



ANG

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Pinapatnubayan ng Marxismo-Leninismo-Maoismo

# Bayan

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## A slew of pseudo-reformist lies

Reply to the paid advertisement on the PTC by some elements of CBCP-NASSA

**1.** The masterminds of the CBCP-NASSA paid advertisement in PDI's April 16 issue are phoney social democrats and pseudo-reformists whose real aim is to sow anti-communist intrigues. They merely pose as reformists to defend the rotten system and fascist state. Their leaders are now at the top leadership of the National Security Council and National Intelligence Coordinating Agency and powerful agencies within the cabinet and Malacañang. They brazenly take the lead in pushing the AFP-PNP's total war and fascist witch hunt and are in direct conspiracy with AFP-PNP psywar experts and fascist thugs against the revolutionary movement.

Some of the signatories to the paid advertisement may be assumed to be well-meaning and were most likely carried away by intrigues, prevarications and disinformation against the NPA. We must do our best to approach and explain matters to them. Simultaneously, we must clarify to the public the issues raised and distorted by the paid advertisement. We also know that there are certain errors and shortcomings regarding some military actions that are being used by AFP-PNP psywar experts as pretexts to whip up anti-terrorist hysteria against the NPA.

**2.** The paid advertisement provides propaganda pointers for reactionary bureaucrats and NGOs against the NPA's PTC. On the whole, these points advocate Ultra-Rightist views on the peace talks and

very demagogically heap the blame on the NPA for the rampant corruption of reactionary elections and reactionary politics, and even for the enormous gap between the lifestyles of the rich and poor.

The paid advertisement exploits bourgeois and petty bourgeois illusions on reactionary elections and rides on the surfeit of intrigues and distortions against the NPA from the Camp Aguinaldo news mill—in order to gather support for intensifying the AFP-PNP's total war and fascist persecution. Based on current realities in the country, it would not be farfetched for such intrigues to be used to justify and support continually intensifying US military intervention.



### **3.** The NPA's fundamental stand on reactionary elections.

The NPA does not participate in reactionary elections. Without exception, the puppet republic's entire history and worsening socio-economic and political realities prove that the people cannot rely on reactionary elections for a real solution to the very grave crisis and fundamental problems facing the country. Reactionary elections are a political process tightly controlled

from start to finish by US imperialism and its local reactionary co-conspirators. They have absolute control over the primary sources of campaign funds, the mass media, the bureaucracy's rules and machinery, the strongest reactionary parties and other instruments that are most important to ensure victory in a reactionary election. The reactionary state's machin-

ery for fraud and violence is ever ready to fight and block the influence and victory of genuinely progressive candidates.

Nonetheless, the NPA respects the right and efforts of legal progressive forces to join reactionary elections to take advantage of whatever opportunity they afford—not matter how small or limited—to advance the people's objectives and welfare. They face tremendous odds, and reactionary and pro-imperialist forces enjoy an overwhelming advantage over them.

The revolutionary movement likewise strives to take advantage of all opportunities to advance anti-imperialist, antifeudal and antifascist objectives and struggles. Accordingly, it stands ready to enter into agreements and cooperative arrangements even on a temporary basis with all friendly forces and elements, to advance people's struggles and acquire benefits for the revolutionary forces, mass base and mass movement.

The revolutionary movement likewise consciously takes advantage of all opportunities, even con-

flicts among reactionaries, to fight, isolate and weaken the most rabid reactionaries guilty of the biggest crimes and of wreaking the most havoc on the welfare of the country, the people and the revolution.

#### 4. A burden on poor candidates?

The paid advertisement comes up with the huge prevarication and fantasy that rich and poor candidates freely compete in a reactionary election, and that the NPA is now messing this up.

