikap ng mga mamamayan, hukbong bayan at mga organisasyong pangmasa ay madalas sirain ng mga operasyong militar ng kaaway. Gayunman ang mga yunit ng hukbo natin ay hindi tumutugot na mamuhay at magtrabahong kasama ng mga mamamayan sa hirapa at ginhawa. Nagtatagumpay tayo nang bahagya sa reporma sa lupa at koleksiyon ng buwis at ang ating mga alyado ay mapagbigay sa atin.

Maliit at mahina pa ang Partido. Halos kasisimula pa lamang nating lumaban. Tayo ay nasa maagang subyugto ng estratehikong dependsibo ng ating matagalang digmaang bayan. Subalit tiyak na may

lakas tayong tumulong na ibagsak ang pasistang rehimeng diktador ng pangkating E.U-Marcos sa loob ng maigsi-igsing panahon, laluna ngayong ang panloob na krisis at ang pandaigdigang krisis ng kapitalismo ay lumulubha sa bawat araw. Ang partisipasyon natin sa antipasistang nagkakaisang prente ay mapagpasiya sa kahalagahan kahit ngayon.

Anuman ang natamo natin ay hindi tumpak na matatantiya kung walang pagsasalang-alang sa mga kahirapang kinailangan nating pangibabawan at sa mga sakripisyo at pagkamartir na kinailangang danasin.

Nagsimula tayo sa halos wala. Ang malulubhang pagkakamali ng mga oportunistang rebisyonistang Lava-Taruc ay nagkait sa atin ng mga natamo na ng sambayanan sa mga naunang rebolusyonarong pakikibaka. At pagkakataon sa pagkatatag muli ng Partido ay kinailangang ilunsad natin ang [...] sandatahang pakikibaka sa nag-uumigting na sandatahang reaksiyon [...] maliit na bayan-kapuluan na nasa ilalim ng isang kapangyarihang imperyalista at kung saan walang habag ng mga reaksiyonaryo o kaya'y digmaang imperyalista.

Ang mga kasapi ng Partido sa pangkalahatan ay lipos ng maykamalayang disiplinang bakal at diwa ng pagpapakasakit sa sarili at paglilingkod sa sambayanan. Batid nila ang mga hirap at panganib ng rebolusyonaryong gawain nang walang takot sa kamatayan o pagpapasakit at nang walang paghahangad ng mataas na posisyon, katanyagan o kayamanan. Ang dangal nila ay nasa pamumuhay, paggawa at pag-aalay ng buhay kung kinakailangan alang-alang sa rebolusyon.

Sasandakot na traidor at masasamang damo ang tumalsik mula sa hanay ng Partido. Sila ay lumilitaw na kabaligtaran ng mga naging martir at nagtagal sa pahirap sa kamay ng kaaway. Kalait-lait sila sa harap ng lubhang nakararaming bilang ng mga kasapi ng Partido na nagsusumigasig sa rebolusyonaryong pakikibaka at patuloy na du-

marami. Mangyari pa, ang Partido mismo'y hindi ligtas sa unibersal na batas ng kontradiksiyon.

Mga Paborableng Kalagayan sa Pagsusulong ng Rebolusyon

Higit kailanman, paborable ang mga obhetibong kalagayan sa Pilipinas sa pagsusulong ng rebolusyong Pilipino. Pinalulubha lamang ng pasistang rehimeng diktador ng pangkating E.U-Marcos ang krisis sa pulitika at ekonomiya ng naghaharing sistema sa Pilipinas.

Sa buong malakolonyal na kasaysayang ng Pilipinas, wala nang rehimeng higit na malupit, higit na bulok, higit na bangkarote at higit na magulo kaysa sa pasistang rehimeng diktador ng pangkating E.U.Marcos. Sa isang salita, wala nang rehimeng higit na kinamu-muhian ng malawak na masa ng sambayanan sapul nang magtapos ang Ikalawang Digmaang Pandaigdig.

Ang pasistang diktadura ay hindi lamang nabigong durugin ang Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas at ang Bagong Hukbong Bayan kundi lumikha pa ng mga kalagayan upang ang mga ito ay magtamasa ng pinakamataas na prestihiyo sa hanay ng puwersang antipalista at mag-ibayong lakas sa iba't-ibang larangan sa buong kapuluan.

Ang sandatahang pakikibaka para sa pagpapasiya sa sarili na inilunsad ng Prenteng Moro sa Pambansang Pagpapalaya at ng Hukbong Bangsa Moro ay lalo lamang sumidhi at lumawak bunga ng mga kriminal na gawain ng pasistang rehimen. Pinahihina ng pakikibakang ito ang kaaway sa bawat rehiyon ng kapuluan.

Nagagagas na ang bisang panakot ng makakanang gopeng¹ Marcos at sumisigla ang sitwasyon para lahat ng puwersang antipalista. Dahil sa nangangalit na krisis sa ekonomiya, pabibilisin lamang ng pasistang diktadura ang sarili nitong pagbagsak kung gagamitin nito ang pananakot na masahol pa sa isinagawa na nito. Na-

¹golpe de estado

hahalata na ang mga kahinaan ng pasistang diktadura sa pag-amin nito na may krisis sa ekonomiya at sa ibayong pagkukunwari nitong makipagsundo sa sariling mga biktima.

Nagsisimula nang kumilos ang parami ng paraming elemento ng pasaklaw na tinatawag na Kanan ng pasistang diktador. Si Marcos ngayon ang natatakot sa nagkakaisang prente ng Kaliwa at lahat ng iba pang puwersang antipasista. Ang baliw na pag-atake nia sa lahat ng puwersa at organisasyong pampulitika na sa anumang grado'y pumupuna sa kanya ay nag-iwan sa kanyang mag-isa sa patay na kalagitnaan.

Ang hidwaan sa mga hanay ng reaksiyunaryo ay hindi lamang sa pagitan ng ilang Pilipino destierro sa Estados Unidos at ng pasistang diktadura. Nagsimula nang kumilos ang malaki-laking mga seksiyon ng klero at sumasampalatayang Katoliko, ilang lokal na grupong maykapangyarihan at mga grupong anti-Marcos sa loob ng reaksiyonaryong sandatahang lakas. [...] na higit na natatakot ngayon si Marcos sa posibilidad ng golpe de estado laban sa kanya at sa kanyang pasistang pangkatin kaysa sa mga operasyong militar ng ating hukbong bayan. Mangyari pa, lubha niyang kinatatakutan ang pinagsanib na lakas ng antipasistang nagkakaisang prente na ikinahihwalay na ng kanyang rehimen.

Nakuha na ng imperyalismong Amerkano ang lahat ng gusto nito mula sa pasistang papet nito at kinakalkula nitong mas mapapanatili ang mga iyon sa pamamagitan ng pagpapalit ng kabayo. Hindi nito itataya ang mga interes nito sa iisang papet, laluna't kung ang isang iyon ay higit na nagiging pahamak kaysa pakinabang sa harap ng nagngangalit na rebolusyonaryong kilusang antipasista. Ang imperyalismong Amerikano ay sanay na manangkalan sa sarili nitong mga papet.

Sa ngayo'y nasadlak na si Marcos sa pag-aalangan sa pagitan ng pagpapanatili ng katigasan ng kanyang paghahari o pagbubukas

ng lagusan ng pagsumpang publiko. Anuman ang pilitin ay tiyak na kahiya-hiya siyang babagsak. Hindi niya ito maiiwasan maliban kung maagap siyang lalaban sa sarili niyang imperyalistang amo at magbabago, sa ilang antas na matatanggap ng sambayanan, ng anti-nasyonal at antidemokratikong katangian ng kanyang rehimen.

Si Marcos ay walang iniwang masusulingan sa malaaliping pagbibigay daan, sa pamamagitan ng konstitusyong Marcos, sa mga pribilehiyong Amerikano na lubhang nakahihigit sa mga pinahihintulutan ng konstitusyong 1935 at Susog-Parity at sa pagbabawi ng sa mga prinsipyong napagtibay na ng mga desisyon sa mga kasong Krivenko, Quasha at Luztevecó. Wala siyang bagong masusulingan sa pagpapatuloy sa antikomunistang pananalakay. Ang Partido ay laging nagbibigay ng pinakamataas na prayoridad sa paglaban sa pinakapusakal na kaaway.

Lahat ng buladas at kayabangan ng pasistang diktador tungkol sa “Kapayapaan at Kasaganaan” ng kanyang “Bagong Lipunan” ay nawala na. Hindi niya maitatatwa ang karahupan at kaguluhan ng lumang lipunang mala-kolonyal at malapiyudal na lumala kaysa rati. Balighong sinabi niya mismo. Ngunit nananatili ang katotohanan na ang awtokrasya at tiraniyang pampulitika ay lalong walang katwiran at walang mapananaganan sa kondisyon ng lumalalang karahupan sa ekonomiya.

Tumataas na presyo, laganap na kwalang-hanapbuhay, kakulangan sa pagkain, patuloy na debalwasyon ng salapi, malaking pasaning buwis, labis-labis na pangungutang sa loob at labas ng bayan, pinababagang presyo ng mga tradisyonal na panluwas at malaking deposit sa kalakalan, nag-iibayong dominasyong dayuhan sa ekonomiya at bumiblis na pag-uuwi ng tubo ng mga empresang Amerikano at dayuhan at walang taros na paggastang deposit para sa parisitikong militar, mga proyektong di-produktibo at lubhang pinataas na presyong proyektong di produktibo at lubhang pinataas-

na presyong proyekto sa imprastruktura—ang mga ito ang katan-giang pang ekonomiya ng pasistang diktadura.

Walang kahihiyang ipinagmamalaki nang husto ng pasistang diktadura ang pagsugpo sa mga karapatan ng mga manggagawa sa pag-uunyon, laluna sa karapatang magwelga, at ang pagpapanatiling mura ng paggawang Pilipino para samantalain ng mga monopolyong kapitalistang Amerikano at iba pang dayuhan. Ang tantos ng kawalang-hanapbuhay at desempleyo at ang tumataas na presyo ng mga pangunahing biling ay walang habas na umaagnas sa nakatigil na sahod ng mga manggagawang nakapapanatili sa kanilang tra-baho.

Pawang palabas ang “programang reporma sa lupa” ni Marcos. Ang “pansamantalang sertipiko sa paglilipat ng lupa” ay kakapira-song papel na nagsasabi sa mga magsasaka na hindi nila makakaya kailanman na bumili ng lupa sa mga panginoong maylupa. Wala kahit isang maralitang magsasaka ang nakabili ni isang pulgadang parisukat na lupa mula kaninumang panginoong may lupa. Kabalig-taran nito, ang masang magsasaka pa nga ang prinsipal na target ng mga operasyong militar ng kaaway at obligadong magbigay ng karagdagang buwis sa pamamagitan ng iba’t-ibang organisasyong pataw ng rehimeng pasista. Malalawak na lupa ang buong kasaki-mang inaagaw sa mga maralitang naninirahan at pambansang mi-norya sa kapakinabangan ng mga agrokorporasyong Amerikano at Hapones. Ang pagsasamantalang piyudal at malapiyudal ay nagha-hari nang buong kasakiman sa kanayunan.

Hindi lamang nakikita ng petiburgesiyang lunsod na nasusupil ang kanilang mga demokratikong kalayaan kundi nakikita rin nilang ang kanilang pirming sahod o maliit na kitang di-sahod ay hinah-agupit araw-araw ng implasyon. Nakikita ng pambansang burgesiya ang sarili na napapaalis sa negosyo ng mga dayuhang monopolyong kapitalista nang higit sa rati.

Milyun-milyong mamamayan ang pinahihirapan ng di-mapagti-isang pagsasamantala at pang-aapi. Sa harap ng pasistang tiraniya, wala silang nakikitang kalutasan kundi ang magtataguyod o lumahok sa sandatahang rebolusyon. Si Marcos ang pinakamahusay na guro tungkol sa estado at rebolusyon sa pamamagitan ng negatibong halimbawa. Sa matagal na panahon pagkaraang bumagsak siya, ang malalim na edukasyong natatamo ng sambayanan ngayon ay patuloy na sisira sa dominasyong dayuhan at piyudal.

Itinatatwa ng pasistang diktador ang responsibilidad sa krisis sa ekonomiya gayundin ang mga masaker, panununog, pagpapahirap at iba pang kalupitang ginagawa ng kanyang rehimen. Bago ang Proklamasyon Blg. 1081, isinisi niya ang krisis sa lahat liban sa kanyang sarili. Ngunit ngayong nasa kanya ang monopolyo ng reaksiyonaryong awtoridad at responsibilidad, isinisisi niya sa buong daigdig ang mas malalang krisis na sumulpot.

Hindi basta maipaliliwanag ni Marcos ang sarili niyang pananagutan sa pamamagitan lamang ng pagtukoy sa “krisis sa daigdig” o krisis na dumulot ng mga puwersang panlabas”. Totoong ang krisis ng imperyalismong Amerikano at ng buong pandaigdigang sistemang kapitalista at ang mabigat na singil ng tunggalian ng dalawang superpower upang pagharian ang daigdig at mangibabaw sa pananandata ay nalilipat sa mga malakolonyal na dependiyenteng tulad ng Pilipinas sa higit na mapait na anyo. Ngunit totoo ring ang pasistang diktadura ay may pananagutan sa walang taros na pagkapapet sa imperyalismong Amerikano.

Ang kabulukan ng pasistang pangkating Marcos ay isang malaking tagapagparami ng mga sakit na dinadala ng imperyalismong Amerikano sa bayan. Nasisiyahan si Marcos sa pagkapapet sa mga dayuhang monopolyong kapitalistang Amerikano at iba pa sapagkat sinusuhulan siya nang husto sa pagiging gayon. Ang pinakapunong oligarkong ito ay walang kinikilalang hanggahan sa pagkakamal ng

kayamanan sa puhunang sapi at mga lupa. Wala kahit isang pribileheyo, konsesyon, lisensiya, kontrata o kasunduan sa pautang na malaki ang halaga na wala siyang bahagi.

Ang kasalukuyang krisis ng imperyalismong Amerikano at ng buong pandaigdigang sistemang kapitalista ang pinakamasidhi at pinakamagulo sapul nang magtapos ang Ikalawang Digmaang Pandaigdig. Katakut-takot ang epekto nito sa Pilipinas. Ang implasyon ay ipinapasok dito sa pamamagitan ng mga kalakal na inaangkat at ang malaking komprador at burukratang kapitalista ay magkasabwat upang lalong palalin ang implasyon. Dahil sa pagkasira ng kaniyang produksiyong industriyal sa loob ng bayan, ang mga dayuhang monopolyong kapitalista ay naghahangad na pananatilihin ang mataas na tantos ng tubo sa pagbababa ng presyo ng mga hilaw na materyal mula sa mga umuunlad na bayang tulad ng Pilipinas. Kasabay niyon, pinapabilis nila ang pag-uwi ng tubo sa mga tuwiran at di tuwirang pamumuhunan dito at ipinapataw ang parami nang paraming pautang na may mga kondisyong lubhang kapakipakinabang sa kanila.

Tulad ng mga imperyalistang Amerikano, inuulit ni Marcos ang linya na ang mga bayang Arabo na produktor ng langis ang may kagagawan sa kasalukuyang pandaigdigang implasyon. Wala nang mas baligho pang linya laluna't pinalalabo niya ang papel ng mga Amerikanong korporasyon ng langis at ang katotohanang kailangang agpangan ng mga umuunlad na bayan ang krisis na kung tutuusi'y dulot ng mga imperyalista. Ang pinakamalalim na mga dahilan ng kasalukuyang krisis sa pandaigdigang sistemang kapitalista ay nasa sa pagtutunggalian ng dalawang superpower upang pagharian ang daigdig at mangingibabaw sa pananandata, sa naipong mga pagkatalo ng imperyalismong Amerikano sa mga digmaang agresyon, sa walang taros na pag-iimprenta at paggasta ng dolyar-Amerikano at sa bulagsak na paggamit ng mga imperyalista sa kaya-

manan ng daigdig.

Sa panghihigpit ng pandaigdigang krisis na kapitalista, ang pasistang diktadura ay nagbibigay-daan sa relasyong kalakalan sa Republikang Bayan ng Tsina at umaabot pa ito sa pag-amin ng interes sa relasyong diplomatiko. Tumpak na tumpak na manatiling mata-tag ang Tsina sa kanyang patakaran ng pagpapaunland ng relasyon sa Pilipinas batay sa Limang Prinsipyo ng mapayapang pakikipamuhayan.

Anumang hakbang tungo sa ganap na relasyong diplomatiko sa pagitan ng Tsina at Pilipinas ay ibayong pagkatalo ng lumang patakarang anti-Tsina ng imperyalismong Amerikano, isang kontra-hakbang sa dalawang superpower at pag-unlad sa relasyon ng sambayanang Tsino at sambayanang Pilipino anuman ang subhetibong pagnanais ng reaksiyonaryong pamahalaan ng Pilipinas. Ang patakaran ng mapayapang pakikipamuhayan ay isang integral na bahagi ng proletaryong patakarang panlabas ng isang bayang sosyalista.

Ang relasyon ng Tsina sa Pilipinas ay magagamit upang masamantala ang isang bitak sa tradisyunal na kontrol ng imperyalismong Amerikano sa dependiyenteng malakolonyal at samakatuwid ay magagamit sa isang paraan upang suportahan ang rebolusyong Pilipino. Gayunman, ang relasyon ng isang bayang sosyalista at isang bayang reaksiyonaryo ay kaiba sa relasyon ng naghaharing uri o pangkatin at ng rebolusyonaryo ay kaiba sa relasyon ng naghaharing uri o pangkatin at ng rebolusyonaryong masa sa loob ng bayang reaksiyonaryo.

Ang obhetibong kalagayan sa daigdig ay paborable sa pagsusulong ng rebolusyong Pilipino. Ang imperyalismong Amerikano ay mabilis na bumubulusok at umiiral ang malaking kaguluhan sa pagitan ng superpower na ito at ng isa pang superpower, at sosyal-imperyalismong Sobyet. Ang dalawang superpower ay ihinihiwalay at pinalalasp ng matitinding dagok ng mga bayang nais magsar-

ili, mga bansang nais lumaya at mga mamamayang nais magrebolusyon.

Patuloy na nagtatamo ng malaking kaunlaran ang Tsina at ang iba pang bayang sosyalista sa rebolusyong sosyalista at konstruksiyong sosyalista gayundin sa relasyong internasyonal. Ang Ikatlong Daigdig, kabilang ang Tsina bilang umuunlad na bayang sosyalista, ay matatag na naglulunsad ng pakikibakang anti-imperyalista para sa pambansang kasarinlan at soberaniya ng estado. Ang maliliit na bayang kapitalista ay palubha nang palubhang nakakabangga ng dalawang superpower.

Habang nagsasabwatan upang tutulan ang rebolusyon at ang mga mamamayan at likhain ang ilusyong may pagkakaunawaan at pagbabawas sa kanilang pagpapalawak ng armas at paghahandang pandigma, ang dalawang superpower ay walang tigil na nag-aagawan ng mga saklaw ng impluwensiya, mga mapagkukunan ng mga hilaw na materyal, larangan ng pamumuhunan at mga posisyong estratehiko. Patuloy silang lumilikha ng gulo at gumagamit ng mga imbing hakbang na nagsasapanganib sa kapayapaan sa daigdig at pumipigil sa pagsulong ng sangkatauhan.

Ngunit nililikha lamang nila ang mga kondisyong kinauunlaran ng mga rebolusyunaryong kilusan. Ang mga puwersang rebolusyunaryo ay may tiwalang magkakamit ng tagumpay sa kani-kanilang mga bayan dahil sa kanilang makatarungang simulain at umaasa sa sariling pagsisikap at dahil din sa ang dalawang superpower ay susun-susong pinaliligiran ng lahat ng bayan, bansa at mamamayang nakikipaglaban para sa kanilang mga lehitimong interes.

Mga Tungkulin ng Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas

Isinaad na natin ang mga natamo natin at iniharap na ang pangkalahatang sitwasyon. Mangyari pa, ang mga tungkuling dapat tupdin ng Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas ay kailangang ilahad. Kaugnay

nito, ang mga problemang hinaharap natin ay dapat ding tukuyin. Ang matatag na pagsapol sa mga problema ay naglililinaw hindi lamang sa mga tungkulin kundi sa mga pamamaraan din sa pagtupad ng mga iyon.

1. Sa bawat isang interesadong magtaas ng kanyang antas sa ideolohiya, di-maisasantabi ang pagbabasa at pag-aaral ng mga akdang Marxista-Leninista. Subalit kung gagawin itong hiwalay sa kongkretong kalagayan ng rebolusyong Pilipino, mabubulid ka sa dogmatismo. Kung mangangapa ka sa praktika nang walang patnubay na teorya, mabubulid ka sa empirismo. Ang dalawang tunguhing ito ng subhetibismo ay dapat bakahin.

Ang problema ng dogmatismo ay sumusulpot hindi lamang sapagkat eksklusibo o pangunahing nagtutuon tayo ng pansin sa pagbabasa at pag-aaral ng mga akdang Marxista-Leninista. Ang totoo'y hindi tayo aral na aral at sanay na sanay sa mga ito. Ang problema ng empirismo ay sumusulpot hindi lamang sapagkat sumasabak tayo sa praktika nang hinding-hindi nag-iisip at nang may labis labis na karanasan. Ang totoo'y salat tayo sa karanasan. Tayo nga'y partidong muling katatag.

Upang bakahin ang subhetibismo, dapat magtuon tayo sa tungkuling iugnay ang rebolusyonaryong teorya sa rebolusyonaryong praktika. Mangyari pa'y dapat masinop tayong magbasa at mag-aral ng mga akdang Marxista-Leninista at sa gayo'y sumapol sa pundamental na batas ng materyalismong diyalektiko at materyalismong istoriko. Subalit ang mahalaga ay iugnay ang mga ito sa kongkreto nating praktika ng rebolusyong Pilipino.

Ang gayon ay hindi lantay na pagsabak sa praktika at pagpapatung-patong ng praktika. Dapat patuloy na gawin ang pananaliksik sa kasaysayan at kongkretong kalagayan ng Pilipinas. Dapat isagawa ang mga panlipunang pagsisiyasat na may iba't-ibang saklaw saan

man tayo naroroon. Dapat lagumin ang ating praktikal na pagkilos sa pana-panahon at sa paninindigan, pananaw at paraaang Marxista-Leninista. Mangyari pa, may dibisyon ng gawain sa pananaliksik, panlipunang pagsisiyasat at palalagom. Subalit dapat isagawa ang mga ito upang itaas ang antas sa ideolohiya at palalimin ang kaalaman ng buong Partido sa loob at labas ng mga regular na kurso ng pag-aaral.

May mga hindi nagsusuri sa partikular na katangian ng rebolusyong Pilipino. Pinagkakaabalahan nila ang paghahanap ng mga pagkakatulad ng rebolusyong Pilipino sa ibang mga rebolusyong daryuhan at winawalang-bahala ang mga pagkakakiba. Nahahaling sila sa mga simpleng paralelismo at analohiya. Nakalilimot silang mga prinsipyo at saligang aral ang makukuha sa rebolusyonaryong karanasan sa ibang bayan subalit hindi dapat mekanikal na ipataw ang mga iyon sa sarili nating kasaysayan at kasalukuyang kalagayan. Nakalilimot silang kongkretong pagsusuri ng kongkretong kalagayan ang diwa ng Marxismo.

May mga pumipili ng talambuhay ng isang dakilang lider na komunista at nagpapataw nito o ng bahagi nito sa bawat isa bilang tanging sukatan ng pagiging rebolusyonaryo. May mga nagkakasiya na sa pagbibigkas ng mga siniping pangungusap at naglalapat ng etiketa nang walang imbestigasyon at pagsusuri ng kalagayan. May mga palipat-lipat ng baryo ang hindi muna gumagawa ng panlipunang pagsisiyasat at iisa ang binibigkas na talumpati sa estilong pare.

Maging sa paghawak ng mga saligang dokumento ng Partido na mangyari pa'y mga pagsisikap na iugnay ang rebolusyonaryong teorya sa rebolusyonaryong praktika, may mga hindi makapaglagay ng mga bagay-bagay sa tumpak na pangkasaysayang konteksto at sa halip ay nagsasaulo ng masasaulo at ganap na nakalilimot sa hindi masaulo. Ang mga terminong ginagamit natin sa kritikong panulatan natin la-

ban sa mga taksil na rebisyonistang Lava, na nagligaw sa Partido sa mahigit na tatlung taon at nanabotahe sa may kalakihan nang hukbong bayan, ay walang pagsusuring inilalapat kaninuman nang walang pagsasaalang-alang sa mga kalagayan at saklaw ng responsibilidad.

Ang medyo aral sa loob ng Partido ay yaong mga nagmumula sa petiburgesya. Kung hindi sila magpuputol ng mga buntot nilang petiburges, makapaggigiit ang mga kasapi ng Partido na nagmula sa masang anakpawis na ang sarili nilang indibidwal na kaalaman ay mas nakabatay sa karanasan gaano man kakitid. Tiyak na higit na higit ang kaalamang matatagpuan sa hanay ng masang anakpawis kaysa sa mga elementong petiburges na haling sa libro upang ipangulat sa tao. Ang tumpak na dapat gawin ay papagtulungin sa isa't-isa ang aral na mga kasapi ng Partido at yaong mga halos walang kakayahang bumasa't sumulat upang magkasabay na sumulong sa ideolohiya.

2. Tinukoy na natin na nasa maagang subyugto ng estratrehikong dependensya pa tayo ng ating matagalang digmang bayan. Hindi pa sapat ang lakas natin upang pangunahing managot sa pagbabagsak sa pasistang rehimeng diktador ng pangkatang E.U.-Marcos. Gayunman, tumpak nating masasabi na kasabay ng Prenteng Moro sa Pambansang Pagpapalaya at ng Hukbong Bangsa Moro, tayo ang pangunahing responsable sa pagpapanatiling buhay ang sandatahang paglabang antipasista at makapag-aambag tayo nang malaki sa isang nagkakaisang prenteng antipasista na may kakayahang ibagsak ang rehimeng ito sa maigsi-igsing panahon.

May ilang posibilidad tungkol sa buhay ng pasistang diktadurang Marcos. Isa'y pupuksain ito ng golpe de estado sa malaot madali. Bago ito magaganap, ang imperyalismong Amerikano ay kailangang seryosong mapapaharap sa mabagsik at malawak nang sandatahang

kilusang antipasista at anti-imperyalista na suportado o sinaniban ng mga lokal na grupo ng kapangyarihang anti-Marcos. Isa ang posibilidad ay magtatagal ang rehimeng Marcos sapagkat ang Bagong Hukbong Bayan ang nananatiling tanging hukbong antipasistang lumalaban sa kaaway sa buong kapuluan, maliban pa rin marahil sa timog silangan Mindanaw.

Isa pang kaugnay na posibilidad ay magkakabisa ang mga gimik na “normalisasyong” Marcos dahil sa lubusang susuko ang mga reaksiyong anti-Marcos sa kung anong pagsasaayos na pinakana ng imperyalismong Amerikano. Ang pinakamalayong posibilidad ay maagap na magpapalit ang pasistang rehimeng papet ng katangian nitong antinasyonal at antidemokratiko sa antas na matatanggap ng sambayanan at magpapaunlad ng relasyong Tsino-Pilipino bilang ganap na sandatahang antiimperyalista sa harap ng isang balak na golpeng anti-Marcos na pinakana ng imperyalismong Amerikano at puspusing laban sa atin. Dapat na handa tayo para sa lahat ng posibilidad at matatag tayong nakahawak sa ating mga sandata.

Ang malala nang krisis ng naghaharing sistema ay mas lalala pa sa darating na taon. Ang mga problema ng pasistang dik-tadurang papet ay hindi malulunasan ng imperyalismong Amerikano. Sa halip, palalain ang mga ito ng higit pang lumalang krisis na dinaranas mismo ng imperyalismong Amerikano. Sa puntong ito dapat tayong kumilos nang may higit na pagtitiwala at magsasagawa ng ating rebolusyonaryong tungkulin nang may higit na pagsisikap. Nagkakaisa’t determinadong sumulong, lubusan nating masasamantala ang ligalig at gulo sa loob ng naghaharing sistema.

Sa paggamit ng anumang patakaran, dapat na lubusan nating nababatid ang mga partikular na kondisyon at natitiyak na maisasakatuparan ang mga layunin natin sa pamamagitan ng magagamit na puwersa sa panig natin. Ang layuning taglay ng patakaran ay dapat

mangahulugan ng isang tiyak na pagsulong sa ating rebolusyonaryong pakikibaka. Ang patakaran ay dapat na maunawaan nang husto ng mga kadre ng Partido bago ito maipapalaganap at maipatutupad sa hanay ng masa. Ang mga paglihis na Kanan at “Kaliwa” ay kailangang tukuyin sa bawat yugto sa implementasyon ng patakarang iyon upang magawa ang mga pagtutumpak at pagsasaayos.

Ipinakikipaglaban natin ang isang digmaang bayan at ginagawa natin ito sa saklaw ng pakikidigmang gerilya. Hindi tayo makakalaban nang hindi batay sa sarili nating kalagayang pangkasaysayan. Hindi tayo nakamana ng kahit isang riple sa naunang sandatahang pakikibaka ng bayan na sinabotahe ng mga rebisyonista’t oportunistang Lava-Taruc. Nakapagsimula lamang tayo dahil sa nakagaw tayo ng ilang riple sa ganap na bagong imbak ng pangkating matong Taruc-Sumulong noong 1969. Walang hayag na digmaan ng mga reaksyunaryo sa mga lugar na kinaroroonan natin at wala ring digmaang imperyalistang tuwirang kinasasangkutan ng ating bayan.

