

LIBERATION

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ABOUT THE ISSUE

Dagitab's quill art depicts the people's democratic revolution in the Philippines — led by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), with the New People's Army (NPA) and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) — as it treads the path of war to gain peace, freedom and prosperity for the Filipino people. It is a people's war that targets imperialism, principally the US, and the landlord-comprador class as its enemies. It builds people's lives, not destroy them.

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The NDFP is the revolutionary united front organization of the Filipino people fighting for national freedom and for the democratic rights of the people. Established on April 24, 1973, the NDFP seeks to develop and coordinate all progressive classes, sectors and forces in the Filipino people's struggle to end the rule of US imperialism and its local allies, and attain national and social liberation.

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EDITORIAL

DEFINING PEACE

Since ages, the reactionary classes have made use of buzz words such as “unity,” “peace,” “reconciliation,” to rally the masses behind them and their interests. But when a charged moment of conflict among them intensifies, they mouth these calls within their ranks to de-escalate the tension. Such was the case in January this year when believers of the Iglesia ni Cristo were herded, in the name of peace, to decrease the tension between the Marcos and Duterte dynasties that was rocking the system.

Yet, this brand of peace imposed by the reactionary classes has been the cause of unpeace, of the systemic violence and injustices against the masses. The dominant narrative is: do not complain, do not protest, do not rebel. Cooperate. Say yes to landlessness, unemployment, corruption, poverty, demolition, plunder and destruction of natural resources, US military bases, to US domination, Chinese incursions in our seas, endless importation, destruction of local industries. Say yes to the continuing exploitation and oppression of the masses by the ruling classes under a semifeudal, semicolonial system.

Continually, the reactionary state tries to turn the table against those who are working to change the harsh and violent system towards a progressive, just and humane Philippine society. From the most inane accusation such as traffic violation, illegal assembly, to being the cause of underdevelopment in the country, those who fight against social injustice and for their democratic rights were called *tulisan*, subversives, terrorists and end up being harassed, intimidated, jailed, killed, disappeared.



THIS BRAND OF PEACE IMPOSED BY THE REACTIONARY CLASSES HAS BEEN THE CAUSE OF UNPEACE, OF THE SYSTEMIC VIOLENCE AND INJUSTICES AGAINST THE MASSES. THE DOMINANT NARRATIVE IS: DO NOT COMPLAIN, DO NOT PROTEST, DO NOT REBEL.

In the peace negotiations it means surrender, capitulation, and to work within the framework of the reactionary constitution that serves the semicolonial and semifeudal system that the reactionary classes themselves continue to violate as they fight among themselves for their own share of crumbs from the nation's coffers they have wiped out.

Hateful of anything that shakes the system, the ruling classes always insist on “peace” to save the semicolonial and semifeudal system. Like a bunch of leeches, these bloodsuckers—the landlords and bourgeois compradors and their imperialist masters—cling to this rotten system, protect and preserve it at all costs because of the political and economic power they get from it. Not even when hell freezes will they surrender their power to the masses.

It is this situation that validates and legitimizes the necessity and urgency of the national democratic revolution as the solution to the age-old problem of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat capitalism; to achieve peace that is based on justice and not defined by the use of guns. It means land for the landless, food on the table, roof above our heads, decent jobs and wages, free education and accessible and affordable basic needs. These aspirations are articulated in both the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution as well as the 12-Point Program of the NDFP.

The people's democratic revolution in the Philippines — led by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), with the New People's Army (NPA) and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP)—treads the path of war to gain peace, freedom and prosperity for its people. It is a people's war that targets imperialism, principally the US, and the landlord-comprador class as its enemies. It builds people's lives, not destroys them. **LIB**

Unite the people for the overthrow of the semi colonial and semi feudal system through the People's War for the completion of the National Democratic Revolution.



LIBERATION

UNITING THE PEOPLE FOR NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

by Leon Castro

With more than six decades of uniting the people by studying and analyzing Philippine society, establishing and leading revolutionary organizations, and launching one of the world's longest people's war for national democracy, no one embodies the National Democratic Front of the Philippines' (NDFP) first aim in its 12-point program more than Jose Maria Sison.

Joma united the people by first immersing himself in the study and analyses of Philippine society and concluding that a national democratic people's war is the only way to overthrow the country's semicolonial and semifeudal system. He founded *Kabataang Makabayan* (Patriotic Youth) in 1964 before founding the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) in 1968. In 1969, he established the New People's Army (NPA) and in 1973, led the establishment of the NDFP.

In its 55-year revolution, no other political force has united the Filipino people, including the Moro and indigenous peoples, as much as the CPP, its people's army and united front to defeat the oppressive semicolonial and semifeudal system to establish a national democratic government with a socialist future. All of these have been inspired and led by Joma. From his youth to his very last breath, he had served as a uniting factor and inspiration with his intellectual brilliance and revolutionary fervor. He has no equal in personifying NDFP's rallying call to revolution.

YOUTHFUL AWAKENING

In a 2023 NDFP-produced biopic, Joma himself revealed that even as a child, he already realized the poverty of the Filipino masses, particularly the peasants. He found their destitution incongruous with the rose-colored promises he heard from politicians in his home region of Ilocandia. Many of those politicians were relatives, leading his father to advise him to become a lawyer and then become a politician himself. Joma said he initially agreed to the plan, but only to help the poor through free legal services.

It was a track expected of the obviously bright boy whose prominent landowning family included a paternal great grandfather who was the biggest landlord in all of northern Luzon at the end of the 19th century. His grandfather was even the last *governadorcillo* (mayor) of Cabugao, Ilocos Norte under Spanish colonial rule. Other forebears included governors of Ilocos Sur and Pangasinan, even a defense secretary in the US colonial regime. Joma's mother was herself a daughter of landowning families in Pampanga from which he first learned about the *Hukbong Bayan Laban sa mga Hapon* (HUKBALAHAP) and the first Communist guerrilla movement in the Philippines.

From Joma's youth to his very last breath, he had served as a uniting factor and inspiration with his intellectual brilliance and revolutionary fervor. He has no equal in personifying NDFP's rallying call to revolution.

But by his college senior year in 1959 at the University of the Philippines in Diliman, the plan was abandoned. Joma was about to graduate with a Bachelor of Arts in English Literature degree with honors when he co-founded the Student Cultural Association of the University of the Philippines (SCAUP). This was in protest against the 1957 Anti-Subversion Law that was used for conducting an anti-communist witchhunt in collaboration with the US Central Intelligence Agency and the clerico-fascist elements in the dominant Catholic Church. "We openly announced the objective to study and learn from the revolutionary history of the of the Filipino people against Spanish colonialism and then against US imperialism and to strive to continue the unfinished national democratic revolution, no longer under the leadership of the liberal bourgeoisie but under that of the proletariat," Joma said about those heady days.

At the same time, Joma and his equally young comrades secretly conducted study meetings on the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism in relation to Philippine history and current circumstances of the Filipino people.

It was at this time when his dream of becoming a lawyer was gradually weakening and diminishing, Joma said. "By 1959, I realized it was really silly and that waging revolution was what was really needed," he laughingly recalled.

JOINING THE OLD COMMUNIST PARTY

Joma studied for a time in Indonesia and returned to become a literature, Rizal Studies and political science professor. In December 1962, he joined the *Lavaite Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas* (PKP) and immediately became a member of its executive committee. As vice-chairperson of the *Lapiang Manggagawa* (Workers' Party) in 1963, he led its consolidation in 1964 and reconstitution as the Socialist Party in 1965.

"I joined the *Lapiang Manggagawa* for political education work among the trade union members in the latter half of 1962. I became the head of the research and education department of the Party. I was in charge of research, drafting party statements, issuing publications and holding seminars. The student activists from various universities joined the workers in seminars. Later on, children of veteran peasant leaders from the rural regions close to Manila also joined," he told the progressive website *Descifrando La Guerra*.

In 1964, he co-founded the *Kabataang Makabayan*

(Patriotic Youth) that organized the Filipino youth against the imperialist war in Vietnam, the emerging Ferdinand Marcos Sr. dictatorship, imperialism, bureaucrat capitalism and feudalism.

Soon enough, all the organizations Joma was leading were able to launch mass actions on national issues against the reactionary government and its pro-imperialist policies, especially economic and military subservience to the US. “My experience in organizing and arousing among the students was immensely useful. This experience I developed I would later bring to the ranks of the workers,” Joma said.

Ever-observant and always unafraid to challenge wrong ideas and grievous mistakes, Joma studied and investigated the errors the series of Lava siblings committed that led to the liquidation of the old Communist Party. He learned that there had been no single Party collective organ or any Party branch in existence for some years. Then secretary general Jesus Lava was merely hiding himself in Manila without connection to any mass base or armed force since 1957 when he issued policies that made the Party moribund. Within the Executive Committee, Joma learned from internal documents and from his conversations with veteran worker and peasant cadres the facts about the errors that plunged the organization into liquidation. When his draft of the document titled “Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party” was rejected by the pro-Lava majority of the Executive Committee, he left.