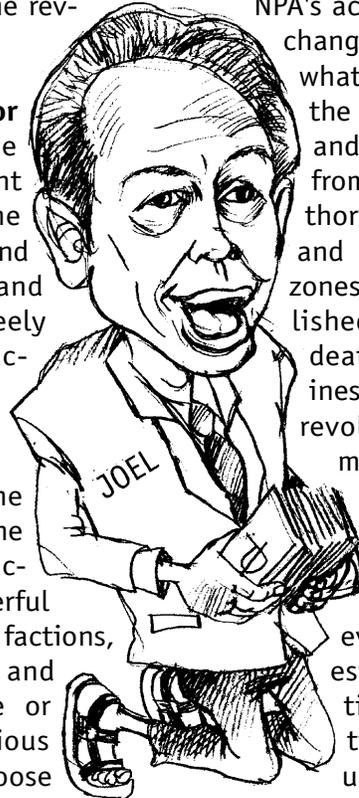
Long before the campaign period, the leading reactionary factions, the most powerful and most moneyed factions, clans, bureaucrats and financiers (legitimate or otherwise) on various levels scrutinize, choose and prime up their own candidates in the reactionary elections. The process of choosing candidates and forming tickets for the leading parties that lord it over reactionary politics already slams the door on poor candidates and especially pro-poor candidates. This is the reality of reactionary politics and reactionary elections from the bottom and especially at the topmost levels. The existence of poor candidates from the municipal level up is an anomaly in reactionary politics.

But granting that there are poor candidates or candidates "with no capacity to pay" running for whatever seat in the reactionary elections, he, she or they can be sure that the NPA or its policies will be the least of his, her or their problems in confronting the candidates chosen, supported and funded by the dominant reac-

tionary factions.

Compared to the hundreds of millions poured in by reactionary parties and politicians in elections from the municipal level up, the NPA's access fee or PTC is small change. In the NPA's view, what is more important is the gesture of respecting and requesting permission from the revolutionary authorities in guerrilla zones and bases. These guerrilla zones and bases were established through life-and-death struggle and the inestimable sacrifice of the revolutionary forces and masses. It is likewise more important to the NPA to have an opportunity to conduct discussions with everyone who is ready to establish friendly relations or seek accommodations with it and seek unconditional support for the benefit of the NPA, mass base and mass movement.

The permission granted by the NPA to requests to campaign in guerrilla zones and bases is neither solely nor mainly based on fees. A candidate's readiness to extend respect and seek accommodation is exceedingly more important not only to the revolutionary forces but more so, to the people in the area. In this regard, the NPA reserves the right to stop anyone who wishes to scour guerrilla zones and bases only to spew venom and hatred, spy on and sabotage the revolutionary movement. Those who recklessly enter guerrilla zones and bases and bring in goons or fascist military elements as armed escorts to boot are assumed to have sinister intentions and it is but fitting for the NPA to respond with appropriate armed actions.



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## 5. Obstructing the right to information of the people in guerrilla zones and bases?

Compared to those in other areas of the country, the average person living within the NPA's guerrilla zones and bases is far more informed and more discerning about the real social situation, burning issues and the real nature and interests of the leading political forces in the country. Such knowledge does not derive from the zarzuela and lies staged once every three years by reactionary candidates, but from conscious participation in people's struggles and from the ceaseless political education and organizing work conducted by mass organizations, organs of political power, NDF committees and NPA units. The average person living within an NPA guerrilla zone or base is definitely much more keenly able to distinguish between genuine advocates of the people's welfare and those who represent and defend foreign and local exploiting classes. They have proven this not merely, and not mainly, through what they have written in their ballots during reactionary elections, but by fighting against the various forces that have attempted to extort from, oppress and deceive them. An ignorant people, a people lacking political consciousness are incapable of waging revolution. People living within NPA guerrilla zones and bases have to study and learn because they need to be armed with the knowledge to defend their solidarity and resist the relentless intrigues and disinformation, threats and pressure and the brutal attacks of fascist troops of the AFP-PNP-CAFGU.

