



ANG

Pahayagan ng Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas
Pinapatnubayan ng Marxismo-Leninismo-Maoismo

Bayan

Special Issue
March 12, 2006

www.philippinerevolution.org

Solving some problems in the broad united front and mass movement to oust the Arroyo regime

By Prof. Jose Maria Sison
Chief Political Consultant
National Democratic Front of the Philippines

It is interesting to consider some problems in the broad united front and mass movement to oust the Arroyo regime and try to solve them. These problems are already well known to the public. It has become commonplace for people to ask questions revolving around the main question of why the ouster of the Arroyo regime cannot be accomplished quickly in a legal and nonviolent way.



1. The problem of ensuring the legal and nonviolent ouster of Arroyo from power in view of her determination to use violence against the people and the military and police officers who are against her fraudulently acquired presidency.

Solution: There is no other way to ensure the legal and nonviolent ouster of the Arroyo regime but for the broad united front of patriotic, progressive and anti-Arroyo forces (coalitions, political parties and mass organizations) to muster its own organized following and mobilize the broad masses of the people to assert their sovereign will, exercise their democratic rights and encourage the military and forces of

This special issue of *Ang Bayan* features two statements by Jose Maria Sison and an interview by a journalist. Comrade Sison is the founding chairperson of the Committee Central of the CPP in 1968 and currently Chief Political Adviser of the National Democrat-

ic Front (NDF). These articles pertain to the current political situation, in particular, the Arroyo regime's intensifying fascist attacks against the people; and the people's struggles against the Arroyo regime. Comrade Sison likewise lays out his views on the rising

tide of patriotism within the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) and the response of revolutionary forces. We encourage everyone to study these statements in order to sharpen our analysis of the current situation and help frame plans in the coming period.

the reactionary government to side with the people and withdraw support from the regime.

The Filipino people have gained rich experience in overcoming the violence posed by the previous regimes of Marcos and Estrada by employing the policy of broad united front, which is open to the participation of civilian and military officials and personnel of the reactionary government in the movement to oust an incumbent ruling clique.

The broad masses of the people have long hated the Arroyo regime for electoral fraud, corruption, subservience to foreign interests, extreme conditions of exploitation and rampant human rights violations. The Arroyo regime is now far more isolated and far weaker than the Marcos fascist regime in the years of 1983 to 1986 or the Estrada regime from 1999 to 2001.

It has made the fatal mistake of inflicting the tyrannical Proclamation 1017 on the people and threatening them with fascist dictatorship under conditions of economic, political and moral bankruptcy. However, it believes that it can get US support for its escalating use of violence and its prolongation in power in exchange for charter change that seeks to embody the antinational and anti-democratic dictates of US imperialism.

The political situation is combustible. All that is needed is for the organized forces of the broad united front to do their best in mustering their strength and mobilizing the people to exercise their right to speak and assemble and work for the ouster of the regime. The objective conditions for ousting the regime are exceedingly favorable. It is all a matter of the subjective forces strengthening themselves and rallying the people in their millions on a nationwide scale.



2. The problem of varied platforms or programs of the varied coalitions, political parties and mass organizations in the broad united front.

Solution: The varied forces in the broad united front can unite on a concise one-page platform or program containing the most important basic points that they can agree on. Such platform or program can include the following points:

a. Replacement of the illegitimate and immoral Arroyo regime due to the commission of electoral fraud, plunder, treason, human rights violations and other grave crimes against the people.

b. Upholding of civilian supremacy and civil liberties and nullification of Proclamation 1017 and all its oppressive consequences.

c. Defend national sovereignty and independence and protect the national patrimony.

d. Carry out genuine land reform and national industrialization and generate employment and livelihood for the people.

e. Promote a patriotic, democratic and scientific culture among

the youth and entire people

f. Undertake an independent foreign policy for peace and development and develop closest relations with neighboring countries.

g. Pursue the peace negotiations with the NDFP and MILF and achieve just and lasting peace by addressing the roots of the armed conflict.

h. Drawing up a new democratic constitution and holding elections within a year after the ouster of the Arroyo regime.