Tumpak na tumpak ang magpairal ng estratehikang linyang kub-kubin ang mga siyudad mula sa kanayunan. Tayong mga rebolusyonaryong proletaryo ay dapat magbuo ng ating hukbo sa hanay ng masang magsasaka. Ang kanayunan ang pinakamalawak na larangan para sa ating estratehikong depensibo at mga taktikal na opensibo. Subalit dapat din nating isaalang-alang na gutay-gutay ang ating kanayunan, ang dalawang pinakamalaking pulo ng Luzon at Mindanao ay pinaghihiwalay ng watak-watak na mga pulo ng Kabisayaan, sa maliit na ngang bayan. Upang makabawi sa pampakitid na aspeto ng kapuluan sa ating larangan ng labanan, dapat sikapin nating matamo ang lawak at lalim sa mga maniobra natin sa pamamagitan ng lubusang paggamit ng kalupaang mabundok at magubat.

Ang problema sa pagkonsentra ng maliit nating pwersa sa gayong kalupaan ay higit tayong humaharap sa mga maghohomisted

na may sariling lupain kaysa sa mga magsasakang naghihirap nang tuwiran sa kaapihang dulot ng pagmamay-aring lupa. Kaya kung isasaalang-alang ang buong rebolusyonaryong gabay sa reporma sa lupa, masasabing wala tayong gaanong natamo sa gawaing reporma sa lupa. Subalit hindi ibig sabihing hindi nating hinaharap ang mga gawing piyudal at malapuyudal sa mga kalibliban at sa mga kanug-nog na kapatagan.

Wala tayong mapagpipilian kundi magpaunlad ng pakikidigmang gerilya sa mga prontera. May mga mangangamkam ng lupa at usurerong haharapin dito. Ang reaksiyunaryong pamahalaan mismo ang malaking panginoong maylupang walang katuwirang namamahagi ng lupa matapos linangin iyon ng mga maghohomisted. Sa mga kapatagan, ang mga lihim nating puwersa ay nakahaharap sa gawaing reporma sa lupa sa pamamagitan ng paggawa ng mga hakbang ukol sa produktong nasa bukid pa at hindi mababantayan nang maghapo't magdamag ng panginoong maylupa at mga utusang aso nito.

Laluna't naglulunsad tayo ng pakikidigmang gerilya, dapat na may napakapleksible tayong estratehiya at mga taktika. Wala tayong regular na puwersang makilos na kakatawan sa prinsipyo ng konsentrasyon kaugnay ng mga puwersang gerilyang kumakatawan sa dispersyon. Dapat nating isaalang-alang ang mga prinsipal at secondaryong gawain, puwersa at direksyon gayundin ang konsentrasyon, paglilipat at dispersyon sa eskala ng mga iskuwad at platung gerilya. Sa mga kondisyong ito, mahirap na problema ang pagsasagawa ng patakaran ng paglipol.

Ang mga panrehiyong komite ng Partido ay makapagsisimulang lumutas sa problema sa paamagitan ng pagpapanatili at pagpapaunlad ng kahit isang platun ng buong-panahong mandirigmang gerilya sa bawat larangan ng labanan sa halip na magtalaga ng tatlong iskuwad sa mga lugar na lubhang magkakalayo't hindi nakapagtutu-

lungan. Isang rasonableng saklaw ang dapat itakdang mapagkokon-sentrahan o mapagkakalatan ng mga iskuwad sa ikalalamang nila at mapagpapatatagan at mapagpapalawakan nila sa loob ng rasonableng panahon. Ang mga base at sonang gerilya ay dapat likhain panatilihing kaayon sa lakas ng mga puwersang gerilya.

Dapat tayong magtuon ng masusing pansin sa mga panganib ng adbenturismo at konserbatismo. Adbenturista tayo kapag nag-oopensibong hindi ipinahihintulot ng limitado at mababaw na gawing pangmasa na naisagawa na sa isang lugar. Konserbatibo tayo kapag nakapagpaunlad na ng malaki-laking suportang masa at malawak-lawak na mapagmamaniobrahan at hindi umaatake sa mga yunit ng kaaway na kayang-kaya nating lipulin. Kung hindi natin gagampanan ang gawaing pangmasa at hindi lilipulin ang mga yunit ng kaaway, hindi tayo uunlad mula maliit tungo sa malaki at mula mahina tungo sa malakas.

Dapat mahusay tayo sa paggamit ng mga taktikang gerilyang turo ng Tagapangulong Mao na binubuo ng mga sumusunod na puntos:

“Hatiin ang ating puwersa upang pukawin ang masa, tipunin ang ating puwersa upang harapin ang kaaway.

“Pagsulong ng kaaway, umurong tayo; pagkampo ng kaaway, mambulabog tayo; pag napagod ang kaaway, sumalakay tayo; pag-urong ng kaaway, manugis tayo.

“Upang mapalawak ang matatatag na base, gamitin ang patakaranang sumulong nang paalon; kapag tinutugis ng malakas na kaaway, gamitin ang patakaran ng pag-ikot.

“Pukawin ang pinakamalaking bilang ng masa sa pinakamaigsi- ing panahong maaari at sa pinakamahusay na sistemang maaari.”

Ang tanging paraan upang mapag-ibayo natin ang bisa ng ating mga yunit-gerilya ay pukawin at pakilusin ang malawak na masa ng sambayanan. Kung tutuusin, hindi tayo makapagsisimula sa pa-

kikidigmang gerilya kung walang matiyagang gawaing pangmasa. Dapat tayong magbuo ng mga organo ng demokratikong kapang-yarihang pampulitika; mga organisasyong pangmasa ng manggagawa, magsasaka, kabataan, kababaihan, bata at aktibistang pangkultura; at mga lokal na sandatahang puwersa, tulad ng kalahating-panahong gerilyang lokal, milisya at kuwerpong pagtatanggol-sasarili at pangkat-pampasabog.

Sa kalagayan ng pasistang paghaharing militar, ang kaaway ay gumagawa ng lahat ng klaseng barbaridad upang ipilit ang ebakwasyon at rekonsentrasyon ng mga mamamayan (tulad sa ilang bahagi ng Cagayan Valley at Kabikulan) at nagtatayo ng mga “civilian home defense forces” (tulad sa anumang lugar na nahalata na tayo ng kaaway) upang sirain ang mga base at sonang gerilya natin. Dapat na masigasig nating pukawin at pakilusin ang mga mamamayan upang labanan ang mga imposisyong itong sumasalanta sa kanilang kabuhayan.

Bago lumipat sa isa pang larangan, sapagkat ayaw nating masukol ang lahat ng ating puwersang gerilya sa isang mapagpasiyang labanan sa isang larangan, dapat nating irekluta sa ating mga buongpanahong puwersa ang pinakamaraming lokal na sandatahang puwersa ng bayan hanggat maaari, itanim sa hanay ng mamamayan ang mga lihim na yunit na bukod sa mga maaaring madaling ituro ng mga taksil sa kaaway at italaga ang mga nagpapaiwang puwersang gerilya upang patuloy na guluhin ang kaaway.

Habang ang kalakhang-bahagi ng mga puwersa ng kaaway ay natatali sa paglaban sa mga mamamayan ng timog-kanlurang Mindanaw at sa pagsasanggalang sa pasistang diktador sa Maynila, dapat nating paunlarin ang mga base at sonang gerilya sa bawat rehiyon ng bayan at tugunan ang pahiling ng sambayanan sa sandatahang rebolusyon laban sa sandatahang kontrarebolusyon. Pinaninindigan nating ang pag-unlad ng pakikibakang gerilya sa saklaw ng

buong bayan ang pinakamahusay na depensa at suporta sa bawat base at sonang gerilya. Ang pambansang konsiyerto ng ating mga puwersang gerilyang umaasa sa sarili sa iba't ibang pulo ang magpapahina sa kaaway at magpapalakas sa atin.

Alinsunod sa pagpapaunlad ng pakikidigmang gerilya sa saklaw ng buong bayan, dapat tayong tumalima sa prinsipyo ng sentralisadong pamumuno at desentralisadong mga operasyon. Dapat panatilihin ng mga panrehiyong komite ng Partido ang inisyatiba sa kani-kanilang rehiyon. Lahat ng kadre at kasapi ng Partido ay dapat matutong magkusa. Dapat paunlarin ang pag-asa sa sarili at ang estilo ng simpleng pamumuhay at puspusing paggawa.

Kahit na ang isang panrehiyong organisasyon ng Partido ay konsentrado sa pagbubuo ng isa, dalawa o tatlong larangan ng labanan, kailangang paunlarin ang masaklaw na lambat ng kilusang-lihim para sa propaganda at komunikasyong intrarehional at para sa pag-uugnay sa Komite Sentral. Dalawang klaseng kilusang lihim ang puunlarin: isang eksklusibong organisasyon ng Partido at isa pang may katangiang nagkakaisang prente.

Dapat tayong magbuo ng kilusang lihim hindi lamang sa kanayunan kundi maging sa mga siyudad sa hanay ng mga manggagawa at iba pang maralitang tagalunsod, ng petiburgesyang lunsod, negosyante at ibang puwersang maaaring ipasok sa nagkakaisang prenteng antipasista. Dapat tayong magtalaga sa gawaing lunsod ng mga kadre at kasapi ng Partido na nakakikilos nang legal. Kapag may hindi na epektibong nakakikilos sa isang lugar, dapat siyang ilipat sa isa pang lugar na epektibo niyang makikilusan.

3. Ang kasapian ng Partido ay nananatiling maliit sa kabila ng lahat ng nakaraang panunulak, kabilang ang isang planong pagpapalawak na may minimum at maksimum na tantos. Nananatili ang ating patakaran ng matapang na pagpapalawak ng kasapian at di-pagpapalusot ng kahit isang di-kanaisnais.

Sumusulak ang galit ng malawak na masa ng sambayanan sa kaaway at mabungang-mabunga ang gawaing pampulitikang natutupad ng iilan-ilan lamang sa atin. Ang kalagayan ay paborable sa pagpapalaki ng ating kasapian; nakikita natin ang napakaraming sabik na umanib sa Paritdo. Hinihingi ng napakalaking tungkulin natin na iwaksi ang sektarismo.

Totoong sa ilang panahon pagkalipas ng deklarasyon ng paghaharing militar, nagulo ang pangangalap ng kasapi ng Partido. Ang mga pinakamilitanteng elementong progresibo ay pinagsusugpo at itinuturing ng kaaway na palatandaan ng organisasyon ng Partido. Subalit may mas sapat nang panahong pangibabawan ang gulong iyon. Hindi natin dapat panatilihin nakatigil ang bilang ng kasapi ng Partido habang ang kaaway ay walang taros na nagtatangkang durugin tayo.

Magagawa nating mabuting bagay ang masamang bagay. Sa ilalim ng pasistang paghaharing militar, yaong talagang sabik na umanib sa Partido ay handang tumanggap ng sanlibong hiwa upang ibagsak ang emperador. Dapat natin silang buksan ng pinto at malugod na tanggapin. Malaki ang pakinabang na ang pagpasok nila sa Partido ay sa mga kondisyong higit na lihim kaysa rati at ang pag-sasanay nila'y tuwirang sa kilusang lihim o sa hukbong bayan.

Maging noong bago umiral ang pasistang paghaharing militar, lubhang mabagal na ang pangangalap ng kasapi ng Partido. Ang karaniwang kasapi sa Partido ay waring hindi man lamang nagtanong sa sarili kung paano siya nananatiling mahusay na kasapi ng Paritdo nang hindi pinauunlad ang iba sa pagiging mga kasapi ng Partido. Ang paglaki natin sa organisasyon ay patuloy na napakabagal.

Matagal na nating nilinaw na ang pangangalap para sa Partido ay nangangahulugang ang mga kasapi ng Partido ay nagrerekomenda ng mga pinakasulong na elemento mula sa rebolusyonaryong kilusang masa at sa hukbong bayan, nagbibigay sa kanila ng saligang

edukasyon sa Partido, nagbibigay sa kanila ng mga tungkulin at nagtatalaga sa kanila sa takdang sangay o grupo ng Partido.

Ipinagkakatiwala sa mga panrehiyong komite ng Partido ang tungkuling bakahin ang sektarismo at palakihin ang kasapian ng Partido. Dapat magpaabot sila kaagad-agad sa Komite Sentral ng plano ng pangangalap. Sa paglaki natin sa organisasyon, makapagsasabalikat tayong higit na malalaking responsibilidad at makasusulong sa ating rebolusyonaryong pakikibaka.

Mabuhay ang Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas!

Ibagsak ang pasistang rehimeng diktador ng pangkating E.U.-Marcos!

Mabuhay ang demokratikong rebolusyon ng bayan!

Itaguyod ang pagkakaisa ng Partido at lubusang patingkarin ang inisyatiba ng mga panrehiyong komite ng Partido!

Palakasin ang Bagong Hukbong Bayan at ang kilusang lihim sa kanayunan at kalunsuran!

Samatalahin ang patuloy na lumalalang krisis ng lokal na naghaharing sistema at ng imperyalistang Amerikano!

Ibagsak ang dalawang superpower!

Mabuhay ang Ikatlong Daigdig at lahat ng antiimperyalistang mamamayan ng daigdig!

Mabuhay ang Marxismo-Leninismo-Kaisipang Mao Tsetung!

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 submachineguns.

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 4:30 p.m. 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 was 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 U.S.-Marcos clique.

There have been two major upsurges in the revolutionary mass movement. The first upsurge 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 U.S. 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 ma-

terials 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 slumdwellers 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 militant 6,000-strong demonstration at Plaza Bustillos on December 6, 1975, aptly timed with the visit of then U.S. 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 slumdwellers 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 slumdwelleres,

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 anti-national 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 U.S. 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 U.S. 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 U.S. 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 C.I.A. is obviously engaged in some double-dealing with the Marcos fascist dictatorship. While covertly cultivating an anticommunist and anti-Marcos “third force”, it also works with the Marcos fascist dictatorship in anticommunist and antipeople 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 ur-

ban 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 were reduced not only in the ricefields 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 mi-

ning 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 Tsetung.

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 4:30 p.m. 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 U.S. 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 5 p.m., 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 6 p.m. 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 unto jeepneys and buses.
3. All military personnel to be moved 100 meters away so the intelligence would not be able to take pictures.
4. They be allowed to leave before 9 p.m. so they could beat the curfew and not be arrested for "violating" it.

The fascist military agreed to open the gates at 10:30 p.m. 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 decided 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 U.S.-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 metre 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, 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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 Diliman 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 Tsetung 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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S. 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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 rev-

olution.

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 U.S. 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 U.S. 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 U.S.-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 Northwestern 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 land-holdings 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 U.S.-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 – U.S. 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 U.S.-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 7 p.m. of 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 U.S.-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 U.S. 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.”

Nagkaisa ang mga Igorot sa “Bodong” laban sa dam

July 31, 1978 (Volume X, Number 8)

Muling pinagtibay kamakailan sa isang bodong o kasunduan sa kapayapaan ng mamamayang Kalinga at Bontoc ang kanilang paninindigang magkaisa laban sa malalaking dam na itatayo ng rehimeng E.U.-Marcos sa kabundukang Kordilyera.

Daan-daang masa mula sa 10 baryo ng Kalinga at Bontoc ang dumating sa Bo. Bugnay, Tinglayan, Kalinga-Apayao noong Hunyo 2-5 upang lumahok sa bodong, ayon sa nakapanayam ng Ang Bayan.

Mas marami pa sana ang nakadalo, anang nakapanayam, subalit hindi nakarating ang masa ng walo pang baryo dahil mahigpit silang binabantayan ng mga pasistang pwersa ni Marcos.

May 12 taon nang nilalabanan ng mga pambansang minorityang Kalinga at Bontoc ang pagtatayo ng malalaking dam sa Ilog Chico, Pasil at Tanudan. Hindi lamang sila inaalisan ng kabuhayan, kundi malubhang banta sa buong kabihasanan nila ang mangyayaring pagtataboy sa kanila at paglubog sa tubig ng lupain ng kanilang mga ninuno.

Tampok sa bodong ang mamamayan mula sa mga baryo ng Cagaluan, Tomiangan, Ngibat, Butbut Proper, Lukong, Buscalan, Bugnay, Betwagan, Anabel at Barlig.

Nagdaos ng isang demokratikong kapulungan kung saan tinalakay ng mga mamamayan ang kaharap nilang suliranin. Nagpasya silang kalimutan ang dating mga alitan at muling magkasundo sa isang bodong upang mapatingkad ang pagkakaisa nila, at kung gayon, mas mabisang maitaguyod ang pakikibaka laban sa proyektong Chico dam.

Sa pangunguna ng mga pangat o tradisyunal na tagapangalaga ng bodong, nagkaisa ang mga mamamayan na wala sa kanilang tutu-

long sa sinumang may kaugnayan sa pagpapatupad ng proyektong Chico dam. Partikular na tinukoy ang mga pasistang PC, Hukbong Pilipinas, PANAMIN, CHDF, at Kalinga Special Development Region (KSDR).

Batay sa tradisyon, ang sinumang sumira sa mga kasunduan ay itatakwil, “ituturing nang patay”, at hindi makaaasa ng anumang tulong mula sa iba pang kalahok sa kasunduan.

Ang pagbubuo ng bodong ay sinabayan ng mga kasayahang lalong nagpatibay sa pagkakaisa ng mamamayan. Sa pamamagitan ng mga sayaw at awit na tradisyunal at pangkasalukuyan, pinatingkad nila ang kanilang kultura at pinayaman ang nilalaman nito.

Marami ring dumalong kaibigang tagapatag. Ipinahayag nila ang pakikiisa sa mamamayang Kalinga at Bontoc at nangakong patuloy na magbibigay ng iba’t ibang anyo ng suporta sa kanila.

Pagkatapos ng okasyon, nagtungo ang mga bisita, kasama ang mga peryodista, sa baryo Ngibat upang tingnan ang pinsalang dulot ng pambobomba ng 60th Infantry Battalion ng Hukbong Pilipinas sa baryo noong Pebrero 28.

Samantala, noong Hunyo 30, nagpadala ng mensahe sa mamamayang Kalinga ang mga kasapi ng Association of Major Religious Superiors of Men and Women of the Philippines (AMRSMWP) na nagdaraos noon ng kanilang taunang kumbensyon sa lunsod ng Baguio.

Tinuligsa ng mga lider relihiyoso ang “kalupitan sa (mamamayang Kalinga) at ang paninira sa mga lupain, ari-arian at taniman”. Ipinahayag din ang pagsuporta nila sa pakikibaka ng mga Kalinga laban sa proyektong Chico dam.

Kanino ang pakinabang?

Balak ng rehimeng E.U.-Marcos na magtayo ng apat na dam sa mga Ilog Chico at Pasil, at apat pa sa Ilog Tanudan. Ang lahat ng ito’y may halagang 2.4 bilyon, utang mula sa Banko Mundyal na hawak ng mga

imperyalistang Amerikano.

Ayon kay Marcos, makakatulong ang itatayong mga dam sa elektripikasyon ng buong Hilagang Luzon, at sa irigasyon ng mga lupain laluna sa Cagayan Valley.

Subalit hindi ang mamamayan ng Hilagang Luzon ang tunay na makikinabang kundi ang malalaking kapitalistang dayuhan at ang malalaking panginoong maylupa.

Ang mga imperyalistang Amerikano ang lubos na nangangailangan ng kuryente para sa kanilang mga minahan at trosohan sa Hilagang Luzon. Ang mga korporasyong ito ang umuubos sa likas na yaman sa Hilagang Luzon, laluna sa mga bundok ng Kordilyera.

Dagdag pa, ang mga imperyalistang Amerikano ang tutubo nang malaki sa proyektong ito dahil, bukod sa matataas na patubo nila sa pinautang na pera, sa kanila rin bibilhin ang mga kagamitang kailangan sa konstruksyon ng mga dam.

Para sa interes naman ng mga asenderong may-ari ng malalawak na lupain sa Hilagang Luzon ang irigasyong idudulot ng mga dam. Mangunguna sa mga asenderong ito si Marcos na may di kuku- langin sa 22,000 ektaryang lupa sa Isabela at Nueva Vizcaya, at libu- libo pang ektarya sa iba pang bahagi ng Hilagang Luzon.

May dahilan ngang maghimsik ang mamamayan ng Kalinga at Bontoc. Kapag natuloy ang mga proyektong ito, hindi lang patuloy na nanakawin ng mga imperyalista at lokal na naghaharing uri ang likas na yaman sa mga lupain nila; mangangahulugan din ito ng unti- unting pagkamatay ng kanilang lahi at kultura.

Lulubog sa tubig ang 342,000 ektaryang lupa sa Kalinga at Bontoc. Kasama rito ang maraming baryo sa munisipalidad ng Lubuagan, Pasil, Tanudan at Tinglayan, at ilang baryo sa munisipalidad ng Tabuk, Bontoc at Sadanga.

May 15,000 pamilya ang palalaysin. Marami pang iba ang palalaysin sa mga baryo at sityong nasa watershed area o paligid ng mga

Ilog Chico, Pasil at Tanudan.

Mawawalan sila ng pagkukunan ng kabuhayan. Sisirain ng proyekto ang libu-libong ektaryang payaw o hagdan-hagdang palayan sa bundok, mga taniman ng kape, gulay at prutas, mga uma (kaingin), at gubat.

Ilulubog din ang papatayan o libingan ng mga ninuno na mahalagang bahagi ng kanilang buhay at kaugalian.

Militarisasyon

Mula pa noong 1965, nang unang atasan ni Marcos ang National Power Corporation na simulan ang pagsusurbey sa mga ilog, matatag nang lumalaban ang masa upang matigil ang proyekto at di sila mapalayas sa mga lupa nila.

Ngunit pursigido si Marcos na simulan ang konstruksyon ng mga dam kayat nagpadala siya ng mga pasistang pwersa sa tangkang patahimikin ang lumalabang masa. Nagkalat ngayon sa mga baryo ang mga tauhan ng 60th IB ng Hukbong Pilipinas, Noreascom, Task Force Hydra, PANAMIN, CHDF at KSDR. Nagpatayo rin ng mga destakamento at kampo sa lugar.

Bunga ng militarisasyon ng Kalinga at Bontoc, daan-daan nang mamamayan ang pinapatay, pinapahirapan, ibinibilanggo at hinahalay. Sinusunog ang mga bahay, ari-arian at pananim nila.

Iniiipit sila sa iba pang paraan. Ipinasara ng rehimen ang maraming eskwelahan sa Kalinga at Bontoc at inilipat ng destino ang mga komadrona at ibang tauhang mediko.

Gayunman, sa halip na matakot ang mamamayang Kalinga at Bontoc, pinag-ibayo pa nila ang kanilang pakikibaka hindi lamang laban sa proyektong Chico dam, kundi sa rehimeng E.U.-Marcos.

Kasaysayan ang nagpapatunay na hindi pumapayag magpagapi ang mamamayang Igorot sa mga mapagsamantala at mapang-api. Batid nilang sa armadong paraan lamang sila magtatagumpay sa ka-

nilang pakikibaka.

Manggagawang bukid, ikinulong nang magtanin sa lupa ng asendero

September 15, 1978 (Volume X, Number 17)

Mahigit 100 manggagawa sa tubuhan ang inaresto at ibinilanggo noong Hulyo 30 sa lunsod ng Bago, Negros Occidental, dahil tinamnan nila ng makakain ang isang loteng ari ng malaking asendero.

Dinakip ang 129 tao sa isang pag-uusap na itinakda ng militar sa pagitan ng mga manggagawang bukid at ni Angel Araneta, ang mayari ng asyenda sa baryo Ma-ao, lunsod ng Bago.

Sa harap ng malawak na protesta ng mamamayan, napilitan ang pasistang militar na palayain ang mga ikinulong nila.

Sa pakikipag-usap sa asendero, tumanggi ang masa na sirain ang itinanim nilang palay, saging, kamote, mais at iba pa sa 12-ektaryang lote ni Araneta.

“Nagugutom kami, gusto naming magtrabaho pero wala namang trabaho. Tumigil na sa pag-aaral ang mga anak namin. Bakante naman at hindi ginagamit ang lupa,” ang katwiran ng mga manggagawa.

Anim na buwan sa isang taong walang trabaho ang mga manggagawa sa tubuhan, habang hinihintay na gapasan ang tubo para dalhin sa asukarera. Sa panahong ito, hindi sumasahod ang manggagawang bukid. (Ang minimum sa tubuhan ay 7 lamang sa isang araw, kung ibinibigay man ang minimum. Pinakamadalas, nagtatrabaho sila sa sistemang pakyaw, kung saan mababa pang higit ang kanilang kinikita.)

Bago nila tinamnan ang lote, sinabi ng mga manggagawang bukid kay Araneta na nakahanda silang magbayad ng upa sa bakanteng loteng nasa loob ng 299-ektaryang asyenda. Balak nilang upahan ito nang isang taon at tamnan ng makakain. Ayaw pumayag ng asendero.

Nang magharap ang mga manggagawang bukid at si Araneta noong Hulyo 30, biglang pinaligiran ng mga tropang pasista ang pulong at inaresto ang masa. Kinuha rin ang walong opisyal at kasapi ng Pambansang Pederasyon ng mga Manggagawa sa Tubuhan (NFSW), kabilang ang direktor ng lupon nito, si P. Edgar Saguinsin.

Maraming organisasyon ng mamamayan ang nagpahayag ng pagtutol sa pagkukulong sa mga manggagawang bukid. Kabilang sa mga ito ang Free Legal Aid Group (FLAG), sa pamumuno nina dating senador Jose W. Diokno at Lorenzo M. Tañada, at Atty. Joker P. Arroyo. Sumulat sila kay Juan Ponce Enrile, ministro ni Marcos sa tanggulang pambansa, at sinabing dapat palayain ang lahat ng ibinilanggo.

Reporma sa lupa

Tumutol din si Obispo Antonio Fortich, na nakasaksi sa pang-aaresto, sa “kawalang ng modo at sentido komun” ng pasistang militar. Bunga nito’y nagbitiw siya sa Komiteng Tagapag-ugnay ng Simbahan at Militar, at pinagbitiw rin niya ang iba pang kinatawan ng simbahan sa komite.

“Ang pagpapalaya sa 129 deteniddo (ay) makabuluhang tagumpay... sa gawain tungo sa hustisya sosyal sa Negros, laluna sa pagsasagawa ng reporma sa lupa,” sinabi ng Komite para sa Katarungan sa mga Manggagawa sa Tubuhan (JSWC) sa lunsod ng Bacolod.

Tinukoy ng JSWC na ang pangyayari sa Bago ay “bahagi ng mas malaki at batayang problema ng pagsasamantala sa mga manggagawa sa tubuhan na dulot ng sistema ng asyenda”. Idinagdag pa ng komite: “Maliwanag na ang reporma sa lupa ay isa sa mga solusyon sa problema ng pagkagutom sa panahong (walang trabaho sa asyenda), na nauulit sa Negros taun-taon.”

Habang nagugutom ang masa, nakatiwangwang ang malalawak na lupaing ari ng mga asenderong naghihintay lamang ng magan-

dang pagkakataong pakinabangan ito. Tumpak ang paggigiit ng mamayan sa kanilang karapatang mabuhay at makinabang sa lupa, kahit pa man marahas na ipinagtatanggol ng reaksyunaryong estado ang “karapatan sa kanyang ari-arian” ng asendero.

Sumusulong ang rebolusyon sa ika-7 taon ng batas militar

September 9, 1978 (Year X, Number 17)

Pagpasok ng pasistang diktadurang E.U.-Marcos ngayong buwang ito sa ikapitong taon ng mapang-api't bulok na paghahari, higit kailanma'y mainam ang kondisyon sa pagsulong ng pambansang demokratikong rebolusyon.

Ang pinakamatibay na ebidensya nito ang pinabilis na paglawak at pagkonsolida ng Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas sa lahat ng siyam na rehiyon ng bayan—Hilagang-silangang Luzon, Hilagang-kanlurang Luzon, Gitnang Luzon, Maynila-Rizal, Timog Katagalugan, Bikol, Silangang Kabisayaan, Kanlurang Kabisayaan at Mindanaw.

Ang patuloy na pagpapalawak at pagpapatatag ng Partido at pwersang militar nito, ang Bagong Hukbong Bayan, ay kumukuha ng lakas mula sa mainit na pagtangkilik at masigasig na paglahok ng mga mamamayang Pilipino sa pakikibakang antipasista, anti-imperyalista at antipeudal.

Sa kabilang dako, ang humihigpit na rebolusyonaryong suporta ng mamamayan sa Partido at hukbong bayan ay nagmumula sa lubos nilang pagtakwil sa pasistang rehimen at sa pataas nang pataas nilang kamulatan sa katotohanang tanging ang armadong pagbabagsak sa naghaharing pangkatin at pasistang aparato nito ang tutubos sa kanila mula sa pangkabuhayang pagsasamantala at pampulitikang panunupil.

Ipinataw ng pangkating E.U.-Marcos ang batas militar noong Setyembre 21, 1972, nang makita nito na hindi na maaaring maghari sa lumang paraan. Namamalayan na ng taong-bayan ang pagsasamantala't pang-aapi ng imperyalismong Amerikano, peudalismo at

burukrata kapitalismo, at parami nang parami ang umaanib sa pambansang demokratikong kilusan.

Sa ilalim ng batas militar, lalong naging mariin ang panunupil na siyang pangunahing sandata ng mga naghaharing uri laban sa malawak na masa ng mamamayan. Patuloy na ginagamit ang panloloko bilang pumapangalawang taktika, bagamat paunti nang paunti ang nalililang ng rehimen.