## 6. Exacerbating corruption?

The unbridled corruption that enshrouds the reactionary government's civilian and military bureaucracy from top to bottom is a grave

scourge to the people. Contrary to the CBCP-NASSA paid advertisement's obscurantist logic, what is really at the core of such corruption is the excessive appropriation by foreign and local exploitative classes, the gravely parasitic views and practices of ruling reactionaries at the top of the political and economic system and US imperialism's shrewd manipulation of the greed and puppetry of the local ruling classes in order for the reactionary government to blindly accede to any and all dictates from Washington and the international agencies it controls such as the IMF-WB-WTO combine. US imperialism hypocritically pontificates against corruption but actually encourages it and is its biggest beneficiary. It is this that was behind the unbridled corruption within the reactionary government during Marcos' time and its exacerbation during the terms of Corazon Aquino, Fidel Ramos, Joseph Estrada and Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo.

It is by sheer stretch of socdem logic and imagination to blame the small change involved in PTCs for the hundreds of billions worth of public funds wasted annually due to rampant corruption—not to mention the other forms of havoc wrought by the grave distortion and debasement of national policies.

It is the revolutionary and progressive forces who have the longest and most consistent record of struggling against corruption and corrupt politicians. Braving all manner of repression and abuse, they have waged resistance against the biggest plunderers, from

Marcos to Estrada and even Jose Pidal. Even as others have entered into compromises or have fallen silent, the legal progressive forces through protest actions and other means, have steadfastly and tirelessly continued the fight to hold accountable to justice, plunderers like Marcos and Estrada. The illegal revolutionary forces have also been exerting all possible means to prosecute and hold accountable the biggest plunderers. One proof of this is the continued weight given by the NDFP to this issue in prioritizing the problems that the NDFP-GRP peace talks should address.

In this regard, what do they have to gloat about, these phoney socdems and pseudo-reformists, these promoters and beneficiaries of the multi-billion peso peace bond racket, these civil society bureaucrats wallowing in the perks and privileges of positions granted them by the Macapagal-Arroyo regime and other reactionary regimes from Aquino's, and who now are among the most rabid apologists of the decadent reactionary system and puppet and fascist state?



## 7. What is really the biggest obstacle to advancing the peace talks?

The paid advertisement claims that it is the NDFP's desire to acquire belligerency status that is the biggest obstacle to the peace talks' advance. This has also long been the claim of militarists and phoney socdems who both desire to effect the surrender of the armed revolution or crush it alto-

*Continued on "Reply to...", page 4*

# NDFP negotiating panel reply to the CBCP-NASSA paid advertisement

*Luis G. Jalandoni  
Chairperson, NDFP Negotiating Panel  
April 19, 2004*



**A**s Chairperson of the Negotiating Panel of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP), I have been authorized by the NDFP National Executive Committee to issue a formal reply to questions raised in the CBCP-NASSA statement<sup>1</sup> "NPA Taxation in the May 2004 elections" signed by a number of Catholic bishops and social action directors. The NDFP takes this opportunity to clarify fundamental principles guiding revolutionary taxation not only to the signatories of the statement but to all the people who have been misled to believe that the NPA's permission to elec-

*Continued on "NDFP...", page 5*

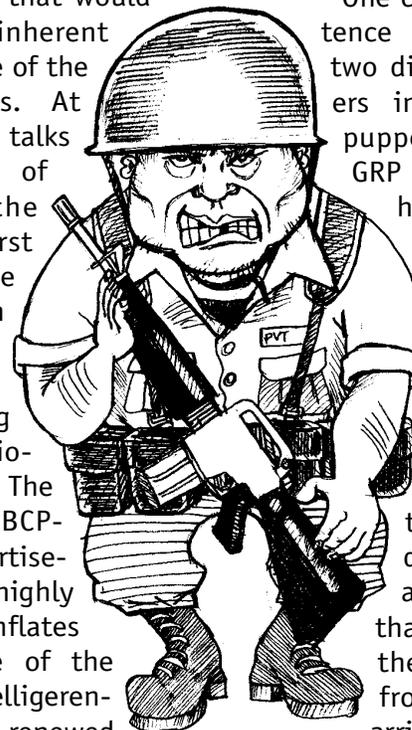
*"Reply to...", from page 3*

gether. In fact, it is the militarists' and phoney socdems' obsession to cause the surrender of the revolutionary forces or hunt them down and annihilate them that has caused the biggest delays and difficulties in advancing the peace talks. It was militarists led by Angelo Reyes who urged Estrada to arbitrarily turn his back on the peace talks after signing the CARHRIHL and to subsequently order an all-out war against the revolutionary movement. It was militarists and phoney socdems who urged Macapagal-Arroyo to arbitrarily suspend the peace talks for over two years in the belief that the NDFP could be terrorized by Bush's anti-terrorist war and by US military intervention.