3. The problem of having no single leader to replace Arroyo and the related problem of forming the appropriate bodies for accommodating the representatives of all major forces (coalitions, political parties and mass organizations) contributing significantly to the movement to oust Arroyo.

Solution: Apparently having no single leader to replace Arroyo is not really a problem. The important thing is having a concise program on which to unite and having certain bodies which shall even-

tually be used for choosing the principal leader among so many leaders. The following bodies can be formed:

a. The Transition Council (any similar name to suggest its revolutionary, patriotic or democratic character will do) is the highest policy-making body and it elects its Executive Committee. It includes the representatives of all major coalitions, political parties, mass organizations and groups of retired military and police officers. It may be as large as 100 to 200.

b. The Executive Committee carries out the policies and tasks decided by the Transition Council. It directs the work of various subcommittees focused on certain tasks, including development of the program, reorganization of government, and so on. It is the provisional cabinet. It may have 15 to 30 members.

c. Roundtable Council of Advisors to include former presidents and other senior personages.

d. Unified Command to include representatives of major groups of retired and active military and police officers. It can surface fully after the ouster of the Arroyo regime.

4. What are the consequences of delay in the ouster of the Arroyo regime, particularly because such delay is due to the regime's use of preemptive violence against the people, the opposition parties, mass organizations and even against military and police officers suspected of being against the regime?

a. The anti-Arroyo military and police officers and personnel might ultimately undertake forcible preemptive actions to oust the regime (in concert with the growing mass protests and clamor for the ouster of the regime) because in the first place the Arroyo regime uses

violence to prolong itself in power.

b. The crisis of the ruling system will become deeper and graver. The prospect of revolutionary change grows brighter as the broad masses of the people are outraged by the prolonged reign of terror and greed and they demand revolutionary change. The armed revolutionary movement will continue to flourish and win political and military victories in the countryside.

c. The regime is preoccupied with trying to survive in the national capital region. It is drawing the military and police forces to guard the regime and its facilities in the cities and trunklines. It is thereby thinning out these forces in the countryside. Under these circumstances, the people's army can take more initiative in launching tactical offensives and thus grow in strength and advance.

5. After the ouster of the Arroyo regime, will not the pro-US Right prevail in a new regime and, together with their pseudo-progressive hangers on, try to exclude from the government the patriotic and progressive legal forces and even deny the role of the national democratic movement in the ouster of Arroyo, as in the previous ousters of Marcos and Estrada?

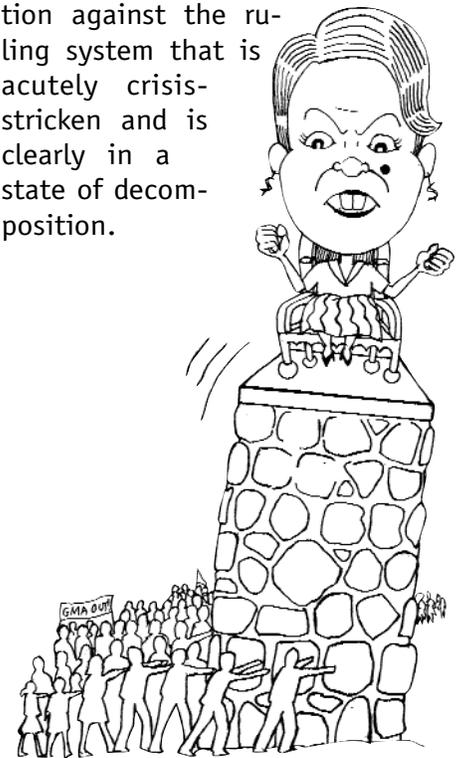
It is highly probable that the pro-US Right would still prevail and would hire pseudo-progressives to keep on denigrating the national democratic movement. That is because the bureaucratic and military machinery of the reactionary government remains intact despite the ouster of the ultra-Right and fascist Arroyo ruling clique and also despite the emergence of a progressive movement among the civilian and military personnel of the reactionary government. Nevertheless, we must recognize the unprecedentedly new phenomena in

the ever developing situation.