Ganap na ipinagkait sa mamamayan ang limitado na ngang karapatang tangan nila bago magbatas militar, at lalo silang pinagsasamantalan alang-alang sa kapakanan ng imperyalismong Amerikano at lokal na mga kasabwat nito.

“Normalisasyon”

Ngayon, pagkaraan ng anim na taon ng paghaharing pasista ng rehimen ng E.U.-Marcos, higit na matindi ang kaapihan ng taong-bayan kaysa kailanman sa nakaraan.

Wala nang sinasabi ang pasistang papet na si Marcos tungkol sa “pagsasademokratiko ng yaman” dahil ipinakita sa mga tao ang obhetibong kalagayan na salita lamang itong walang kahulugan. Di na siya nagyayabang tungkol sa “pagpapalaya” sa magsasaka mula sa kaapihang peudal, dahil batid niyang walang nangyari sa huwad niyang “reporma sa lupa”.

Sa halip, hinihingi niya sa mga taong-bayan na lalo pang magsakripisyo sa harap ng higit na paglala ng krisis sa kabuhayan sa pagtatapos ng taon. Sa madali’t sabi, walang dapat asahan ang mga mamamayan kundi mas matindi pang pagsasamantala’t pang-aapi sa hinaharap.

Bilang konswelo, nagpapanga-pangako si Marcos ng “normalisasyon”, ang unti-unting pagbalik sa mga “normal na kaparaanan” bago magbatas militar. Panloloko rin ito, tulad ng ipinakita ng pakyawang pandaraya at pananakot ng rehimen noong “eleksyon” ng

Abril 7 para sa huwad na “Batasang Pambansa”.

Sa mga kondisyong ito nakapaloob ang mga katotohanang kinkaharap ng masa sa araw-araw ng batas militar: pinabababang sahod, laganap na desempleo at kakulangan ng trabaho, walang-tigil na pagtaas ng mga presyo ng bilingin, walang-tigil na pagbigat ng buwis na sumusustento sa parasitikong Sandatahang Lakas ng Pilipinas at pasikat at palabigasang proyekto sa imprastraktura, paniniil sa karapatang pampulitika ng mamamayan.

Naroon din sa araw-araw ang kalupitan ng puting lagim ng reaksyonyong estado: ang nagkalat na mga espia, panggingikil ng mga pasistang tropa, sapilitang pagpapalikas at panununog, sa kanayunan maging sa lunsod, maramihang pang-aaresto, pagpapahirap, pagmasaker at pagpatay.

Kasabay nito’y isinangla na ng rehimen ang buong bansa. Dahil sa mahigit ₱51.5 bilyon na (mahigit \$7 bilyon) ang utang sa dayuhan, mas nahihigpitan ng imperyalismong Amerikano ang sakal nito sa pambansang ekonomia habang tumutubo nang malaki sa pagpapautang ng labis na kapital.

Pangunahing nakikinabang

Ang imperyalismong Amerikano na nga ang numero unong nakikinabang sa batas militar, kasama ang mga lokal na ahente nito—ang malalaking burges komprador at malalaking asendero. Kabilang ang kanilang pinakamalapit at pinakamataas ang sahod na galamay pampulitika’t tekniko, di sila lalampas sa 2 porsiento ng pambansang populasyong umaabot, sa huling bilang, sa 46 milyong tao.

Nakahanay laban sa kanila ang mamamayan—ang manggagawa, magsasaka, petiburges ng lunsod at panggitna o pambansang burges, na bumubuo sa may 98 porsiento ng populasyon.

Sa kanilang lahat, higit ang pang-aapi’t pagsasamantala sa masang anakpawis ng manggagawa’t magsasaka. Kasunod nila sa tindi

ng pagsasamantala't kaapihan ang petiburgesya at, kahit paano, ang pambansang burgesya.

Ito ang mga nagtutuligsaan sa prinsipal na kontradiksyon sa lipunang Pilipino: sa isang banda, ang pasistang rehimeng E.U.-Marcos na kumakatawan sa makitid at makasariling interes ng mga naghaharing uri, at sa kabilang banda, ang mamamayan, na mahigit 45,000,000 ang bilang.

Totoong may mga kontradiksyon sa pagitan nina Marcos at mga amo niyang imperyalistang Amerikano. Ngunit pangunahin ang sabwatan nila para higitan ang pang-aapi sa mamamayan at panatili-hing malakolonyal at malapeudal ang Pilipinas.

Ngayon, pagkaraan ng anim na taon ng batas militar, mas masahol ang buhay ng mamamayan kaysa nakaraan. Sumusunod ang mai-ikling paglarawan sa kanilang kalagayan:

1. Ang manggagawa. Napako sa ₱11 ang arawang sahod nila gayong sa halagang tatlong beses nito'y hindi pa rin kayang mabuhay nang disente and isang pamilya. Sinisiil pa rin ang kanilang demokratikong karapatang magwelga, tulad ng karapatang magbuo ng malayang unyon at magtipun-tipon.

Paglawak ng uring manggagawa

Kapansin-pansin sa loob ng batas militar na sa pagtatayo ng paparaming pagawaan at negosyo ng imperyalistang Amerikano at Hapones at mga lokal nilang komprador, lalo namang lumawak ang hanay ng uring manggagawa.

Habang nahahasa ang manggagawa sa organisasyon at napapan-day sa mga pakikibakang pangkabuhayan at pampulitika laban sa malalaking kapitalista at sa pasistang rehimen, parami nang parami ang sumasama sa kanilang mga kapatid na magsasaka sa armadong pakikibaka, at humahawak ng namumunong posisyon sa pamban-

sang demokratikong rebolusyon at kasunod nitong sosyalistang rebolusyon.

Ang uring manggagawa—ang proletaryado—ang pinakaprogresibo at pinakalubos na rebolusyonaryong uri sa kasaysayan ng mundo.

2. Ang magsasaka. Patuloy nilang dinaranas ang pagsasamantalang peudal at malapeudal. Kasama ng manggagawa, binubuo nila ang produktibong pwersa ng bayan at nililikha ng kanilang trabaho ang napakalaking yaman. Ngunit tulad ng manggagawa, sila’y hirap na hirap.

Mas malinaw ngayon sa magsasaka na sa ilalim ng batas militar ay hindi sila nagmamay-ari ng lupang dapat mapasakanila na dahil sa kanilang pagod. Di nila mababayaran ang labis-labis na presyong idinidikta nina Marcos at kapareho niyang malaking asendero para sa pagbibili ng lupa.

Di na natupad ang pangakong “palayain” sila sa ilalim ng “reperma sa lupa” ni Marcos, binibiktima pa ang magsasaka ng mapang-usurang mga patakaran ng pangkating E.U.-Marcos tulad ng “Masagana 99”, “Samahang Nayon”, atbp.

Namagitan pa nga ang rehimeng batas militar sa tuwirang pagsasamantalang imperyalista sa uring magsasaka. Pinipilit silang bumili ng mamahaling gamit sa bukid tulad ng pestisidyo, abono at makina, na pawang mga produkto ng malaking negosyong imperyalista.

Tulad ng mga manggagawa, ipinagkakait sa mga magsasaka ang karapatang magbuo ng malayang samahan.

Sapagkat binubuo nila ang lubos na nakararaming inaaping mamamayan, ang mga magsasaka ang pangunahing pwersang panlaban ng rebolusyon.

3. Ang petiburgesya ng lunsod. Masakit ang tama sa mga propesyunal, estudyante at iba pa sa uring ito ng tumataas na presyo

ng mga bilingin at serbisyo na patuloy ang pag-agnas sa kakayahang maipambili ng nakatakda nilang kita. Tumitindi ang kanilang paghihirap dahil sa taas ng buwis na binabayaran nila at sa panunupil sa mga karapatang demokratiko.

4. Ang pambansang burgesya. Bagamat nakaaangat sila sa mga manggagawa, magsasaka at petiburgesya, patuloy na nababangkarote ang mga makabayang negosyante. Ang mga negosyo nila ay mabilis na kinakain ng mga higanteng korporasyon ng imperyalistang Amerikano at Hapones. Naging sumasahod na manidyer na lamang ang karamihan sa kanila, bunga ng anti-nasyonal na mga patakaran ng pasistang rehimeng Marcos.

Nagkakaisang prente

Pinatatatag ng mga manggagawa at magsasakang bumubuo sa lubos na nakararaming mamamayang Pilipino ang kanilang batayang alyansa sa pamumuno ng Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas, upang ilatag ang pundasyon ng pambansang demokratikong nagkakaisang prente.

Laluna sa loob ng dalawang taong nakalipas, dumarami ang sumasanib sa alyansang ito mula sa mababang saray ng petiburgesya.

At habang sumusulong ang rebolusyonaryong pakikibaka, gayunding nahihikayat sa rebolusyon ang mataas na saray ng petiburgesya at progresibong bahagi ng pambansang burgesya.

May limang pwersang pampulitika sa bayan ngayon na mahahati sa dalawa: ang kampong rebolusyonaryo at ang kampong reaksyunaryo.

Nasa kampong rebolusyonaryo ang ganap na nakararaming mamamayan, na habang nabubuo sa mabilis na dumaraming organisasyong masa sa bawat sektor ng lipunan ay nahihikayat sa aktibong

pakikipaglaban at pagkilos sa digmang bayang pinamumunuan ng Partiko Komunista ng Pilipinas. Nasa unahan ng rebolusyonaryong armadong pakikibaka ang Bagong Hukbong Bayan. Kabilang din sa rebolusyonaryong kampo ang Prente sa Pambansang Pagpapalayang Moro (MNLF) at pwersang militar nito, ang Hukbong Bangsa Moro (BMA).

Nasa reaksyunaryong kampo naman ang 1) pasistang rehimeng E.U.-Marcos, ang regular na sandatahang lakas nito at pwersang malamilitar, 2) ang mga reaksyunaryong anti-Marcos, at 3) ang taksil na rebisyunistang pangkating Lava.

Pag-usapan muna natin ang reaksyunaryong kampo.

Kitang-kita ng lahat ang pasistang rehimeng diktador ng pangkat-*ing* E.U.-Marcos, sapagkat kontrolado nito ang buong aparato ng estadong burges. Pangunahin itong responsable sa pagsasamantala at pang-aapi sa mamamayan.

Tulad ng mahihinuha sa tawag sa kanila, kumontra kay Marcos ang mga reaksyunaryong anti-Marcos dahil minomonopolisa niya ang kapangyarihang pampulitikang dati nilang pinaghahatian. Pero tulad ni Marcos, ibig nilang panatilihin ang pagiging malakolonyal at malapeudal ng bayan at sila mismo'y pumapayag na maging kasangkapan ng imperyalismong Amerikano.

Sa unang malas, maaaring sabihing lumala ang kontradiksyon nila kay Marcos nang dayain sila nitong "eleksyon" ng Abril 7. Ang totoo'y tumutungo sila sa pakikipagkasundo.

Noong simula ng batas militar, kinumpiska ni Marcos ang mga ari-arian ng ilan sa mga reaksyunaryong ito at ikinulong naman ang iba. Ngunit marami siyang hindi ginalaw.

Noong nakaraan, may bahagyang pagluluwag si Marcos, at binibigyan niya ang mga reaksyunaryong ito ng kaunting kalayaang magsalita, mag-organisa at maglakbay. Sa kabila ng kanyang pan-daraya noong "eleksyon", ang pinto sa paghahatiang pampulitika ay

binubuksan pa rin niya sa mga kaaway sa pulitika sa pamamagitan ng “Batasang Pambansa” at pangakong magdaos ng lokal na halalan.

Umaasa sa imperyalismo

Sinisikap ngayon ng mga reaksyonaryong ito na ipunin ang kalat-kalat na pwersa ng oposisyonistang Partido Liberal para paghandaan ang pampulitikang paglaban kay Marcos sa hinaharap.

Itinayo rin ng ilan sa kanila ang Nagkakaisang Partidong Pili-pinong Demokratiko-Sosyalista (UPDSP, tinatawag ding “Soc-Dem”), na sumasakay sa rebolusyonaryong petiburges at pagiging panatiko sa relihiyon.

Gayunma’t pangunahin ang tunguhing magkasundo sina Marcos at mga katunggali niyang reaksyunaryo, may alitan pa rin. Bunga ito ng walang-sawang pagpapaalala ng mga reaksyonaryong anti-Marcos sa imperyalistang Amerikano na pampabigat lamang sa kanila si Marcos. Lagi rin nilang ipiniprisinta ang sarili sa mga amo nilang imperyalistang Amerikano bilang “kabayong reserba” saka-ling iligpit na si Marcos. Umaasa sila sa suporta ng mga imperyalista na posibleng kudeta, ngunit kontento na rin silang hatian sila ni Marcos ng kapangyarihan.

Bagamat sa artikulong ito’y inililista natin ang taksil sa rebisyon-istang pangkating Lava bilang hiwalay na “pwersang pampulitika”, sa katunaya’y sumuko na sila kay Marcos. Mayroon silang “nagkakaisang prente” ng pasistang papet na diktador laban umano sa imperyalismong Amerikano.

May hawak na matataas na katungkulan sa burukrasya ang mga pasimuno ng pangkating ito. Nakatalaga ang ilang kadre nila sa mga ahensya ng gobyerno tulad ng Ministeryo ng Repormang Agraryo at tumutulong sa “pagpapatupad” ng “reporma sa lupa” ng rehimen.

Nitong huli, naglulunsad ng “rebolusyon” ang mga “lider” ng mga organisasyong Lava sa pamamagitan ng isang dagsang pahayag at

sulat sa mga peryodiko ni Marcos, kung saan parang mga alila silang pumupuri kay Marcos para sa umano'y pagpupursigi niya sa "pambansang pagpapaunlad" (kung anuman iyon).

Suportado ang oportunistang pangkating ito ng mga sosyal-imperyalistang Sobyet na naghihintay lamang singitan ang imperyalismong Amerikano sa Pilipinas.

Pulang kapangyarihang pampulitika

Suriin naman natin ngayon ang kampong rebolusyonaryo—ang Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas at Bagong Hukbong Bayan, at ang Prente sa Pambansang Pagpapalayang Moro at pwersang militar nito, ang Hukbong Bangsa Moro.

Sa buong bayan ngayon, sa Luzon, Kabisayaan at Mindanaw, mapangahas na isinusulong ng Partido ang dakilang bandila ng rebolusyon.

Sa pamamagitan ng hukbong bayan, unti-unti nitong itinatag ang pulang kapangyarihang pampulitika sa kanayunan. At sa pamamagitan ng iba-ibang rebolusyonaryong organisasyong masa, patuloy na isinasanib ng Partido sa hanay nito ang paparaming manggagawa, magsasaka at petiburges.

Nagtamo ng mga pinsala sa ilang rehiyon ang Partido at hukbong bayan noong mga unang taon ng batas militar. Ngunit habang nakatali ang kaaway sa mga operasyong "hanapin at wasakin" sa mga rehiyong ito, nagpapalawak naman ang Partido sa lahat ng iba pang rehiyon. Hindi lang iyon, mula noo'y nabawi na ng kilusang rebolusyonaryo ang mga lugar na inokupahan ng kaaway ngayon.

Ngayon, sa pagpasok ng batas militar sa ikapitong taon nito, nagpupunyagi ang BHB sa digmang bayan, mula sa dulo ng Luzon hanggang Mindanaw.

Noon, ang kabuuang diin ay sa pagpapalawak muna, saka ang konsolidasyon; ngayon, konsolidasyon ang una at pagpapalawak

ang pangalawa. Kinikinis ng mga kadre ng Partido at Pulang mandirigma ang gawaing pang-ideolohiya, pampulitika at pang-organisasyon sa 13 malaki't malaki-laking prenteng gerilya sa buong saklaw ng bayan at itinataas ang mga ito sa antas ng baseng gerilya.

Kasabay nito, sa Mindanaw, buong-loob na nagpupursigi ang MNLF at hukbo nito sa armadong pakikibaka para sa karapatan ng mamamayang Moro na magpasya sa sarili.

Pakikibaka ng mamamayang Moro

Dapat tukuying may rebolusyonaryong bahagi ang MNLF at may reaksyonaryo't palasukong bahagi. Bumubuo sa palasukong bahagi ang iilang oportunistang napaloloko't napabibili sa pasistang rehimen.

Sa loob ng may isang taong nakaraan, desperadong nagtatangka ang rehimeng hatiin ang hanay ng MNLF/BMA, palibhasa'y di ito magupo sa larangang militar. Nagtayo ang rehimen ng animong organisasyon, ang umano'y "Organisasyon ng Pagpapalayang Bangsa Moro" (BMLO), at sinasabi pang nagkakawatak-watak na ang MNLF.

Nang walang pumansin sa "BMLO", palibhasa'y pinamunuan ng mga burges na pulitikong maka-Marcos, ang ginawa ng rehimen ay inihain naman ang isang oportunistang lider ng MNLF bilang "taga-pangulo" raw ng Prente, na umano'y pumalit kay Nur Misuari bilang pinuno ng Komite Sentral ng MNLF.

Bigo rin ang pakanang ito, tulad ng pinapatunayan ng pagpupursigi ng MNLF at BMA sa armadong pakikibaka labas sa pasistang rehimen, sa pagtatanggol sa mga karapatan ng mamamayang Moro.

Patuloy na itinatali ng MNLF at BMA ang malalaking seksyon ng reaksyunaryong AFP sa mga operasyong gerilya sa maraming dako ng Mindanaw.

Sa loob ng darating na mga taon, iaangat pa ng Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas at Bagong Hukbong Bayan ang armadong pakiki-

baka tungo sa mas mataas na antas, at dudugtungan at susuportahan ito ng mas malalaki at higit na mapangahas na rebolusyong ak-syong masa sa mga lunsod at kabayanan. Ang pakikibakang masa na-man sa mga lunsod at kabayanan ay kukuha ng lakas at inspirasyon mula sa armadong pakikibaka sa kanayunan.

Kahit ang mga kalagayan sa daigdig ay umaayon sa matagumpay na pag-unlad ng demokratikong himagsikang bayan sa Pilipinas.

Sa panahong lumalakas ang kilusan ng mga bayan ng ikat-long daigdig laban sa panghihimasok at pananalakay ng dalawang superpower—ang imperyalismong Amerikano at sosyal-imperyalis-mong Sobyet—nagtatangka si Marcos na ipuslit ang kanyang sarili sa harapan ng entablado ng mundo. Ibig niyang papaniwalain ang ibang bayan na tunay siyang kumakalaban sa kanyang amo.

Subalit hindi mapipigil ang rebolusyong mamamayang Pilipino sa pagsigaw ng kanilang lubusang pagtakwil sa kanyang anti-demokratiko't papet na rehimen. Saanman sila naroroon, ip-inaririnig ng makabayang mga Pilipino sa ibayong dagat ang tinig na iyon sa lahat ng mamamayan ng daigdig na mapagmahal sa katarun-gan at kalayaan. Marubdob nilang tinatangkilik ang armadong paki-kibaka ng sambayanang Pilipino, na pumapaloob sa makapangyari-hang agos ng rebolusyon na rumaragasa sa daigdig.

Patuloy na sumusulong ang pambansang demokratikong rebolu-syon tungo sa tiyak at maluningning na tagumpay.

Nagtutulongan ang masa, BHB para lansagin ang mga CHDF

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Binubulilyaso ng rebolusyonaryong kilusang masa sa kanayunan ang pakana ng reaksyonaryong gobyerno na gawing blokeo ang pwersang paramilitar ng CHDF sa mabilis na paglakas at pag-unlad ng armadong pakikibakang pinangungunahan ng Bagong Hukbong Bayan.

Dalawang pangyayaring iniulat kamakailan—sa Ifugao at Pampanga—ang nagpapatunay sa mga tagumpay na nakakamit ng rebolusyonaryong mamamayan sa kanilang mahigpit na pagkakaisa at pagtaguyod sa armadong pakikibakang dumudurog sa lakas ng kaway sa malawak na kanayunan ng Pilipinas.

Sa probinsya ng Ifugao, binuwag ng mamamayan sa ilang baryo ang isang yunit ng PC-CHDF na itinayo upang hadlangan ang mahigpit na ugayan ng hukbong bayan at masa at putulin ang suporta nito sa BHB.

Nang itayo ang pasistang pangkat noong 1977 sa baryo ng Loboong, Banawe, inipon nito ang masa sa sentro at sapilitang pinanatili sa himpilan ng CHDF at paligid na eskwelahan, ayon sa Dangadang, pahayagang masa sa Hilagang-kanlurang Luzon (Setyembre 1978).

Binawalan silang lumabas ng baryo, magtrabaho sa kanilang uma o kaingin, mangahoy at magpaet o maglilok ng mga pigurin. Hindi naman binibigyan ng kabuhayan ang masa.

Habang tila preso ang mga mamamayan sa loob ng baryo, lumala naman ang pagsasamantala at pang-aabuso ng pasistang militar. Kinikikilan sila, tinatakot, binubugbog at binabaryl pa.

Kayat naglunsad ng kampanyang masa upang wasakin ang PC-CHDF sa baryo. Ipinakita ng mamamayan ang masigla nilang pagtu-

tol at di-pagsunod sa mga utos nito. Pinaliwanagan din nila at hini-kayat ang mga kamag-anak nilang CHDF na magbitiw dito.

Sa mga karatig-baryo ng Bokiawan, Hapao at Nunggulungan, na-kiisa rin ang mamamayan sa pakikibaka ng mga taga-Loboong. Nilabanang nila ang pagbabawal ng PC-CHDF na maglakbay ang masa sa iba't ibang baryo.

Noong Marso 3, 1978, tinambangan at pinatay ng isang yunit ng BHB ang abusadong sundalong PC na isa sa mga namumuno sa CHDF sa Loboong. "Tuwang-tuwa ang mamamayan," anang Dangadang, "at takot na takot naman ang pasistang militar. Mula noon, unti-unti nang nawasak ang CHDF sa Loboong. Isa-isang umalis ang mga kasapi at nagbitiw ang iba pa. Napilitang bumalik sa kanilang kampo ang dalawang sundalong PC na naiwan."

Sa Pampanga, pagbawi ng armas

Sa Pampanga naman, sa takot ng reaksyonaryong militar na kunin ng BHB ang armas na ipinamahagi nila sa CHDF, binawian ng armas ang mga ito sa 25 baryo sa bayan ng Mexico, noong nakaraang Disyembre 15.

Natuwa ang mga magsasakang napilitan lamang sumapi sa CHDF. Ngayon ay lubusan na nilang mahaharap ang gawain sa bukid, na noo'y napabayaan nila dahil pinagbabantay sila sa kampo at pinasasama sa mga reyd at pangungumando sa hukbong bayan.

Ang iba naman, na may kasalanan sa masa, ay kinapitan ng takot minsang mawalan ng baril, anang Himagsik. Maraming natutulog sa munisipyo at lumipat ng bayan ang iba.

Sunud-sunod ang pagdidis-arma ng BHB sa mga CHDF, na ang pinakahuli ay ang reyd sa Tuklong, Sta. Ana, Pampanga, noong Nobyembre 17. Dito'y nadagdagan ng 13 riple ang lakas-sandata ng hukbong bayan.

Muling nagbalangkas ng panibagong plano ang reaksyonaryo-

ong gobyerno para sa mga CHDF. Ayon sa bagong patakaran, kailangang buong-panahon ang iukol ng kasapi ng CHDF sa kontra-rebolusyonyong gawain. Sa halip na swelduhan sila ng reaksyonyong gobyerno tulad ng regular na mga tropa, pinapangakuan sila ng ₱100 buwan-buwan na manggagaling sa bulsa ng magsasaka sa baryo. Bukod dito'y kukuha pa ng ₱2 sa mga manggagawang bukid para sa sigarilyo at meryenda ng CHDF.

May balak pang paramihin ng reaksyonyong estado ang bilang ng CHDF, na ayon sa Ministeryo ng Tanggulan ng rehimen ay umaabot na ngayon sa 75,499 sa buong Pilipinas. Gusto naman ngayong irekluta ang mga kabataang binibigyan ng pagsasanay militar sa eskwela sa ilalim halimbawa ng programang CAT. Gagamitin ang mga kabataang ito na pandagdag na pwersang isasabak laban sa nag-aalsang mamamayan.

Ngunit batid ng bawat magulang na walang silbi ang pagkamatay ng kanilang mga anak sa paglilingkod sa pasistang diktadura. Hindi nila pahihintulutan na maging kasangkapan ang kanilang mga anak sa buhong na pakana ng reaksyonyong estado.

Sa nagkakaisang pagkilos, nilalansag ng masa at kanilang hukbo ang mga CHDF sa buong bayan, at ang mga sandata nito ay inaagaw upang pabagsakin ang pasistang paghahari ng diktadurang E.U.-Marcos.

Namumunong papel ng proletaryado, tumitingkad sa patuloy na mga welga

January 31, 1979 (Volume XI, Number 1)

Maraming welga ang pumutok sa iba't ibang bahagi ng Pilipinas nitong nakaraang ilang buwan, patunay ng pagtaas ng kamulatan ng uring manggagawa sa pangangailangang manguna sila sa pakikibaka ng mga demokratikong uri laban sa pagsasamantala't pang-aapi.

Isa sa pinakahuling pag-aaklas ng manggagawa ang welga ng may 800 trabahador sa Balayan Sugar Central Inc. (BSCI) sa Balayan, Batangas, nitong Enero 15.

Tumigil sa trabaho ang mga manggagawa at naglahad ng 21 puntong hinihingi nila sa asukarera, kabilang ang *job reclassification* o tamang klasipikasyon sa trabaho at pagbibigay ng kaukulang sahod, libreng pagpapagamot, *sick leave* o pagkakasakit na may sahod, katiyakan sa trabaho, at pagpapaalis sa mga armadong gwardya sa loob ng asukarera sa oras ng trabaho.

Unang nagwelga noong Abril 1978 ang mga trabahador, na kasapi ng Bisig ng Batangas Labor Union, nang ayaw kilanlin ng kompanya ang kanilang unyon. Matagumpay ang welga, subalit sinundan ito ng pagpapahuli sa mga pinuno ng unyon.

Nitong Enero 19, iniutos ng Ministeryo ng Paggawa (MOL) ang pagbalik sa trabaho ng mga welgista sa loob ng 24 oras, kundi'y idedeklarang ilegal ang welga nila. Hindi sumunod ang mga manggagawa. Habang sinusulat ito, patuloy pa rin ang kanilang welga.

Ang pangunahing nagmamay-ari sa BSCI ay ang malaking asenderang si Soledad Dolor, diputado sa huwad na Batasang Pambansa, at ang Pambansang Banko ng Pilipinas (PNB).

Manggagawa sa asyenda

Sa Victoria, Laguna, nagwelga noong Disyembre 14 ang may 400 manggagawang bukid ng Fernandez-Cayco Farms para igiit ang karapatan nila sa mas mataas na sahod, *13th-month pay* at pamaskong bonus, ayon sa Balita ng Malayang Pilipinas (Disyembre 31, 1978).

Umaani sa asyenda ng 130 kabang palay bawat ektarya. Dagdag na pruweba ng malaking kita ng asyenda, bumili ito ng mga traktora at kumuha ng agrikulturistang sinasahuran ng 29,000 isang taon.

Nilalabanan din ng mga welgista ang di-pagbibigay ng *sick leave* at *vacation leave* (may bayad na bakasyon) sa lahat, mababang bayad sa obertaym at trabahong panggabi, walang-dahilang pagtatanggal sa trabaho, napakababang pabuya sa pagreretiro, at ang pagmamalabis ng katiwala sa asyenda.

Iniulat din ng BMP ang pakikiisa ng mga estudyante sa Unibersidad ng Pilipinas (UP Los Baños) na sumama sa piket at nangalap ng tulong para sa mga welgista. Nagpapatok ng baril ng pasistang militar, sa tangkang wasakin ang matibay na pagkakaisa ng mga estudyante at manggagawa, dagdag pa ng BMP.

Sa Mindanaw naman, naging matagumpay ang welga ng mga manggagawa ng Davao Chewing Tobacco Factory nang napilitang ibigay ng may-ari ang kanilang hinihingi.

Ipinaglaban ng mga welgista, na puro mga babae, ang pagpapatupad sa batas hinggil sa minimum na sahod, *vacation leave*, *sick leave* at *maternity leave* (may bayad na bakasyon sa panganganak), bukod pa sa libreng paospital at pagkakaroon ng pamaskong bonus.

Ayon sa *Asdang*, rebolusyonaryong pahayagan sa Mindanaw, nagsimula ang welga noong Nobyembre 6 at natapos noong Nobyembre 14. Ginipit ng MOL at ng pasistang militar ang mga manggagawa sa pamamagitan ng pagbubuwag sa piket at pagdakip sa 12 welgista sa panahong idinaraos ang negosasyon.

Pagkaraan ng ilang linggo, humarap na naman ang mga mangga-

gawa sa bagong maniobra ng kapitalista. Balak nitong ipasara ang pabrika, na gumagawa ng tabakong maskada, sa dahilang nalulugi diumano at matanda na siya. Sanhi nito, muling naglunsad ang militanteng kababaihang manggagawa ng bagong anyo ng pakikibaka upang pangalagaan ang karapatan nilang magtrabaho.

Welga rin sa Mindanaw

Isa pang tagumpay ang natamo ng 400 manggagawa sa dibisyon ng playwud ng Vicmar Developemnt Corporation sa lunsod ng Cagayan de Oro, sa Mindanaw pa rin.

Sa paglulunsad ng welgang umabot sa 20 araw, mula Nobyembre 14 hanggang Disyembre 4, napilit ng mga manggagawa ang kompanya na ibigay ang atrasadong limang-buwang sweldo nila ayon sa *Asdang* (Disyembre 1978).

