



PAHAYAGAN SANG PARTIDO KOMUNISTA SANG PILIPINAS ★ ISLA SANG NEGROS

# ANG Paghimakas

GINAUBAYAN SANG MARXISMO-LENINISMO-MAOISMO MARCH 2024 SPECIAL ISSUE

**Carry out the rectification movement!  
Make every effort to advance  
the people's war on Negros Island!**

*Negros Island Regional Party Committee*

*March 29, 2024*



LIKE THE SCORCHING HEAT OF the current El Niño phenomenon, the Negros Island Regional Party Committee (NIRPC) offers its warm and revolutionary greetings and raises its fists in salute to all the Red commanders and fighters under the Apolinario Gatmaitan Command-New People's Army Negros Island Regional Operations Command (AGC-NPA), as well as the entire revolutionary forces and Negrosanons in welcoming the 55th anniversary of the New People's Army. We have earned another victorious year in frustrating the devilish brutality of the US-Marcos II regime and a victory for the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war on Negros island.

The legacy left behind by our revolutionary martyrs and heroes like Rogelio Posadas, Ericson Acosta, Romeo Nanta, Kerima Lorena Tariman, Marilyn Badayos, Flor Ceballos and others who selflessly sacrificed their lives in the womb of the revolutionary struggle of the people for genuine freedom and democracy has already been etched in history. Their bravery and wisdom in advancing the revolution continue to give inspiration to the next generation of revolutionaries.

The NPA has proven its determination and strength in confronting unparalleled sacrifices in the face of unparalleled state terrorism unleashed by the US-Marcos II regime through its intensified

focused military operations (FMO) and Retooled Community Support Programs (RCSP) according to the dictate of US imperialism to the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) to end the "internal security problem" in order to give priority to "external defense" or focusing on "preparations to defend the country" against China that in essence, puts the Filipino people in the midst of an impending inter-imperialist war.

The Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), the NPA and the entire revolutionary forces wholeheartedly appreciate the ardent participation and constant support of the broad oppressed and exploited Negrosanon masses. The people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war is a mass effort. Without their participation in the revolution, the Party and the NPA on the island is nothing and cannot survive the devilish brutality of the fascist US-Marcos II regime.

The current severity of the crisis and decline of livelihoods on the entire island are the result of the full implementation of US imperialism's neo-liberal policies and other anti-people and counter-revolutionary measures that affect the majority of workers, farmers, farmworkers, fisherfolk, professionals, intellectuals and other urban petty-bourgeoisie, including the national bourgeoisie and some sections of the ruling class. Livelihoods of the masses further deteriorate due to the impact of another calamity, the El Niño, which will

continue until May of this year. In just a few months, it caused great damage to the livelihoods of the people, especially in the countryside.

In the present worsening conditions, the people witness the inutile, bankrupt, selfish and pro-imperialist stand and measures of the US-Marcos II regime. Instead of addressing the needs of the people, state terrorism continues to intensify in order to suppress whoever criticizes or complains and harbors anger towards Marcos Jr's ruling clique.

Negrosanons are consciously seeking the path for genuine societal change, the path of armed revolution led by the working class through its Communist Party. It is clear to them that armed revolution is the sole solution to the basic problems on the island and the entire country. It is a just war that addresses the aspiration of the people to achieve genuine liberation and democracy, and social justice.

The entire revolutionary movement has obtained new strength through the current rectification movement. Thus, the Party and the NPA, with all the revolutionary forces in the region, are unafraid of the bloodthirst and threats of reactionary forces and are ever ready for another phase of challenges that require serious sacrifices to carry forward the people's war to a higher level until its victory together with the broad Negrosanon masses and the entire Filipino people.

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## Triumphs of the NPA and the protracted people's war under the absolute leadership of the Party on the island

Generally, the Party and the NPA in Negros are triumphant with regards to armed struggle because it once again frustrated the recurrent desire of the fascist US-Marcos II regime and its armed forces to crush the NPA on the island. The NPA was able to preserve its strength and prevent further damage due to the heightened FMOs

and RCSPs in guerrilla fronts by rectifying weaknesses in implementing guerrilla warfare. More importantly, in one level, it expanded and initially grew again from significant losses brought about by internal weaknesses.