FOUNDING, LEADING THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

Convinced that only through the implementation of the recommendations of the document in a Great Rectification Movement would save the Communist movement in the Philippines, Joma led the formation of CPP on December 26, 1968. The new Party, guided by the universal theory of Marxism-Leninism, took on the task of applying Marxist-Leninist theory to the concrete conditions of the Philippines and integrating it with the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution.

In his trademark fashion, Joma lost no time in establishing contacts with remnants of the Hukbalahap to establish the New People’s Army on March 29, 1969. The NPA is the CPP’s principal organization in consolidating political power in the overthrow of the semicolonial, semifeudal Philippine society to a national democratic revolution.



The movement’s first great victories were the First Quarter Storm of 1970 and the Diliman Commune of 1971, student and worker-led uprisings in Metro Manila. While these uprisings were shaking up the capital, Joma led the preparatory committee for the establishment of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines in 1971. This alliance of revolutionary organizations, currently numbering 18 formations, was eventually established in April 1973.

In 1977, Joma was captured by the fascist military of the dictatorship, but the revolution he started and inspired could no longer be stopped. “I am happy and proud to say that when I was captured, the ideological, political and organizational foundation of the revolutionary movement had become solid and strong. The Marxist-Leninist ideological and political line was well-established by basic, intermediate and advanced courses of study among CPP cadres and members, by the rectification movement against the Lavaite errors from 1942 onwards and by the analysis of Philippine history and society by the CPP Program for a People’s Democratic Revolution,” he said.

From a little over 100 CPP members in 1969, they

swelled to the thousands in 1977, nationwide in scale and deeply rooted among the workers and peasants. From only nine automatic rifles at the start in 1969, the NPA had increased its arms to more than 2000 automatic rifles in 1977. From only tens of thousands of mass activists in 1968, they were already in the hundreds of thousands in various types of mass organizations in 1977. The rural mass base had been 80,000 in only one district in Tarlac in 1969. The mass base consisted of two million people in some 40 guerilla fronts in 1977. They were also under the governance of the local organs of political power or the people's democratic government, Joma narrated.

Regaining freedom in 1986 after the ouster of the dictator Marcos, Joma was forced to apply for a political asylum status in The Netherlands after the Corazon Aquino regime canceled his Manila government-issued passport. In exile, he wrote the document "Reaffirm Basic Principles and Rectify Errors" and led the CPP to its Second Great Rectification Movement against the major errors of subjectivism and opportunism in various regions at various times from 1981 to 1991.

Joma died in December 16, 2022 in Utrecht, The Netherlands. He was 83. But nearly 56 years since founding and leading the CPP, the Party and the NPA have carried out the people's democratic revolution in preparation for the subsequent stage of socialist revolution. It has stood out as the advanced detachment of the Filipino proletariat and as the leading force in the Filipino people's democratic revolution. It has firmly upheld its revolutionary principles and won brilliant victories in revolutionary struggles against all forces that oppress and exploit the Filipino people. **LIB**

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Kung paano nananaig ang rebolusyon sa kabila ng mga atake ni Priscilla Guzman

Tinanong ni Ka Andie ang sarili kung “mananatili pa ba ako rito o uuwi na sa NCR?” matapos maranasan ang serye ng matitinding atake at pambobomba ng Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) sa mga lugar na kinilusan niya. Nasugatan si Ka Andie sa isa mga insidenteng ito. Pero tulad noon, iisa pa rin ang sagot niya sa sarili, “Kung kinaya ng iba, kakayanin ko rin.”

Bahagi si Ka Andie ng gawaing propaganda at publikasyon ng isang rehiyon sa Bisayas, isang dating propesyunal mula sa National Capital Region na nagpasyang kumilos sa kanayunan. Mula noon hanggang ngayon, ang laging nasa isip ni Ka Andie tuwing nahaharap sa mabigat na pagpapasya ay “Kung kinaya ng iba, kakayanin ko rin.”

Normal lang daw ang self-doubt, sabi ni Ka Andie. “Talagang may pag-aalinlangan sa sarili, sa gawain, sa kakayahan. Di ka bubuhayin ng pride, lalo na kung dahil sa pride ay di ka magbubukas sa collective. Importante ang pagbubukas sa collective para makahanap ng wastong solusyon sa mga kinakaharap na usapin, maging sa usapin ng security.”

Pero higit sa pasya ng mga indibidwal na manatili sa kanayunan, sa hukbo, tinukoy ni Ka Andie ang mga susi para manaig ang rebolusyonaryong kilusan sa kabila ng mararahas na atake ng rehimeng Marcos Jr sa pamamagitan ng AFP, Philippine National Police, at ng NTF-ELCAC. Ito ang ibinahagi ni Ka Andie sa *Liberation*.

1 Pamumuno ng Partido sa pagharap sa kaaway

Di maiiwasang may makararanas ng trauma at demoralisasyon sa mga kasama dahil sa tindi ng atake ng kaaway. Hindi rin naman talaga biro ang makararanas ng pambobomba. Kasabay nito, pag masinsin ang operasyon ng kaaway, gutom ang inaabot. Minsan, isang linggo kaming nagsasalo sa niyog; O, talbos ng kamote, o kamote kapalit ng kanin at talbos naman ng kamote ang ulam.

Pero kahit gaano pa kahirap ang dinadanas ng mga kasama, mabilis itong napapangibabawan kung mahusay ang pamumuno ng Partido sa hukbo at sa masa. Sa karanasan namin, ito ang naging mapagpasya para determinadong harapin ng mga rebolusyonaryo ang mga atake ng reaksyunaryong estado. Napapanatili ng Partido ang revolutionary optimism sa hanay ng mga kasama, hukbo, at masa.

Ang Partido ang nangunguna sa tuluy-tuloy na assessment, pag-alam ng mga kahinaan at kalakasan sa pagkilos at pagtugon sa mga sitwasyong kinaharap, at paghalaw ng mga aral para sa mga bagong plano at mga SOPs. Dahil dito, napipigilan ang mga mapaminsalang atake.

Hindi naman sa lahat ng panahon may atake ang kaaway. Sa panahong “tahimik” ang paligid, nakakapaglunsad kami ng crash course halimbawa ng Batayang Kurso ng Partido (BKP). Tuluy-tuloy pa rin naman ang gawaing edukasyon, political work. Pero sa mga baryo, hindi nagiging “tahimik” dahil nakababad ang militar na nagsasagawa ng RCSP (Retooled Community Support Program). Kaya kailangang mag-adjust sa moda ng pagkilos.

Weekly namin ginagawa ang political work sa hukbo at sa masa. May mga discussion groups (DGs) na iba pa sa gawaing edukasyon. Sa mga DGs, tinatalakay namin ang pambansang kalagayan, mga updates sa mass movement, mga karanasan ng ibang bansa noong nakikidigma sila gaya ng sa Vietnam. Malaking tulong ang mga bidyo—mga karanasan ng ibang bansa at mga pagkilos sa lunsod na naka-post sa social media—para sa morale ng mga hukbo. Dito nakikita nila ang mga pagkilos ng iba pang sektor na nagiging inspirasyon din sa mga pagsusulong ng Hukbo sa armadong pakikibaka.

Pinag-aaralan din ang vulnerabilities ng mga kagamitan ng kaaway gaya ng drones, Hermes, Tucano at FA50. Pati nga kaibahan ng tunog ng eroplano, helicopter at drone ay inaaral din ng masa para hindi sila madaling masindak.



Fake news nga ‘yang sinasabing wala na ang mga guerrilla fronts. Sa amin, pagkatapos ng pambobomba, nakapag-celebrate pa kami ng anibersaryo ng Partido. Malaki ang pormasyon ng hukbo na nandun, nakapag-spaghetti pa kami at, pinaka-importante, nakapagparangal sa mga martir.

Sa pamumuno ng Partido, mas solido ang paglaban sa iba’t-ibang aspeto. Tumitibay ang loob ng mga pwersa at ng masa. Kung wala ang pamumuno ng Partido, humihina ang paglaban.

2 Tambalang hukbo at masa

May pagkakataong parang nakikipag-patintero kami sa mga militar. May insidente pa ngang maraming columns ng kaaway ang nakabangga sa pwesto namin.

Naging mahalagang bahagi ng maniobra ng mga yunit ng hukbo at iba pang mga kasama ang masa. Ang masa ang sumagip sa mga kasama. Sa tulong nila, nakapagmaniobra ang hukbo at nalusutan ang maraming columns ng kaaway. Alam kasi nila ang bawat sulok ng kagubatan, ang mga palatandaang puno at tanim, kahit mga bato at pagitan ng mga puno na maaring lusutan. Mahusay ang orientation nila sa kagubatan.

Importante talaga ang tulongan ng masa at hukbo. Yung husay ng hukbo sa military work at ang natural na kaalaman ng masa sa terrain ay makapangyarihang kombinasyon para sa pagsusulong ng armadong pakikibaka. Napatunayan naman na ‘yan sa mahabang panahon. Sa mga ganyang sitwasyon, ipinapaubaya ko na talaga ang buhay ko sa masa at sa hukbo. Lesson yan sa humility.