In reality, the peace talks have long advanced beyond the issue of the NDFP's surrender. In The Hague Joint Declaration, an agreement was reached to conduct the peace talks based on the overall frame-

work of the mutually acceptable principles of national sovereignty, democracy and social justice. Agreement was also reached to avoid preconditions that would prejudice the inherent nature and objective of the peace negotiations. At present, the peace talks address the issue of implementing the CARHRIHL, the first comprehensive agreement between the two parties, and gaining ground on issues concerning fundamental socio-economic reforms. The agenda behind CBCP-NASSA's paid advertisement is therefore highly suspicious, as it inflates the so-called issue of the NDFP's status of belligerency. This is clearly a renewed attempt to turn back the peace talks and have it bogged down once more on the issue closest to

the hearts of militarists and phoney socdems—demanding the surrender of the revolutionary forces.



One cannot deny the existence of two armies and two distinct political powers in the country: the puppet and reactionary GRP and AFP on the one hand, and revolutionary power and the people's army on the other. Peace talks between the two parties are aimed at finding mutually acceptable points towards the resolution of fundamental national and social problems that are at the root of the civil war, aside from attempting to arrive at agreements on how to resolve problems and issues that would bring immediate benefits to the people.

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toral candidates and campaigners to enter the territory of the revolutionary government, conveniently referred to by some as "permit to campaign", is a form of extortion.

We state here no more than what we stated across the negotiating table concerning the same issue as it was brought up on April 1 by one member of the negotiating panel of the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) in the second round of formal talks in Oslo, Norway, from March 30 to April 3, 2004.

At the outset, we declare that the millions of people and revolutionary forces, including the New People's Army, that are all represented by the NDFP respect the inherent, inalienable and nonderogable right and freedom of conscience and freedom of expression of all individuals and groups, including all sorts of political parties and politicians now engaged in campaigns for the May 2004 elections of the reactionary state. These entities can express themselves as freely as they wish for whatever they stand for, with due consideration to the national and democratic rights of the people.<sup>2</sup>

The revolutionary people and forces cannot stop the initiatives or approaches of various entities who offer mutual support and cooperation, take a stance of neutrality or opt to fight the revolutionary forces violently. They can only respond accordingly. It is too much of a presumption and a patently false notion that the revolutionary government and the mass movement can impose themselves by sheer force or threat of arms on others, including incumbent officials and aspirants for

office in the reactionary government.

It is a fact that political leaders and candidates involved in the May 2004 elections have approached the revolutionary forces in order to explain their ideas and views, offer mutual support and cooperation and get security clearance for their campaign retinue.

Such political leaders and candidates are only doing so in the same way that the GRP does in negotiating with the NDFP on substantive and technical issues. Only a few foolhardy politicians disregard the mass base and



armed strength of the revolutionary movement, declare war on these and heedlessly bring private armed groups and/or official armed units of the reactionary armed forces, police and paramilitary into the territory of the revolutionary government.

The permission or security clearance for entry into the territory of the revolutionary government is for the purpose of identifying the character of groups and individuals entering the territory of the revolutionary government and preventing the entry of enemy personnel that do harm to the people. It is mutually beneficial to the revolutionary forces and the candidates

because it averts unnecessary clashes or mistakes.

The revolutionary government does not tax the freedom of expression, even as it may restrict (but does not violate) such freedom whenever counterrevolutionary vilifiers enter its territory bringing armed personnel with them in order to slander and challenge the revolutionary forces. What the revolutionary government taxes is the privilege to engage in private economic enterprise that may be exploitative to some extent but is permissible and taxable because it is still necessary and beneficial to the people.