In fact, the NPA on the island under the absolute leadership of the Party, accomplished its

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central task in advancing the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war as primary weapon of the Party and the people to overthrow the oppressive class, to end the semi-colonial and semifeudal system, and to establish the democratic state of the people and build a socialist society.

The NPA on the island has proven that it is an unwavering army of the people for it fights for the interest and aspiration of the masses for genuine liberation and democracy. Present Red commanders and fighters possess the boldness and determination of commanders and fighters of the NPA who first carried out armed struggle on the island like Apolinario "Ka Boygat" Gatmaitan (which is why the regional command of the NPA in Negros was named after him) together with workers from Victorias Milling Corporation including Bobby Nuñez and Rene Villanueva on 1969 and those who followed in the 55 years of armed struggle on the island such as Leonardo "Ka Jessie" Panaligan, Roselyn "Ka Jane" Pelle, Danilo "Ka Maoche" Bertolano, Rachele Mae "Ka Hannah" Palang, Armando "Ka Pao" Sumayang Jr, Romeo "Ka Ponso" Nabas, Romeo "Ka Juaning" Nanta and Rogelio "Ka Cocoy" Posadas. The NPA on Negros Island today is ever resolute in continuing and intensifying the people's war in the region.

From 70 NPA elements in Central Negros who affirmed the Party's basic principles and participated in the Second Great Rectification Movement (SGRM) in 1994, as well as cadres and members of the Regional Mass Movement Commission and the urban-based Partisan Front Committee, and the full-time commitment of 78 urban cadres to revolutionary work in the countryside, the NPA in Negros grew into five guerrilla fronts. Reactionary forces could not destroy the NPA when it was still a squad unit in 1969 or while it was recovering through the SGRM in 1994-1998 because of the grave international and local crisis which ignited the fire of revolution. This is also the reason that until now the enemy fails to crush the revolutionary movement on the island which continues in carrying out and advancing the three integral tasks of protracted people's war—advancing armed struggle, implementing agrarian revolution and building the mass base.

The 55 years of experience in waging armed struggle on the island is very valuable. It serves as foundation for further advance in the coming years. Positive as well as negative aspects must be viewed correctly and dialectically. The positive aspect is the foundation for further advance while the lessons from negative aspects that hinder the progress of the people's war is the guiding light in



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retracing the correct path in waging revolution.

Internal ideological, political and organizational weaknesses caused the weakening and decline in the last few years. Subjectivism in the form of empiricism persists today in the entire Party. This ideological illness resulted to Right opportunism in the political field and bureaucratism in the organizational field. Particularly in the field of armed struggle, a strong current of political and military conservatism can be observed in the last few years, however, NPA units on the island has begun serious efforts to overcome such weaknesses.

In the five years of the implementation of Memorandum Order (MO) 32, NPA Negros is able to preserve its five guerrilla fronts despite the enemy's intensified FMOs and RCSPs that employ seven battalions of the AFP and nine maneuver companies of the Philippine National Police (PNP). Each guerrilla front is facing one or more battalions of the reactionary armed forces. Frustrating the enemy's counterrevolutionary campaign from the last quarter of 2018 to the first three months of 2024 can be considered a victory, but still, in the process, we also incurred serious weaknesses and errors which impeded further development of the people's war.

It took time before decisive measures were made to gradually resolve self-constriction in the form of lingering in comfortable and favorite areas, and overconcentration or concentrating a large formation over a long period of time which brought about decisive battles disadvantageous to Red fighters and harmed the mass base. Self-constriction in guerrilla fronts was resolved through focusing on expansion work that opened new areas and also led to the recovery of some areas that had been abandoned for a long time and there were others that had just been revived after decades. However, areas under the enemy's focus were not neglected.