Di mo talaga pwedeng ikumpara ang “talino” ng mga peti-B sa talino ng masa, ng magsasaka. Kaya mahalaga ang tulongan ng bawat isa. Marami pang dapat alamin. Yung mga alam nating peti-burges karamihan diyan hindi naman praktikal sa kalagayan ng masa.

Magaling naman ang mga peti-b sa paglalalatag ng sistema ng gawain, administrasyon. Kaya kailangan ang kumbinasyon ng galing ng bawat isa. Kaya lang, hindi mo ‘to makikita kung kayabangan ang dala mo sa masa.

3 Suporta ng masa

Masa pa rin ang maasahan ng mga kasama kapag wala nang makain. Kapag limitado ang galaw nila sa baryo dahil nga nakababad doon ang mga sundalo, naging unawaan na lang na pwedeng kumuha ng makakain sa mga taniman nila ang mga kasama. Katulong rin ang masa sa pagtanim at pag-iimbak ng pagkain, bahagi yan ng practice ng war economy sa CS.

Naka-war footing din ang masa sa araw-araw. May relyebo sa pag-gwardya at pagmamanman—lalaki man o babae.

Pero sa totoo lang, ang ganyang relasyon ay bunga naman nang malalim na ugnayan ng masa at ng rebolusyonaryong kilusan. Kung tutuusin, di naman na sila magkaiba. Ang masa at ang hukbo’t mga kasama ay iisa. Bawat pamilya, minsan pa nga ay buong angkan, sa lugar ay may kasama o myembro ng hukbo, di lamang isa o dalawa.

Yung mga tagumpay sa rebolusyong agraryo na inilunsad ng Partido, ng hukbo, ng mga rebolusyonaryong organisasyong masa ang isa sa mga dahilan kung bakit malalim na naka-ugat ang rebolusyonaryong kilusan sa hanay ng masa. Kaya’t hindi kataka-takang automatic na ang tulong ng mga nasa baryo para sa hukbo at mga kasama.

Basta’t nasa tabi ang hukbo, nanatili ang diwang palaban ng masa.



4 Ikatlong kilusang pagwawasto

Para sa akin, ito na ang ruok ng kababaang-loob ng rebolusyonaryong kilusan na pinamumunuan ng Partido—ang pagpuna sa mga sariling pagkakamali, kahit sa publiko.

Naging kamalian din namin ang ilan sa mga nabanggit sa kilusang pagwawasto—yung may paboritong lugar na pinupuntahan o binababaran. Ito yun mga nakasanayang baryo at palagay na ang loob ng mga hukbo.

Pag ganito kasi, maiiwan sa limitadong tao lang ang napapakilos kumpara kung malawak ang naiikutang mga baryo. Nagiging makitid ang languyan at napapabayaang rin ang ibang lugar. Isang dahilan rin ito na mabilis matitiktikan ng kaaway lalo na kung may naitanim na ispiya sa baryo, mga taong nanggagapang sa base at naniniktik ng bakas ng hukbo at mga kasama. Kailangang mobile talaga para nakakaikot sa iba’t ibang lugar kung nasaan ang masa. Hindi naman nakaka-atake ang kaaway sa lahat ng lugar sa isang takdang panahon kaya hindi imposibleng umikot.

May konserbatismo din kami, halimbawa, ang pag-aalinlangang bumira sa kaaway dahil iniisip na agad ang magiging ganting-salakay nito.

Nakita na ang mga ito bago pa pormal na inilunsad ang ikatlong kilusang pagwawasto. Nauna nang maglunsad ng rectification movement sa region noong pang 2016 pero hindi na-sustain kaya nagpatuloy ang losses. Noong 2018, kasabay halos ng ika-50 anibersaryo ng Partido, nagkaroon na ng resolution na iwasto ang verticalization ng hukbo at paghusayin ang masinsing pakikidigmang gerilya.

Malaking bagay ang rectification movement para makita ang naging kalakasan at kahinaan sa pagsusulong ng digmang bayan. Mahalagang armas ito para salagin ang mga atake ng kaaway.

5 Indibidwal na pagwawasto at pagpapatuloy sa rebolusyon

Hindi naging madali ang adjustments ko sa kanayunan. Mahirap para sa mga peti-burges ang pagtulog sa duyan, o makeshift na kubo sa mga kampuhan lalo na kung sanay sa aircon, malambot na kama, kung sanay sa komportableng buhay sa syudad.

Sa kanayunan ko natutunan ang totoong ibig sabihin ng humility o pagpapakumbaba. Lagi’t lagi pinapaalala

sa sarili na hindi ako sapat. Totoo rin naman, sa CS mangmang ka sa maraming bagay. Nalaman kong marami akong di alam sa mundo. Noong umpisa, di nga ako marunong gumawa ng apoy. Magugutom ako dun kahit marunong akong magluto.

Noong simula pa lang, at lalo na ngayon, na-realize ko na kailangan maging mahusay na mag-aaral—hindi lang pormal na pag-aaral kundi maging yung nangyayari sa paligid para tama ang response sa sitwasyon, alam kung ano ang pwedeng gawin. Kahit sa mga usaping security, kailangang pag-aralan ang mga butas.

Ang lahat nang nakakatakot, nagiging less scary if objectified. Lapat lang ng MD (materyalismong diyalektiko), mga pinag-aralan natin sa BKP. Di pwedeng di nag-aaral, nagbabasa at nagtatanong kung bakit ba ako nandito.

Yung asawa ko palagi niyang binabalikan kung bakit siya nasa hukbo, ano ba ang timbang ng mga personal na problema kumpara sa kalagayan ng masa at ang mga ginagawa sa kanila ng mga reaksyunaryong militar. Dito namin hinuhugot ang lakas ng loob para magpatuloy.

Natural namang nakakaisip bumaba o umayaw na. Pero nariyan ang collective para sabihin mo ang mga reservations at tingnan kung ano ang maaaring gawin, ano ang doables. Sa karanasan, ang collective mo pa rin ang tutulong mag-proseso ng mga nararamdaman mo, mga alinlangan, mga kahinaan. Mga ka-collective mo pa rin ang tutulong kung paano iwawasto ang mga kahinaan. Again, kailangan ng humility sa prosesong ito—bukas sa kung paano iwawasto at pangingibabawan ang mga kahinaan. Pagkatapos nung naranasan naming bombing, collective rin ang nakatulong sa psychological at mental recovery namin.

Kasama sa pagiging bukas sa indibidwal na nararamdaman, mga problema, ang pagiging bukas rin sa ideological struggle, healthy ideological struggle para lumitaw kung ano ang mali at tama sa mga naging pagkilos o sa mga kaisipang dala-dala. Mabigat ito para sa iba kaya kailangang maiplasta ang mga pagtingin mo para makatulong, ipaintindi ang mga bagay na hindi ka nakakainsulto. Dito manggagaling ang matibay na pagkakaisa at mabubuo ang mas matatag na Partido para sa higit na ikasusulong ng rebolusyon.

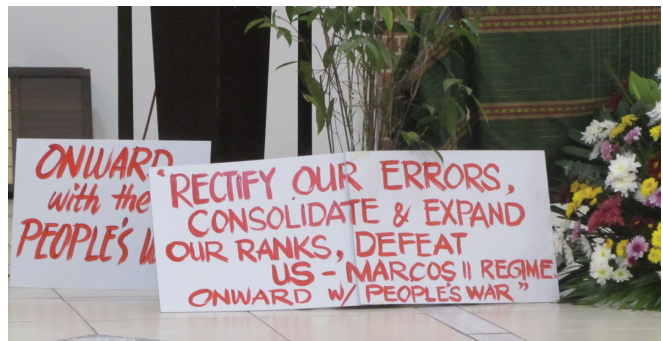
Gagawin natin ang lahat ng sakripisyong ito para sa masa at rebolusyon. Sabi nga, lahat naman tayo mamamatay, kaya isipin na lang natin kung saan at paano tayo makakatulong sa rebolusyon dahil ito ang tama. **LIB**

Unang inilathala noong Oktubre 14, 2024 sa website ng Liberation.



CNL CHAPTERS IN REGIONS AND PROVINCES LAUNCHED, REVITALIZED

by Aya Servando, CNL



Amid the worsening economic crisis and political repression pushing more and more Filipino masses into greater poverty and misery, members of the Christians for National Liberation (CNL) exercise their prophetic stance by journeying with them and at the same time strengthening and organizing their ranks to better wage the national democratic revolution with a socialist perspective.

The church's prophetic stance goes beyond work within the church as the body of Christ. It is also work within society in which the church lives. It is being with the people in their struggles.

In line with CNL's four-year plan laid out in its 9th Congress in 2022, particularly on expansion and consolidation, it launched chapters and held regional, provincial congresses; and trainings were also conducted across the country in the entire year of 2023.