Muling nanghimasok ang militar sa welgang ito. Ipinatawag ng NISA (National Intelligence and Security Agency) ang mga namumuno rito at pilit silang pinagtatapat kung sino ang nag-udyok diumano sa kanila. Mariing itinugon ng mga manggagawa na ang pag-sasamantala ang nagtulak sa kanila upang magkaisa at kumilos.

Samantala, hiningi ng Pederasyon ng mga Minero sa Pilipinas (FMP) na alisin ang batas militar sa ilang bahagi ng bayan at ibalik ang karapatang magwelga, sa mga resolusyong pinagtibay sa kumbensyong idinaos noong Disyembre 10 sa Maynila.

Hindi pa rin nakapangahas ang pederasyon na hingin ang lubos na pag-alis ng batas militar sa buong Pilipinas, at wari'y nagpapalindang pa sa sinasabing programa sa normalisasyon ng pasistang rehi-meng E.U.-Marcos.

Nanawagan ang FMP na ganap na pagbabalik sa manggagawa ng karapatang magwelga, at hiniling din ang pangkalahatang pag-taas ng sahod (*across-the-board increase*), karapatang mag-union para sa mga manggagawa sa korporasyong ari o kontrolado ng gobyerno,

at ang pagkakaroon ng batas na titiyak sa pagsapi sa unyon ng bawat empleyado.

Pakikibakang pangkabuhayan, pampulitika

Inilalarawan ng mga pakikibakang ito na humihigpit ang pakikibakang pangkabuhayan sa loob ng sistemang pinaghaharian ng imperyalismong E.U., peudalismo at burukrata kapitalismo.

Mga panimulang hakbang lamang ang pakikibang pangkabuhayan sa loob ng pabrika, bagamat makabuluhan at makatarungan ang paglulunsad nito. Ang mapagpasyang hakbang tungo sa pagkakamit ng tunay na demokrasya at kasaganaan ng uring anakpawis ay nasa pag-aangat ng pangkabuhayang pakikibaka sa antas ng pampulitikang pakikibaka.

Sa dokumentong “Ang Mahigpit Nating mga Tungkulin”, nanawagan ang Komite Sentral: “Itaguyod ang kilusang welga, palaganapin at paigtingin ito upang maipakita sa buong bansa at sa buong sambayanan na ang pasistang naghaharing pangkatin at ang malaking burgesya ay napakaliit at napakahina at bulok sa kaibuturan. Itaguyod ang mga welgang pang-ekonomia at gawin itong mga welga at demonstrasyong pampulitika. Dagukan nang pinakamalakas ang malaking burgesya (ang mga dayuhang monopolyo kapitalista at malaking burgesya komprador). Pinakamataas sa empresa nila ang tantos sa pagsasamantala.”

Sinabi pa sa dokumento: “Sa panahong ito ng malubhang krisis sa ekonomia, ang masang manggagawa ay gumagalaw at nagsusulong ng kanilang pakikibakang pang-ekonomia. Pumaloob tayo sa pakikibakang pang-ekonomia at iangat natin ito sa antas ng pakikibakang pampulitika upang ang buong uring manggagawa ay hindi lamang mabisang makalaban para sa sarili nilang interes kung lubusang makaugnay rin sa lahat iba pang mamamayan sa makapangyarihang agos ng rebolusyong demokratiko ng bayan.”

Nagbrodkas sa Panay ang Radyo Madya-as

February 15, 1979 (Volume XI, Number 3)

Isang mapanlabang palatuntunan sa radyo ang narinig buhat sa kabundukan ng Panay noong Enero 1.

Radyo Madyaas ang bagong palatuntunan ng pambansa demokratikong kilusan sa Kanlurang Kabisayaan. Narinig ito sa dalawang magkahiwalay na transmisyon na tumagal ng tatlong oras.

Ayon sa Daba-daba, pahayagang masa sa Aklan at hilagang Antique, ang unang brodkas ng Radyo Madya-as ay sa Aklanon, Ilonggo, Pilipino at Ingles, ala 1:10 n.u. Tinalakay ang mga balita at komentaryong halaw sa mga rebolusyonaryong pahayagan. Nagparinig din ng mga tula at awiting rebolusyonaryo na ang diwa ay ipinaliliwanag ng anawanser.

Ang ikalawang brodkas ay sa Ingles, alas 3:15-4:50 n.u. Tinalakay naman dito ang ukol sa “lokal na eleksyon” ng diktadurang EU-Marcos, ang mga pakana ng reaksyunaryong estado upang sugpuin at durugin ang rebolusyonaryong kilusang masa sa lunsod at kanyunan, at mga balita sa labas ng bansa.

Nagdiwang ang masa sa pagkakaroon ng palatuntunan sa radyo na nauukol at nagsisilbi sa kanila.

Sinupalpal ng masa sa Cagayan ang utos ng pasistang rehimen

March 15, 1979 (Volume XI, Number 12)

Gabi ng Disyembre 31, 1978 nang kumilos ang rebolusyonaryong masa sa lalawigan ng Cagayan. Sa mga bayan ng Aparri, Lallo, Gattaran, Baggao, Amuling at Tuguegarao, pawang sa Cagayan, ikinabit ng masa ang kanilang mga istrimer at idinikit ang mga poster sa mga tindahan, poste, pader, palengke, bus, dyipni at traysikel. Ipinahayag ng mga ito ang militanteng suporta sa rebolusyonaryong kilusan at mahigpit na pagtutol sa pasistang diktadurang EU-Marcos.

Iprinoklama ang ganitong mga islogan: “Mabuhay ang Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas!” “Mabuhay ang Bagong Hukbong Bayan!” “Mabuhay ang mga mamamayan!” “Wasakin ang batas militar!” at “Isulong ang armadong pakikibaka!”

Ang iba pang mga islogan: “Ipaglaban ang mga demokratikong karapatan!” “Labanan ang karahasang militar!” “Itigil ang operasyong militar!” “Itigil ang ebakwasyon!” “Ibaba ang presyo ng mga bilihin!” at “Itaas ang sweldo!”

Ang malawakang “Operasyong Dikit-Istrimer” ang sagot ng mamamayan sa atas ng pasistang diktadura na “puksain” ang NPA sa rehiyon sa pagtatapos ng 1978.

Ang atas ay ibinaba ng ministro ng tanggulan ng rehimen, si Juan Ponce Enrile, na taga-Cagayan. Bilang pagtugon, inilunsad ng First Infantry Battalion (Philippine Army) at iba pang mga yunit ng reaksyunaryong Sandatahang Lakas ng Pilipinas (AFP) ang Operation “Aurora Borealis”.

Bago nito, pinalaki ng pasistang rehimen ang mga pwersang paramilitar nito sa rehiyon sa paglikha ng tinatawag na “peace comitatus”, o pinalaking CHDF, na pinamunuan ng mga alkalde.

Sampal kina Marcos, Enrile

Mariin ang sampal ng masa kina Enrile at amo niyang si Marcos. Nagbigay sila ng mahusay na halimbawa ng rebolusyonaryong inisyatiba at kapangahasan habang ipinakikita ng pwedeng singitan ang mga pwersa ng rehimeng batas militar.

Sa simbahang malapit sa kampo ng 21st It B sa Temblique, Baggao, ikinabit ng mamamayan ang istrimer na nagsasabing “21st IB Kriminal!” Buong hapong nakasabit ang istrimer hanggang magkalakas-loob ang mga papet na sundalong tanggalin ito.

Bilang ganti, nagrekisa ang pasistang militar sa mga bahay sa poblasyon ng Baggao ngunit walang nakita.

Sa Gattaran naman, nangangatog ang tuhod ng pinakapusakal na papet ng rehimen, si Alkalde Fruto Elizaga, nang makita niya ang malaking istrimer sa mismong munisipyo. “Wakasan ang batas militar!” anang istrimer.

Hindi ito ang unang pagkakataong magyabang ang rehimen hinggil sa “paglipol” sa BHB sa Cagayan Valley. Sa mga unang buwan ng batas militar noong 1972-73, ipinagmayabang ni Brig. Gen. Tranquilino Paranis, pinuno ng Northeast Command (Noreascom) ng rehimen, na “lilinisin” niya ang Sierra Madre sa madaling panahon.

Limang malaking kampanya ng kaaway

Maraming taon na ang nagdaan mula noon, at sa kabila ng limang malalaking kampanyang militar ng kaaway, nakakabawi ang hukbong bayan at patuloy na lumalakas araw-araw.

Ang isa sa mga operasyong ito ay inilunsad ng 7,000 tropang kaaway noong 1971 hanggang Agosto 1971. Ang pangalawa ay inilunsad mula Setyembre 1972 hanggang Marso 1973; ang pangatlo mula Disyembre 1975 hanggang Marso 1976, ang pang-apat mula Disyembre

1977 hanggang unang kwarto ng 1978, at ang ikalima ang pinangalanang Oplan “Aurora Borealis” na nagtapos noong Disyembre 31.

Hindi lamang nalulusutan ng BHB ang mga kontra-rebolusyonaryong operasyong ito, kundi patuloy na lumalakas pa. Patunay ng mahigpit na ugnay ng BHB sa mamamayan sa rehiyon ang mga aksyong masang inilunsad noong gabi ng Disyembre 31, 1978.

Makikita rin ang pagsulong ng digmang bayan sa Cagayan Valley sa pahayag ng Komiteng Tagapagpaganap ng Komite ng Rehiyon ng Partido noong Disyembre 26, 1978, bilang pagdiriwang sa ika-10 anibersaryo ng muling pagtatatag ng Partido.

Sa Lagablab, opisyal na organo nito, iniulat ng komite na malaki na ang inihakbang ng Partido at hukbong bayan, lalo sa gawaing masa, mula noong unang panrehiyong komperensya ng Partido noong Agosto 1977. Anito:

Nadoble ang kasapian, kinikilusan

”Naparami natin nang higit pa sa doble ang bilang ng mga bayan sa ating kinikilusan, kung ihahambing ito sa bilang bago tayo magkomperensya. Mula sa halos mga kabundukang lugar, naugnayan natin ang mga mamamayan sa mala-bundok na lugar, kapatagan at maging sa ilang kabisera at sentrong bayan ng rehiyon. Ang pampulitikang prestihiyo at impluwensya ng rebolusyonaryong kilusan...ay umaabot sa labas ng mga kinikilusang lugar.

”Lumaki sa kantidad nang higit sa doble ang kasapian ng Partido mula nang natapos ang komperensya. Dahil nagmula ang kalakhan ng paglaking ito sa hanay ng mga lokal na aktibistang masa, ang pagsulong ng ating gawaing pampartido sa lokalidad at sa mga rebolusyonaryong kilusang masa at ang paglaki ng papel ng mga lokal na organisasyong pampartido ay naipapakita na. Isang mainam na kondisyon ito sa paglawak pa ng kilusang masa. At isang matibay na pundasyon ito sa pagpapaunlad ng ating digmang gerilya.

“...Ang ating panrehiyong organisasyon ng Partido ay mas mata-tag ngayon sa ideolohia, pulitika at organisasyon.”

Hinggil sa panrehiyong komperensya ng Agosto 1977 mismo, at sa programang itinakda ng panrehiyong komite, sinabi ng komiteng tagapagpaganap na kinikilala nito ang pundamental na mga kama-lian ng rehiyon sa nakaraang mga taon, naglunsad ito ng isang kam-panya ng pagwawasto at nagpatatag sa panloob na pagkakaisa ng Partido, nagpalalim sa pag-aaral ng Marxismo, at nagpasulong sa gawiing rebolusyonaryo.

Pagkaraan ng komperensya ng 1977, pinamunuan ng Partido ang paglusot ng mga rebolusyonaryong pwersa sa mga blokeo ng kaaway at mula sa makikitid na kinalalagyan, upang atupagin ang gawaing masa sa mas maraming bayan kaysa rati.

BHB matagumpay sa gawaing militar

Habang nagkokonsentra sa gawaing masa, naglulunsad din ang mga kadre ng Partido at Pulang mandirigma sa Hilagang-silangang Lu-son ng mga operasyon militar sa hiwa-hiwalay na pwersa ng kaaway. Ilan sa pinakahuling halimbawa nito:

1. Noong Disyembre 9, tinambangan ng mga Pulang mandirigma ang isang patrulyang PA sa Mabirabira, Gattaran, Ca-gayan. Patay ang tatlong papet na tropa at sugatan ang isa pa. Nakakumpiska ang hukbong bayan ng dalawang ripleng M-16, dalawang amobelt, magasin at bala.
2. Noong Oktubre, pinatay ng mga Pulang mandirigma ang li-mang papet na sundalo at ibang kasapi ng CHDF sa hangganan ng San Mariano at Benito Soliven, Isabela. Nakakumpiska sila ng limang M-16, dalawang ripleng Garand at daan-daang bala.
3. Sa San Pablo, Isabela, pinatay ng mga Pulang mandirigma ang

tatlong mersenaryo at kinumpiska ang dalawang pistolang kalibre .45 at isang rebolber na kalibre .38.

4. Sa engkwentro sa Ilagan, Isabela, pinatay nila ang isang opisyal ng AFP at kinumpiska ang kanyang M-16.
5. Sa tambang sa baryo San Lorenzo, sa Ilagan din, pinatay ng mga Pulang mandirigma ang tatlong sarhento at kinumpiska ang kanilang armas—dalawang pistolang .45 at isang rebolber na .38. Ang patay ay sina T/Sgt. Eladio Gubguban, S/Sgt. Romeo Ukando at Sgt. Martin Balatan, mga tauhang paniktik ng 5th IB (PA).

Samantala, hanggang ngayo'y pinag-uusapan ng mga mamamayan ng Bunugan, Baggao, Cagayan, ang pagkumpiska ng isang kaba-taang aktibista ng M-79 (grenade launcher) mula sa patrulya ng 21st IB (PA) noong gabi ng Nobyembre 28.

Ayon sa balita, pagod ang mga papet na sundalo pagkatapos magpatrulya sa kalapit na baryo. Hinintay ng aktibista na makatulog sila, pagkatapos ay ginapang niya ang M-79. Pinaputukan niya ang mga sundalo at pagkatapos ay umugnay sa BHB at ibinigay ang armas.

Tulad sa iba pang rehiyon ng bayan, mahigpit na tinatangkilik ng mamamayan ang organisasyon ng Partido at mga yunit ng BHB sa Cagayan Valley.

Napilitan ding aminin ito ng rehimen nang dumating at lumipas ang Disyembre 31, 1978 at patuloy pa ring sumusulong ang BHB sa Cagayan Valley.

Sa pakikipanayam sa radyo sa Cagayan, inamin ng mga pinuno ng AFP sa rehiyon ang kanilang pagkabigo, sa harap mismo ni Enrile. Ganito ang ilang binitiwang nilang mga salita:

“...Lubhang makilos ang NPA...”, “...Nang inooperasyon ang Cagayan ay nasa Isabela sila...”, “...Nang inooperasyon ang Isabela ay nasa

Cagayan naman sila...” “...Mahusay at talagang epektibo ang suportang masa nila...”

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 bolt-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 U.S. colonial domination of the Philippines.

The Party's anniversary was celebrated not only in San Francisco but in other U.S. 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.

Napapanday ang mga tagabukid sa maraming pakikibakang masa

May 15, 1979 (Volume XI, Number 9)

Habang sumusulong sa mas mataas na antas ang digmang bayan sa Pilipinas, lalong tumitingkad ang mahalagang papel ng magsang magsasaka bilang pangunahing pwersa ng demokratikong rebolusyon ng bayan.

Katulad ng kanilang mga kapatid na magsasaka sa maraming iba pang bahagi ng bayan, naglulunsad ang mga magsasaka ng Cagayan ng mga maramihan, organisado at nagkakaisang pagkilos laban sa pang-aabuso ng mga bayarang sundalo ng diktadurang E.U.-Marcos. Gayundin, tinututulan nila ang mga proyekto ng gobyernong Marcos na sa halip na makatulong sa kanila ay nakapipinsala lamang.

Ayon sa Baringkuas, rebolusyonaryong pahayag sa Cagayan Valley, nagsimula ang sunud-sunod na mga aksyong masa noong Pebrero 26, nang magdemonstrasyon ang mahigit sa 2,000 magsasaka sa harap ng simbahan ng bayan ng Gattaran upang tutulan ang karahasan at pang-aabuso ng mga sundalo ng 21st Infantry Battalion ng Philippine Army. Hiningi rin ng masa na tanggalin sa panunungkulan si Fruto Elizaga, meyor ng Gattaran.

Inilantad ng masa ang pagmamalabis at pagmamalupit ni Elizaga at kanyang mga tauhang kasapi ng pinamumunuan niyang "peace comitatus". Di-iilang masa ang namatay at dumanas ng hirap at kahihyan sa kamay ni Elizaga at kanyang mga maton.

Noon namang Marso 10, mahigit sa 600 magsasaka mula sa anim na baryo ng Lallo ang nagmartsa sa poblasyon at namahagi ng bukas na liham para sa meyor ng Lallo. Idinenunsa sa liham ang pang-aabuso ng mga sundalo ng 21st IB na nakatalaga sa silangang Cagayan.

Sa Tuguegarao, kabisera ng Cagayan, may 700 magsasaka mula sa Lallo, Gattaran at Baggao ang nakipag-usap kay Gobernadora Teresa Dupaya at tatlong meyor ng Cagayan noong Marso 24. Inilahad ng mga tagabukid ang kanilang petisyon laban sa pang-aabusong militar sa kani-kanilang mga lugar.

Mahigit sa 1,000 magsasaka naman ang nagtipon sa Temblique at 2,500 sa San Jose noong Abril 1. Alas 5 pa lamang ng umaga ay nagsimula nang maglabasan ang magsasaka sa kanilang bahay, dala-dala ang mga plakard at istrimer.

Ang mga demonstrador sa Temblique ay nagtipon sa sentrong himpilan ng 21st IB. Dito ay pinilit nilang humarap sa kanila si Kor. Antonio Palafox, pinuno ng yunit na ito, at nangakong aksyunan ang mga kahilingan nila lalo na yaong tungkol sa mga pang-aabuso ng kanyang mga sundalo.

Laban sa proyekto ng NIA

Muling nagdemonstrasyon ang masang magsasaka ng Lallo at Gattaran noong Abril 24 laban naman sa proyekto ng National Irrigation Administration (NIA) na nangwawasak sa kanilang mga sakan. Humigit-kumulang sa 2,000 ang nagtipon sa mismong munisipyo ng Lallo, saka nagmartsa patungong Camalaniugan.

Sa Camalaniugan, pinigil sila ng meyor ng Lallo at kanyang mga bataan. Hinuli ang 20 demonstrador at dinala sa baraks ng PC sa Aparri, kung saan sila binugbog ng mga pasistang sundalo.

Ang mga pananakot, panghuhuli at panggugulpi ng mga pasista ay di nakapigil sa masang magsasaka upang ipagpatuloy ang kanilang mga aksyong protesta. Bagkus, lalo itong nagpaalab sa kanilang damdaming mapanglaban sa mga mapang-api at mapagsamantala.

Noong Abril 30, mahigit sa 4,000 magsasaka mula sa Lallo, Gattaran at Baggao ang nagsimulang magdemonstrasyon patungong Tuguegarao. Sa mga panimulang lugar-tipunan pa lamang ay pinigil na

sila ng mga sundalo ng 117th PC Company.

Gayunman, mahigit sa 1,000 masa ang nakalusot sa kubkob ng kaaway at dala-dala ang kanilang mga istrimer at plakard, tumuloy sa Aparri upang doon isagawa ang demonstrasyon.

Sa aksyong masa ng Abril 30, 72 masa ang hinuli kabilang ang ilang kapitan ng barangay at mga kasapi ng konseho ng barangay.

Sa mga aksyong masang ito nahahasa ang masang magsasaka sa pagtupad ng kanilang tungkulin, kaagapay ang masang manggagawa at ng ibang uring api, sa pagpapabagsak sa kasalukuyang naghaharing sistema.

Oo nga't ginagantihan sila ng higit pang kalupitan, subalit alam nila na bahagi lamang ito ng pakikibaka, at sa mismong pakikibaka sila mapapanday upang maging muog na bakal ng rebolusyonaryong kilusan.

Daan-daang libo sa kanila ang aktibong kumikilos sa mga organisasyong masang pinamumunuan ng Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas. Gayundin, ang kalakhan ng bilang ng mga Pulang mandirigma ng Bagong Hukbong Bayan ay nagmumula sa uring magsasaka, ang pangunahing pwersa ng demokratikong rebolusyon ng bayan.

Patriotic health workers form new mass organization

May 31, 1979 (Volume XI, Number 10)

Progressive members of the health sector established recently a mass organisation 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 U.S.-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 grace 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 U.S.-Marcos regime shows indifference. In the current national budget, the regime allocates only ₱1.3 billion to the nation's health needs while it appropriates ₱5.5 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.

U.S. 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 ₱11.09 million, or more than 600 percent of its initial investment. Richardson-Merrel (Phils.), Inc., earned a net profit of ₱8.4 million, or more than 400 percent of its capital stocks, and Parke-Davis and Co., Inc., recorded profits of ₱5.5 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 U.S.-Marcos fascist dictatorship.

The U.S.-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 is raging. Their aim is to show that the U.S.-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 propa-

ganda 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 are exploited and oppressed under the fascist regime. The nurse's salary is as low as ₱263.33 a month. Even doctors are badly paid. Government physicians, for instance, receive a monthly minimum wage of only ₱800. Many resident physicians in city hospitals receive only ₱350 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 U.S. 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.

U.S. 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 U.S.-Marcos fascist regime.

While struggling against U.S. 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.

Parang tulirong bombero ang pasistang rehimen

June 30, 1979 (Volume XI, Number 12)

Sa pag-apoy ng armadong pakikibaka sa malawak na kanayunan, lalong lumilitaw ang maaaring maging bentahe para sa rebolusyon ng pagiging pulu-pulo ng Pilipinas.

Parang bombero ang pasistang rehimeng E.U.-Marcos na di malaman kung aling sunog ang haharapin, sa dami ng larangan ng pakikidigmang gerilyang inilulunsad ng Bagong Hukbong Bayan at rebolusyonaryong masa.

Sa ngayo'y kaunti pa rin at mahina ang pwersa ng rebolusyon, pero sa pagpaparami at pagpapalakas nito'y lalong mapapakinabangan ang partikular na katangian ng ating heograpiya sa pagwawatak ng mga pwersa ng kaaway na ang maliliit na yunit ay mas madali nang durugin. Mula sa panimulang disbentahe, magagawang bentahe ang pagiging pulu-pulo ng ating bayan.

Ayon sa pinakahuling ulat ng mga koresponsal sa Ang Bayan:

1. Tatlong awtomatik na riple ang kinumpiska ng isang yunit ng BHB nang tambangan nila ang pitong tauhan ng 21st Infantry Battalion ng Hukbo ng Pilipinas (PA) noong Abril 18 sa Pangalbatan, Baggao, Cagayan.

Patay ang apat na tropang mersenaryo at sugatan ang tatlong iba pa, sa ambus na masiglang sinuportahan ng rebolusyonaryong masa. Nadagdagan ang lakas-sandata ng hukbong bayan ng isang M-203 (kombinasyon ng M-16 at M-79 grenade launcher), at dalawang M-16 bukod pa sa mga bala.

2. Mula naman sa Silangang Kabisayaan, kung saan naglulunsad ngayon ng malaking operasyon ang pasistang militar laban sa BHB at mamamayan, nalaman na nag-aangkin ng tagumpay

ang kaaway—sa mga diaryong kontrolado ng rehimen, at hindi sa aktwal na labanan.

Halimbawa, hindi totoo ang ibinalita nilang pagkamatay sa labanan ng kung sinu-sinong Pulang mandirigma, partikular sa mga bayan ng Matuginao at Gamay sa Hilagang Samar.

Operasyon ng kaaway sa Samar

Ibinabalita rin sa mga bihag na pabatirang pangmadla na nagkaroon umano ng engkwentro sa pagitan ng BHB at reaksyunaryong tropa sa Bangon, Gamay, noong Hunyo 1, kung saan dalawa ang napatay, isa ang nasugatan at tatlo ang nadakip sa hanay ng mga gerilyang bayan. Ang totoo, dalawang pangkat ng kaaway ang nagsagupaan doon, ibang grupo ng Military Intelligence Group (MIG) na nagkukunwaring yunit ng BHB at nananakot sa masa, at isang grupo naman ng ahensya sa paniniktik na NISA (National Intelligence and Security Agency).

Ang operasyon ng kaaway ay kasunod ng isang serye ng mata-gumpay na mga taktikal na operasyon ng BHB nitong nakaraang mga buwan sa Samar, laluna ang mga reyds sa apat na bayan noong Abril at Mayo (Ang Bayan, Hunyo 25, 1979)

3. Sa pagngingitngit ng kaaway sa di-matinag na rebolusyonaryong katatagan ng masa sa Sta. Rita, Capas, Tarlac, sari-saring pang-aabuso at karahasan ang ginawa nila. Pero lalo lamang nag-aalab ang galit ng mamamayan at tumitibay ang kanilang determinasyong maggumiit sa pakikibaka hanggang sa tagunpay.

Ginawa ng kaaway ang lahat para pigilan ang pagpaparangal ng masa sa tatlong bayani ng rebolusyon na nasawi sa isang labanan noong Hunyo 11 sa baryong iyon. Naglagay ng mga harang sa daan

papasok sa baryo, at tinakot ang mga ibig makipaglamay. Pero sa mga bukid nagsipagdaanan ang masang pinag-alayan ng buhay ng mga martir. Daan-daan silang naglibing sa mga ito.

Pagkagaling sa libing noong Hunyo 14, isang minibus na may lulang 38 bata, matanda at kababaihan ang papauwi na sa baryo. Hinintuan ito ng dalawang trak na puno ng pasista at binunggo. Dalawang tagabaryo ang agad namatay at 33 ang malubhang nasugatan sa pagtaob ng sasakyan at pagbanga nito sa isang tindahan.

Nauna rito, noong araw ng labanan, giniba ng mga masinggan ng kaaway ang dalawang bahay na tinutuluyan ng mga Pulang mandirigma. Pagkatapos nito'y ninakaw ng kaaway ang tatlong baboy, gamit sa pagkakarapintero, mga kaldero ₱300 at maski damit ng bata mula sa dalawang bahay.

Dictatorship is in grave crisis on eighth year of Martial Law

September 21, 1979 (*Special Issue*)

- The U.S. 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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S. 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 U.S. 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 spiralling 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 U.S.-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 U.S. 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 U.S. 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 U.S.-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 U.S. imperialist masters because the United States itself is in the throes of its gravest economic crisis since World War II. In fact, U.S. imperialism is shifting to its semicolonies 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 U.S.-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.

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 U.S. 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 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 U.S.-Marcos fascist dictatorship takes on many forms. It may be a worker going in 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 U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S.-Marcos clique enters its eighth year.

Binigo ng masa ang kaaway, nagdaos ng 2 malaking rali sa Cebu, Samar

October 15, 1979 (Volume XI, Number 17)

Mahigit 9,000 manggagawa, magsasaka at iba pang mamamayan ang naglunsad ng dalawang malaking rali sa Silangang Kabisayaan noong Setyembre upang kondenahin ang pasistang diktadurang E.U.-Marcos sa pagpasok nito sa ikawalong taong ng paghahar-ing militar.

Ang una sa mga aksyong masang ito ay ginanap sa siudad ng Cebu noong Setyembre 21, at ang kasunod ay sa Catbalogan, Kanlurang Samar, noong Setyembre 23. Sa dalawang rali, itinaas ng mga mamamayan ang bandilang antipasista, anti-peudal at anti-imperyalista.

May 4,000 mamamayang lumahok sa martsa-demonstrasyon sa Cebu at mahigit na 5,000 sa rali sa Catbalogan, ayon sa *Larab*, paha-yagang masa sa rehiyong Silangang Kabisayaan.

Dahil sa pagkokonsentra ng pasistang rehimen ng 6,000 tropang papet at paramilitar na mga yunit upang isagawa ang kampanyang terorista nito sa isla ng Samar, binigyan ng aksyong masa sa Catbalogan ng partikular na diin ang kagyat na pagpapaalis sa mga pasistang pwersa mula sa lugar.

Ang hinihingi ng mamamayan ng Samar sa diktadura ay 1) ang paglalansag sa batas militar sa buong bayan; 2) pagpapalaya sa lahat ng bilanggong pampulitika; 3) pagbabayad ng rehimen sa mga nasi-rang ari-arian at mga nakitlan ng buhay; 4) pagpapatigil sa umano'y kampanyang "pasipikasyon" sa isla ng Samar at sa iba pang bahagi ng bayan; 5) pagpapaalis sa lahat ng pwersang militar ng Sandatahang Lakas ng Pilipinas (AFP) mula sa Samar; at 6) di-panliligalig sa mga pinalikas na mamamayang gustong bumalik sa kani-kanilang baryo at bayan.

Nakiisa ang rali sa Cebu sa mga hinihingi ng mamamayan ng Samar at nagharap din ng partikular na hinihingi nila, tulad ng pagpapatigil sa pagtataboy sa mga maralita ng lunsod upang bigyangdaan ang pagtatayo ng “export processing zone” na pakikinabangan ng mga imperyalistang koporasyong E.U.

Panliligalig ng AFP, nabuko

Sa mga rali sa Cebu at sa Catbalogan, nanliligalig ang mga tropang AFP sa mga kalahok. Ngunit matibay ang kapasyahan ng militanteng mamamayan na igiit ang kanilang mga demokratikong karapatan, at matagumpay nilang isiniwalat ang pagsasamantala’t pang-aapi sa ilalim ng pasistang paghaharing militar.