The chronic crisis of the ruling system has reached such a point that the intrasystemic anti-Arroyo forces, civilian and military, need to cooperate more conspicuously than ever before with the national democratic movement in ousting the Arroyo regime and to engage the legal patriotic and progressive forces in a new government if their objective is to have some relative stability at least for a while.

The process of ousting the ultra-Right and fascist Arroyo regime is strengthening both the legal and revolutionary forces of the national democratic movement. At the same time, the revolutionary forces have openly manifested interest in negotiations with the post-Arroyo government for a just and lasting peace by addressing the roots of the armed conflict.

However, if the reactionary government under a new ruling clique chooses to further pursue the armed counterrevolution, the revolutionary forces of the people are obviously prepared to further advance the armed revolution against the ruling system that is acutely crisis-stricken and is clearly in a state of decomposition.



Reign of terror continues despite lifting of Proclamation 1017

By Prof. Jose Maria Sison
NDFP Chief Political Consultant
March 4, 2006

Gloria M. Arroyo has lifted Proclamation No. 1017 in an obvious bid to render moot and academic the complaints filed before the Supreme Court of the Philippine reactionary government against her regime's curtailment of democratic rights and use of martial law powers without complying with such constitutional requirements as reporting to Congress and seeking its approval.

Proclamation No. 1017 is deceptively called declaration of a "state of national emergency" but its mandatory part is a verbatim copy of the Marcos martial law declaration, Proclamation No. 1081. By this proclamation, Arroyo usurps martial powers.

These include the power to issue decrees and orders, order arrests without judicial warrant, curtail the freedom of speech and assembly, disperse rallies and strikes, take over public utilities, mass media and other businesses supposedly imbued with "public interest" and so on, under the pretext of suppressing lawless violence, rebellion and insurrection.



Arroyo herself and her top subalterns in the cabinet and in the police and military have announced that she can issue again and again a proclamation with a draconian content identical to that Proclamation 1017. They have also boasted that, with or without such a proclamation, they can continue to carry out repressive measures against the people and the broad united front of patriotic, progressive and other forces opposing the Arroyo regime.

Proclamation No. 1017 was premised on the big lie that there was a coup conspiracy of "communists" and "military adventurists" and that a coup attempt was foiled on February 24. The truth is that the regime used the proclamation to preempt and break up the mass actions celebrating the 20th anniversary of the fall of the Marcos fascist dictatorship.

The regime feared that the military and police would withdraw support from it as they had done in Edsa 1 and Edsa 2 if the people's assembly had been allowed to grow big on February 24. No coup at all was attempted by any group of military and police officers. It was the Arroyo ruling clique that carried out a coup by usurping martial law powers and violating the constitutional requirements of congressional approval and oversight and judicial warrants for arrests and searches.

At great expense of public resources, the Arroyo regime continues to wage a propaganda campaign to misrepresent as

a "conspiracy" of communists and military officers of the reactionary government the consensus and active efforts of all anti-Arroyo forces in the broad united front to encourage the military and police to withdraw their support from the regime but not to make a coup for themselves in violation of the principle of civilian supremacy.

Arroyo and her principal accomplices are accountable for concocting the so-called coup conspiracy and coup attempt, adopting and implementing Proclamation 1017 and for violating the democratic rights of those victimized by the proclamation, such as the rallyists who were brutally attacked, all those arrested without judicial warrant, the six congressmen so grievously persecuted, several newspaper offices raided and messed up to intimidate all mass media, all those falsely charged with rebellion and coup d'etat and so on.

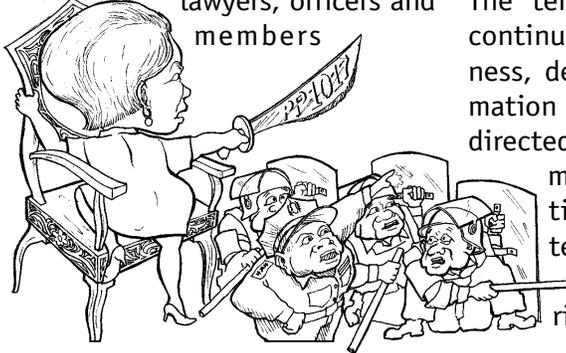
The Arroyo regime will continue to issue proclamations, decrees and orders for the purpose of curtailing democratic rights and repressing the people in its pursuit to prolong its illegitimate and immoral rule and ram through the treasonous Arroyo-De Venecia charter-change scheme. This scheme is aimed at crowning Arroyo with Marcosian dictatorial powers and making other antinational and anti-democratic constitutional amendments in line with the economic and military dictates of the US.