Good results of the guerrilla fronts' expansion work in areas with the least military presence or where they have no troops at all only show the limitation of the reactionary regime's forces in

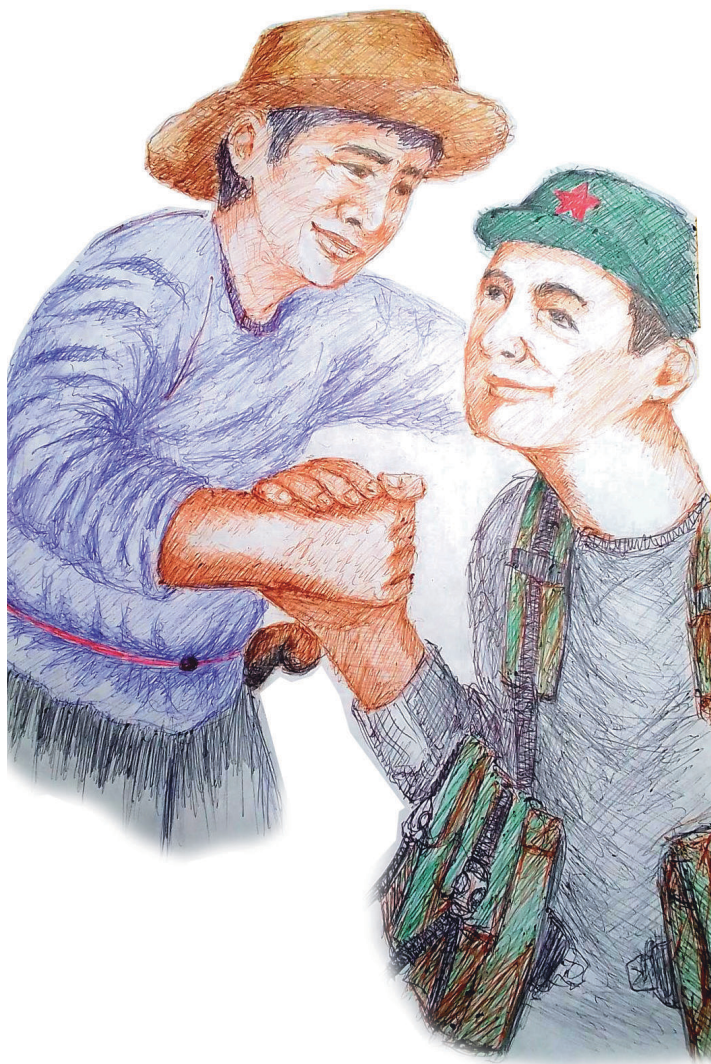
occupying Negros Island's vast countryside. Because areas reached by mass work expanded, new recruits gradually replenished NPA units. It is only right to further expand the guerrilla fronts and guerrilla zones beyond the enemy troops' capacity to occupy.

The disadvantage of using a large NPA unit that required large encampments and supplies, had difficulties in mobility and left traces behind causing the enemy to notice their movements early in entering a new area became a lesson in implementing expansion work. Expansion work also became slow when hard areas were prioritized instead of starting in soft areas. There was also a case where a unit was tied down due to "insufficient knowledge on target areas for expansion" which resulted to a delay in implementing expansion plans.

The weaknesses pointed out are akin to the tendency of being complacent and content with what can be achieved and the tendency to lightly consider the gravity of circumstances. The enemy's capacity was underestimated and there was a lack of military discipline. These were identified and criticized, and is in the process of being overcome.

While implementing expansion work, the problem of overconcentration was resolved by applying relative dispersal for mass work and to be able to reach a wider area. Because of this, many comrades were trained in managing different guerrilla formations. Likewise, problems regarding supplies, mobility, encampments and traces of guerrilla units were addressed. Hence, the number of armed encounters between the military and the people's army lessened especially in the second half of 2023 until now.

Amid the enemy's sustained and large-scale FMOs, the NPA kept on mounting tactical offensives last year but total victory was not achieved in accordance with the nature of guerrilla warfare that makes the enemy bleed through thousands of wounds on the body and occasional blows to the head. Since January 2023 until February this year, the NPA launched 62 military



actions throughout the island which seized 22 firearms and other war materiel, and afflicted damage to no less than 70 elements of the enemy, wherein 40 were killed-in-action.

It is evident that basic tactical offensives are very few compared to attritive and punitive actions. This is a manifestation of military conservatism. Lack of a creative plan especially on the matter of intelligence work, as well as lack of investigation on the enemy's situation particularly its weaknesses, and some Red commanders still having difficulty commanding the middle phase of the battle that will ensure a victorious confiscation of firearms, among others became weaknesses.