After the conduct of several trainings on Padepa instructors (Pambansang Demokratikong Paaralan or ND School), organizing, multi-media, and cultural work, coordination bodies (CBs) were formed in several regions in Visayas and Mindanao. Provincial and regional chapters in Mindanao plan to echo the trainings in their respective areas in the first quarter of 2024.

Renmin Malaya, CNL spokesperson proudly shared that since the 9th Congress, significant steps were already taken, "marami na rin ang nagawa." For one, the CNL leadership was able to see the situation on the ground, "nakababa ang leadership, malinaw at timely ang intervention (clear-cut and timely intervention). We see the whole picture and the challenge," Malaya said.

Mechanisms such as the CBs were instrumental for the expansion and consolidation of CNL. They paved the way for the eventual formation of the provincial and regional congresses.

Congresses were successfully held in Western Visayas, some regions in Mindanao and Eastern Visayas despite brutal state fascism under the US-led "counterinsurgency" program of the US-Marcos II regime. CNL Negros, in particular, held its second regional congress and elected its regional council and officers. A regional tactical plan, based on CNL's Four-Year Plan approved during last year's 9th National Congress, was also adopted.

Next step to be taken by these CNL formations is the setting-up of mechanisms to facilitate support to the basic sectors in their respective areas, battered by vicious state attacks.

"During the 9th Congress, the

problems were pronounced—red tagging, direct attacks against the Church people which made organizing difficult," recalled Malaya. But at present, developments in organizing, consolidation and expansion are evident. "Although mabagal ang sikad, litaw na litaw ang development. Walang umaayaw sa commitment sa kabila ng hinaharap na challenges. Tuluy-tuloy na nag-oorganisa." ("It has been a slow process but the developments are visible. Everyone stood by their commitment despite the challenges. Organizing is making progress.") Malaya gladly shared.

More chapter formations are expected next year, including those overseas. Inspired by the long list of heroes and martyrs who transformed their faith into action and served the people to their last breath, CNL members raise high the banner of revolution. "Maganda ang pakiramdam na bahagi tayo sa paglalagat ng mga requirements sa mga sonang gerilya." ("It inspires us to be part of the efforts to strengthen the guerrilla zones.") ended Malaya.

LIB

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SWIFT AND JUST: THE REVOLUTIONARY JUSTICE SYSTEM

by Mia Andres

Once there was a drunk man who almost set a whole mountain on fire. He was clearing his land for farming through *kaingin* (slash-and-burn) but because of his drunkenness, he wasn't able to keep watch on the patches that were burning until it licked and chewed through nearby clearings and spread to set a large part of the mountain on fire. The mountain is part of the communal lands of the Tumandok tribe with three barrios around it.

"All we could do was look at the orange flames. It became out of control because it was windy, and it was a time of El Niño," said Ka Lorie, a cadre of the New

People's Army (NPA). The fire damaged a large part of the *separado*, a part of the forest that the Tumandok communities have set aside as a forest reserve. The drunk man can face jail time for his carelessness or simply suffer the wrath of angry farmers whose traditional hunting grounds have been burned. But the Tumandok community opted to seek the NPA's assistance.

Setting up the jury

Without delay, NPA cadres set up a people's court with a jury composed of representatives from the local

branch of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), the NPA, and members of the revolutionary mass organizations, each sharing one-third of the seats. Members of the jury were of good standing in the community and acceptable to both the plaintiff and the defendant.

After getting all the information and testimonies of witnesses, the jury members studied the case and set a trial. A judge was assigned and also lawyers for both the plaintiff and the defendant. “Note that being part of the people’s court does not require a law school diploma or a bar exam passer,” said Ka Lorie. The requirement for the jury and lawyers is objectivity and a good grasp and respect for the rights of the community and the accused. “The main purpose of the trial is to help seek out the truth and serve a fair judgement and a just punishment,” Ka Lorie added.

Ka Lorie described the trial as swift. The hearing of the case and the announcement of the sentence happened only in a day. Both sides had prepared their arguments beforehand. At the trial, both sides of the case were presented by the plaintiff and defendant, with the aid of their lawyers. As it was conducted publicly and the local dialect was used, community members who attended the procedure participated. After the hearing, the jury voted on the decision.

Justice for the exploited and oppressed

Now, this is what the bourgeoisie would mock and call a “kangaroo” court. The reactionary state belittles the justice system set up by the masses and the CPP, with the NPA and the revolutionary organs of political power.

The reactionary state tries to degrade the existence of the organs of political power established by the masses under the leadership of the CPP. Consisting of representatives from the oppressed sectors, it is through these organs of political power that steps towards justice are taken. And when one says justice, it means justice for the exploited and the oppressed.

Let’s face it, the justice system in the country only works for and favors those who wield power and resources. In a semifeudal and semicolonial country such as ours, it is the landlords, the big bourgeois

IT IS THROUGH THESE ORGANS OF POLITICAL POWER THAT STEPS TOWARDS JUSTICE ARE TAKEN. AND WHEN ONE SAYS JUSTICE, IT MEANS JUSTICE FOR THE EXPLOITED AND THE OPPRESSED.

capitalist, the bureaucrats and their minions that have the control—from crafting laws to its enforcement. While the reactionary state maintains an illusion of the universality of bourgeois democratic rights and the concept of justice, it was never for the oppressed classes.

So if the drunk man who accidentally caused fire in the *kaingin* fields which affected three barrios would face the reactionary court, he will most likely be jailed for many years. Being a simple indigenous farmer, he won’t be able to pay for the damages he made. In short, it would be a no-win situation. The communities would be left with only burned lands, and the man would lose years of life and freedom.

The CPP and the NPA recognize and respect the IP community’s belief and traditions and works through it in dealing with the contradictions among them. Community members and their traditional leaders almost always seek out the local Party branch and the NPA not only in resolving petty crimes and domestic concerns but also to settle land disputes, tribal wars, rape or murder. They prefer the revolutionary movement’s justice system because they have a say, being part of the process. But even local officials of the reactionary government would refer such cases to the NPA.

Ka Lorie recalled one instance where a member of the community joined the CAFGU (Citizen Armed Force Geographical Unit), became an enemy spy and caused damage among the red fighters. The sentence was to banish the man from the community, for life. But after 10 years, the community members appealed to the NPA to allow the man to return to the community. The NPA, in consideration of its relation with the community and the man’s old age acceded and allowed the man back to the community.

Going back to the example of the drunk man and his community, the people’s court listened to both sides not only to seek the truth but also to see what course of actions to take. Should the guilty party pay the damages with his own produce?

At the end of the proceedings, the jury decided that the drunk man, who freely admitted his wrongdoing, will have to plant trees to the lands that were burned. The jury thinks that confiscating all of the man’s produce will be too harsh as his whole family will suffer hunger. The community accepted the decision, and the man would now think twice of ever drinking again, especially when doing *kaingin*. **LIB**

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SIYENSYANG HUKBO: ANG PAGGAWA NG PUGON AT ALULOD

ni Cassandra Bigwas ng LAB

Sa maraming gawain ng ating minamahal na Bagong Hukbong Bayan (BHB) mula sa pag-oorganisa ng masa hanggang sa pagbira sa pasistang sundalo at pulis ng mga kaaway sa uri, minsan hindi masyadong napag-uusapan sa mga talakayan at ED ang kahalagaan ng gawaing kabuhayan. “Paano tayo kakain ngayong araw? Saan tayo pwedeng kumuha ng maiinom na tubig?” Ilan ito sa naging tanong ko noong kumilos ako kasama ang isang yunit ng BHB sa Luzon. Dito ko rin natuklasan ang malikhaing tugon ng BHB sa pang-araw-araw na hamong ito, sa paraan ng nakamamanghang feats of engineering at paggamit ng mga prinsipyong siyentipiko na nagagawa pa rin sa konteksto ng makilos na digmaang gerilya—at sa gitna ng kagubatan!

PAGGAWA NG PUGON

Kalimitan, sa mga kampo at pisikal na base ng BHB, gumagamit sila ng kahoy sa pagluluto ng pagkain. Isang malaking konsiderasyon dito ay ang usok, lalo na kung basa ang kahoy na ginagamit—sa mga kaaway, maari itong maging indikasyon ng presensya ng isang kampo ng BHB.

Ang paggawa ng pugon ang naging sagot ng naturang yunit, na hango sa Hoàng Cầm stove na ginamit ng mga gerilya noong Vietnam War. Naghahanap ng pwesto ang mga kasama na may libis o slope at naghuhukay sila ng kanal dito. Sa dulo ng kanal sa ibaba, nilalagay ang bahay ng apoy na binubuo gamit ang bato. Hinuhubog ang bahay para umangkop sa sukat at laki ng mga kalderong gagamitin. Sa kahabaan ng kanal, naglalagay ng bato o kaya’y katawan ng puno ng saging para takpan ito. Pagkatapos, tinatabunan ng basang lupa ang kanal para takpan ang mga natitirang puwang.