Ang aksyong masa sa Cebu, na idinaos sa Freedom Park sa siudad na iyon, ay inilunsad at dinaluhan ng mga manggagawa, maralita ng lunsod, magsasaka, kabataan at estudyante, guro at mga aktibistang panlipunan sa hanay ng mga taong-simbahan.

Nagtipun-tipon sila sa palengke ng Carbon at saka nagmartsang dala-dala ang mga istrimer at plakard na nagpapahayag sa mga islong tulad ng “Ibagsak ang diktadurang E.U.-Marcos!”, “Itigil ang militarisasyon!” at “Palayain ang lahat ng bilanggong pampulitika!” Namahagi sila ng mga polyeto at nangolekta ng kontribusyon para sa pakikibakang antipasista, antipeudal at anti-imperyalista.

Sa Freedom Park, tinalakay ng mga kinatawan ng mamamayan ang pagsasamantala’t pang-aapi sa ilalim ng batas militar.

Kinondena ng kinatawan ng manggagawa ang pagbabawal sa welga, kinondena ng kinatawan ng maralita sa lunsod ang pakanang wasakin ang kanilang bahay upang pagbigyan ang mga imperyalistang korporasyon, at kinondena ng kinatawan ng magsasaka ang balak na ilihis tungo sa itatayong “export processing zone” ang tubig na kailangan sa kanilang sakahan.

Nakiisa ang mga kabataan, estudyante at guro sa mga mangga-

gawa, magsasaka at maralita ng lunsod, at kinondena rin nila ang umiigting na pasismo sa mga kampus sa bayan. Nagtanghal ng dula ang mga kabataan ng Cebu na naglalarawan sa kaapihan at pakikibaka ng mamamayan.

Pambansang demokratikong propaganda

Bukod sa aksyong masa noong Setyembre 21, nagsagawa ang mga mamamayan ng Cebu ng mapanlikhang mga paraan upang patampukin ang pambansang demokratikong propaganda.

Noong gabi ng Setyembre 21 at sa kasunod na tatlong gabi, naglunsad ang mga manggagawa at estudyante ng operasyong dikit-operasyong pintura (OD-OP) hindi lang sa siudad ng Cebu kund pati sa siudad ng Toledo. Namulaklak ang mga pader at bakod sa mga islogan na ipinintura't idinikit ng mamamayan. Ang mga maralita ng lunsod na nakatira sa tabing-dagat ay nagpalutang naman ng mga saha ng saging na kinabitan ng istrimer na may nakasulat ding mga panlabang islogan.

Maayos na binalak at idinaos ang rali sa lunsod ng Cebu, tulad din ng rali sa Catbalogan, na siyang Kabisera ng Kanlurang Samar, ayon sa Larab.

Setyembre 21 pa lamang, dalawang araw bago ang rali sa Catbalogan, nagsimula nang pumunta roon ang may 3,000 magsasaka at ilandaang mangingisda mula sa mga interyor na baryo ng mga bayang Basey, Sta. Rita, Talalora, Villareal, Calbiga, Zumarraga, Pinabakdao, Paranas, Motiong, San Jorge, Gandara at Catbalogan, at siudad ng Calbayog. Tinatayang 2,000 estudyante, guro at maralita ng lunsod ang sumalubong sa kanila at sumali sa rali.

Pagdating ng Setyembre 23, alas-8 ng umaga, nagtipun-tipon ang mga mamamayan at nagsimula nang magmartsa. Inikot nila ang Catbalogan, dala-dala ang mga istrimer at plakard na nagpapahayag ng kanilang pagtutol sa batas militar, at sabay-sabay na sumi-

gaw ng mga islogang sumusuporta sa rebolusyonaryong kilusan.

Nakasulat sa mga plakard at istrimer ang mga islogan tulad ng “Ibagsak ang batas militar!”, “Marcos, Hitler, diktador, tuta!” at “Itigil ang militarisasyon!”

Pasistang panggugulo

Bago nito, gumawa ang pasistang militar, sa pangunguna ni Ten. Kor. Romeo Fernandez, ng sari-saring panggigipit sa mamamayan. Tinipon niya ang 600 sundalo at ahente, at nagtsekpoynt sa Maulong, Burak, Canlapwas at Kilometro Uno na siyang mga pasukan tungo Catbalogan mula sa ibang mga bayan.

Noong Setyembre 23, nirekisa nila ang lahat ng sasakyan at kinapakan ang mga pasahero sa tangkang pigilin ang pagpasok ng mga demonstrador. Binalaan din ang mga estudyante at guro na huwag makiisa at sumama sa rali. Inimbestigahan ang tatlong estudyante kaugnay sa ilulunsad na aksyong masa.

Ngunit hindi natakot ang mamamayan sa mga pakana ng pasistang militar. Kayat noong araw ding iyon, sa may plasa ng simbahang malapit sa kampo ng PC, nagpatuloy ang rali bagamat pinaikutan ito ng ilandaang pasistang tropang may masinggang kalibre .30 na nakatutok sa mga mamamayan.

Nagtalumpati ang apat na magsasaka at isang pari, at nagtanghai naman ng dula ang ilang estudyante. Ang tema ng kanilang talumpati ay ang epekto ng pasistang militarisasyon sa buhay ng magsasaka, ang pasistang karahasan sa isla, at ang pagtutol sa rehimeng batas militar na walang kapantay sa terorismo at kalupitan. Ipinahayag ng mga nagsalita ang kanilang tiwalang bibiguin ng mga mamamayan ang kanilang mga kaaway.

Ipinakita naman ng dula ang kasaysayan ng pakikibaka at paglaban ng masa ng Samar sa mapang-aping dayuhan at katutubo, mula sa panahon ni Sumuroy laban sa mga kolonyalistang Espanyol, ni

Lucban at ng mga Pulahanes laban sa kolonyalistang Amerikano, at hanggang sa kasalukuyan.

Mapayapa namang nagwakas ang aksyong masa kung hindi nanggulo ang mga pasistang sundalo. Nang matapos ang huling tagapagsalita, sinundan siya ng mga ahente upang dakpin. Nguni pumagitna ang mamamayan, at pinaligiran ang nagsalita para protektahan siya.

Sa ganitong pormasyon, biglang tumakbo ang mga mamamayan palayo sa plasa. Sa kaguluhan, nabigo ang plano ng mga ahenteng nandakip. Nang makitang di nasindak ang masa, kinasa ng mga pasista ang kanilang mga ripleng armalayt at naghandang paulanan ang masa ng bala.

Namagitan ang isang pari at iminungkahing magsisibalik ang mamamayan sa plasa kung ititigil ng mga pasista ang kanilang pang-gugulo. Ganito nga ang nangyari.

Sa sumunod na mga araw, nagpakana ang pasistang militar ng kampanyang panlilinlang (“psychological warfare” ang tawag nila) sa mga tambayan. Sinabing “huwag nang idaan sa mga ilegal na rali” ang kanilang mga hinaing, at sa halip ay iharap ang mga ito sa mga opisyal ng militar o sa korte.

Humingi din sila sa mga taong-simbahang ng “pag-uusap” tungo umano sa pagbubuo ng isang komiteng tagapag-ugnay ng simbahan at militar.

Sa kabuuan, muling ipinakita ng rali ang pagkakaisa at tapang ng mamamayan ng Samar. At dahil sa kanilang mahigpit na pagkakaisa, matagumpay nilang nailantad sa rali ang kabulukan at karupukan ng pasistang batas militar.

May Partido nang namumuno sa bayan tungo sa kalayaan at demokrasya

December 31, 1979 (Volume XI, Bilang 21)

Relatibong bata pa ang Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas. Noong nakaraang Disyembre 26, ipinagdiwang ang ika-11 anibersaryo ng muling pagtatatag nito, noong 1968, ng isang grupo ng mga rebolusyonaryong Marxista-Leninista.

Bagamat bata pa, napatunayan nang ito ang tanging partidong pampulitika sa buong kasaysayan ng Pilipinas na tunay na makapamumuno sa mamamayang Pilipino tungo sa kasarinlan, kalayaan, demokrasya, pagkakaisa at kariwasaan.

Sa nakaraang 11 taon, matagumpay nang naitatag ng Partido ang mga panrehiyong organisasyon sa buong kapuluan. Mayroon itong mahusay na hukbong bayan na nakakalat sa 29 na larangang gerilya mula Luzon hanggang Mindanaw. Mayroon ding mga rebolusyonaryong organisasyong masa sa lahat ng lugar kung saan malalim nang nakaugat ang Partido, sa kanayunan man o sa kalunsuran.

Sa ngayon, higit pang pinalalakas ang malawak na pambansang nakakaisang prente ng uring manggagawa, uring magsasaka, petiburgesya ng lunsod at pambansang burgesya, na kaagapay at tumutulong sa armadong pakikibakang lumalagablab sa kanayunan.

Noong Disyembre 26, nang balikan ng mga kasapi ng Partido, Pulang mandirigma ng Bagong Hukbong Bayan at rebolusyonaryong mamamayang Pilipino ang nagawa na sa nakaraang 11 taon, may kawiran silang ikarantal ang mga tagumpay ng Partido.

Ngunit sa kanilang pagbakas sa nakaraan, nakikita rin nilang ang lahat ng maluningning na tagumpay na natamo ay pinagbuhusan ng maraming sakripisyo at pagsisikap. May mga pagkakamali ring nagawa, subalit ang mga ito'y nahanguan na ng mga aral at

naituwid. Tulad ng sinasabi ng mga rebolusyonaryong nauna sa kani-
nila, nakikita nilang ang landas ng rebolusyon ay hindi tuwid kundi
paliku-liko.

At buong pagmamahal at pagmamalaki nilang ginugunita ang
mga kasamang nagbuwis na ng buhay, o kaya'y dumanas ng maka-
hayop na pagpapahirap sa kamay ng kaaway at nakabilanggo hang-
gang ngayon, para sa katubusan ng mamamayan mula sa imperyalis-
mong E.U., peudalismo at burukratang kapitalismo.

Ang pambansang demokratikong rebolusyon na inilulunsad nga-
yon ay pagpapatuloy sa rebolusyong inilunsad laban sa Espanya
noong 1896, na may batayang pagkakaiba. Lumang tipo ang rebo-
lusyong 1896, ibig sabih'y pinamumunuan ito ng burgesyang liberal,
at bagong tipo ang kasalukuyan dahil ito'y pinamumunuan ng prole-
taryado.

Ngunit kung tutuusi'y pagpapatuloy ito ng lahat ng pag-aalsa ng
mamamayang Pilipino laban sa pagsasamantala at pang-aapi sa na-
karaang mahigit na 400 taon.

Balikan natin ang kasaysayan

Ipinakikita ng ating kasaysayan na kailanma'y hindi naging pasibo
ang mamamayang Pilipino sa harap ng pagsasamantala at pang-aapi
ng dayuhan o ng kapwa Pilipino. Sa loob ng mahigit na 300 taon na
sinakop ng Espanya ang ating bayan, di-kukulangin sa 200 ang pag-
aalsang may iba-ibang saklaw at tagal.

Kung tutuusing higit na nakararami ang mamamayan kaysa mga
nanakop na sundalong Espanyol, masasabing ang bawat isa sa mga
pag-aalsang ito ay sapat na sana upang ibagsak ang mga kolonyalista.
Ngunit nagapi ang bawat isa sa mga espontanyong pag-aalsang ito.
Bakit?

Isang mahalagang konsiderasyon ang kawalan ng pagkakaisa ng
mga mamamayan sa panahong sinakop ang bayan noong ika-16 na

siglo. Nahahati sila sa mga uri (mga naghahari at pinaghaharian) at sa maraming tribu't komunidad. Wala silang damdamin ng pagiging isang bansa. Nasa interes naman ng mga kolonyalistang Espanyol na panatilihin nahahati sila at, mangyari pa, palalain ang pagkakahating ito.

Kaya ginamit ng mga kolonyalista ang mga lokal na naghaharing uri upang supilin ang mamamayan. At kaya rin naman pinaglaban-laban ang mga tribu. Sa ating kasaysaya'y maraming pagkakataong ginamit ng mga kolonyalista ang taktikang "hatiin upang pagharian". Halimbawa, ginamit nila ang mga Pilipinong taga-patag upang lusubin ang masang Igorot sa kabundukang Kordilyera. Mga Pilipino rin mula Luzon at Kabisayaan ang ginamit nila sa pagsalakay sa mamayang Moro sa Mindanaw.

Noon lamang ikalawang hati ng ika-19 na siglo nagkaroon ang mamamayan ng tunay na diwa ng pagiging isang bansa, ng pagkakaisa. May bahagi sa makasaysayang prosesong ito ang mga edukadong Pilipino o ilustrado na naglunsad ng Kilusang Propaganda laban sa pagsasamantala't pang-aaping Espanyol.

Anupaman ang masasabi para sa ilustrado na bumase sa Europa, mukhang wala silang nabasa sa mga akda nina Karl Marx at kasama niyang si Frederick Engels, na nagbuo ng teorya ng sientipikong sosyalismo.

Si Jose Rizal, na isa sa mga tanyag na propagandista, ay naglakbay sa Alemanya, bayan nina Marx at Engels, ngunit walang banggit sa maraming akda niya tungkol sa dalawang dakilang rebolusyonaryong ito sa kanilang mga turo.

Sa Pilipinas, nakabasa na ang manggagawang si Andres Bonifacio ng mga libro tungkol sa rebolusyon sa Pransya. Gayunpaman, lumalabas na hindi siya naimpluwensyahan ng Marxismo. Siya ang namuno sa pagtatatag ng Katipunan, na karamihan sa mga kasapi ay manggagawa at magsasaka na nagkaisa sa kapasyahang maglun-

sad ng armadong pakikibaka upang itaboy ang mga kolonyalistang Espanyol.

Pag-uurong-sulong ng mga ilustrado

Nang malaman nila ang pagbubuo ng Katipunan at ang plano nitong maglunsad ng armadong rebolusyon, sumulpot sa hanay ng mga ilustrado ang pag-uurong-sulong na katangian ng kanilang uri. Sa huli'y hinadlangan at tinuligsa pa ni Rizal ang Katipunan, na ang mga nag-organisa ay nakakuha ng inspirasyon mula sa kanyang mga makabayang akda.

Ang iba pang burges na liberal tulad ni Emilio Aguinaldo ay umagaw sa liderato ng rebolusyonaryong kilusan matapos patalsikin at patayin si Bonifacio.

Totoong noong 1898 ay halos ganap nang naibagsak ng rebolusyonaryong kilusang pinamumunuan ni Aguinaldo ang mga kolonyalistang Espanyol. Ngunit nang dumating ang mga pwersa ng imperyalismong E.U., sumulpot muli ang pag-uurong-sulong.

Ang mga nasa liderato na nakikipagkompromiso sa mga kolonyalistang Espanyol ay sumuko at nakipagsabwatan sa mga mananalakay na Amerikano. Nang lumao'y sumuko na rin o nahuli ang mga nati-rang lumaban.

Sa kabuuan, sa panahong iyo'y napigil na ang pambansang demokratikong rebolusyon na inumpisahan ni Bonifacio at mga kasama niya.

Ngunit patunay sa makabayan at demokratikong mithiin ng mga manggagawa at magsasakang Pilipino na lubos na nakararami sa rebolusyonaryong hukbo, ipinagpatuloy nila ang pakikibaka maging sa panahong ang marami sa mga ilustradong lider nila ay nagsasagawa na ng kontra-rebolusyon.

Ang pagtatatag ng Partido Komunista

Ganyan ang kalagayan nang itatag nina Crisanto Evangelista at kapwa niyang mga manggagawa ang Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas noong 1930. Napanday sila sa kilusang unyon at di-nagtagal ay binabasa na nila ang mga akda ni Marx at ng dakilang rebolusyonaryong Ruso na si Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

Tama ang tinahak na landas nina Evangelista at mga kasama niya. Ang uring manggagawang Pilipino na binhi pa lamang noong ika-19 na siglo ay lumalaki na sa panahong iyon. At sa pamamagitan ng PKP, naarmasan ng sientipikong teorya ng Marxismo-Leninismo ang proletaryadong Pilipino, at humango ito ng sigla sa matagumpay na Sosyalistang Rebolusyong Oktubre ng 1917 sa Rusya.

Ngunit mahusay man ang intensyon nina Evangelista at mga kasama niya, mayroon din silang mga kahinaan at pagkakamali. Isa rito ang mekanikal na pagsasanib ng PKP at Partido Sosyalista ng Pilipinas nong 1938. Dumami pa nang dumami ang malulubhang pagkakamali nang makatuntong na ang mga magkapatid na Lava sa liderato ng partidong pinagsanib.

Pinatunayan ng mga manggagawa't magsasakang umanib sa Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon (Hukbalahap), na pinamumunuan ng pinagsanib na partido, ang kanilang kagitingan at katapangan sa maraming pakikipagsagupaan sa mga mananalakay na Hapones noong Ikalawang Digmaang Pandaigdig. Gayundin sa pakikibaka sa mga kaaway sa uri nang bumalik ang imperyalismong E.U. upang pairaling muli ang paghahari nito.

Ngunit malulubha ang pagkakamali ng sunud-sunod na lideratong Lava. Noong una'y bumaling sila sa kanan (ang pagkapalasukong at ang parlamentarismo), pagkatapos ay sa "kaliwa" (adbenturismo), at balik na naman sa kanan.

Ang mga Lava ay nanatiling di-nagbabagong petiburges na mga intelektwal. Kasama ang kapitulasyonismo ng dating lider ng Par-

tido Sosyalista na si Luis Taruc, di-nagtagal ay tuluyan nang nawasak ng malulubhang pagkakamali ng mga Lava ang Partido at nalikida ang rebolusyon.

Noong 1958, tinalikdan na ang armadong pakikibaka at pinatay na rin ang Partido nang ibaba ng liderato ni Jesus Lava ang patakarang “isang pila”. Tuluyan nang sumuko si Lava sa kaaway noong 1964.

Sa panahong iyon, ang natira na lamang sa Partido Komunista ng Pilipina na itinatag nina Crisanto Evangelista at mga kasama niya ay iilang grupong nag-aaral ng Marxismo na pangunahing binubuo ng mga aktibista estudyante at manggagawa.

Ang muling pagtatatag ng Partido

Sa hanay ng mga grupong ito nagmula ang mga rebolusyonaryong Marxista-Leninista na nagdaos ng kongreso noong Disyembre 26, 1968 upang muling itatag ang bumagsak na partido. Itinakwil nila ang rebisyunismo ng mga maka-Lava at itinatag ang bagong Partido sa matibay na pundasyong Marxismo-Leninismo-Kaisipang Mao Zedong.

Ilan lamang ang naroon sa Kongreso ng Muling Pagtatatag at gayundin sa pulong ng Marso 29, 1969 nang itatag nila ang Bagong Hukbong Bayan. Ngunit wasto ang itinakda nilang linyang pampulitika, at nakatitiyak sila na hindi magtatagal ay tatangkilikin ng malawak na masa ng sambayanan ang pambansang demokratikong rebolusyon na kanilang inilulunsad.

Tumpak sila sa kanilang inaasahan.

Tinalikdan na ng mga maka-Lava ang armadong pakikibaka at pinili ang landas ng parlamentarismo. Pinili naman ng liderato ng muling-tatag na Partido ang armadong pakikibaka, habang sumusupporta't pumapangalawa lamang dito ang parlamentaryong pakikibaka.

Isinabak ng mga maka-Lava ang relatibong mahina pang hukbong bayan sa mapagpasyang mga pakikipagsagupaan sa kaaway sa pag-asang matatamo ang tagumpay sa relatibong maigsing panahon ng dalawang taon. Itinakda naman ng Partido ang estratehia ng pangmatagalang digmang bayan na susulong nang paalun-alon mula sa kanayunan tungo sa mga sentro ng kapangyarihan ng kaaway.

Tinalikuran ng mga maka-Lava ang mamamayan at niyapos ang pasistang diktadurang E.U.-Marcos. Hinihimok naman ng Partido ang mga mamamayan sa isang makapangyarihang pambansang nagkakaisang prente na makipagkompronta sa diktadura.

Malinaw sa Partido kung sino ang mamamayan—ang mga manggagawa, magsasaka, petiburgesya ng lunsod at pambansang burgesya—bumubuo sa mahigit na 90 porsiento ng populasyon. Sila ang pinagsasamantalahan at inaapi sa kasalukuyang lipunang malakolonyal at malapeudal.

Malinaw rin dito ang mga kaaway ng bayan—ang mga imperyalistang E.U., malaking burgesyang komprador at uring panginoong maylupa—na nagsasamantala’t nang-aapi, at naghahari ngayon sa pamamagitan ng diktadurang E.U.-Marcos. Di-hihigit sa 2 porsiento lamang ng populasyon ang mga naghaharing uri dito sa Pilipinas.

Sa kabilang banda, nariyan ang baliw na pag-aakala ng mga maka-Lava na dapat silang makipag-“isang prente” kay Marcos dahil siya raw ay “makabayan” at “anti-imperyalista”. Ang pagbabaliklad sa mga bagay ay tipikal sa mga maka-Lava.

Gaano na kalayo ang ating naisulong

Kayang tumayo ang rekord ng muling-tatag na Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas. Sa loob ng 11 taon lamang ay nakapagpalawak na ang Partido sa buong kapuluan, sa ilalim ng pinakamahirap na kondisyon ng pasistang pahaharing militar.

Bago ipataw ang batas militar noong 1972, bumwelo ang rebolusyonaryong kilusan sa pamamagitan ng Sigwa ng Unang Kwarto ng 1970 at ng kasunod na mga pakikibakang masa na matagumpay na nagpalaganap ng pambansang demokratikong programa sa buong kapuluan.

Ipinataw ng pangkating E.U.-Marcos ang batas militar upang umano'y lansagin ang rebolusyonaryong kilusan. May mga pinsala ring nagawa ang batas militar noong una, ngunit sa halip na madurog ang rebolusyon ay nilikha ng pasistang rehimen ang mga kondisyong nakatulong sa mas mabilis na pagsulong ng rebolusyon.

Ngayon, ang Partido ay may libu-libong kadre at kasapi, maraming Pulang mandirigma, at ilang milyong manggagawa, magsasaka at iba pang mamamayang nagkakabuklod sa mga rebolusyonaryong organisasyong masa o sumusuporta sa rebolusyon sa iba't ibang paraan.

Habang ipinagdidiwang ng mga kasapi ng Partido, Pulang mandirigma ng Bagong Hukbong Bayan at rebolusyonaryong mamamayan ang ika-11 anibersaryo ng muling pagtatatag ng Partido, patuloy pa rin ang paghahanda para sa pagsulong ng digmang bayan mula sa maagang subyugto ng estratehikong dependensiba tungo sa abanteng subyugto. (Ang susunod sa estratehikong dependensiba ay ang yugto ng estratehikong pagkakapatas, at pagkatapos ay ang kahuli-hulihang yugto ng estratehikong “opensiba.”¹)

Ipinanawagan ng Komite Sentral ng Partido ang konsolidasyon sa larangan ng ideolohiya, pulitika at organisasyon bilang kinakailangang paghahanda sa pagsulong na ito. Patuloy ang ekspansyon ngunit mas malaking diin ang ibinibigay sa konsolidasyon sa kasalukuyang panahon.

Kung susumahin, mahigit 400 taon nang nakikibaka ang mamamayang Pilipino laban sa mga dayuhan at lokal na mapagsamantala

¹*dependensiba* sa orihinal

at mapang-api.

At sa wakas, mayroon na silang reblusyonaryong partidong pampulitika—ang Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas—na namumuno sa kanila tungo sa kasarinlan, kalayaan, demokrasya, pagkakaisa at kariwasaan na minimithi nila sa matagal nang panahon.

Bumubwelo ang rebolusyong agraryo sa 6 na bayan sa Silangang Samar

April 30, 1981 (Volume XIII, Number 8)

Pangunahing umaasa sa sariling pangmasang lakas at sa tulak ng sumusulong na armadong pakikibaka, pinabubwelo ng mga samahang magsasaka ang rebolusyong agraryo sa “tinggalan ng bigay” (rice bowl) ng Silangang Samar.

Ito ang buod ng huling pag-uulat ng mga koresponsal ng Ang Bayan sa Silangang Kabisayaan.

Nilunsad nitong tag-ani ng 1980 sa apat na baryo [...] ng Ilog Oras, ang anti-pyudal na kampanyang masa ay mabilis na lumaganap hanggang sa masaklaw, bago matapos ang taon, ang 166 na baryo't 71 sityo ng mga bayang Oras, Dolores, Arteche, San Policarpio, Can-avid at [...]

May 11,000 maralita at mababang panggitnang magsasaka at mga manggagawang-bukid ang sama-samang kumilos. Pinababa nila ang upa sa lupa at arkila ng hayop na pantrabaho, pinabawasan ang parte ng mga panginoong maylupa sa mga plantasyon ng niyog, at pinataas ang pasahod sa mga manggagawang-bukid. Sa ilang lugar, kanila ring napababa ang interes sa mga pautang.

Sa panahon ng kampanyang masa, nakamit ng samahang magsasaka ang suporta ng ilang libo pang panggitna at mayamang magsasaka, ng mga guro at mga magtitingi sa probinsya. Palagi ring nasa likuran nila ang milisyang bayan na handang mangalaga sa kanilang kaligtasan at tinamong mga tagumpay.

Walang katulad sa kasaysayan ng kilusang magsasaka sa Silangang Kabisayaan ang tindi, lalim at lawak na naabot ng kampanyang masang ito. Gayundin, sa mga pagbabagong naganap sa relasyon ng mga uri doon.

Isa itong kahanga-hangang tagumpay laluna't isinulong ang kampanya sa harap ng ibayong pananalakay ng mga mersenaryong tropa ng rehimeng Marcos sa mamamayan.

Sa anim na bayang ito nakakonsentra ang kalakihan ng mga lupain at inaaring mga kalabaw ng pinakamalaki at pinakamakapang-yarihang mga panginoong maylupa sa buong probinsya. Dito rin sila pinakamakapangyarihan.

Dahil sa monopolyong ito ng mga kagamitan sa produksyon, naididikta ng mga panginoong maylupa ang pinakamapagsamantalang mga kondisyon sa pakikisama. Gayung walang kapagud-pagod at wala ni katiting na ipinuhunan, kinukuha ng panginoong maylupa ang 50 porsyento o mahigit pa ng kabuuang ani.

Bago nabuo ang ubod ng samahang magsasaka sa ilang baryo noong 1976, isang tanawin tuwing matatapos ang anihan ang “mahabang kwintas” ng mga kasko't lantsang bumabagtas (downstream) sa mga kabayanan—halos sumayad na sa kargang butil. Nag-aalimpuyo ang galit ng masa habang pinagmamasdan ang masaganang bunga ng kanilang pinagpaguran na di naman napupunta sa kanila.

Damang-dama ng masa ang panibagong ikid ng ibayong kahirapan, gutom at sakit; ng panibagong pagpapagod upang pagkatapos ay muli na namang mapagmasdan ang dating tanawin sa susunod na anihan.

Kaya walang pag-aatubiling niyayakap ng papalaking bilang ng masang anakpawis ang rebolusyonyong reporma sa lupa ng Partido, at ang pangangailangang ibunsod ang armadong pakikibaka hanggang tagumpay.

Hanggang nitong anihan ng 1979, puta-putake pa ang pagsusulong ng rebolusyonyong agraryo sa purok at sa antas pa lamang ng sityo at baryo. “Operasyong Sukot” (pagtatago sa mga panginoong maylupa ng bahagi ng kanilang parte sa ani) ang karaniwang taktika ng mga samahang magsasaka.

Maliit lang ang pang-ekonomyang biyayang nakakamit nila pero ang mas mahalaga'y nabura sa maraming magsasaka ang maling pag-iisip na "sagrado" ang pag-aari sa lupa ng mga panginoong may-lupa at tumampok sa kanila na mapagpasya ang halaga ng lakas-paggawa ng tao. At sa takbo ng pakikibakang masang ito, nakapag-ipon sila ng lakas at nakakuha ng panimulang karanasan sa samasamang pagkilos.

Sabi nga ng mga magsasaka, paghahanda lamang ito sa darating pang mga pagtutuos.

Pagpapabwelo ng kampanyang masa

Sinasalamin ng kampanya ng 1980 ang mga pagsulong mula noong 1979.

Sa antas ng isa o dalawang bayan, pinipili ng samahang magsasaka ang pinakamatatag na tatlo hanggang limang baryong pag-uumpisahan ng kampanya. At sinisimulan ang pagkilos kapag naihanda na ang sumusunod na mga rekisito:

- 1) Nasuri na ang resulta ng imbestigasyong sosyal at pagsusuri ng mga uri, at batay rito'y natukoy na ang mga pangunahin at pumapangalawang target;
- 2) Naitakda na ang layunin ng kampanya at taktikang gagamitin sa pagkilos, at naipaliwanag na sa batayang masa at naipalaganap na sa karamihan ng mamamayan ang pagkilos na gagawin;
- 3) Buo na ang sentral na pamunuan na siyang mangangasiwa at susubaybay sa kampanya; at
- 4) Handa na ang iba pang samahang masa, kabilang ang mga grupong pansuporta ng mga panggitnang elemento, para lumahok o tumulong sa mga pagkilos na ito.

Kapag natutupad ang mga rekisitong ito, paliwanag ng ating mga koresponsal, natitiyak ang tagumpay sa panimulang mga pagkilos at mabisang naihihiwalay ang mga panginoong maylupa. Nahihikayat din ang organisadong partisipasyon ng mga panggitnang elemento.

Mga importanteng salik ito para maituluy-tuloy ang kampanya hanggang makamit ag itinakdang mga layunin.