The Arroyo regime is obstinately treading the bloody path of fascist dictatorship and state terrorism. Even before the issuance of Proclamation 1017, the regime was already

engaged in gross human rights violations, especially in the Bantay Laya military campaigns of suppression against the toiling masses of workers and peasants. So many trade



union and peasants leaders, youth and women activists, human rights workers, priests and pastors, journalists, lawyers, officers and members



of progressive party list groups have been kidnapped and tortured to death or gunned down in public places by the death squads of the Arroyo regime.

Since 2001, Arroyo has openly approved and praised the reign of terror and has rapidly promoted military and police officers who are notorious torturers and murderers. The terrorism of her regime will continue and increase its viciousness, despite the lifting of Proclamation 1017. It is planned and directed by a cluster of her cabinet members in charge of national security, with the technical assistance of the topmost officers of the various intelligence agencies.

The bloody crimes of the growing fascist dictatorship are driving so many people to join the revolutionary underground and wage armed revolution, according to revolutionary publications.

The broad masses of the people and the broad united front of patriotic, progressive and other anti-Arroyo forces have no choice but to intensify their protest mass actions and encourage the civilian officials and military and police officers of the reactionary government to withdraw their support from the Arroyo ruling clique. We can expect the oust-Arroyo mass movement to intensify in the national capital region and nationwide in the days and weeks to come.

Interview with Prof. Jose Maria Sison

The following is a translation of an interview with Jose Ma. Sison by Glenda Gloria, managing editor of Newsbreak magazine, on March 6, 2006. We edited the questions for brevity.

1. *My sources within the rebel military movement insist that the RAM elders held "initial talks" with the members of the CPP central committee principally on the issue of how to bring about a better political system post-GMA. ...would such talks be against the CPP strategy or tactics? Is the CPP completely averse to any alliance, tactical or otherwise, with what it deems to be probably "progressive" members of the Armed Forces ...?*

JMS Answer: I do not think that it is against revolutionary principles, strategy and tactics for the CPP to talk with any group of retired and/or active military officers seeking to cooperate with the broad united front and the mass movement in ousting the Arroyo regime by withdrawing military support from this regime ala EDSA 1 and 2 and without carrying out a military coup d'etat to install a

military dictator or military junta.

So much the better if such a group of retired and/or active military officers is also interested in supporting the continuation of GRP-NDFP peace negotiations by a post-Arroyo dispensation or arrangement that would seek to address the roots of the armed conflict with substantive agreements on significant social, economic and political reforms in accordance with The Hague Joint Declaration and that would depart from the Arroyo regime's futile policy of seeking to turn the peace negotiations into surrender negotiations by using the so-called terrorist list of the US and European Union as well as bloody repressive measures against the legal democratic forces to pressure the NDFF.

At any rate, the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations that have been going on since the 1990s point to the

principled political and moral basis of the CPP for possibly talking with any group of retired and/or active military officers. On that basis, there is nothing wrong for the CPP to talk with the RAM elders, Makabayang Kawal Pilipino, YOU-YOUNg, the CNS group of General Abat or the YES-ARMS of Commodore Aparri.

The Arroyo regime is now taking cheap shots at the Katipunan ng mga Anakbayan and the MKP as "sleeping with the enemy" by allegedly talking with communists. Practically, Ms Arroyo is slapping her own face for having talked with communists through the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations. But so far, she has avoided claiming to have slept with communists. In fact, she is trying to whip up an anti-communist hysteria within the AFP and PNP. This is one more obstacle to the resumption of the formal talks in the peace negotiations.

2. *Isn't there a contradiction in communists talking with the*

military rebels? Why would the CPP even entertain the thought of talking to military rebels? You belong to two opposite poles. How can you attract each other?