Dahil likas na umaangat ang mainit na hangin, lumalabas na tila hinihigop ng kanal ang usok mula sa apoy sa ibaba. Sa pagdaan ng usok sa mga malilit na



puwang sa pagitan ng bato’t lupang pantapal sa kanal, naiwan ang mga partikulo ng usok at ang lumalabas na lang ay ang init at steam mula sa basang lupa. Nagiging kontrolado ang usok at, kung maayos ang pagkagawa ng pugon, tila hamog na lang ang sumisingaw mula sa kahabaan ng kanal!

Sa kada lipat ng base, gumagawa kami ng bagong pugon, na dumadalas sa panahon ng pagmamaniobra palayo sa operasyon ng kaaway. Iba rin yung karanasan na halos araw-araw kang maghahanap ng mga malalaking bato o kaya’y maghuhukay ng kanal, pagkatapos ng mahabang lakaran sa gitna ng kabundukan. Pero ang susi rito ay ang kolektibong pagkilos ng mga kasama para matapos agad ang paggawa ng pugon—para rin makapagluto agad ng hapunan!

PAGGAWA NG ALULOD

Para naman makakuha ng malinis na tubig, palakasin ang agos ng tubig sa mga maliliit na sapa, o kaya’y dalhin ang tubig sa kusina o sa iba pang lugar, gumagawa ng alulod o salulo ang mga naturang yunit ng BHB. Mula sa mga simpleng konstruksyon hanggang sa mga mas komplikadong asembliya, kaya itong gawin gamit lamang ang mga rekursong mahahanap sa gubat.

Kung ang pakay ay palakasin ang agos ng tubig sa sapa, gumagawa ang mga kasama ng reservoir gamit ang bato at lupa para mag-ipon ng mas maraming tubig. Pinapataas nito ang lebel ng tubig kumpara sa susunod na bahagi ng sapa. Mula dito, pwede nang kabitan ang reservoir ng salulo, na pwedeng hubugin mula sa kawayan, katawan ng puno ng saging, o iba

pang halamang katulad ng mga ito.

Lalo na sa mga sitwasyon na malakas ang agos ng tubig, maaring bumuo rin ng asembliya ng mga salulo para magkaroon ng maraming daluyan ang tubig na pwedeng gamitin nang sabay-sabay. Pwede rin gawin ito para ibukod ang agos ng tubig—na ginagawa sa panahong hindi pwedeng gumamit ng sabon sa sapa mismo sa dahilang pang-seguridad (maaring indikasyon ang bula ng sabon sa sapa na may mga taong gumagamit nito) at/o konsiderasyon sa masa na nasa ibaba ng bundok na posibleng ginagamit nila ito para sa kanilang inumin.

SIYENTISTA'T INHINYERO, TARA NA!

Mula sa mga siyentipikong konsepto at prinsipyong inaral ko sa hayskul at kolehiyo, iba talaga yung paglapat ng mga ito sa konteksto ng armadong pakikibaka sa kanayunan. Marami rin akong natutunan mula sa mga kasama ko sa yunit na labas sa teoretikal na talakayan sa loob ng klasrum. Nakakatuwa rin na kahit hindi naman alam ng ilang mga kasama ang mga pangalan ng siyentipikong batas at teorya sa likod ng mga ginagawa nila, mahusay pa rin sila sa paggamit ng mga ito para sa pang-araw-araw na pangangailangan ng yunit.

Marami pang ibang halimbawa ng malilikhaing feats of engineering na makikita sa gawain ng mga yunit ng

BHB—sa konstruksyon ng kubo at palikuran, sa pagayos at pagbuo ng mga simpleng electronic device, at iba pa. Sa kasalukuyang konteksto ng makilos na digmaang gerilya, nagagamit ng mga Pulang mandirigma ang iba't ibang prinsipyo ng agham at inhenyeriya para matugunan ang mga pangangailangan ng yunit.

Bilang siyentista, na-realize kong hindi salat sa bagong kaalaman at pag-unlad ng kasanayan ang karanasan sa loob ng larangang gerilya. Marami akong natutunan sa praktika at tiyak marami pang matututunan. Nakita ko rin ang maaari ko pang mai-ambag mula sa mga natutunang teorya para makatulong sa mga praktikal na gawain ng hukbong bayan. Walang tapon ang talino't kasanayan ng mga siyentista sa gawain ng hukbong bayan para maglingkod sa sambayanan. Kaya, tara na sa kanayunan! **LIB**

Unang inilathala sa Nobyembre 2024 isyu ng Agham Bayan, ang opisyal na pahayagan ng Liga ng Agham para sa Bayan (LAB). Inilathala noong Disyembre 3, 2024 sa website ng Liberation.



COMPATRIOTS-USA VOWS TO INTENSIFY ORGANIZING FOR PEOPLE'S WAR IN THE PHILIPPINES

by the Liberation staff

A member of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP), Compatriots is the underground revolutionary organization of overseas Filipinos across the world.

With the comeback of Trump as the 47th president of the imperialist United States of America, Liberation sought the members of Compatriots-US who are in the belly of the beast to share their views and insights on what Trump's victory means to the Filipinos in the US in particular, and to the national democratic revolution in general, with US imperialism being the no. 1 enemy of the Filipino people. This interview was conducted shortly before Trump's inauguration when he, expectedly, announced his neofascist and imperialist policies.

Liberation (L): Looking back at the presidential campaign, what were the issues raised by the people? Which issues united (and divided) the people?

Compatriots (C): The worsening economic and political crisis within the belly of the US imperialist beast brought many mass issues to the forefront during the most recent presidential election. On top of mind for a majority of people were economic issues: continued inflation that has led to increased costs for food, gas, and other basic needs; skyrocketing housing costs; low wages; job flexibilization; and more.

The people also raised concerns on attacks on their democratic rights, especially workers' rights, women's rights, reproductive rights, migrants' rights, the right to education and healthcare, and the rights of oppressed minorities who increasingly experience overtly racist attacks.

Given the heightening crisis of imperialism, the national liberation movements of minorities within the US also



organized to advance their own people's struggles while continuing their solidarity with the masses in the country. Most prominent last year was, of course, the Palestinian people's movement for the liberation of their homeland, which was carried by the Palestinian diaspora in the US, and supported by millions across the country.

But, while the masses of working people in the US were in agreement that the problems with the economy were a big issue because of the dominance of the reactionary two-party system, which are parties of the monopoly capitalists, most were swayed by the analysis and "solutions" propagated by either the Democratic or Republican party's platform. These platforms of the ruling class led people astray from actually challenging the capitalist system as the root of the economic crisis. They even fostered anti-people views, especially among supporters of the Republican Party, spreading racism, sexism, anti-immigrant sentiments, and anti-communism, among other reactionary positions.

L: How do you account for Trump's victory?

C: Trump's victory was a resounding defeat of the Democrats. Harris lost in all crucial "swing" states, which have swung between leaning Democratic or Republican in previous elections. Across all states, people voted

more Republican than Democrat compared to the 2020 elections. Trump also won both the popular vote and the decisive electoral college vote (the method by which the U.S. counts votes per state for presidential elections), unlike in 2016 when Trump won the electoral college vote but lost the popular vote to Hilary Clinton.

To rub salt in the wound of the Democrats, Trump won with even less votes compared to his numbers from 2020. On top of this, the Republicans also gained a majority of seats in the House of Representatives and the Senate. Combined with the already right-leaning Supreme Court, the Republicans effectively exert substantial control over the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the U.S. government.

There are many factors that led to this result. Polling surveys show that the primary issue among Trump voters was the economy, whereas it was the state of “democracy” in the U.S. for Harris voters. In the face of widely felt economic crisis, Harris and the Democratic Party failed to provide a more convincing “solution” to the crisis than the Republicans. At the same time, it showed the failures of the Democrats’ economic policies in the last four years.

Trump’s campaign, on the other hand, employed elements of fascism—including the stoking of chauvinism, xenophobia, racism, patriarchalism, and anti-communism—to mislead the working masses on who bears responsibility for the economic crisis. The Republican Party effectively exploited mass discontent with the crisis to win over sections of the working class by painting the picture of an “enemy within,” while disguising its big bourgeois class character.

L: Would you say that the US is even more divided after the elections?

C: The continued intensification of neoliberalism on the one hand, and the resurgence of neoconservative and neofascist elements on the other hand, prompted by the failures of the liberal Democratic Party have caused more divisions among the masses.

Given that, some are very happy with the Republican sweep of the presidency—the U.S. House of Representatives and the US Senate. Some are scared, dismayed, disillusioned. And, because of a weak understanding of who the enemy is, they are now turning against and blaming the exploited and oppressed masses who either voted for Trump, or chose not to vote for

Harris. Some are preparing to intensify the continuing fight under the Trump administration, but that fight is in danger of being coopted by the Democratic Party, as many were during Trump’s first term.

L: How did the progressives and anti-imperialist forces figure into the campaign?