Under international law and the common law on armed conflict, it is the legitimate aspiration and striving of the revolutionary government and movement of the people to gain international recognition for the status of belligerency. This proceeds from the fact that the revolutionary government and movement have acquired the status of belligerency by dint of hard and arduous struggle. They have neither the need nor the intention to gain belligerency status through the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations, much less from discussions and short-term agreements with individual politicians.<sup>3</sup>

International recognition of such status will come from the victories of the NPA offensives and the spread of the power and territory of the people's government. As all men and women of good will and sufficient discernment know, the revolutionary forces and people represented by the NDFP, have rights and duties under international law, under the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International

Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL) and under the constitution and laws of the revolutionary government.

With or without the NPA, big money is decisive in reactionary elections and it comes from the imperialists, the exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords and the bureaucrat capitalists who privatize tax money and public assets. The paid ad barks up the wrong tree and draws attention away from the oppressors and exploiters who decide the character, conduct and outcome of the elections. The NPA should not be made the scapegoat for the rottenness of the electoral system and the entire ruling system of the exploiting classes.<sup>4</sup>

The statement jumps from one false presumption to another regarding the NPA and then makes the incredible conjecture that the reactionary elections are controlled by the NPA and not by the reactionary government.<sup>5</sup> Should not the issuers of the statement in question consider fully that the May 2004 elections belong to the exploiting classes, the reactionary government and the corrupt politicians of the system who steal tax money and take money from their economic superiors and principals and that such elections are for conjuring the false illusion of democracy?

The responsibility for the exploitative, oppressive and corrupt character of the ruling system and its electoral processes cannot be passed on to the NPA and the revolutionary mass movement. No amount of lies can shift the blame to the NPA. As a matter of fact, the NPA has the mandate to arrest plunderers for investigation and if evidence warrants, for prosecution

and trial. This mandate comes from the constitution and laws of the revolutionary government and from the CARHRIHL.

The growth of the revolutionary army and all mass organizations fighting for social change stems from the fact that the ruling state of big landlords, the business elite and corrupt bureaucrats continues to oppress and exploit the people. Thus, the people recognize the revolutionary government as the government responsive to their demands. They participate in the revolutionary movement to struggle against their oppressors and exploiters and strive to realize and advance their national and democratic rights and interests. They are reliant on their own efforts and resources even as they welcome voluntary contributions and donations for social purposes like the churches do.

The allegation of extortion against the NPA is malicious, unfounded, unjust and unfair.<sup>6</sup> Revolutionary taxes, voluntary contributions and donations if any, are for the social purposes of the revolutionary government and movement. These are used for taking care of the needs of the people and for upholding and defending their national and democratic interests.

The original fabricators of the false charge that the NPA imposes tax on the freedom of expression and on electoral campaigns are military psywar experts, clerico-fascist elements posing as civil society advocates, social democrats, and anti-commu-

nist elements associated with US intelligence in the Institute of Popular Democracy and Akbayan. They capitalize on misquotations from some revolutionary leaders, whom they misrepresent as arrogant and caricature as trying to force political candidates to pay the so-called permit to campaign and subsequently exposing them in a breach of confidence.

The GRP is exceedingly active in attacking the revolutionary people and forces and even certain legal progressive parties and candidates. The psywar about the so-called PTC and the Red-baiting of the progressives are meant to justify violent attacks, escalate the already rampant human rights violations and reduce or eliminate the votes of the progressive parties and candidates.

So far, no candidate has come forward to declare that out of fear, he/she had given money to the NPA. Only a few politicians whom the military use for psywar make false statements against the NPA. In the first place, these few are sworn enemies of the NPA.

The statement presumes that the NPA collects so much money from "PTC" for the purchase of firearms.<sup>7</sup> In this regard, we point out that close to 100% of NPA arms come from fighting. There are plenty of arms in the country because in the first place the Pentagon supplies them to the puppet army, police and paramilitary. And only subsequently does the NPA seize such arms by launching tactical offensives like ambushes and raids against the military, police and paramilitary forces.