To carry forward the people's war, there are ongoing efforts in the region to raise the fighting capacity of the NPA in terms of guerrilla front and inter-guerrilla front planning and their leadership and coordination which is much needed for more mobility, flexibility and initiative. Theaters of war are being established with favorable terrain along boundaries of towns and cities, a combination of mountains and plains, rivers and streams, and

linkages with neighboring guerrilla fronts and political centers. The challenge now is further strengthening the guerrilla fronts and building more until extensive theaters of war are established and the complete force structure of the NPA, the local up to the militia unit and self-defense units in barrios, as well as partisan units for special operations in urban centers are developed.

The participation of peasants is essential in advancing the protracted people's war. The NPA is a peasant army, as well. Full-time Red fighters on the island are supported by thousands of Negrosanon masses and are reinforced by hundreds of members of militia units and self-defense units of revolutionary mass organizations as auxiliary and reserved forces of the NPA. They play a significant role in spreading guerrilla warfare through mounting attritive actions and small basic tactical offensives. However, the capacity of the people's strength has not been fully developed and should be given adequate attention.

In the face of the enemy's sustained FMOs and RCSPs, giving ideological, political and military education continued to be carried out and trainings within the people's army were also conducted. Yet, there is still much work to be done in political education among the ranks of the basic masses because it was not as vigorous and implementation was scattered.

The NPA forces on the island gradually recovered due to widening space more favorable for mass work. But a lot of effort is still needed to fully recover and overcome the devilish attacks of the enemy. Avoidance of decisive battles has also been resolved, but successful basic tactical offensives are still very few together with some implementation of agrarian revolution and mass campaigns. If this situation persists, it will be difficult to heighten the level of guerrilla warfare and develop mass organizations.

The implementation of agrarian revolution on the island remains little and scattered, especially with regard to sugarcane workers' wages and benefits under a monocrop sugar industry. The weakness in doing and lack of SICA work greatly contributed to this problem. On the other hand, the regional campaign particularly on the implementation of neoliberal policies on the island in the form of various projects like the reclassification and reclamation of land to convert the island's urban centers (Bacolod, Kabankalan and Dumaguete) into "super" and "smart" cities and make these as centers of regional offices; introduction of commercial Palm Oil plantations, de-

destructive mining and quarry operations, and renewable energy such as windmills and solar farms; privatization of public utilities like electricity and water; “modernization” of jeepneys; rice and sugar liberalization; and many more, is still in its initial phase.

As protector of the interest of US imperialism and its local lackeys—the big compradors and landlords, the AFP and PNP together with the National Task Force (NTF)-Elcac are desperate in imposing the principle of “drying out the water to kill the fish.” The enemy has largely aimed their guns at areas they recognize as revolutionary mass base, especially those they consider as consolidated areas of the NPA, through sustained and large-scale FMOs and RCSPs. Many peasant communities in Negros suffered serious human rights violations.

Nearly 700 incidents of human rights abuses in Negros Island have been monitored under the reign of Marcos Jr. There are more than 46,000 victims, almost a thousand of them are children. This sowed terror among the people of Negros. Nevertheless, together with the reinvigoration of the NPA, the Negrosanon masses also gradually gather their courage to confront the militarization in the countryside.

In cities, anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-fascist campaigns also continue to respond to international, national and local calls and issues affecting the broad masses. The legal democratic movement united the people’s resistance to neoliberal policies imposed here in Negros, destructive mining and quarry operations, increase of the prices of oil and basic needs of the people, land reclamations, privatization of water and electricity, jeepney phaseout, onerous taxes on basic commodities, and US and China’s intervention on the West Philippine Sea.

The people of Negros condemn and demand the junking of the Maharlika Investment Fund, confidential funds and NTF-Elcac. The cry for justice, an end to militarization in the countryside, and resumption of peace talks between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) reverberate all over the island. The legal mass movement also joined the worldwide call to end the oppression of the Palestinian people and stop Israel’s occupation of Gaza.