C: There were progressive movements and campaigns advanced during the election period. The solidarity movement for Palestine pushed many voters to identify as “independent” or to join grassroots organizations exposing even the role of the Democratic Party in the imperialist war. Other anti-imperialist grassroots formations such as the US chapters of both the International League of Peoples’ Struggle and International Migrants Alliance also united the people broadly under a People’s Platform and Grassroots Migrants Agenda. A broad section of Filipinos in the US also coalesced around a Filipino-American Agenda, spearheaded by alliances such as the National Alliance for Filipino Concerns, Malaya Movement USA, and Migrante USA. They worked together with community non-profit organizations, churches, professionals in health and media, and others.

As revolutionary members of Compatriots-USA, we also took up many of these economic and political issues as solidarity fights with the peoples of the US, while linking and raising them to our primary struggle for national and social liberation in the Philippines. We, as compatriots living in our No.1 imperialist enemy, especially maximized the election period to advance the campaign to end increasing US military and economic intervention in the Philippines.

L: Are you expecting major policy changes with Trump’s presidency?

C: Given Trump’s anti-people platform, we expect his policies to be anti-people as well. These range from mass deportation, union repression, tariffs that will pass huge cost burdens onto the people, intensification of war and counterinsurgency at home and abroad, lifting of environmental protections, cutting funding for social services like healthcare and housing, further militarization of the police and the border, neoliberal attacks on education, and so on.

Trump’s appointment of big capitalists, war hawks, and politicians with a thoroughly anti-people track record already speak volumes of what’s to come.

Some of these will be a continuation of Biden's policies, many of which are actually just continuations of Trump's first term. At the same time, we should expect a ramping up of particular attacks, such as against workers, migrants, women, LGBTQ people, non-Christians, and so on.

Since Trump's main priorities are to "bring back" jobs to America and stir up local manufacturing and industrialization, this comes with heightened corporate deregulation especially in the mining and manufacturing industry. With this, we also expect it to come with deregulation in environmental protections so that these projects will be easier and faster to approve. Trump also believes that corporate deregulation will drive up more "competition" in the market, so there are plans to also deregulate essential social services such as the healthcare industry. In reality, we could expect that big corporations will instead influence the market towards driving costs higher.

L: Do you foresee additional repressive measures against the migrants, including Pinoys?

C: A cornerstone of Trump's campaign was his promise to crackdown on undocumented migrants and further militarize the U.S.-Mexico border. Trump deported 1.5 million people under his first term, enforced a policy of putting migrants into literal cages, and forcibly separating families from each other. Trump's Vice President, JD Vance, has threatened to deport one million migrants every year. On top of deportation, Trump's attacks on workers' rights and stoking of racist hate crimes will surely impact migrant communities.

These measures will have huge impacts on the Filipino community overall, and on undocumented Filipinos and their families in particular. There are approximately one million undocumented Filipinos across the U.S., most of whom are workers being heavily exploited across multiple jobs. Some became undocumented as

victims of labor trafficking, a result of the collusion between the Philippine and U.S. state, and unscrupulous U.S. companies and Philippine recruitment agencies.

L: The PH ambassador to US said it's better for the Pinoy TNIs to head back home, what are your thoughts on this?

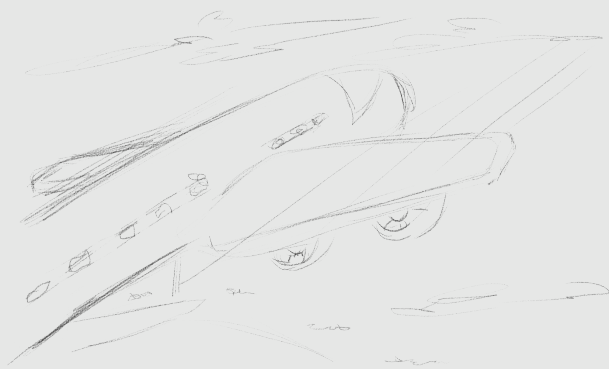
C: The statements made by Philippine Ambassador to the U.S., Jose Romualdez (who is the cousin of Marcos), are incorrect, reckless, and completely dismissive of the plight of undocumented migrants. Romualdez cited an estimate of only 200,000 undocumented migrants, which even then he said was a "small number." Mainstream media and lawyers have already contradicted his advice to "self-deport."

Unfortunately, his words have already sown fear within the community, and we have heard reports of undocumented migrants already going home even prior to Trump's inauguration. Romualdez does not understand that undocumented Filipinos were forced to migrate to the U.S. because of the lack of livelihood in the Philippines, and that they choose to stay despite their vulnerability just to send money back home, even if they are only paid crumbs.

Aside from Romualdez's comment, the Philippine Department of Migrant Workers (DMW) issued a statement promising it would assist Filipinos with travel back to the Philippines, and "re-skilling" them for deployment in other countries. Even if we were to take the conservative estimate of around 370,000 undocumented Filipinos cited by some non-profit organizations, the DMW's AKSYON Fund is short by around Php 17 billion to provide every undocumented migrant with the minimum Php 50,000 they would be due. Moreover, the strategy of "solving" the problem by just sending repatriated migrants to another country for work is emblematic of the government's labor export program.

L: What would be Compatriot's response on this?

C: Compatriots USA will continue to arouse, organize, and mobilize among Filipino migrants to address their immediate welfare and protection from Trump's mass deportation plans. This will require broadening and revolutionizing among middle forces who can offer support to undocumented migrants. At the same time, through painstaking political education and engagement through struggle, we must link and raise the immediate struggle against deportation to the fight





for a family living wage and jobs in the Philippines, and ultimately forge a united movement among Filipinos in the US against imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat capitalism as the root cause of forced migration and the poverty experienced by our families back home.

L: Are changes in the US relations with China and Russia anticipated?

C: There will be no significant change in a Trump administration's relations with China. If anything, he will escalate tension even further. Trump has threatened tariffs of up to 60 percent on imports from China, which would most definitely set off trade wars between the two countries. Moreover, his proposal to appoint Marco Rubio—a rabid anti-China politician with little to no experience in foreign diplomacy—as Secretary of State will only make matters worse.

While Trump has been known for being close to Vladimir Putin, he himself pushed for more military aid and weapons to Ukraine and imposed economic sanctions on Russia.

L: How about in the Philippines?

C: Just as unequal economic and military agreements between the US and Philippines have persisted and expanded under Republican and Democratic administrations alike, Trump will surely continue both, especially given the very anti-China stance of the administration as cited earlier. We should expect he will continue to build upon the increase in open or covert EDCA bases done under Biden; the signing of new agreements like the General Security of Military Information Agreement (GSOMIA); neoliberal

expansion of foreign direct investments to critical minerals processing or “green” energy projects; and efforts that combine both military and economic objectives, such as the Luzon Economic Corridor.

We know from Trump's first term, however, that he is also likely at times to break the convention of consensus building with congress or across different stakeholders, and instead do things unilaterally to push his own agenda. We must study how these unilateral moves will interplay with bilateral and multilateral agreements that other bureaucrats will most definitely continue to advocate for.

For example, we already know that US imperialism has been doubling down on bilateral agreements that serve as the core of its multilateral agreements. This is especially true of its web of bilateral (and, more and more, trilateral) military agreements in the Asia Pacific that we can view as laying the basis for an “Asian NATO.”

L: What are the implications of all of these to the Philippine revolution?

C: Trump's election does not fundamentally change the relationship between U.S. imperialism and the Philippines as its neo-colony. Trump will once again inherit and advance imperialism's agenda of economic plunder, militarism, and counterinsurgency in the Philippines. And if we are to believe that his administration will implement large chunks of Project 2025, it will be even more rabidly anti-communist. We should expect it to throw even more support behind the fascist Marcos regime's counterinsurgency operations meant to crush the Filipino people's democratic revolution, which remains the strongest opposition and barrier to U.S. imperialism's dragging the entire country and people into its war against China.

The compatriots mass movement here in the U.S. must boldly struggle and intensify its work from within the belly of the beast. Compatriots USA must reach Filipinos in the millions, organize those who will be most threatened by Trump, and raise their consciousness to direct their collective fight to overturning the semi-colonial and semi-feudal system at the root of their suffering. This will be our greatest contribution to advancing our people's war, which will rage even more fiercely in the Philippine countryside once Trump assumes office. **LIB**

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US LEADERS from its president to lawmakers and military chiefs call the Philippines its oldest, longest treaty partner in Asia. Before, the oft-repeated descriptions were “special relations” or “friendship.” Much earlier before that, the relationship was said to be between a big brother teaching its little brown brother “civilization.”

For 125 years now, the US has never lacked for altruistic cover for making use of the Philippines’ human and natural resources for its profit. And, for maintaining a strategic territory to carve other territories and markets in Asia especially China. From 1898, the Philippines has indeed become the oldest or longest bastion in Asia, right at the beginning of the US entry into the world stage as an imperialist power. The imperialist US not only kills and harms the Filipino people, it has used its arsenal of brutal suppression and deception of Filipinos and Americans to launch wars in other countries such as Vietnam.