JMS Answer: Of course, there is a contradiction. Some people can reasonably say on certain grounds that the CPP is not supposed to talk with such groups. There are the sharp ideological differences and so-called bad blood between the CPP and such groups. But circumstances can change to necessitate or allow certain policy adjustments or political agreements not previously possible. By the way, in politics as in physics, opposite poles attract each other, whether they are still locked in combat or come to terms on some points beneficial to the people.

The rank and file of the AFP and PNP are now in ferment. There are definitely pro-Arroyo and anti-Arroyo officers who are still similarly pro-US and reactionary. But for the first time, significant groups of patriotic and progressive military officers now are critical of US imperialism and GRP puppetry and wish to have a program to address the roots of the armed conflict, thanks to the fine examples of the late Lt. Crispin Tagamolila and Capt. Rene Jarque.

The ordinary soldiers and police are recruited mainly by the AFP from the workers, peasants and other poor people. They are now discontented with the corruption of the regime and its officer loyalists and with the dismal conditions of their families and their units in the field. You must remember that the first Red Army grew out of the Czarist army in Russia. Chu Teh, chief of staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, was previously a marshal of the northern warlords. There are such other examples of reactionary military officers as Col. Jacobo Arbenz Guzman of Guatemala, Major Luis Carlos Prestes of

Brazil and Hugo Chavez of Venezuela who turned patriotic and progressive.

Chiang Kai-shek massacred 300,000 communists and other people in Shanghai in the 1920s. But later on, when Japan invaded China in the 1930s, the Chinese communists and the Guomindang came together in a united front against the Japanese invasionary forces. The Chinese communists considered the overriding interest of the Chinese nation and people in the united front against Japanese imperialism.

Fidel V. Ramos, as commanding general of the Philippine Constabulary, was one of the notorious butchers of the Marcos fascist regime for a long while. But as soon as he turned against Marcos, the CPP welcomed him as part of EDSA 1. Gen. Raymundo Jarque was welcome to the NDFP as soon as he turned against the ruling system. Many officers and men have resigned from the AFP either to live a productive civilian life or join the people's army.

It is possible, necessary and appropriate for the CPP to talk with the anti-Arroyo groups of military groups on the minimal basis of seeking the ouster of Arroyo through people's uprising cum withdrawal of military support, under the principle of people's sovereignty and civilian supremacy, short of a military coup d'etat; and on the maximal basis of seeking cooperation on patriotic and progressive grounds in the course of the oust-Arroyo movement and thereafter. Nevertheless, I presume that it is much easier for the CPP to talk with retired and active military officers who are patriotic and progressive and who are honestly against puppetry, corruption, electoral fraud and human rights violations.

3. *I remember though that the ABB—Popoy and Nilo—held talks in the 1990s with the Young*

Officers Union. Did this have the Party's OK? If so, why? What was the objective of those talks, what did they achieve? What were the lessons learned from that period?

JMS Answer: I am not aware of any talks authorized by the CPP, between the ABB and the Young Officers Union in the 1990s. What I remember most is that Popoy Lagman surrendered to the Ramos regime through some Philippine Navy officers in 1994. Nilo de la Cruz got caught up in the intelligence web of the ISAFP because Arturo Tabara had set him up. However, it seems that Nilo does not recognize this fact.

I believe that when the officers of the RAM and YOU were detained with suspected communists in the same compound for two years in the early 1990s, they had ample opportunity to exchange ideas and views about the basic problems of the country and possible solutions along the line of people's struggle for national freedom and democracy.

Since 1968, when I was chairman of the CPP Central Committee, the CPP has always considered underground work in the reactionary army as a major task. The initial elements engaged in the work were recruited by the CPP from a former USAFFE guerrilla unit that had cooperated with the Hukbalahap in World War II as well as from the Philippine Military Academy and the UP Vanguard corps of ROTC officers.

The Crispin Tagamolila Movement was launched in 1970 to further encourage AFP officers and men to take the side of the people and their revolution. Military personnel of whatever rank who are captured by the NPA are treated leniently in order to comply with the Geneva Conventions as well as to prove to them that they are welcome if they wish to take the side of the people.