Sa pagbwelo ng kampanya, hinaharap din agad ng isang samahang magsasaka ang mga problemang sumusulpot. Isa na rito ang paghahanda sa mamamayan para mailagan o masangga ang reaksyon ng uring panginoong maylupa at ng sumusuhay ditong pasintang rehimen.

Hinaharap ang pinakamalalaki

Sa kabuuan, ginamit ng samahang magsasaka ang taktikang paisaisang harapin ang malalaking panginoong maylupa, habang ipinagpapatuloy ang “operasyong sukot” sa maliliit at panggitnang panginoong maylupa.

Sinuri rin ang mga pangunahing target na panginoong maylupa at tinukoy yaong despotiko’t sumasagka sa rebolusyonaryong kilusan, at yaong hindi naman kumokontra.

Hindi na kinokompronta pa ng mga anakpawis ang mga despotiko’t sagadsarin. Sa halip, pinagsisikapang makabig o kung hindi man manutralisa ang mga katiwala nito. Sa ganitong paraan, nawawalan ng “mata at tainga” ang target, habang binabawasan ang kanyang bahagi sa ani.

Samantala, ang mga di-kumokontra ay pinapakitaan ng pangmasang lakas. Pinakamalaking mobilisasyon ang ginagawa ng samahan sa pakikipagharap sa kanya. Kaalinsabay nito, matiyagang ipinapaliwanag ng samahan ang mga batayan ng mga kahilingang iginigiit ng mga magsasaka at pleksibleng dinadala ang mga ito.

Isinalarawan ng mga koresponsal ang bisa ng taktikang nabanggit sa ganitong paraan. Unang naging target sa Oras ang isa sa limang pinakamalaking panginoong maylupa sa buong probinsya. Mahigpit niyang tinutulan ang mga layunin ng kampanya.

Nang mahalata niyang paliit nang paliit ang bahaging sumasampa sa kanya, pinaalis niya ang katiwala't mga kasama na pinagdududahan niya. Tuwiran na niyang pinangasiwaan ang pag-aani ng palay at pagkokopras. Pero lumiliit pa rin ang parte niya.

Kaya't ginamit niya ang impluwensiya at salapi para mabisto ang mga "magnanakaw" at hindi maipagbili ang produktong "ninakaw" sa kanyang lupain. Pero nalulusutan pa rin ng mga magsasaka ang order ng pasistang militar sa mga negosyante sa bayan na i-report at huwag bilhin ang mga produkto ng sinumang walang maipakitang titulo sa lupa to *tax declaration* kaya.

Ilang negosyante sa bayan ang nagpayo sa panginoong maylupa na "huwag nang maghanap pa ng kagitna at baka isang salop pa ang mawala". Pinaalala sa kanya ang nangyari kay Anacta, superintendente ng Ministri ng Edukasyon at Kultura sa probinsya. "Lubos na nawalan ng parte sa ani at kinumpiskahan pa ng mga kalabaw niya." Ngayon, ni hindi masilip ni Anacta ang kanyang lupain ng walang kasamang mga pasistang tropa.

Mula noon, pinabalik ng panginoong maylupang ito ang mga tauhang pinaalis at hindi na nagtangkang sumagka sa kampanyang masa.

Sa Dolores naman, pumayag ang samahang ipagpaliban muna hanggang sa susunod na anihan ang napagkasunduang 50 porsyentong pagbabawas sa bahagi ng target. Napaluha pa nga ang panginoong maylupa matapos madama ang pakikiramay ng mga magsasaka sa pagkakapiit ng kanyang dalawang anak na lalake at abusong dinanas niya sa kamay ng mga pasistang tropa.

Matapos ang pakikiharap na ito, hangos na ang iba pang pang-

gitna at maliliit na panginoong maylupa sa paghaharap sa mga kaanib ng rebolusyonyong kilusan para humingi ng paglilinaw sa “bagong sistema”. Anila, mas mabuti nang alam nila ang dapat ibawas sa kanilang parte kaysa manatiling nagsususpetsa sa kanilang mga kasama.

Nagsisilbing maningning na huwaran ang mga manggagawang umaanib sa BHB

April 30, 1981 (Volume XIII, Number 8)

Kitang-kita sa kanila ang rebolusyonaryong katangian ng kani-lang uri—disiplinado, seryoso sa trabaho, mahigpit tumupad ng pa-takaran, matyaga, masipag mag-aral, kongkretong magpaliwanag, matalas mag-isip at mapanlikha, paliwanag ni Ka Teryo.

Nasa mukha ni Ka Teryo ang paghanga habang nagsasalita tungkol sa mga kasamang manggagawa sa sumampa sa Bagong Hukbong Bayan para tuwirang lumahok sa rebolusyonaryong arma-dong pakikibaka. Pangunahin niyang tinutukoy sina Ka Narding at Ka Benny, kapwa mga manggagawa sa minahan sa Silangang Kabi-sayaan.

Pulang mandirigma na rin si Ka Teryo, na sa petiburgesyang lun-sod naman nagmula, at nakilala niya nang malalaliman sina Ka Nard-ing at Ka Benny nang silang tatlo'y magkakasama sa isang larangang gerilya. Nalaman niya ang maraming detalye sa personal na buhay at pampulitikang pag-unlad ng dalawang kasama. Kanyang paglalahad ang sumusunod:

Anim na taon sa minahan si Ka Narding at si Ka Benny naman ay sampu. Noong una, karaniwang membro lamang sila ng unyon. Paglaon, inugnayan at inorganisa sila ng isang kadre ng Partido na gumaganap ng gawaing pampulitika sa kanilang lugar.

Magmula noon, mabilis silang umunlad. Nakipagtalakayan sa ka-nila ang kadre ng Partido at binigyan sila ng maraming babasahin. Masinsinan nilang pinag-aralan ang maraming paksa tungkol sa ka-tangian ng kasalukuyang lipunang Pilipino at tungkol sa pangangai-langang lutasin sa rebolusyonaryong paraan ang mga problema ng mamamayan.

Kongkreto nang naranasan nina Ka Narding at Ka Benny sa minahan ang katotohanan ng imperyalismo. Ang minahan, na isa sa pinakamalaki sa Pilipinas, ay pag-aari ng mga imperyalistang Amerikano at Hapones, kasosyo ng ilang lokal na malalaking kapitalistang komprador.

Paminsan-minsan ay tinatawag at dinadala ni Ka Narding ang mga kapwa niya manggagawa sa *open pit*. Pagkatapos, itinuturo niya ang isang malaking hukay sa tabi ng bundok–hukay na tatlong kilometro ang lapad sa ilang lugar–at sasabihin sa mga minero: “Iyan ang imperyalismo. Kinukuha ang kayamanan natin, tapos, hukay ang iniwan sa atin.”

Matinding pagsasamantala ang nararanasan nila sa minahan. Noong 1974, ayon sa mga datos na napasakamay ng mga minero mismo, noong kataasan ang benta ng tanso sa dayuhang pamilihan, ang ipinasasahod sa manggagawa ay piso lamang sa bawat 20 tubong kinakamal ng kompanya.

Ang karaniwang sahod noon ay 14 sa bawat walong oras ng napakabigat na trabahong may peligro pang malibing sila nang buhay o kaya’y malubhang masaktan kapag gumuho ang hukay. Humigit-kumulang 40 porsyento ng taunang produksyon ng tanso sa Pilipinas ang pinalilitaw ng may 10,000 manggagawa sa minahang iyon. May iba pang mineral na nakukuha roon, tulad ng ginto at pilak.

Sa mga pakikibakang pang-uyon unang namalayan ng dalawang kasamang manggagawa ang unang mga binhi ng kamalayang pampulitika. Kaagad nilang nakita na laging pumapanig sa mga mapagsamantala ang batas at ang pasistang militar.

Nagpadala ng mga sundalo si Vicente Raval, heneral na hepe noon ng PC, para buwagin ang kanilang welga. Nagtanim pa ng mga ispya sa minahan ang PC para manmanan at guluhin ang mga manggagawa.

Natanto rin ng dalawa kung sino talaga ang pinagsisilbihan ng

mga dilawang lider obrero. Nang ipataw ang batas militar, wala nang ganap na eleksyon sa mga unyon na dapat sana'y minsan sa tatlong taon. Binigyan ng promosyon ang mga opisyal ng unyon at ginawang mga superbisor. Pinagbayad ang mga manggagawa ng sobrasobrang buwanang butaw sa mga opisyal ng unyon. Nagkaroon ng diktadura sa Pilipinas, nagkaroon ng diktadura sa dilawang unyon.

Pagsulong ng kamalayang pampolitika

Pinag-aralan ng kadre ng Partido na umuugnay kina Ka Narding at Ka Benny ang mga karanasang ito at tinutulungan ang dalawa na itaas ang antas ng kanilang kamalayang pampolitika. Lalong sumulong ang kanilang pampolitikang kamalayan nang pag-aralan nila ang "Programa para sa Demokratikong Rebolusyon ng Bayan" ng Partido at tinalakay ang proletaryong internasyonalismo at ang papel ng manggagawa sa pagsulong ng kasaysayan ng daigdig.

Nakatulong sa kanila ang sumunod pang pag-aaral sa mga saligang problema ng lipunang Pilipino at sa pakikibaka ng mamamayang Pilipino para sa pambansa't demokratikong mga mithiin para makasulong sila mula sa makitid na pang-araw-araw na gawain ng unyonismo tungo sa mas malawak na saklaw ng rebolusyonaryong aktibismo.

Madaling madali nilang nagagap ang kahulugan ng burukratang kapitalismo. Ang meyor kasi sa kanilang munisipalidad ay kapatid ni Marcelino Barba, na bayaw naman ni Marcos. Komokontrata ng may 2,000 manggagawa ang meyor na ito para sa minahan at ang bawa't manggagawa'y tinatagaan niya ng 2 mula sa arawang sahod.

Mabilis ding naunawaan nina Ka Narding at Ka Benny kung ano ang pyudalismo. Karamihan sa mga nakasama nila sa minahan at mga dating magsasaka o kaya'y nagmula sa mga pamilyang magsasaka. Pamilyar sa kanila ang problema ng mga magsasaka sa lupa. Ang mga magulang mismo ni Ka Narding ay mga kasama.

Pamilyar din ang dalawang kasama sa pagsasabwatan ng mga imperyalista at mga panginoong maylupa. Nakita nila na ang kompanya, na nasa kanayunan, ay hindi nagbabayad sa mga magsasaka kapag napipinsala ng minahan ang mga pananim ng mga ito. Pero kapag malalaking panginoong maylupa ang may-ari ng lupang napipinsala sa anumang paraan, kaagad nagbabayad ang kompanya.

Nakita rin nilang ginawang tubuhan ang malalawak na palayan, dahil mabenta as pamilihang pangdaigdig ang asukal at kailangan ito bilang hilaw na materyal sa pagpoproseso ng mga kompanyang imperyalista ng kung anu-anong klase ng mga produktong pagkain.

Di nagtagal, lalo pang sumulong sina Ka Narding at Ka Benny sa kanilang mga rebolusyonaryong aktibidad.

Paglabas sa trabaho sa minahan araw-araw, hinaharap ng dalawa ang kanilang mga pampulitikang gawain. Nakakalat sa isang lugar na may 15 kilometrong lapag ang iba't ibang departamento at pasilidad ng minahan. Kahit may kalayuan ang kailangan nilang punta-puntahan, hindi nila ininda ito at nagpropaganda't nag-organisa sila sa hanay ng mga manggagawa. Pagdaan ng ilang panahon, nag-oorganisa na rin sila sa mga magsasaka sa kanugnog na mga lugar.

Dahil alam nina Ka Narding at Ka Benny na pagsulong ng armadong pakikibaka ang mapagpasya sa kahihinatnan ng rebolusyon, kapwa silang sumulong pa sa pampulitikang pag-unlad at sumampa sa BHB. Sa kanayunan, nakatalaga si Ka Benny sa isang iskwad na hukbong bayan habang aktibo si Ka Narding sa gawaing konsolidasyon sa isang sonang gerilya.

Mahigpit na disiplina sa sarili

Sa kanayunan, kaagad napansin ang mahigpit nilang disiplina sa sarili. Palagi silang prangka at deretso sa punto kung magsalita. Walang bagaheng nakagugulo sa kanilang isipan. Mas masaya sila kapag may gawaing trabaho at masigasig silang humaharap sa mga

gawain.

Talagang naisabuhay nila sa pang-araw-araw na gawain ang prinsipyo ng simpleng pamumuhay at masikhay na pakikibaka.

Malaking tulong sa mga kasama ang kaalaman ni Ka Benny sa syentipikong pamamaraan ng produksyon. Dati siyang makinista. Mahusay niyang ginamit ang kanyang kaalaman sa pamamagitan ng pagtulong sa pagkumpuni ng mga baril at iba pang kagamitang militar. Nakabuo rin siya ng ilang paraan para mapahusay ang pagsasaka at itinuro ito sa mga magsasaka sa sonang gerilya.

Sa kabilang dako, “quality control” naman ang dating trabaho ni Ka Narding sa minahan. Tahimik siya at talagang palaaral. Malaki ang naitulong niya sa pagsasagawa ng panlipunang pagsisiyasat. Madalas siyang nakikipagtalakayan sa mga kasama tungkol sa sosyalismo at sa konstruksiyong sosyalista na isinasakatuparan ngayon sa Republika ng Bayan ng Tsina.

Sa simpleng-simple at pinakakongkretong pananalita, ipinaliliwanag ni Ka Narding sa mga magsasaka ang katangian at mga layunin ng demokratikong rebolusyong bayan. Malaki ang naitulong niya sa pagsasakatuparan ng gawaing edukasyon sa hanay ng magsasaka sa sona. Malaking bentahe para sa rebolusyon ang pagbabahagian ng mga manggagawa at magsasaka ng kanilang mga karanasan at ang pagkatuto nila sa isa’t isa.

Habang lumalawak at lumalaki ang rebolusyonaryong kilusang manggagawa, paparaming manggagawa ang naghahangad na maging mga buong-panahong Pulang gerilya. Napatutunayan ito ng pag-unlad nina Ka Narding at Ka Benny.

Mga ginintuang bungang malugod na tinatanggap at pinagbabahigian ng masa sa kanayunan at mga gerilya ng hukbong bayan ang mga karanasan ng mga manggagawa sa siyentipikong produksyon, sa kolektibong paggawa at pag-oorganisa, at sa pakikibakang pang-nyon laban sa mga mapagsamantala.

Dagdag pa, manggagawa ang pinakamadaling nakagagap sa Marxismo-Leninismo-Kaisipang Mao Zedong, ang syentipikonng teoryang pumapatnubay sa rebolusyong Pilipino. Ito naman kasi ang ideolohiya ng proletaryado, ang rebolusyonaryong ideolohiyang nagmula sa makauring mga pakikibaka ng mga manggagawa sa buong daigdig.

Sa tulong at paghimok ng Partido, maraming manggagawa ang naghahanda ngayon para tumungo sa kanayunan. Marami ang sabik nang lumahok nang tuwiran sa armadong pakikibaka, na siyang pangunahing anyo ng rebolusyonaryong pakikibaka laban sa mga kaway ng bansang Pilipino at ng uring manggagawa.

Paano naman ang mga pamilya ng mga manggagawa? May mga gawain din silang dapat gampanan sa rebolusyon, at inihahanda sila para sa mga ito.

Idinaos ang pinakamalaking demo sa Isabela; 15,000 ang lumahok

June 15, 1981 (Volume XIII, Number 10)

Pinaatras ng 15,000 manggagawa, magsasaka at iba pang mamamayan ng Isabela ang mga baril ng mga pasistang tropa noong Abril 19 para maidaos ang kanilang 12-kilometrong martsa at kondenahin ang patuloy na terorismo at panloloko ng diktadurang US-Marcos.

Pinakamalaki't pinakamilitanteng aksyong masa ito sa kasaysayan ng probinsya. Ngayon pa rin lamang nasaksihan ang ganito kartaas na antas ng organisasyon at koordinasyon: ang mga lumahok ay nagmula sa 114 na baryo ng 13 bayan, kabilang ang kabiserang bayang Ilagan.

Armado lamang ng ilang itak at mga batong pinulot habangdaan, inalpasan ng mga nagmamartsa ang anim na armadong pwersang pangharang ng kaaway at kinompronta ang pinakamatataas na sibilyan at militar na opisyal sa lalawigan. Naghiwa-hiwalay lamang sila matapos matiyak na pakikinggan ang kanilang makatarungang kahilingan.

Nagmartsa ang mga demonstrador sa ilalim ng bandila ng Alyansa ng Mamamayan ng Isabela para sa Kalayaan at Demokrasya at Alyansa ng Mamamayan ng Asyenda San Antonio at Sta. Isabel para sa Libreng Pamamahagi ng Lupa.

Ang mga nagmartsa ay nagmula sa mga bayan ng Roxas, Mallig, Magsaysay, Santo Tomas, San Mariano, Benito Soliven, Tumauini, Santiago, Cordon, San Mateo, Cabagan, San Pablo at Ilagan.

Ang martsa ay binuo ng mga manggagawa mula sa anim na kompanya ng troso sa Isabela, mga magsasaka ng iba't ibang baryo, mga estudyante, kababaihan, mga propesyonal at mga taong-simbahan. Umabot sa dalawang kilometro ang haba ng hanay nila sa haywey.

Nasasalitan ang mga nagmamartsa ng may 100 istrimer at 300 plakard.

Sumentro ang kanilang mga kahilingan sa pamamahagi ng lupa para sa mga magsasaka, laluna yaong nasa Asyenda San Antonio at Asyenda Sta. Isabel, kapwa nasa Ilagan, kung saan pinalalayas sila ng malaking burges-panginoong maylupang si Eduardo Cojuangco; ang ganap na pagkilala sa karapatang magwelga ng mga manggagawa; at ang pagtigil sa mga masaker at iba pang karumal-dumal na pang-aabusong ginagawa ng rehime sa mga mamamayan ng Isabela.

Ayon sa Baringkuas (Balikwas), pahayagang lihim sa Hilagang-silangang Luzon, umalingawngaw sa ruta ng martsa ang mga panawagan ng taumbayan: “Lupa’t katarungan para sa mga magsasaka!”, “Itaas ang sahod, ibalik ang welga!”, at “Itigil ang mga operasyong militar at karahasan sa mamamayan!”

Namutiktik sa mga islogang nakapinta at nakapaskel ang bawat baryong dinaanan. Namahagi rin ng mga polyeto ang mga demonstrador.

Binigo ng mga demonstrador ang bawat pagtatangka ng pasistang militar na ang martsa’y hadlangan at pagwatak-watakin. Sa lahat ng pagkakataon, hinarap ng nagngangalit na masa ang mga pasista. Napilitang tumabi ang mga ito, kundi’y matitikman nila ang poot ng masa.

Sa Asyenda San Antonio, 6,000 demonstrador ang katitipon palang at pahakbang na sana nang sila’y harangin ng anim na myembro ng Civilian Home Defense Forces (CHDF) na may dala-dalang matataas na kalibreng riple. Sinabihan sila ng masa na tumabi at huwag makialam. Nanginginig sa takot na sumunod agad ang mga butangerong CHDF.

Dalawa pang tag-pito-kataong mga yunit ng CHDF ang nagtangkang mangharang sa ruta ng mga nagmamartsa sa baryo Balacong at baryo Anggasian. Pinatatabi sila ng masa nang dumating

ang 30-kataong “riot squad” ng PC-INP na may dalang isang trak ng bombero na may water cannon (kanyon ng tubig).

Dagling kumilos ang may 400 demonstrador para paligiran ang mga bayarang tropa ang balaan ang mga ito. “Anumang masamang hakbangin ninyo’y sasagutin namin ng dahas.” Nabigla ang sundalo ng PC, mga pulis at mga myembro ng CHDF sa nakitang kahandaang lumaban ng masa. Umurong ang mga pasista.

Samantala, nagmartsa naman ang may 9,000 demonstrador mula sa direksyon ng Asyenda Sta. Isabel. Binigo nila ang lahat ng pagtatangka ng mga pwersa ng PC, INP at CHDF na pigilin sila.

Pagsanib ng 2 grupo

Nagsanib ang dalawang grupo sa tulay ng Malalam sa Ilagan, at patulak na sila patungong sentro ng bayan nang isa pang grupo ng 30 sundalo ng PC ang humarang sa kanila. Sa pagkakataong ito, desidido nang mandahas ang mga pasista.

Sinaksak ng isang sundalo ng PC ang isa sa mga nagmamartsa – si Villamor Larugal ng Asyenda San Antonio – habang nagtatangka ang iba pang mga tropa na kapkapan ang mga demonstrador at samamin ang mga istrimer at plakard.

Sumabog na ang tinitimping galit ng mamamayan

Namulot sila ng mga bato at parang mga putakteng sinugod nila ang mga pasistang nagpanakbuhan naman sa iba’t ibang direksyon. Hindi iilang magsasaka ang nagtaas ng kanilang mga itak. Marami sa mga pasista ang nasugat ng mga batong ipinukol ng masa. Kinumpiska rin ng mga demonstrador ang mga batuta at kalasag ng mga pasistang inabot at nadakip nila.

Determinado ang mamamayan na ituloy ang kanilang martsa kaya’t muli nilang inayos ang kanilang hanay. Habang ginagawa nila

ito, dumating ang gobernador ng Isabela, si Faustino Dy, kasama ang hepe ng PC sa lalawigan, si Kor. Florendo, at 30 pang tropang PC.

“Ano ang gusto ninyo, away?” bungad sa masa ng nagtatapang-tapangang si Dy.

Sumagot ang mga demonstrador sa pamamagitan ng pamumulot ng bato at matatag na paghakbang para makipagtuos kina Dy, Florendo at sa mga pasistang tropa. Sa isang iglap, idinipa ni Dy ang kanyang kamay at takot na nagwikang “Lulutasin natin ang mga problema sa pamamagitan ng diplomatikong paraan.”

Ang komprontasyon ay tumagal nang limang oras, mula alas-10 ng umaga hanggang alas-3 ng hapon. Umuwing matagumpay ang mga demonstrador.

Nakamit nila ang hangad ng pagmamartsa – piliting mangako ang pangkat ni Dy sa harap ng taumbayan na tutulong sa paglutas sa problema ng lupa ng mamamayan ng dalawang asyenda. Higit pa rito, muling pinatunayan ng mga taga-Isabela ang katotohanang walang sinumang makahaharang sa organisadong lakas ng libu-libong mamamayang determinadong ipaglaban ang kanilang mga interes.

Sa paglahok sa pakikibaka itinatayo ang isang rebolusyonaryong pamilya

June 15, 1981 (Volume XIII, Number 10)

“Naghahanda na kaming pumunta sa kanayunan.”

Ang tinutukoy ni Kasamang Rosie ay ang kanyang sarili at ang dalawa niyang anak na sina Lisa, 8 taon, at Mardi, 6. Aapat na buwan pa lamang nakaalis patungong kanayunan ang kanyang asawang si Ka Fidel, manggagawa sa isang pabrika ng industrial equipment sa Metro Manila, para sumapi sa Bagong Hukbong Bayan.

“Pagdating doon, hindi ko inaasahang magkakasama kaming mag-anak,” ani Ka Rosie. “Mapapalapit lamang ang komunikasyon naming mag-asawa at ang mga bata sa tatay nila. Magkakaroon ako ng gawain sa sona at ang mga bata ay matututo sa masa at mga kasama.”

Ni sa panaginip ay hindi pumasok sa isip ni Ka Rosie ang radikal na pagbabagong ito sa kanilang mag-anak. Tulad din siya ng karaniwang inang naghahangad mapagtapos sa kolehiyo ang mga bata at makapasok ang mga ito sa mabuting trabaho para umangat nang kahit bahagya ang kanilang kabuhayan.

Subalit ang pagsasamantala sa buong sambayanan ay nararansan ng kanilang pamilya. At ang papatinding krisis sa ekonomya at ang kalupitan sa kanyang kapaligiran ay unti-unting pumukaw sa isip at damdamin ni Ka Rosie.

Habang tumataas ang antas ng kanyang kamalayang pampulitika, tiniyak ni Ka Rosie na siya at ang kanyang pamilya ay hindi magiging sagabal sa rebolusyon. Sa halip, sinusupportahan niya ang paglahok dito ni Ka Fidel at kinalauna’y lumahok na rin siya sa pakikibaka.

Iwinaksi nina Ka Rosie at Ka Fidel ang pyudal at burges na pananaw sa pagitan nilang dalawa bilang mag-asawa at sa kanilang mga anak. Nagtuwang silang hubugin ang isang rebolusyonaryong

pamilya na nakabatay hindi sa anumang materyal na pakinabang na makukuha nila sa isa't isa, hindi sa pyudal na sentimentalismo, kundi sa magkatuwang na pagsisikap para itaguyod ang rebolusyon.

Sa isang rebolusyonaryong relasyon, ang babae ay itinuturing na kabalikat ng lalaki at hindi itinatali sa tahanan. "May mga gawaing iniaatas sa akin ang sangay ng Partido sa teritoryo," ani Ka Rosie. "Kapag may pulong kami sa umaga, hindi na ako nakapaglilinis ng bahay o nakapagluluto man lang. Si Ka Fidel noon ang umako ng gawaing bahay paglabas niya ng pabrika. Pagbalik ko sa hapon, nakapaglaba na siya, nakapamalantsa na."

Itinuturing na binhi ng rebolusyon ang mga anak at hindi ipin-upuhunan para sa pagtanda ng magulang. Sa maagang gulang pa lang, lantad na sa kanila ang mga rebolusyonaryong gawain.

Namumulat ang mga bata

"Nakakaunawa na ang mga bata. Kinukwentuhan sila noon ni Ka Fidel gabi-gabi mula sa mga larawan ng mga rebolusyonaryong dyaryo o kaya'y libro. Tinuturuan din namin sila ng rebolusyonaryong tula at kanta. Alam na rin nilang isigaw ang karugtong ng mga islogan.

"Hatid-sundo ko ang mga bata sa eskwela. Ngayon, kung may biglaang miting o pagkilos, hindi ko na sila pinapapasok. Isinasama ko na lang sila sa pulong. Kung minsan naman, pagkagaling sa eskwela'y tuluy-tuloy na kami sa mga rali o demo. Binabantayan ko na lamang na huwag silang magkasakit at makahabol pa rin sa liksyon kahit pumapalya sa pagpasok. Pati titser nila'y binibigyan nila ng polyeto at iniimbata sa mga simposyum.

"Kasa-kasama ko 'yang si Lisa sa pamamahagi ng polyeto sa magkakatabing pabrika. Bago mag-alas dos ng hapon, laluna kapag may kampanyang masa, nag-aabang na kami sa mga geyt ng pabrika para abutan ng polyeto ang mga manggagawang lumalabas o pumapasok.

“Sa mga rali at martsa, madalas na tinatanong ako kung bakit isinasama ko pa ang mga bata. Ang sabi ko, may karapatan din ang mga bata at dapat lamang na lumahok sila sa pakikibaka para sa kanilang kinabukasan.”

Tinitiyak ng isang pamilyang rebolusyonaryo na naihahanda ang mga batang harapin ang mas marami at malalaking sakripisyo.

”Minsan, narinig kong nag-uusap ang magkapatid. Tinanong ni Mardi si Lisa kung iiyak daw ba siya ‘pag namatay ang tatay nila na alam nilang nasa hukbo na. Ang sagot ni Lisa, ‘Hindi. Magagalit ako sa kaaway, papatayin ko sila’.

“Matagal-tagal na rin naming sinasabi sa mga bata na hindi maglalaon at titigil sila sa pag-aaral upang tumungo sa kanayunan. Hindi para sundan ang kanilang ama, kundi, higit pa, para paglingkuran ang masa. Sakali mang maunang magbuwis ng buhay si Ka Fidel, magpapatuloy pa rin kaming mag-iina sa pakikibaka.”

Kinikilala ng mga komunista at iba pang rebolusyonaryo ang katumpakan ng landas na pinili ng pamilyang ito. Tunay ngang ang rebolusyo’y para sa lahat ng api’t pinagsasamantalang mamamayan at ang paglahok dito’y walang pinipiling kasarian, walang itinatanging gulang. Ang rehimen ay niyayanig ng makapangyarihang lakas di lamang ng indibidwal na mga babae’t lalaki kundi ng buu-buong pamilyang lumahok sa rebolusyon.

Idinaos ang unang komperensya ng organisasyon ng Partido sa Bikol

February 15, 1982 (Volume XIII, Number 26)

Matagumpay na idinaos ng panrehiyong organisasyon ng Partido Komunsita ng Pilipinas sa Kabikulan nitong Disyembre ang Unang Panrehiyong Kumperensya nito sa gitna ng matinding operasyon ng mga bayarang tropa ng pasistang diktadura.

Dinaluhan ang kumperensya ng mga delegado na karaniwa'y may limang taong karanasan sa gawain sa teritoryo, hukbong bayan at iba't ibang linya ng gawain.

Nilagom ng kumperensya ang sampung taong karanasan ng panrehiyong organisasyon ng Partido at tinasa ang kalagayang pampolitika sa rehiyong Bikol. Nilinaw nito ang magiging direksyon ng pagkilos para sa tatlong taon at pinagtibay ang mga resolusyon sa mahalagang usapin.

Ang pagkakaisa sa ideolohiya, pulitika at organisasyon ay natamo ng kumperensya sa gabay ng mahalagang dokumento tulad ng: "Partikular na mga Katangian ng Ating Digmang Bayan", "Ang Mahigpit Nating mga Tungkulin", "Mensahe ni Kasamang Amado Guerrero sa Unang Panrehiyong Kumperensya ng Hilagang-silangang Luzon" at iba pa.