Far from being a friend, the imperialist US is a cruel, sinister enemy of the Filipino people. It has been blocking the people’s path to genuine freedom and development. It has been the enemy of the Filipino masses since it extended its claws here in 1898.

Below in a nutshell is a bird’s eyeview, a timeline of the imperialist US wars of aggression and deception against the Filipino people.

FILIPINO-AMERICAN WAR SINCE 1898: MASSACRES AND ATROCITIES TO ‘CIVILIZE’ FILIPINOS

When the US in its first imperialist act seized control of the Philippines from the then victorious revolutionaries, it lied to Filipinos and anti-colonialist Americans. At first the US posed as a friend in 1898. But it used the Filipinos to fight the Spaniards until its colonizing troops arrived in the Philippines. It robbed the people of their valiantly fought independence in the Treaty of Paris—where Spain who was already routed by the Filipinos ceded the Philippines to US for a sum of US\$ 20 million, plus protection of Spanish colonialist landholdings or businesses. Shortly after, in 1898, under the guise of US President McKinley’s deceptive proclamation of “Benevolent Assimilation”, the US attacked the Filipino people.

On February 4, 1899 American troops fired shots at Filipino soldiers on a bridge in San Juan, Manila, igniting armed hostilities and officially starting the Filipino-American war. In just a couple of years of massacres and atrocities that horrified even American anti-imperialists and critics, the US tried

THE IMPERIALIST US, NOT A FRIEND BUT A FOE *by Pinky Ang*

to downgrade the Filipino armed struggle as mere “Philippine insurrection.”

In 1902, US President Theodore Roosevelt declared that the war was over even though resistance continued and guerrillas were widely supported by the people. Then US General Arthur MacArthur was adamant that Filipinos would need “bayonet treatment for at least a decade”. Despite this, imperialist US leaders hastened to “normalize” the situation to placate critics in the US, to gloss over the terrible slaughter being committed by US troops in the Philippines, and to open the Philippines to economic exploitation at the earliest possible time.

Nevertheless, parts of the country were still turned into a “howling wilderness”, following a series of successful, mass-supported guerrilla attacks against US invaders. In retaliation, US troops shipped to the US the famous Balangiga bell, which was used by Filipino revolutionaries as a signal and a symbol of the concerted defense of the motherland. The Balangiga bell was returned decades later amid Filipino insistence, and despite years of colonial control and miseducation.

Long before the Vietnam war, US troops had resorted to inhuman forms of torture including “water-boarding,” executions, massacres and burning of men, women and children, Filipino fighters tied to and being dragged by horses, plundering of captured and killed revolutionaries and communities, and hamletting or forcing communities into concentration camps. Up to a million died (in a population of six to eight million) as a result of the US war of suppression in the Philippines from 1899 to 1910s.

This brutal war of suppression of Filipinos in 1899 “signaled the start of its [US] global conquest through

war and terror,” said the Communist Party of the Philippines in a statement last February marking the 125th year since the American troops first fired shots at Filipino soldiers.

“BENEVOLENT ASSIMILATION” SINCE 1898

Essentially the Philippine-American War has remained, albeit, using not just superior arms but manifold lies, double-dealing and deception. US brutality and plunder has been continuously whitewashed at every step. Though colonial history has presented Fil-Am war as just a short one, it extended to a decade of constant uprising even after Emilio Aguinaldo and his elite clique capitulated to US in 1901.

Fact is, from an armed struggle to overthrow the Spaniards to an armed struggle to counter a new imperialist power, the ilustrado or elite leadership proved vacillating, capitulationist, and only looking out for the selfish interests of its landlord, local ruling class. They surrendered the struggle for independence but the masses did not.

As soon as the US invaded and ruled the Philippines, it molded the country’s economy to its needs—raw materials, market of surplus, gateway to Asia especially China. It imposed its colonial miseducation system. It created and trained the reactionary armed forces and constabulary (same as “Vietnamization” during the Vietnam war). It honored and awarded collaborators, led by the capitulationist and elite “leaders” or dealers of Katipunan and 1898 revolution, through lucrative positions in puppet government and business deals in the new colonial economy.

The local collaborators were used to suppress the resistance of the masses and American criticisms of the war. They misrepresented the intent of the US to exploit and invade through its programs (e.g. road building to reach mines and plantations, to bring troops faster to insurgent areas, teach English as mode of instruction to develop new tastes, colonial culture and market) as examples of “altruism” from a colonial ruler. And, for so-called normalcy and peace and order, they also brutally and insidiously suppressed the resistance of the people.

They used methods such as banning the display of Philippine flag (Flag Law 1907-1919), imposing death penalty to advocates of independence even by peaceful means (Sedition Law 1901), jailing nationalist writers and critics such as Aurelio Tolentino who staged a play depicting a victorious group of armed guerillas, and misrepresenting or vilifying guerilla resistance (Brigandage Act 1902).

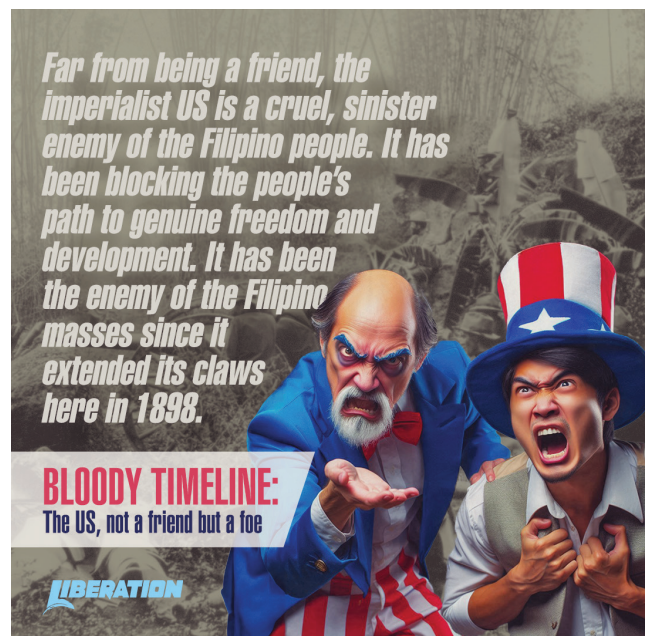
Today’s red-tagging was preceded by the US branding of Filipino revolutionaries in 1900s as “bandits or tulisanes.” US forces cemented alliances with local elite by giving them power to execute “hamletting” to capture guerillas (Reconcentration Act 1903), resulting in jampacked jails and high mortality rate of prisoners.

The laid down policies, profits and experiences earned by US imperialists in its first colonization and expansion propelled it to greater imperial reach, hegemonic status and more wars of aggression. The strategic importance of US aggression in the Philippines resulted to the eventual rise to US presidency of William Howard Taft, the former Secretary of War and governor general who steered the imperialist acquisition of the Philippines.

DRAGGING, ABANDONING FILIPINOS TO INTER-IMPERIALIST WAR, THEN COMING BACK AS A NEO-COLONIZER

World War II wreaked heavy losses on the Filipino people. It was an inter-imperialist war where the Philippines, a US colony, was targeted and colonized by Japan. The US retreated using Filipino soldiers as meat shields in escaping via Bataan in Central Luzon. In their absence, it was the Hukbo ng Bayan laban sa Hapon or Hukbalahap who waged a fierce guerrilla warfare against the Japanese.

When the imperialist US returned “as promised,” and to bring Japanese power to its knees, it rained much too much bombs, destroying infrastructure and further bankrupting the country. As the Philippines was heavily damaged, the US secured an opening to remain as



its neocolonial master. At the end of World War 2, the imperialists settled a redivision of territories, but contending with another victorious Communist Party in China that succeeded in its people's war to liberate China from foreign and capitalist oppressors.

US feared the communist influence and intensifying liberation movements around the globe. In the Philippines, the cry for independence remained and to placate the Filipino people, the US favored neocolonialism than direct colonialism. The Philippines was granted "independence" but the US maintained its stranglehold through unequal treaties such as the Mutual Defense Treaty and Military Bases Agreement.

That independence was a hard-won victory by the Filipino people who had first succeeded but were robbed of it 50 years earlier. This time, the imperialist US can only "respect" that independence by keeping up with appearances. In reality, it continued slapping all its imperialist demands on the country's people and resources via its trained and controlled armed forces and puppet government.

USING THE PHILIPPINES AS A SECOND FRONT OF THE US-LED "WAR ON TERROR"

Following the shocking attacks on the World Trade Center in New York in 2001, imperialist US latched on to a new justification for continuing its wars of aggression and intervention in other countries.

Because it couldn't continue hyping an anti-communist hysteria after former communist China joined the ranks of capitalists and had trade and investment deals with the US, the latter demonized as "terrorists" and "rouges" its targets among its rivals and other independent nations it wished to control for resources and geopolitical reasons.