It is good that the legal democratic movement is slowly recovering from severe attacks of reactionary forces against their ranks since the Duterte regime. It also built the broadest united front against the oppressive, corrupt, and fascist

US-Marcos Jr regime. The church people greatly contributed to revitalizing the mass campaigns last year. Activists and progressive organizations are courageous and determined even though they were targeted by the reactionary state and became victims of various forms of human rights violations.

In general, the mass movement in the cities is in initial efforts to overcome the current of Right opportunism in the form of reformism, legalism and others. Through the guidance of the Party, there are vital efforts to rebuild a strong mass movement in the cities which will isolate the ruling clique of the ruling class and prevent them from sending additional military forces to the countryside against the people and the revolutionary forces in guerrilla fronts.

Even though armed struggle is the principal form of revolutionary struggle while political power has not yet been seized in the entire country, the legal form of struggle in the cities is considered as secondary but an indispensable form of struggle. It complements the armed struggle in the countryside.



## Arduous fighting tasks in the year ahead

The Party through the NIRPC leads the revolutionary advance in the countryside and cities on Negros Island. Unity among Party cadres and members, together with Red commanders and fighters of the NPA, is strong and firm in advancing revolutionary tasks and responsibilities amid intensifying state terrorism. Full of revolutionary optimism to overcome ideological, political and organizational weaknesses and shortcomings, revolutionary forces are more persistent in implementing the arduous tasks in the year ahead to carry forward protracted people's war on the island to a higher level and contribute to the general advance of the people's democratic revolution in the entire country.

The Party, NPA and entire revolutionary force in the region are fully resolved to carry out the rectification movement called by the Central Committee and the Second Congress of the CPP last 2016 on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM) and basic Party principles. It uses the summing-up of the regional experience as guiding light in overcoming identified ideological, political and organizational errors that hinder the comprehensive development of the revolution on the island. It is necessary to be good in learning and promptly draw lessons from positive and negative experiences, as well as lessons from the enemy.

The Party absolutely leads the NPA that means politics is in command of the gun. The Party that is within various NPA formations up to the revolutionary mass organizations militantly

leads the fulfillment of the revolutionary line, tasks, policies and discipline. Ideological and political education of Red commanders and fighters, including their training, are ensured. Basic principles of the national democratic revolution through protracted people's war with a socialist perspective and the three integral tasks of people's war are made clear to them.

The Party makes certain of the effective mobilization of NPA forces and that instructions on tasks are given correctly and clearly. It also checks on the progress of the implementation of revolutionary tasks and conducts assessments and criticism and self-criticism within the NPA.

Vigorous political work in the NPA will raise the consciousness and will to fight of Red commanders and fighters and strengthen their spirit to serve the people. It fortifies unity between the people's army and the masses and among officers and fighters. It promotes democracy in the fields of economy, politics and military within the NPA.

In the coming year, apart from continuing to frustrate the enemy's desire to destroy the revolutionary movement on Negros Island, it is necessary to further increase the NPA's strength in terms of area and forces. Key aspects here are numerous victorious big and small tactical offensives and widespread anti-feudal struggles and mass campaigns complemented by swift expansion and consolidation of the mass base on the entire island. If the three integral tasks are well implemented, these will certainly become



sources of revolutionary strength for the advance.

Continue overcoming self-constriction and overconcentration of NPA units. Be wise in applying guerrilla tactics of concentration, dispersal and shifting suitable to the war situation. Reap and grow the achievements in expansion work. Further widen and deepen all guerrilla fronts. Strive to expand beyond the reach of FMOs and RCSPs to allow more space for maneuver and for the implementation of mass work, military work and other comprehensive tasks. Likewise, be creative in recovering and maintaining consolidated areas to guide the masses as they resist and confront heightened enemy attacks.

In carrying out revolutionary tasks, NPA formations must adapt to the capacity of the mass base and the nature and movement of the enemy. Make maintaining secrecy a mass movement so that recovery of the mass base and expansion work will not be immediately disturbed.

Guerrilla warfare of the masses is a valuable aspect in waging protracted people's war. Our militia units and other local guerrilla formations have a large membership. As the NPA Negros' main machinery for mounting offensive actions, their capacity in studying the war situation, knowledge of enemy techniques and tactics, military discipline, skill in maintaining secrecy, and guerrilla tactics and operation must also be increased.