Inihalal ng kumperensya ang Unang Panrehiyong Komite na siya namang naghahalal sa komiteng tagapagpaganap at kalihiman nito.

Paglalogom ng karanasan

Sa paglalogom ng kasaysayan ng Partido sa rehiyon, tinukoy ang mga aral mula sa mga positibo at negatibong karanasan nito.

Sinimulan ang digmang bayan sa rehiyon sa pag-ambus sa isang yunit ng kaaway noong Agosto 1971 sa Iriga, Camarines Sur. Mabilis

na lumago ang mga sonang gerilya sa rehiyon kasunod nito.

Pagkapataw ng batas militar, pansamantalang humupa ang rebolusyonaryong kilusan sa Kabikulan, laluna sa Sorsogon.

Subalit dahil malalim ang pagkakaugat ng Partido at Bagong Hukbong Bayan sa masa, di nagtagal ay muling sumulong ang digmang bayan sa rehiyon. Sumigla pa ang pagsulong na ito sa paglabas ng “Ang Mahigpit Nating mga Tungkulin” na nagsilbing gabay sa mga kadre ng Partido sa kanilang pagkilos doon.

Sa pagtatangka ng diktadurang EU-Marcos na pigilin ang paglago ng rebolusyonaryong kilusan sa rehiyon, tinambakan nito ng mga bayarang tropa ang diumano’y mga kritikal na lugar sa Kabikulan.

Pinag-ibayo ng mga pasistang tropa ang kanilang panunupil sa masa sa pagsisikap nilang pahupain ang rebolusyonaryong daluyong, subalit umani lang sila ng malaking kabiguan. Nagbunga lamang ito ng mas mahigpit pang pagyakap ng masa sa simulain ng pambansa-demokratikong rebolusyon.

Idinaos ang unang Panrehiyong Kumperensya ng Partido sa Kabikulan sa kalagayang nakapasok na ang ating digmang bayan sa abanteng subyugto ng estratehikong dependensiba.

Sa panibagong kalagayang ito, pangunahin sa mga tungkuling itinakda ng kumperensya ang pagbubukas ng mga bagong larangang gerilya at pagpapalawak at konsolidasyon sa kasalukuyang mga larangan sa Kabikulan.

Tagumpay ng digmang bayan, isinusulong ng hukbo at masa

March 31, 1982 (Volume XIV, Number 2)

“Digmang bayan—sagot sa batas militar!” Nang unang isigaw ng masa ang islogang ito, maliit at mahina pa ang Bagong Hukbong Bayan at kakaunti pa ang alam at nagagawa ng rebolusyonaryong kilusan tungkol sa armadong pakikibaka.

Ngayon, labing tatlong taon nang tuluy-tuloy na umuunlad ang BHB mula nang likhain ito noong Marso 29, 1969, at lalong napapatunayan ang katumpakan ng mapanghamong islogang iyon.

Lantarang teroristang pahahari ang ipinataw ng rehimeng US-Marcos noong 1972 upang ipilit ang patuloy na dominasyon ng imperyalismo, pyudalismo at burukratang kapitalismo sa sambayanang namumulat at nagbabangon.

Sa gayong marahas na pagkamkam at pagkapit sa kapangyarihang pang-estado, nakita na higit pang maraming mamamayan na armadong rebolusyon ang solusyon sa mga suliraning humahagupit sa lipunang Pilipino. Lumaganap at tumindi ang pagnanasang mag-alsa’t wasakin ang poder ng mga reaksyunaryo, na parang kamay na bakal na mas humigpit ang sakmal sa taumbayan at mas mabigat na ginamit laban sa batambatang kilusan. Sa ganitong kalagayan higit pang umugat at yumabong ang demokratikong rebolusyong bayan.

Maingat na inilatag ang malapad na pundasyon ng rebolusyonaryong pakikidigma sa buong Pilipinas. Matiyagang pinukaw, inorganisa’t minobilisa ang mamamayan laban sa kaaway na nag-ibayo ang bangis. Sa paglulunsad ng maliliit na aksyong militar, unti-unting nag-ipon ng lakas at karanasan ang BHB.

Di nagtagal, lumitaw ang mga panimulang bunga ng ilang taong pagpupunyagi ng BHB at mamamayan para isulaong ang rebolusyon mula sa gipit na kalagayan. Simula noong ikalawang hati ng

dekadang 1970, dumalas na ang mga taktikal na opensibang isa-isang inilunsad sa iba't ibang larangang gerilya sa Gitnang Luzon, Isabela, Kalinga-Apayao, Quezon, Samar at Mindanaw. Mahalagang resulta ng mga ito ang dagdag na armas na naagaw sa kaaway, ang bagong karanasan at pagkaunawa sa pakikidigma, at ang mas matibay na kumpyansa sa kakayahang magtagumpay.

Mas malaking papel

Noong huling mga taon ng dekadang 1970, nagsimula nang akuin ng BHB ang mas malaking papel sa pagsusulong ng rebolusyonaryong armadong pakikibaka sa buong kapuluan. Pinalakas ng kaaway ang kanyang pwersang nakadeploy sa mga larangang gerilya ng BHB.

Sa mga lugar na malakas ang hukbong bayan, ginawang mas estratehiko ang kanyang pagpapalano, at mas sentralisado ang kanyang komand. Mas sistematikong hinarap ang kampanya para lokohin ang mamamayan at ilayo sila sa rebolusyon, habang pinaiiigting ang terorismo at pinag-ibayo ang paniniktik.

Pagpasok ng dekadang 1980, nakita na sa BHB ang kakayahan itaas pa—at di lang imantini— ang antas ng pakikipaglaban. Sa kabila ng mas mahigpit na komprontasyong pampulitika't militar, lalong dumadalas ang mga taktikal na opensiba sa mga larangang gerilyang dati nang kinikilusan. Nakapaglunsad din ng matagumpay na mga opensiba sa mga larangang ilang panahon pa lang nakikilusan.

May tatlong batayan ang ganitong pagsulong.

Una, nailatag na sa bawat pangunahing parte ng Pilipinas ang baseng masa na sapat ang tatag at lawak para mailarga ang pakikidigmang gerilya. Ikalawa, nabuo ang mas maraming ganap na yunit gerilya na ang prinsipal na tungkulin ay sa gawaing militar. At ikatlo, nakatayo na sa mga larangang gerilya ang mga panteritoryong organisasyon ng Partido na tumitiyak na tuluy-tuloy at lahatang-panig na pag-aasikaso sa iba't ibang gawain.

Mga pakikibakang masa

Kasabay ng pag-igting ng labanan, tumaas din ang antas ng mga kampanyang pampulitikang inilulunsad ng masa.

Gaya ng mga taktikal na opensiba, naging mas malaki, mas madalas, mas laganap at mas koordinado ang mga aksyong masang inilulunsad sa mga larangang gerilya ng BHB. Pangunahing iginigiit ng mamamayan ang kanilang paninindigan laban sa pasismo, at dito ikinakawing ang iba pang mga isyu tungkol sa kabuhayan–karapatan sa lupa, tumataas na gastos sa produksyong pambukid, mababang presyo ng mga produkto ng magsasaka, pagtutol sa mga proyekto ng rehimen na pumipinsala sa masa, panghuhuthot ng mga upisyal, mababang sahod ng manggagawa sa industriya, at marami pang iba.

Ang mga mobilisasyon ito ay sukatan ng organisadong lakas ng masa at makapangyarihang panangga sa mga salakay ng kaaway. Nahahadlangan ang mga pakana ng mga reaksyunaryo, kundi man nagagawang mapaurong ang mga ito.

Sa loob ng nakaraang ilang taon, lumaganap sa mga sentrong lunsod sa labas ng Maynila-Rizal ang mga aksyong masang nagpapaahayag ng malawak na pagkakaisa ng iba't ibang sektor ng mamamayan. Gaya ng sa mga larangang gerilya, ang mga aksyong protesta sa mga sentrong lunsod tulad ng Cebu, Bacolod, Davao, Cagayan de Oro at Baguio ay nagtaguyod sa pakikibakang anti-pasista at ikinawing dito ang mga isyung anti-imperyalista't anti-pyudal.

Sa pambansang saklaw, lumalawak ang prenteng lumalaban sa rehimeng U.S.-Marcos, at sa labas naman ng Pilipinas, lumalakas ang suporta para sa sambayanang Pilipino at sa kanilang armadong pakikibaka para sa pambansang demokrasya.

Tunay ngang mayroon na ngayong matibay na pundasyon para sa pagtatagumpay ng digmang bayan sa Pilipinas. Sa kilusang masa na ang saklaw at lalim ay walang kapantay sa nakaraan, kumukuha ng lakas ang Bagong Hukbong Bayan.

Kaya't habang isinisigaw ng mga pader ang maalab na pagtataguyod ng taumbayan sa kanilang hukbo, ibulong lamang ang pangalan nito'y napapaigtad naman sa takot ang mga lokal na reaksyunaryo.

Mga tungkulin ng armadong pakikibaka

Pabilisin ang paglakas ng hukbong bayan, paigtingin ang pakikidigmang gerilya, pag-ibayuhin ang malawak na mobilisasyon sa masa-ito ang mga pangunahing tungkulin sa pagsusulong sa digmang bayan ngayon.

Kailangang pabilisin ang paglakas ng hukbong bayan, at nasa mahusay na pusisyon ang rebolusyonaryong kilusan para magtuon sa tungkuling ito. Sa katunayan, nahuhuli ang paglakas ng BHB sa masiglang pag-unlad ng iba pang bahagi sa kilusan. Mapagpasya ang mabilis na paglakas ng hukbong bayan para lubos na mapakinabangan ang malalaking oportunidad na lumilitaw ngayon para sa pagsusulong ng rebolusyon.

Habang patuloy na lumalahok sa gawaing masa ang hukbong bayan, ang magiging prinsipal na tungkulin na nito ay ang gawaing militar, ibig sabih'y ang pagpapalakas sa sarili bilang pwersang panlaban. Kailangang paramihin ang mga ganap na yunit gerilya, sandatahang yunit pampropaganda, yunit milisya, at yunit partisano. Sa mga pormasyong ito, ang binibigyang-diin sa pagpapaunlad ay ang mga ganap na yunit gerilya sa antas ng platoon at pinaliit na platoon.

Dapat ding pahasayin ang sandata at kagamitang pandigma ng hukbong bayan. Regular at sistematikong pag-aaralan at pahuhusayin ang mga teknik na militar sa idadaos na mga treyning at kumperensya sa pulitika't militar.

Ang pag-igting ng pakikidigmang gerilya ay nangangahulugan ng tuluy-tuloy, mas madalas, papalaki at koordinadong pagsasagawa ng mga taktikal na opensiba sa iba't ibang larangang gerilya. Bukod dito, pasisiglahin ang mga operasyong militar ng maliliit na yunit sa

labas ng mga larangang gerilya, hanggang sa mga poblasyon at syudad.

Pagpapalakas sa hukbong bayan ang pangunahing layunin sa pagpapaigting sa pakikidigmang gerilya. Layunin ding maarmasan ang mas maraming mamamayan, maalis ang mga sagka sa pagsulong ng gawaing masa at magawang mas aktibo ang paglaban sa mga kampanya't operasyong militar ng kaaway.

Pampulitikang mobilisasyon

Pundamental sa mabilis at mabisang pagtupad sa dalawang nabanggit na tungkulin ang puspusang pagpapakilos sa malawak na masa. Mga sangkap nito ang propaganda, pag-oorganisa at mga kampanyang masa.

Kapwa sa pagpapalawak at pagpapatatag ng baseng suporta kailangang pag-ibayuhin ang gawaing propaganda, upang ipaabot sa higit na maraming taumbayan ang layunin, programa, mga patakaran at pamamaraan ng demokratikong rebolusyong bayan.

Nagkakaroon ng kongkretong anyo ang pampulitikang mobilisasyon sa pagbubuo at konsolidasyonn ng iba't ibang klase ng organisasyon sa antas ng baryo, munisipalidad, distrito at probinsya; at sa pagtatayo ng mga lokal na organo ng kapangyahirang pampulitika na kakatawan at magpapairal sa interes ng mamamayan. Ang pagtatayo ng pormal na organisasyon ng pambansang nagkakaisang prente ay lalo pang magbubunsod ng mas abanteng pagkilos sa pambansang saklaw sa hinaharap.

Ang mga organisasyong ito ang daluyan ng mapanlikhang pag-sisikap ng masa na ipaglaban ang kanilang interes sa larangan ng ekonomya, pulitika, kultura, kalusugan, edukasyon at maraming iba pa. Para dito'y nangunguna ang mga organisasyong masa sa paglulunsad ng iba-ibang kampanyang masa na di lang nagkakamit ng kongkretong tagumpay ng partikular na ipinaglalaban, kundi nagig-

ing mga behikulo rin ng propaganda para sa rebolusyon at paraan ng konsolidasyon sa hanay ng organisadong masa.

Samantala’y laging kailangang tiyakin ang pag-unlad ng kabuhasan ng masa, para sa sarili nilang pangangailangan at para sa pangangailangan ng hukbong bayan sa kasalukuyan at hinaharap.

Napakahalagang bahagi ng pagpapapakilos sa masa ang mga gawaing may tuwirang kuneksyon sa armadong pakikibaka. Katunayan, sa ganitong gawain higit na nasasanay ang mamamayan sa mga larangang gerilya. Mula sa hanay nila nanggagaling ang mga Pulang mandirigma. Nagbubuo sila ng sariling milisya na nangangalaga sa kapayapaan at depensa ng baryo. Aktibo sila sa pangangalap ng armas, bala at kagamitang militar o pang-aagaw ng mga ito mula sa kaaway. Lumalahok sila sa ilang operasyong militar ng hukbong bayan. Ikinukubli nila sa kaaway ang mga kilos ng mga mandirigmang bayan, at binabantayan ang kilos ng kaaway para ipaalam ito sa Pulang hukbo.

Panibagong antas

“Digmang bayan—sagot sa batas militar!” At sa magiting na pagpupursigi ng rebolusyonaryong kilusan sa digmang bayan ay nagawang nang paurungin ang rehimen ng isang hakbang. Noong nakaraang taon, inalis ang pangalang “batas militar” sa porma ng paghaharing pampulitika.

Pero lagi pa ring may monopolyo sa poder ang naghaharing pangkatin, at sa reaksyunaryong militar pangunahin iniaasa ang pagpapairal ng kapangyarihan nito. Sa tulong ng United States (US), inilunsad ng rehimen ang isang programa para gawing mas malakas ang armas, moderno at mas makilos ang kanyang regular na pwersang panlaban.

Anupa’t di maakit-akit ng rehimen ang suporta ng mga repormistang burges. Sa halip, naghahanap ang mga ito ng remedyo sa ka-

nilang pampulitikang paralisis, gaya ng maramihang paglahok nila noong 1981 sa kilusang boykot na lampas sa hangganan ng parlamentarismo. Kumikiling na rin ang marami-rami sa kanila sa katumpakan ng armadong rebolusyon laban sa rehimeng isinusuka ng taumbayan.

Sa kundisyong patuloy ang paglala ng krisis sa ekonomya ng Pilipinas, patuloy na nahihawalay ang rehimeng US-Marcos, anuman ang gawin nito para pagmukhaing “normal” ang lipunang winawarat ng malalim na mga kontradiksyon.

Ang digmang bayang isinusulong ngayon sa panibagong antas ay digmang bayan di lang bilang sagot sa batas militar. Digmang bayan ito para sa tagumpay, digmang bayan para sa mariwasa’t maligayang hinaharap ng Pilipinas.

Umaabante ang rebolusyon sa Hilagang-silangang Luzon

March 31, 1982 (Volume XIV, Number 2)

Sumusulong ang rebolusyong kilusang masa sa Hilagang-silangang Luzon. Ang balitang ito'y sampal sa mukha ng pasistang diktadura matapos ang ilang beses nitong pagtatangka na durugin ang rebolusyong kilusan sa rehiyon mula pa noong 1972.

Nitong nakaraang dalawang taon, ibayong lakas ang ipinakita ng rebolusyong kilusang masa sa rehiyon, laluna sa Cagayan at Isabela.

Libu-libong mamamayan mula sa magkakatabing baryo at bayan ang lumahok sa mga pampulitikang aksyon tulad ng boykot ng "eleksyong presidensyal," protesta sa mga krimen ng mga reaksyunaryong tropa, at pagtutol sa sapilitang pagpapalikas sa masa.

Pinakamalaki sa mga ito ang kampanyang boykot mula Mayo hanggang Hunyo 1981 (46,000), ang pakikibaka sa dalawang asyenda sa Isabela mula Nobyembre 1980 hanggang Mayo 1981 (20,000), at ang anti-pasistang kampanya sa silangang Cagayan noong Agosto hanggang Setyembre 1980 (13,000).

Lumaganap ang pakikibakang antipyudal. Mahigit 10,600 mag-sasaka (o humigit-kumulang 40,000 mamamayan kasama ang buong pamilya) na nabiyayaan ng rebolusyong agraryo sa loob lamang ng isang taon.

Mga organisasyong masa ang nangunguna sa pakikipagharap sa mga asendero. Sa mga baryo, binubuo ang mga komiteng pang-organisa at ganap na samahang masa bilang batayan ng mga pam-bayang samahan.

Umabot na sa ilang sentrong bayan ang organisasyon, pagkilos at impluwensya ng kilusan. Mahalaga ang paglawak na ito sa koordinasyon ng mga aksyong masa sa antas ng bayan, at sa kinalaunan, sa

antas ng distrito, probinsya at rehiyon.

Binubuksan ng ganitong paglawak ang posibilidad ng mas mahigpit na koordinasyon ng mga kampanyang masa sa panrehiyon at sa pambansang saklaw. At susi ito sa mas mabisang pagkilos sa mga estudyante, propesyunal, mala-manggagawa at iba pang pwera sa kalunsuran.

Madaling makita sa mga pangyayaring ito na ang malaking bahagi ng dalawang milyong populasyon sa rehiyon ay napamumunuan o naiimpluwensyahan na ng rebolusyonaryong kilusan.

Aksyong protesta

Ang pangangailangang magkaisa at magrebolusyon ay mabilis na naipauunawa sa masa ng rehiyon sa pamamagitan ng pagkakawing ng sarili nilang problema sa mga problema ng buong bayang Pilipinas, at paglilinaw ng pananagutan dito ng diktadura.

Isang halimbawa nito ang kampanya laban sa “eleksiyong presisdensyal.” Sa panahon ng kampanya, 15,000 mamamayan mula sa 114 na baryo ng Isabela ang nagmartsa patungong kabisera para tutulan ang pagpapalayas sa dalawang asyenda. Samantala, 16 na raling interbaryo sa 11 bayan ng rehiyon ang inilunsad pa para tuligsain ang pakanang “eleksiyon” ng diktadura.

Sa mga kampanya’t pakikibakang masa, buong katapangang iginigiit ng mamamayan sa rehiyon ang kanilang mga demokratikong karapatan. Pinaatras o sinagupa ng masa ang paniniil ng mga pasistang tropa, kahit bato o tabak lamang ang dala nila sa maraming pagkakataon.

Minsan, inagaw ng masa ang mga kalasag at batuta ng mga pasistang tropa na humaharag sa martsa nila patungong kabisera ng Isabela. Sa isa pang pagkakataon, pinaligiran at pinabalik ng mahigit 4,500 magsasakang may itak ang mga surbeyor at eskort na militar na patungong Asyenda Sta. Isabel.

Sabihin pa, katangi-tangi ang antas na naabot sa Isabela sa larangan ng pakikibakang masa. Pitong buwang itinuluy-tuloy ang anti-pasistang pagkilos nang malawakan at hayag. Sa maraming beses, koordinado ang mga aksyon.

Sa mga pinatatatag na lugar sa buong rehiyon, sabayang naisagawa ang mga aksyong masa sa lima hanggang 10 baryo. Nilahukan ito ng 1,000 hanggang 3,000 mamamayan at nakarating hanggang sa mga sentrong baya.

Laganap ring naisagawa ang mga hayag na pambaryong aksyon sa mga di pa gaanong mauunlad na lugar. Sabayan ang aksyong masa ng dalawa hanggang apat na baryo, na nilahukan ng 200 hanggang 700 mamamayan.

Rebolusyong agraryo

Sa lahat ng larangang gerilya sa rehiyon, napababa na ang upa sa lupa, laluna sa palayan at maisan. Sa mga mauunlad na lugar, laganap na ang partihang sangkapat (25 porsyento) ng netong kita sa palayan, at sang-anim (16.6 porsyento) ng kabuuang ani sa maisan. Sa di pa gaanong mauunlad na lugar, mas laganap ang partihang sangkapat ng kabuuang ani.

Ang pagtangging magbayad ng upa sa lupa ay laganap sa Isabela. Paparaming magsasaka sa iba pang lugar ang di na rin nagbabayad ng amortisasyon (hulog sa lupa) sa Land Bank at utang sa iba pang ahensya ng gobyerno.

Bunga ng lumalawak na impluwensya ng kilusan, di miminsang kusang gumawa ng pagbabago ang mga asendero. Bago pa man dumating ang hukbong bayan sa lugar, ibinababa na ng maraming asendero ang upa sa lupa sa sangkatlo mula kalahati ng kabuuang ani, o di kaya't sa sangkapat mula sangkatlo.

Bukod sa pagpapababa ng upa sa lupa, dagdag na pagpapagaan sa kabuhayan ng masa ang pagtataas ng sahod ng mga manggaga-

wang bukid, pagpapababa ng upa sa makinarya, paglaban sa usura at pagkakaroon ng kalabaw.

Organisasyon ng masa

Laganap pa rin ang pagtatago ng ani bilang paraan ng pagpapababa sa upa sa lupa sa mga binubuksang lugar. Pero sa mga dati nang kinikilusan, lantaran nang humarap ang mga samahang magsasaka sa mga asendero.

Malawakang nareorganisa ang mga samahang magsasaka at nakapagtayo pa ng mga ganap na samahang masa batay sa linyang makauri. Pinatampok ang nangungunang papel ng mga maralitang magsasaka at manggagawang bukid sa mga samahang ito, para sa mabisang pagsusulong ng rebolusyong agraryo.

Sa loob lamang ng isang taon, nadagdagan nang halos kalahati ang bilang ng mga aktibo at halos doble sa mga organisado, na kinabibilangan ng maraming kababaihan at kabataan.

Gumagampan ang mga organisasyong ito ng mga gawaing paniniktik, pagdadala ng suplay, pangangalaga sa pamilya ng hukbo, paglipol ng mga impormer at magnanakaw. Karaniwang nagpapasa ng impormasyon sa hukbong bayan ang mga batang may gulang ng pito hanggang 12 taon.

Abala din ang mga organisasyong masa sa pagdaraos ng mga pangkalahatang kursong pangmasa at pagpapalaganap ng rebolusyonaryong pahayagang masa sa rehiyon, ang Baringkuas. Ang mga ganap na samahang masa at mga aktibista na rin ang nagbibigay ng rebolusyonaryong edukasyon sa mga taga-baryo. Maraming nalilikha't napapalaganap na mga rebolusyonaryong awit at tula mula sa lokalidad sa tulong ng mga organsisasyong masa.

Iligal at lihim ang organisasyong pinauunlad sa kanayunan. Gayunman ginagamit ang mga ligal na organisasyon para magpalawak at isulong ang kilusang-masa sa mga lugar na hindi pa sak-

law ng larangang gerilya sa rehiyon, at pantabing sa mga lihim na pagkilos sa baryo.

Mula sa simpleng palitan ng paggawa, tumaas ang batayan ng pagkakaisa ng mga organisasyong masa para maging pakikibakang antipiyudal at antipasista. Di na lamang suliranin sa pagawaing bukid ang pinagkakaabalahan ng mga organisasyon kundi pati mga pampulitikang mobilisasyon tungkol sa suliranin sa lupa, sahod, usura, pagpapalik at paniniil ng diktadura.

Sa pamamagitan ng mga itinatayong organisasyong masa, nabibigyang-laya ang inisyatiba ng mamamayan sa iba't ibang gawaing nagsisilbi kapwa sa kanilang itneres at sa rebolusyon. Nasasanay ang maraming aktibista sa pamumuno ng mga komite sa baryo, sa gawaing militar, edukasyon, kalusugan, pinansya at iba pa. May mahalagang papel ang mga kasanayang ito sa pagtatayo at pamamalakad sa rebolusyonaryong pamahalaang bayan sa iba't ibang antas.

Samantala, sa mga kabisera at sentrong bayan, patuloy ang pag-oorganisa sa hanay ng mga manggagawa sa tablerya at sa iba pang lugar na may konsentrasyon ang mga manggagawa. Sa hanay ng mga estudyante, nakapagpalitaw na rin ng ilampung aktibista na handang magpultaym. Dumarami na rin ang mga propesyunal tulad ng mga guro, duktur, abugado, empleyado ng gubyrno, bukod pa sa mga taong simbahan, na nag-uugnayan at napapakilos sa rebolusyon.

Armadong pakikibaka

Inilalatag ng paglawak ng rebolusyonaryong kilusang masa ang batayan para sa ibayo pang paglakas ng armadong pakikibaka at hukbong bayan sa rehiyon. Sa pagkamulat at pagkilos ng masa'y iniluluwal ang mas marami pang mandirigma, reserba at tagasuporta.

Nito lamang dalawang taong nagdaan, ilampung aktibista ang sumampa sa hukbong bayan mula sa mga organisasyong masa. Mula

sa masang nabiyayaan ng rebolusyong agraryo ay sistematikong nakapaglikom ng suportang materyal at teknikal. Sa marami pang pagkakataon, pati ang mga plano at operasyon ng kaaway ay nadidiskaril, at ang mga pasistang tropa ay nadismoral sa pananalakay nila sa mga baryo at bayang lumalaban ang masa.

Malayo na nga ang narating ng rebolusyonaryong kilusang masa sa rehiyon matapos maigpawan ng Partido, ng hukbong bayan at ng masa ang matagalang pagkubkob at pananalakay ng kaaway mula 1972 hanggang 1976.

Sa masusing pag-aaral ng mga suliranin at kakulangan ng rebolusyonaryong pagkilos sa iba't ibang larangan noon at ngayon, sumulong ang kilusan sa gawaing masa noong 1977 at magpahanggang ngayo'y umaani ng tagumpay.

Kumikilos ang masa sa Samar laban sa pagnipis sa gubat

April 15, 1982 (Volume XIV, Number 3)

Isang malawakang kampanyang masa para pigilin ang mabilis na pagnipis ng kagubatan ang bumubwelo ngayon sa Samar, ang ikatlong pinakamalaking isla sa Pilipinas.

Layunin ng kampanya na makontrol ang walang pigil na operasyon ng malalaking trosohan, habang binibigyan ang masa ng pagkakataong magkaingin sa bundok ayon sa isang makatwirang patakaran.

Nitong nakaraang sampung taon, nasira na ang halos kalahati ng gubat sa Samar. Tinatayang hindi magtatagal ang natitirang kalahati kapag nagpatuloy ang walang rendang pagputol sa mga trosong pang-eksport.

Ang bigat ng responsibilidad sa pagkawala ng kagubatan ay nasa malalaking kumpanya't konsesyonero. Wala silang patumangga sa pagkalbo ng gubat at wala ni anumang pagsasaalang-alang sa pinsalang idinudulot nila sa kapakanan ng mamamayan.

Dahil sa sobrang pagtotroso, gumuguho ang bundok, bumabaw ang mga ilog, at bumabaha sa kapatagan kapag tag-ulan. Di lang ito, kundi nilulustay pa ang likas na kayamanang dapat sana'y mapakinabangan ng masa sa mahabang panahon.

Mas kagyat pang problema ang paggamit ng pasistang militar sa mga kinalbong lugar sa kabundukan. Sa mga lugar na iyon inilalag ang mga tropang hinahakot para sa kanilang mga kampanya ng panunupil laban sa hukbong bayan at masa sa mga interyor na baryo. Ginagamit ang mga iyon bilang palatandaan ng direksyon ng mga piloto ng eruplano't helikopter ng kaaway. Bukod pa, ang mga kinalbong lugar ay nagsisilbing sentro ng grabidad ng mga pasistang tropa sa mga operasyon nila.

Halimbawa, ang pinakamalaking trosohan sa Samar, ang San Jose Timber (SJT) ni Minister sa Depensa Juan Ponce Enrile ay ginawa nang base ng mga pasistang tropa para atakihin ang mamamayan. Matatandaan ang masaker na isinagawa sa Las Navas, Hilagang Samar, noong 1981, nang patayin ng mga pasista ang 45 taumbaryong pinalayas nila sa konsesyon.

Sa kabilang banda, may bahagi rin ang pagkakaingin sa pagnipis ng gubat. Pero di maikukumpara ang pinsalang ginagawa ng malalaking trosohan sa paghawan at pagtanim na ginagawa ng masa sa bundok. Nakakatulong pa ito para mapataas ang produksyon ng pagkain, laluna sa mga lugar na kinukulang ng makakain at madalas salakayin ng pasistang militar.

Karamihan sa mga nagkakaingin ay mahirap na setler, pero malawak din ang mga kaingin ng nakaaangat na mga magsasaka.

Kaya nga't habang pinaiiigting ng masa ang pag-atake sa SJT, halimbawa, magkakabalikat nilang pinangingibabawan ang anumang pansamantalang pagbaba ng produksyong dulot ng kusang pagkontrol sa pagkakaingin.

Panimulang mga tagumpay

Nagsimula noong 1981 ang napapanahong kampanya, at umani na ng panimulang mga tagumpay.