A word about "civil society". It may be a fine expression. But



nowadays, it is no more than a fancy phrase selfishly appropriated by parasitic imperialist-funded NGOs to refer to themselves, to obscure the violent and brutal character of the reactionary state and to demand civility or good citizenship under such an uncivil brute force of the exploiting classes. After pretending to be a civil exponent of phoney social democracy, Norberto Gonzales emerges as no less a US-favored national security adviser of the puppet government.

NGO racketeers of so-called civil society are not asking questions about the so-called PTC but spreading their lies and false judgements. They hoodwink others into asking questions rhetorically and tendentiously. The big shots among these NGO racketeers and clerico-fascists are high government officials at present. Their extreme corruption is exposed by the Peace Bond scam running into P1.6 billion at the expense of the people and by the rechannelling of huge public funds and foreign "aid" to padded "socdem" NGO projects.

These scams and projects have enriched quite a number of NGO racketeers, among them some clerico-fascists. These detractors of the NPA and the entire revolutionary movement of the Filipino people have no right whatsoever to spread lies and slander and at the same time speak nothing about the billions of pesos that they have criminally accumulated.

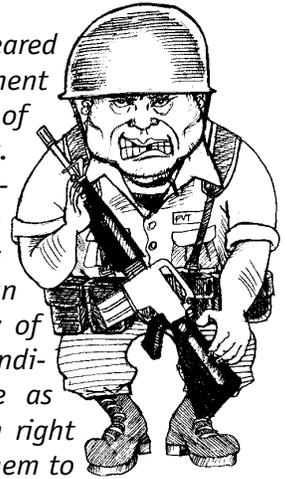
May I end by referring to the Second Oslo Joint Statement signed by the negotiating panels of the GRP and the NDFP on 3 April 2004. Its letter and spirit urges all those who seek a just and lasting peace in the Philippines and in the international community to support the efforts of both Parties to find in a principled way and in good faith, solutions to immediate problems that impede the peace talks. It has set in motion the implementation of the CARHRIHL. It embodies the commitment of both Parties to accelerate the negotiations on social and economic reforms. In this light, baseless and unjust accusations against the NDFP/NPA as "terrorist" and "extortionist" run counter to these positive developments in the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations. 



## NOTES:

(1) *The statement appeared as a full-page paid advertisement in the April 16, 2004 issue of the Philippine Daily Inquirer.*

(2) *In reply to the question: "If the restriction on the movement of candidates is a violation of their human rights, wouldn't the inability of voters to hear and see candidates running for office be as well a violation of their own right to be informed in order for them to be able to vote intelligently?"*



(3) *In reply to: "In the negotiations for peace with the National Democratic Front-New People's Army (NDF-NPA), the greatest obstacle to the success of the talks is the refusal of the government to grant them the 'belligerency status' they insist on having. What all the above questions ask really come down to only one: Taxation is an act of a sovereign state; so what the NDF-NPA are actually doing in taxing of candidates is setting themselves up as such a state with powers of taxation in the territories that they claim to be under their control. It seems, then that what they have failed to get at the negotiation table, they are in fact getting in their taxing scam. So our final question is: Are they a sovereign state within another sovereign state?"*

(4) *In reply to: "Politicians known to be corrupt who have access to funds which are the fruit of their corrupt practices are the most likely to bow to the demands of the NPA and the most likely too to win in their bid to be elected to office. Is not this then a complete denial of the NPA's avowed aim to reform Philippine society and do away with all the corruption that has been the scandal and bane for so long of our national life?"*

(5) *In reply to: "And if elections are not declared as having failed and the winners are those who paid the NPA, doesn't this mean control of our election process not by the government but by the NPA?"*

(6) *In reply to: "If the practice of the NPA were done by other than them, would not it be classified under the law as extortion?"*

(7) *In reply to: "If soldiers sell arms to rebels and help them kill fellow soldiers, would this not be similar to citizens who pay 'taxes' to rebels and thus, help them kill soldiers with guns bought with those 'taxes'?"*