Be creative and adaptable in consolidating all forces—the Party, NPA and revolutionary masses—in relation to intensifying FMOs and RCSPs of the enemy. Continue conducting Party education and the National Democratic School (PADEPA) in the NPA, and among local guerrilla formations like the militia units and mass organizations especially regarding the basic principles and policies of the Party and the writings of Comrade Mao Zedong, Comrade Ho Chi Minh and Comrade Jose Maria Sison, particularly on guerrilla warfare. Prioritize as well the politico-military training of Red fighters and militia units and giving the basic officer's course so that revolutionary knowledge and fighting capacity can advance together. Ensure the safety of conducting study meetings and trainings.

Campaign the study of the regional summing-up for revolutionary forces to grasp lessons from the positive and negative experiences from the last five years of waging revolution. Study meetings on basic documents as prescribed by the Central Committee in relation to launching the rectification movement must also be conducted. These studies seek to overcome empiricism in the form of mechanical style of study and work and in

learning and practicing the application of MLM on concrete Philippine conditions and advancing our revolutionary practice.

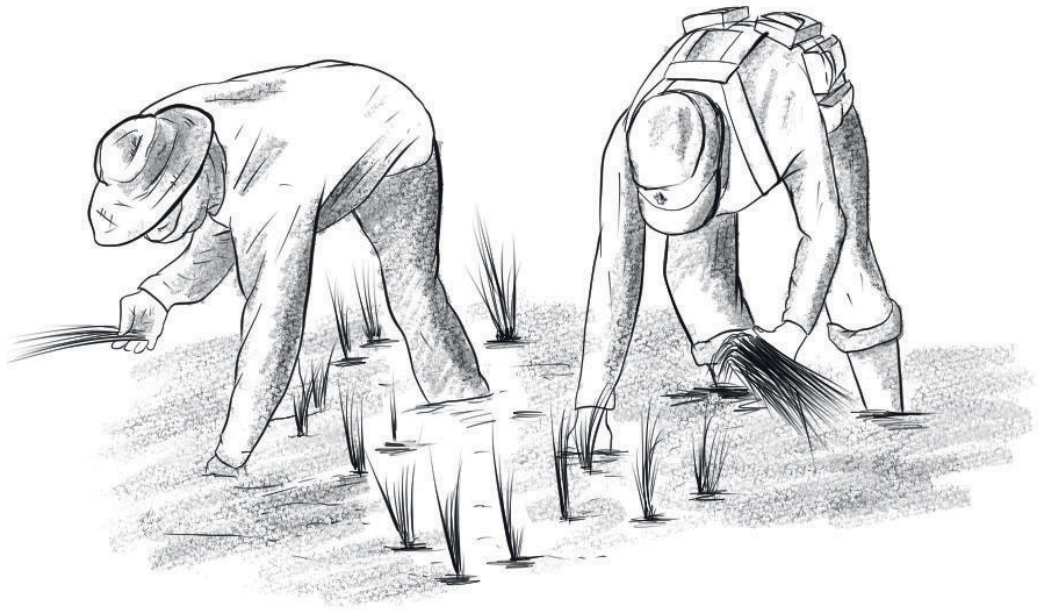
For establishing war theaters, it is necessary to make a decisive plan on strengthening the guerrilla fronts and closing gaps in between them. It is important that guerrilla fronts achieve the typical force structure of one company with a platoon as center of gravity and other guerrilla units dispersed to cover a wider radius. Leadership and coordination must also be improved to attain maximum synergy of revolutionary strength.

Victorious basic tactical offensives supported by attritive actions play a major role in the general recovery and invigoration of the revolutionary movement on Negros Island. It has already been proven in the revolutionary experience on the island that mounting tactical offensives we can win strengthens the NPA and the entire revolutionary movement. Therefore, we must launch sustained and daring tactical offensives based on our strength. Look for the enemy's weaknesses and develop new tactics. As always, we learn to fight by fighting.

Together with mounting victorious tactical offensives, launching widespread agrarian revolution and other mass campaigns is also necessary. Social investigation and class analysis conducted







by Party organs and NPA units is crucial for identifying key issues that can arouse, organize and mobilize more and broader masses. It is important that we raise our capacity in launching campaigns from the level of sitio and inter-sitio, hacienda and inter-hacienda to inter-barrio, municipal, district up to the provincial and regional scope.