Nagawa ng rebolusyonaryong kilusan na paralisahin ang operasyon ng SJT noong kalakhan ng 1981. Noong Disyembre, halos sabay-sabay na sinalakay ng Bagong Hukbong Bayan, kasama ang daan-daang mamamayan, ang apat na imbakan ng kagamitan (equipment depot) ng SJT na nakalat sa tatlong distrito. Sa mga reyd, winasak ang mahigit ₱30-milyong halaga ng mga kagamitan sa pagtotroso't paggawa ng kalsada. Pinalubog din sa Ilog Catubig ang tugboat at isang lantsa ng kumpanya. Dahil sa mga pagkawalang ito, siguradong lalo pang hihina ang pagtotroso ng SJT ngayong taong

ito.

Ang ilang mga trosohan naman ay kusang nagkokontrol ng kanilang operasyon matapos silang mapaliwanagan tungkol sa masamang epekto ng pangangalbo ng gubat.

Samantala, sa hanay ng mamamayan, may positibong resulta na ang ginawang patakaran sa pagkakaingin. Bunga ito ng matiyagang paghimok ng mga kasama, lalo pa sa mga nakaaangat na magsasaka, at pagtulong sa kanila na lutasin ang mga suliraning sumusulpot sa umpisa kaugnay ng pagrerenda.

Sa isang distrito, nagkaisa na ang mga magsasaka kung saang mga lugar pwede pa at kung saan hindi na pwedeng magbukas o magpalawak ng kaingin. Kasabay nito'y niremedyuhan nila ang mas mababang produksyon na sa umpisa'y idinudulot ng paglilimita sa lupang mabubungkal. Ganito ang napagkasunduang mga hakbang:

- Pinasigla ang pagtatanim ng gulay at pag-aalaga ng hayop. Gayundin, humanap ng iba pang pwedeng pagkakitaan tulad ng pangangaso at pang-uuway sa gubat.
- Kinilala ang karapatan nila sa mga iniwang kaingin at hinimok sila na balikan ang mga ito at muling pagyamanin.

Sa gitna ng kampanya, nakatulong din ang paglilinaw ng mga kasama na hindi bawal at lalong hindi masama ang pagkakaingin bawat may makatwirang patakaran sa pangangalaga sa kagubatan. Kahit ang pagtotroso, anila, ay nagbibigay ng pakinabang para sa kabuhayan ng masa.

Bagamat apektado rin ang ilang nakaaangat na magsasaka, mag-aang ang loob nilang nakipagkaisa sa kampanya. Kumbinsido sila sa mga bentahing makukuha rito. Katulad ng mga kababaryo nila, papalaking pinsala sa kanilang buhay at kabuhayan ang ibinibigay ng papadalas na pag-atake mula sa lupa't himpapawid ng pasistang AFP.

Bigla na lang lumalapag at nagkokonsentra sa mga kaingin ang nag-ooperasyong tropa. Sa nasabing distrito lamang, daan-daang sako ng palay ang naisakay sa mga helikopter ng mga pasista habang kabi-kabilang pumapatay at nandadakip ang mga ito.

Konserbasyon ng kagubatan

Ang mahigpit na pagtataguyod ng masa sa kampanya ay nagmula sa pagnanais nila na ang kapakanan ng lahat ay mangingibabaw sa kapakanan ng mga indibidwal. Pagpapaibabaw na sumasaklaw di lamang sa ngayon kundi rin sa darating pang mga panahon naitayo na ang isang tunay na bagong lipunan.

Sa ngayon, nais ng rebolusyonaryong kilusan sa Samar na manatili ang mga bentaheng idinudulot ng isla bilang bulubundukin, magubat at matao, para isulong ang matagalang digmang bayan sa dakong iyon. Madaling makita ang ugnaya ng konserbasyon ng kagubatan sa kahalagahang mapangalagaan at patuloy na mapalakas ang pampulitka't pangmilita na pwersa ng rebolusyonaryong kilusan.

Sa magubat na kabundukan nagsimulang mag-ipon ng lakas ang Bagong Hukbong Bayan sa Samar. Doon din unang nabuo at nagpayabong ang mga organisasyong masa.

Sa mga pook ding iyon unang nakatikim at patuloy na dumaranas ng mga pagkatalo ang pasistang militar. Habang hirap na hirap ang kaaway sa paghahanap sa mga yunit gerilya ng hukbong bayan, mabilis at lihim na lumilipat-lipat ang mga ito sa iba't ibang lugar sa pamamagitan ng mahusay na paggamit sa kagubatan. Mas mapahalagahan natin ang masiglang pagkilos na ito ng masa kung iisipan ang papalaking pansing ibinibigay ngayon ng BHB sa gawaing militar at sa pagbubuo ng mga baseng gerilya sa mga piling bahagi ng Samar.

Pero nakatanaw din ang kilusan sa mas malayo. Ang mahusay na pangangasiwa at pagkokonserba sa kagubatan ngayon pa lang ay ma-

giging kapaki-pakinabang para sa mamamayan sa hinaharap. Ang likas na yamang ito ay lubusang magagamit para sa lahatang-panig na pagpapaunlad sa kabuhayan ng itatayong demokratikong republika ng mga mamamayan ng Pilipinas.

CHDF sa Zamboanga Sur, nilansi ng BHB at inagawan ng 31 riple

April 30, 1982 (Volume XIV, Number 4)

Nilansi't dinisarmahan ng mga yunit ng Bagong Hukbong Bayan ang tatlong yunit ng Civilian Home Defense Forces (CHDF) sa Dumingag, Zamboanga del Sur, noong Marso 26.

Nakumpiska ng hukbong bayan sa magkakasunod na operasyon ang 31 ripleng semi-awtomatiko (30 Garand at isang karbin) at maraming bala. Pinarusahan din ng mga gerilya ang dalawang CHDF. Bukod sa utang na dugo sa masa, ang dalawa ay pusakal na taga-paglingkod ng pasistang militar.

Unang sinorpresa ng mga gerilyang bayan, na nakasuot ng unipome ng Philippine Army, ang 14-na-kataong yunit ng kaaway sa baryo Marangan. Pagkatapos nito'y nilusob nila ang mas maliit na pwersa ng CHDF sa baryo Manlanay at baryo Bukayan. Hindi nanlaban ang alinmang yunit ng CHDF.

Ikalawang beses na ito sa loob ng limang buwan na maramihang dinisarmahan ng hukbong bayan ang CHDF sa probinsya. Noong Nobyembre 5, naagaw ng mga Pulang mandirigma ang 37 armas ng mga CHDF na nakahimpil sa kalapit na bayan ng Mahayag. Kabilang sa nakumpiskang mga armas ang 33 Garand (hindi lamang 30, gaya ng naibalita sa Ang bayan noong Pebrero 15), dalawang karbin at dalawang maikling baril.

Sa pagdidisarmang ito, panlalansi rin ang ginamit na taktika ng mga gerilyang bayan. Napaniwala nila ang mga CHDF na sila'y mga sundalo ng rehimen na nagsadya para magbigay ng treyning.

Sa magubat at bulubunduking mga bayang ito sa Kanlurang Mindanaw, kabalikat ng BHB na nakikibaka ang mga mahirap na setler at minoryang Subanon laban sa mga pakana ng rehimeng US-Marcos, laluna yaong nagsisilbi sa interes ng mga imperyalistang kumpanya.

Ang mahigpit na pagkakaisang ito ang susi sa mabilis na paglakas ng hukbong bayan doon at sa mabilis na paglaganap at pagtindi ng pakikidigmang gerilya laban sa mga tropa ng Southern Command (Southcom) ng pasistang rehimen.

Overthrow the US-Marcos Fascist Dictatorship, Establish a Revolutionary Coalition Government

October 7, 1983 (Volume XV, Number 8)

An Urgent Message to the Filipino People

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 fuelling 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 bedevilled 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 of 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 accumulated over the years exploded in a massive display of outrage and solidarity against the regime.

In their hundreds of thousands, they patiently lined up to view Aquino's martyred body. In their 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 21st 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, professionals, church people, businessmen, employee of private corporations and even employes 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 on 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 convocation's. 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 agent 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 abo-

lition of martial law, the regime actually intensified militarization throughout the country, specially 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 institutionalization 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 1981-82 was one of the most brilliant periods in the history of the workers’ movement in the Philippines. Hundreds of thousands of wor-

kers 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 mass struggles but to join the New People's Army's 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 marital 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 fuelled 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 employes, and court employes, 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 profession-

als. 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 been 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 nations' 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 behaviour: 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 (opplans) as “Katatagan” and “Cadena de Amor.” Despite the fancy names, these opplans simply meant troop saturation and terrorism, massive and prolonged military operations, population relo-

cation 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 (MNLFBMA).

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 firemen, private security guards, barangay 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, specially 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 organisations, 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 in 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 combining 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 strict rule of conduct, all captives were accorded considerate treatment, including medical attention for their wounds, and immediately released.

The AFP's Oplans "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 leaders 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 organisations 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 neighbour countries in Asia and the Pacific, on the Middle East and en 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 semicolonial and semifeudal society such 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 Philippines, 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 export-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 imperialist 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 personal aggrandizement of the Marcos couple. The specific crimes of the Marcos clique against the national economy would make a longlist 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 the entire 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 ₱9.17 to \$1 at the start of 1983, it became ₱11 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 ₱14 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, specially 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 clod, 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 semicolonies. 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 and other 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 favour 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 defending 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 employes have been boldly attending the anti-dictatorship mass actions in increasing numbers. A pro-Marcos rally broke up when the government employes 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 Marcos 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 with 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 semicolonies 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 semicolonies 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 semicolonies. 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 position 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 if 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?

1. The people's democratic revolution is the only way by which the people can attain national freedom and democracy

Philippine society is semicolonial and semifeudal.

Semicolonial, 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 these 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 agro-corporations, government corporations, and private corporations owned by the Marcos clique.

The semicolonial 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, in behalf of the ruling system. US imperialism backed up all reactionary parties while giving bigger support to whichever was more avid and capable in safeguarding and promoting imperialist interests.

The economic and political crises perennially besetting the system were to change this pattern 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 ₱3.90 to \$1, it became ₱6.43 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 semicolonial 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 democratic 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 over not 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 kick-

back 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 has 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. Starting 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 kickback out of military purchases, kidnapping for ransom, big time extortion and robbery-holdup, carnapping, trafficking in narcotics, smuggling, dollar salting and running gambling and prostitution syndicates. And 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 more 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 semicolonial 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 thousand of our people.

The semicolonial 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 riven 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 befall 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!”

2. 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 sated 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 through 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 on 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 become 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 Puyon 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’etat 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.

3. 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 that 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.

4. 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 in

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 organised, 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.

5. Neutralize and win over the enemy's soldiers and paramilitary men as well as lower-ranking government officials and employes

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

barangay 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 barangay 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, specially the ordinary workers and employes 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.

6. 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 highpowered rifles were confiscated by the NPA all over the country during the first six months of this year.

From March to September, 84 highpowered 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 captive 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 highpowered arms were confiscated by the NPA in 50 military operations from January to May, based on reports of Mindanaw (May-June issue) and AB correspon-

dents' reports. Mindanaw 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 free-

dom 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 semicolonies 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 has 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 experience of revolutions in other countries has 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" analysed 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, semicolonies 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, meet-

ings 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 had 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 stablest 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 countrysides, 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 imperia-

lism, 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 1970-72. 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 summing-ups 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 unflagging 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, specially 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 “normalisation”—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 sec-

toral 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 broad 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 sub-regional 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 semicolonial 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, specially 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, summing-ups 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 remoulding 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 fulfillment 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.

423 armas sa isang reyd...mahigit 100 sa isa pa

Abril 1985 (Volume XVII, Number 2)

Apat na raan at dalawampu't isang malalakas na riple at dalawang maiikling baril ang nahakot ng BHB nang isagawa ng isang yunit nito ang walang-putok na reyd sa armory ng Visayas Maritime Academy sa Bacolod City noong Marso 25.

Sa buong kasaysayan ng BHB, ito ang pinakamalaking bilang ng armas na nakumpiska sa iisang operasyon. Ang dating rekord ay ang 84 na malalakas na armas na nakumpiska sa Zamboanga del Sur noong Enero. Nauna pa rito, pinakamalaki ang mga kumpiskasyon sa Mabini, Davao del Norte, noong 1982 (49 na riple), sa Mabalacat, Pampanga noong 1976 (43), at sa Philippine Military Academy sa Baguio City noong 1971 (43 rin).

Ang mga nakumpiska sa VMA ay 400 ripleng Garand, limang M16, limang karbin, 11 submasinggang Thomson, dalawang maiikling baril, dalawang granada at maraming bala. Nakuha rin ang mga gerilya ang nakakahong mga firing pin na mahigit pa sa bilang ng mga nakumpiskang Garand.

Pasado ala-7 ng gabi, matapos ang isang maikling brownout, pumasok ang unang yunit ng mga gerilya sa kampus ng VMA at tinungo ang gusaling may armory. Madali nilang nadisarmahan ang mga gwardya, kabilang ang isang nakabababang upisyal ng Philippine Navy. Pinagpaliwanagan at di sinaktan ng mga gerilya ang mga bihag, ayon sa mahigpit na patakaran ng BHB. Nagawa nilang pabuksan sa mga gwardya ang kaha de yerong kinalalagyan ng mga Garand at di na kinailangang gamitin ang baon nilang oxyacetylene torch. Nang nabuksan na ito'y pinapasok na sa kampus ang iba pang kasama na lulan ng dalawang trak na panghakot.

Ang buong operasyon, na nilalahukan ng ilampung gerilyang nakapistola ang karamihan, ay natapos ng kulang-kulang isang oras.

Ligtas at mabisang nakalayo agad sa Bacolod City ang buong pwersang nagreyd, dala ang nahakot na armas at mga sasakyang ginamit, patungo sa isang larangang gerilya.

Ganap na nasorpresa ang pamunuan ng PC sa rehiyon na na-paabutan lamang ng ulat pagkaraan ng isa pang oras. Ang VMA na may 9 na kilometro lamang mula sa pusod ng Bacolod City, ay kay Embahador Roberto Benedicto, punong tauhan ng pangkating Marcos sa Kanlurang Kabisayaan. Natigatig ang mga reaksyonaryo sa isla at maging sa Malakanyang at Kampo Aguinaldo dahil sa mabigat na mga implikasyon at resultang militar at pulitikal ng reyd. At human-tong sila sa pag-iimbento ng mga pampalubag-loob, pagsisihan at pagpaparusa sa ilang nakabababang upisyal. (tingnan sa pahina 10 ang masaklaw na artikulo tungkol sa isla ng Negros.)

Kapangahasang nakabatay sa rebolusyonaryong katatagan at sa naunang masinsinang pagsisiyasat ang naipamalas naman ng mga Pulang mandirigma sa reyd. Naging angkop at maningning na bahagi iyon ng pagdiriwang ng rebolusyonanrong mamamayan sa okasyong pumatak apat na araw matapos ang reyd—ang ika-16 na anibersaryo ng Bagong Hukbong Bayan.

...Mahigit 100 sa isa pa!

Mahigit 100 armas, kabilang ang 83 malalakas na riple at isang masinggan, ang nakumpiska ng Bagong Hukbong Bayan sa Zamboanga dela Sur noong Enero 4.

Ayon sa isang upisyal na ulat, sinalakay ng malaking pwersang gerilya ang imbakan ng armas ng PC-INP sa bayang Tabina sa prubinsyang iyon, at dinisarmahan ang pwersang pansiguridad ni Mayor Banub.

Isang taong masigla ang mga welga

January 1986 (Volume 17, Number 11)

Umabot sa bago at kakaibang pagsigla ang pakikibaka ng mga manggagawa nitong 1985. Naitala noon ang pinakamilitanteng taon ng kilusang manggagawa sa ilalim ng dalawang dekada nang paghahari ng pangkating US-Marcos.

Sa tindi at saklaw, higit na umunlad ang kilusang welga. Ang bilang ng mga welga nitong 1985 ay tumaas nang 30 porsyento mula 282 noong 1984, sa 366. Higit ding dumami nang 67 porsyento ang mga manggagawang lumahok sa mga welga; mula 65,000 ay naging 109,000. Ang mga nawalang araw-paggawa o *mandays* ay tumaas nang 24 porsyento, sa 2.44 milyong mula 1.0 milyong noong taong 1984.

Yumabong nitong nakaraang taon ang nagkakaisang pagkilos ng mga manggagawa, sektoral at multisektoral; koordinadong welga sa pamamagitan ng dumaraming mga pang-industry't panteritoryong organisasyon at alyansa; at sa mga isyung sektoral at pambansa.

Ang pagbugso ng mga pakikibaka ng masang manggagawa ay laalong pinag-alab ng papalubhang pang-ekonomyang krisis. Wala ni isang pagtataas ng pasahod na isinabatas ang rehimen noong 1985, gayong mabilis ang naging pagbaba ng halaga ng piso. Pagsunod ito ng rehimen sa patakarang "ipako ang pasahod" na ipinataw ng Pandaigdigang Pondo ng Pananalapi (IMF) para sa kapakanan ng dayuhang monopolyong kapital. Ang ₱57.08 na minimum na arawang pasahod, ay napakababa at malayo sa ₱133.63 na kailangan bawat araw para makaraos ang isang anim-kataong pamilya.

Naidagdag ang 65,000 manggagawa nitong 1985 sa 85,000 natanggal sa trabaho (laid off) noong 1984. May 322,000 manggagawa naman ang naidagdag nitong 1985 sa naitalang 1.555 milyong walang hanapbuhay (kasama ang mga kapapasok sa pwersang paggawa). Dinuduktor ang mga datos na ito upang mapagmukhang

mas maliit ang bilang ng mga wala o kulang ang hanapbuhay. Katunayan, di kukulangin sa 60 porsyento ng buong pwersang paggawa ang wala o kulang ang empleyo.

Ang pagsiglang ito ng pakikibaka ng mga manggagawa ay sa kabila ng higit pang pagtindi ng panunupil ng pasistang rehimen. Siyam na manggagawa ang naitalang pinatay sa mga piketlayn samantalang mas marami pa ang pinatay sa ibang lugar. Aabot sa 80 ang pinatay na mga militanteng lider-obrero at mga abugado nila; ang kalahati ng bilang ay sinalbeyds.

Sa kapakanan ng malalaking kapitalista, ipinailalim din sa sapilitang arbitrasyon ng Ministry of Labor and Employment (MOLE) ang mas maraming kaso ng welga. Ginamit ng ahensya ng rehimen ang kapangyarihang ito sa 46 welga noong 1985 kumpara sa 20 noong 1984. Noong Mayo 1, inilabas ng rehimen ang Sulat ng Instruksyon (LOI) Blg. 1458 na nagbibigay ng kapangyarihan sa MOLE na tanggalin sa trabaho ang mga welgisting lumalabag sa mga utos ng ministri na bumalik na sa trabaho (*return-to-work orders*).

Sa pagpasok ng taong 1986, tumampok ang pagpapaigting sa mga pasistang pananalakay ng rehimen sa militanteng mga manggagawa.

Halimbawa, isang manggagawa ang pinatay at mahigit 20 ang nasugatan nang sa kunsinti ng pasistang militar na nakadeploy doon ay lusubin ng malaking pangkat ng mga maton, na inupahan ng mga kapitalista, ang nagwewelgang mga manggagawa ng Cosmos Bottling Company sa San Pedro, Laguna, nitong Enero 6.

Kinabukasan, Enero 7, marahas ding binuwag ng PC Metropolitan Command (Metrocom), mga pulis at sikyuriti ng kumpanya ang welga ng mga manggagawa ng Fortune Tobacco Corporation sa Marikina, Metro Manila. Patay ang isang manggagawa at mahigit 40 ang nasugatan bunga ng pamamaril at pambubugbog.

Tatlo naman sa anim na organisador ng National Federation of

Sugar Workers (NFSW) na nawawala mula pa noong Disyembre 29 ang natagpuang bangkay na noong Enero 2 sa isang tubuhan sa gitnang Negros. Ang tatlo ay dumanas ng malubhang tortyur bago pinatay, ayon sa ipinakita ng mga sugat nila sa katawan. Laganap ang paniniwala na ang tatlo pang nawawala ay pinatay na rin ng mga kumidnap na armadong galamay ng rehimen. Sa isa pang pangyayari, ang bangkay ni Eduardo Gaitan, manggagawa ng Sonedco Sugar Mill, ay natagpuang tadtad ng mga marka ng tortyur noong Enero 15, matapos siyang pwersahang kunin ng mga tauhang militar ng rehimen nitong Enero 6.

Nagdaos ng mga protesta ang mga manggagawa sa pamamagitan ng militanteng Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU), na kinapapalooban ng nabanggit na mga unyon. Nagrali ang mahigit 1,000 mamamayan nitong Enero 11 sa Kabangkalan, Negros Occidental, upang tuligsain ang makahayop na trato sa mga organisador ng NFSW. Sa isa ring rali nitong Enero 16 sa harap ng upisina ng MOLE sa Maynila, hiniling ng KMU ang pagbibitiw ni Blas Ople bilang minister ng paggawabunga ng kainutilan niya sa harap ng nagaganap na pagpatay sa mga manggagawa at sa sarili niyang papel sa panunupil sa kanila. Ipinahayag din ng alyansa na magdaraos sila ng koordinadong mga welga sa mga punong sentrong industriyal upang igiit ang kanilang mga kahilingan.

Marcos regime toppled, Aquino is new president

February 1986 (Volume XVIII, Number 12)

A mammoth uprising by the Filipino people toppled the Marcos fascist puppet regime on Tuesday, February 25. The hated regime collapsed under the unrelenting struggles of our people.

The struggles were concentrated into less than four days as the aroused people rushed to support a sudden military rebellion launched against the regime by Marcos' own defense minister, Juan Ponce Enrile, and his AFP vice chief of staff, Lt. Gen. Fidel Ramos.

The people confronted the regime's tanks, armored personnel carriers (APCs) and artillery over and over again and forced them to retreat until the situation went completely out of Marcos' control.

The dictator, his wife Imelda and their children and grandchildren hurriedly left Malacañang by helicopter for Clark Air Base in Angeles City, thence to Guam and Hawaii upon the Invitation of the US president, Ronald Reagan. With the Marcoses were AFP chief of staff Gen. Fabian Ver and his family which includes three sons who are also AFP officers.

Marcos' hasty departure paved the way for his opponent in the February snap election, Mrs. Corazon Aquino, to assume the presidency with a new set of key officials but also with Enrile and Ramos who had been pillars of the Marcos regime. Enrile was reappointed as defense minister while Ramos was promoted to full general (four stars, from the previous three) and named to replace Ver as AFP chief of staff.

Totally isolated from the Filipino people and peoples of the world, and abandoned even by his US imperialist masters, Marcos still went through the motions of taking his oath of office as "reelected" president in Malacañang on the morning of February 25, only to step down from power a few hours later. At about the same time, Mrs. Aquino

was also taking her oath as president at the Club Filipino in San Juan, Metro Manila.

Marcos' isolation had been intensified as a result of his widespread and systematic cheating and terrorism in the February 7 snap election, and the people's anger seethed as he prepared to take his oath for another six-year term after having already stayed in the presidency for 20 years.

The disintegration of his regime was accelerated on the evening of Saturday, February 22, when Enrile and Ramos openly rebelled against Marcos a few hours after the departure of Reagan's diplomatic trouble-shooter, Philip Habib, and even as US warships were standing by at Subic Naval Base.

Enrile and Ramos occupied Camp Aguinaldo and Camp Crame in Quezon City with few hundred troops loyal to them, mostly of the "Reform AFP Movement," and proclaimed that they were renouncing allegiance to Marcos.

The grave split within the Marcos regime became apparent when Enrile and Ramos disclosed that Marcos and Ver had issued orders for their arrest, prompting their open revolt. In a bid for the support of the vast multitude of our people who are antifascist, they recognized Mrs. Aquino as president. Enrile also made a rush phone call to Cardinal Jaime Sin, who forthwith called upon the people to proceed to the two camps to support the two and help prevent a bloody confrontation.

Marcos, Ver and the other generals loyal to them might have crushed the rebellion in its very first hour, but Marcos appeared to have been completely taken by surprise. In a few hours, they had lost the initiative when tens of thousands of the insurgent people surrounded—and later entered—the two camps to defend Enrile, Ramos and their men.

The following day, numerically superior Marines and other

Marcos loyalist units advanced to assault the two camps with tanks, APCs, artillery and mortar. But they were stopped dead on their tracks a few kilometers away by hundred of thousands of people who blocked their way with their bodies and called upon them to turn back. Demoralised over the prospect of fighting their fellow soldiers and massacring civilians by the thousands, they turned back. Other attempts by the Marcos-Ver units to assault the two camps were similarly repulsed.

At that point—24 to 48 hours after Enrile and Ramos had declared their rebellion—there were millions of people massed on the streets of Metro Manila and other urban centers throughout the country supporting the Enrile-Ramos rebellion and demanding that Marcos step down from power.

People whose hatred for the regime had been building up since 1972 mingled with one another—workers, peasants, market vendors, students, teachers, nuns, priests, pastors, professionals, landlords, bankers and other capitalists. Instant camaraderie was struck up among people meeting one another for the first time in their lives, bound by a common goal—to drive out the regime. And shoulder-to-shoulder, they engaged the enemy in eyeball-to-eyeball confrontations.

Completely overwhelmed by the gigantic and awesome “people power”, the commanders of other AFP units who had been among Marcos’ most trusted men defected one after another to the Enrile-Ramos camp. At the same time, key officials of the Marcos bureaucracy and his KBL were similarly deserting Marcos and supporting Mrs. Aquino’s assumption to power.

The insurgent people, supported by troops loyal to Enrile and Ramos, scored a signal victory when they captured and occupied the regime’s television Channel 4 on Bohol Avenue, Quezon City, while it was covering a press conference of Marcos in Malacañang. They cut

off the dictator from the air and used Channel 4 to disseminate insurgent propaganda. Government radio stations were similarly captured and so were the other TV stations owned by the Marcos clique.

Although there were Enrile-Ramos units assigned to guard these installations of mass media, they were in turn protected by unarmed civilians—the insurgent people—who surrounded the radio and TV stations, as they were protecting Enrile, Ramos, and their soldiers.

It was just a matter of time before the Marcos regime would fall. In his most desperate moments, Marcos tried to strike up a last-ditch power-sharing scheme with Mrs. Aquino but he no longer had any political leverage left.

The big majority of the insurgent people were spontaneous antifascist elements supporting Mrs. Aquino. Among the organized insurgent group were the Bagong Alyansang Makabayan (BAYAN), Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU), League of Filipino Students (LFS), the August Twenty-One Movement (ATOM) and the Bansang Nagkakaisa sa Diwa at Layunin (BANDILA), which helped confront Marcos' tanks, APCS and troops at various places including Malacañang.

With Marcos and his family finally fleeing the Philippines, Mrs. Aquino moved to consolidate power which now had to include Enrile and Ramos who, for more than 20 years, had been Marcos' close political associates, as well as rabid henchmen of his fascist regime from which they all profited. Enrile and Ramos also moved to consolidate their power by replacing Marcos loyalists in all key positions with officers personally loyal to them.

US imperialists, through the Reagan administration, immediately pledged generous assistance to the new administration in the Philippines for its "economic development and national security" measures. While Reagan declared himself pleased by the turn of events, however, the democratic wave that has swept the Philippines could be problematical vis-a-vis his fascist designs in our country.

Within two days from her assumption to office, President Aquino announced her cabinet, as follows.

Vice-President Salvador Laurel, as minister of foreign affairs (she had earlier nominated him as prime minister); Enrile, defense; Neptali Gonzales, Justice; Jaime Ongpin, finance: Lourdes Quisumbing, education; Aquilino Pimentel, local government: Rogaciano Mercado, public works and highways; Jose Concepcion Jr., trade and Industry; Ramon Mitra, agriculture and food; Jose Antonio Gonzales, tourism; Ernesto Maceda, natural resources; Alberto Romulo, budget; Jovito Salonga, presidential commission on good government; Luis Villafuerte, presidential commission on government reorganization; Joker Arroyo, executive secretary, Teodoro Locsin Jr., information; and Rene Saguisag, presidential spokesman. Jose Fernandez was retained as Central Bank Governor.

At Mrs. Aquino's first press conference on February 26, among the questions posed to her by journalists was why all her cabinet members were from the "elite" and why there was no representation from the masses of workers and peasants who had borne the brunt of oppression under the fascist dictatorship and also the brunt of waging struggles against the dictatorship.

Her reply was an appeal for the people to be patient with her since she had just assumed office. She said among her principal concerns was providing relief as soon as possible to the millions of Filipinos who are underemployed or unemployed and are hungry. And among her first official acts was to start redeeming a democratic reform she had pledged during the campaign: the release of all political prisoners.

A cursory look at her cabinet and at other key positions in the new administration shows that these are peopled by elements that are conservative, others who are liberal democratic, and still others like Enrile and Ramos who, while riding the current democratic tide,

had been pillars of the Marcos fascist regime for many years.

How these officials of varying and conflicting political persuasions interact—and how Mrs. Aquino herself relates to them—bears watching.

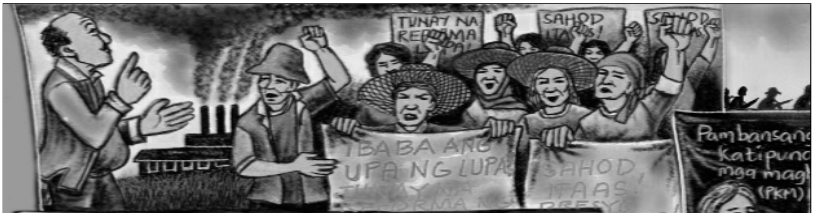
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