Carrying out agrarian revolution is also key in the prompt consolidation and expansion of the mass base. While triggering anti-feudal struggles and other mass campaigns, make sure that it is accompanied by the formation of mass organizations. The weakness of being content with launching mass campaigns only up to mobilizing the masses but without building the corresponding solid strength of the masses through establishing various basic organizations of farmers, farm workers, women, youth, children, cultural groups, fisherfolk and others, must be overcome.

Mass campaigns can expedite the harvest of the best recruits for the Party and NPA. Through this, new mass activists and leaders will emerge and disheartened and old members will be reactivated. However, caution must be exercised in re-admitting to the revolutionary ranks former members and “surrenderees.” They must be processed based on the policy and there must be an investigation on individual circumstances. Be very careful not to let a single undesirable in.

Carrying out mass campaigns should also result in a broad united front especially among middle forces, including the rich peasants and national bourgeoisie and even some from the ranks of the ruling class like the enlightened landlords and politicians.

El Niño impacts the country throughout a large part of this year. More severe hunger and livelihood difficulties of the people caused by this calamity

are rampant particularly in the countryside. For sure, instead of saving the people, the reactionary government will prioritize what it can pocket from the calamity fund while moving like a turtle in offering help to the masses. It is expected that the AFP/PNP/NTF-Elcac will further intensify military operations, intelligence operations and civil-military operations, that in essence dupes the people in peasant communities, which will worsen the masses’ suffering.

The masses should be led in their struggle during El Niño such as in demanding assistance from the reactionary government and, likewise, exposing the US-Marcos II regime’s corruption-ridden, selfish and inutile measures to aid the masses. Campaigns on production must also be launched in different forms like building irrigation systems and other means that can boost production despite extreme drought and heat. Here the masses can differentiate the NPA and the reactionary AFP, PNP and its paramilitary groups in terms of truly helping the masses. It is also a way for the masses to gradually surmount their fear and put the enemy on the defensive.

A successful mass campaign can also provide an opportunity to expand into new areas and to reach areas that the NPA cannot yet cover. Teams must be sent to work on guerrilla zone preparation particularly in areas situated along highways, riverbanks, coastlines and plains, and urban centers.

The Party cannot overlook the vital role of the legal democratic movement in the cities in strengthening the armed struggle in the countryside. Mass mobilizations must be intensified based on major issues confronting the masses today especially the implementation of neoliberal policies here in Negros Island. By closely linking

the issues of the masses in the cities to the anti-feudal issues in the countryside, the justness of armed struggle can be reverberated.

Open mass organizations must be revitalized and clandestine mass organizations and networks should be widened and deepened. Forming the broadest united front that would drive a wedge in the ranks of the ruling class and shake the class enemy from their own stronghold is among the tasks of the mass movement in the cities. A great measure of its success are the many recruits for the NPA, for the peasant movement and other tasks supporting armed struggle in the countryside. Likewise, it can produce logistical and material support and other resources for the armed struggle.

The NPA inspires the mass movement in the cities. Thus, it welcomes revolutionaries who can no longer work in the cities because of intense red-tagging and “salvaging” of activists and mass leaders.

It is now abundantly clear that the Party and the NPA are the genuine champions of the interest and welfare of the Negrosanons and the entire Filipino people against the thrust of neoliberal policies and programs on the island and its twin, the heightened terrorism of the reactionary state.

The support of the broad masses for the revolutionary armed struggle is further deepening. Now, more than ever, it is remarkable that the people’s democratic movement through protracted people’s war is a just war, similarly, joining the revolution is justified. On this basis, the NPA is an army that can never be defeated.

**Advance the interest and welfare of the Negrosanons and the entire Filipino people!**

**Oppose the neoliberal policies of US imperialism implemented through the reactionary state of big compradors and landlords!**

**Frustrate the enemy’s FMOs and RCSPs!**

**Put an end to the terrorism of the reactionary state and attain social justice!**

**Carry forward the people’s democratic revolution through protracted people’s war to greater heights!**

**Long live the CPP-NPA-NDF!**