In the mold of communist hysteria whipped up during the 50s to galvanize support for US wars of aggression and Cold War against the then communist states of China and Russia, the "war on terror" relied on tagging and demonizing US targets. It didn't stop even in the face of protests from the United Nations nor persistent demands of the people for proven basis and evidences for launching wars.

The war on terror led the rulers of other countries in enacting anti-terror laws with very broad definition of terrorism, in effect maligning and targeting the democratic protesters, critics, liberation movements, and revolutionary forces.

The Philippines was designated as the "second front" in the US-led "war on terror." This war was supported



by puppet Philippine presidents from Gloria Arroyo to present. They tried to enact an Anti-Terror Law and succeeded only under the Aquino 2 regime, but they were dissatisfied with the safeguards for human rights in the law that under the US-Duterte regime, they railroaded a more sinister Anti-Terror Act during the lockdowns of COVID-19 pandemic.

The imperialist US-led "war on terror" is unleashed also in the Philippines. The reactionary puppet governments from Arroyo to Marcos 2 have used the language of "war on terror" to whitewash their brutal, dirty war against the Filipino people and the national democratic revolutionaries. True to the brutal heavy-handed pattern of war laid down by imperialist US at its first foray in the Philippines, the war called "counter-insurgency" by its puppet regimes have meant bombings and artillery shelling of rural communities, "focused military operations" that do not distinguish between civilian and combatant targets, killings of armed revolutionaries, hors d combats and unarmed activists to create a false picture that their "war on terror" is winning. On the contrary the masses are seeing them more clearly as, in fact, the actual terrorists and enemies of the people.

DRAGGING THE PHILIPPINES INTO THE LOOMING PROXY WAR BETWEEN US & CHINA

By dint of the people's clamor, the puppet Philippine government would sometimes be prodded to take action to defend Philippine sovereignty on its territories in the South China Sea. This included the case it filed

under the United Nations Convention in the Laws of the Seas (UNCLOS) that succeeded in establishing the country's territorial maritime claims.

The tensions in the West Philippine Sea have been the latest justification by imperialist US and puppet Philippine presidents in welcoming more US troops and building US military bases and facilities despite its own reactionary Constitution's ban on it. The US not only bound the Philippines as a so-called "treaty ally" (under Mutual Defense Treaty of 1950s) but also included the Philippines in the 18 countries it designated as a "major non-NATO ally". By US definition, such an ally, though not a part of NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization), has a deep strategic and security partnership with US. Such an ally can get loans of materials and equipment for research, development and testing, enter formal agreement with the US defense department to carry out such research and development projects, even purchase depleted uranium ammunition. In short, it reads like what a US extended territory is good for. Worse for the Filipino people, the US can place their war reserve stockpiles on countries it designated as major non-NATO ally.

Yet, for all its crows over defending the allies and Philippine sovereignty, over the years the fisherfolk have been raising the alarm over China's massive reclamation and eventual military base-building on waters and islets within the Philippine territory.

Still, the Philippine reactionary military and navy have only used this to justify calls for more budget to finance the Armed Forces of the Philippines' "modernization," and under Marcos 2, to increase the number of "agreed locations" of US military bases. Amid push from the people to actually defend the territory, the reactionary AFP has been responding only with promises to patrol, to increase the patrolling and patrol for what it calls as "minimum credible defense posture."

Recently though, as the US-China collusion and competition grow sharper, the US has become more driven on expanding the reach of its war machines and aggression in Asia. With its increasingly frequent and larger war games and bases in the Philippines, it is further grooming its puppet government and controlled reactionary troops to be in position for US use should it launch war against China in Taiwan.

This is a war at the expense of the Filipino people because not only will it drag the nation to a war because of the US, the US has been more strenuously pushing and propping the local reactionary Armed Forces of the Philippines to crush the forces of the Philippine national democratic revolution. At present, it is the national democratic forces who are the biggest stumbling block to the imperialist US and its puppet government in freely exploiting the people and resources of the Philippines. If it wants to use the AFP for a proxy war with China in Taiwan, it wants to maintain the Philippines as its territory, through its puppet, and as such, it seeks the more vicious "counterinsurgency" operations against the revolutionaries to remove the forces calling for genuine liberation and sovereignty of the Philippines. For this, the imperialist US is utterly not a friend but a vicious enemy of the Filipino people.

These are some flashpoints in Philippine history where the US starkly showed that it is very very far from being a friend or an ally of the Filipino people. On the contrary, in every flashpoint, the US worked to disadvantage the people. It robbed the victories the people won in their struggle. It used the Filipinos and their resources for their narrow ends, unleashing disasters, poverty, persistent hunger and crises. The Filipino people have every reason to dissociate from and repel the imperialist US, starting with its puppet government and reactionary troops. The Filipino people has every reason and right to cherish, establish, and expand their genuine democratic government in the countryside, through their continuing support of the New People's Army that is continuing the national democratic revolution began by their ancestors in Katipunan of 1890s. **LFB**

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Born to revolutionary parents

by Mia Andres



Ours wasn't a "normal nuclear family" where mom and dad were always around to cook breakfast, take you to school, and tuck you to bed at night. I and my sibling were born to revolutionary parents and grew up without them by our side. We were in the city and they were in the countryside, in a guerrilla zone as part of the armed revolutionary movement.

There were neither weekend *pasyal*, nor the usual gatherings with relatives. So, on my part, I would usually spend my weekends at home with my *Ate* (nanny) and watch all the shows on TV.

My boring and sedentary childhood would be spiced up with once or twice a year of "exclusive time" with my parents. We would go to the beach for a few days. My *Tatay* would prepare my favorite meals and *Nanay* would pamper us with hugs and kisses. Sometimes, my parents' comrades would hang around. They played with us, or helped us out with anything and everything. These were also the times when our parents explained to us so many things about the life they chose, which I would only fully understand and appreciate later in life.

My parents would tell us they took a different path in life for a greater cause—to change the world by eliminating class oppression (big words for a small child then!). It was a necessary sacrifice on their part to be away from us but it did not mean we were not loved. Later in life, I would realize that it is actually out of love that made them do what they do. They love this country and they can't stand seeing the masses suffer under the rotten system. It is also because of their love to us, their children, that they continue to fight. They don't want us and their apo to inherit this kind of society. Now, I

have come to realize that it has become our responsibility to ensure the struggle stays in the correct path.

More than my parents' explanations, I loved those special days because both my parents and I would squeeze in all the times we'd missed in one weekend and make up for the lost months away from each other. Of course, it wasn't always happy, especially when the weekend meet-up was almost over. I would always insist we stay longer even if I knew they couldn't.

At a very early age, I learned my first lesson: Because we were not a "normal" family I must practice discretion to keep the monster blind. I should not tell anyone about what my parents were doing, where we went, and who we were with us because this will put my safety and theirs in danger. And, that could mean not seeing them anymore.

In a majestic forest

When I was old enough to walk by myself for a few hours, I was told that it's time for me and my sibling to go and visit my parents in a guerrilla zone.

Thus, one summer, a handwritten letter from my parents was delivered by a comrade. They set up a visit for us. We were given a whole list of things to bring and persons to coordinate with. Also in the letter, we were told to start preparing ourselves for a long walk by going for a 15-minute jog everyday. But, I don't actually remember doing it.

My young mind's imagination of a New People's Army camp, a war-stricken place, immediately changed into a happy community in a majestic forest when I saw my parents' comrades—the revolutionary forces and the masses together.

Yet, to get to that “paradise”, the few hours of walk, as I was originally informed, turned out to be a whole day of mountain climbing. I was proud of myself that I didn’t cry out of exhaustion and desperation. But, yes, I was complaining the whole time.

Those visits were an adventure for me. It was like going to a summer camp only you see men and women with rifles and hear a lot of political discussions. But they sing, too—songs of freedom. I shared meals with 20 to 30 other comrades who all wore warm smiles on their faces. There were occasions for dancing and reading poems. I witnessed a wedding, literacy and numeracy classes, and educational discussions. These all happened in the camp’s dining area.

Our visits would be repeated a few more times. I loved it except for the part where I had to walk non-stop. But now I realized those visits, despite the long walks, were very fruitful because I saw the communities my parents were serving. I also would like to think the long walks made me stronger physically and mentally. I especially loved the hike across rugged trails that led us to hidden waterfalls.

Beloved guardian

When these summer visits end, my sibling and I would go back to a relative who took care of us—our Auntie Jane. She is our closest relative who was willing to take on the responsibility of taking in children not her own. I grew up under her wings up to my college days. It was because of her that I learned the value of simplicity in all aspects of life. I am grateful that she not only respected the convictions of my parents, but she also embraced them. She understood the people’s struggle and she regarded the liberation movement highly. For her, taking care of us was her contribution to the revolution.

In between visits, letters from my parents sustained us. Coming in periodically, the letters mostly consisted of stories. My parents talked about books to read, news commentaries,



films to watch, their “adventures” and even stories about the people we met in our visits. There were times when we get sad news of comrades we met who passed away because of an armed encounter or an unfortunate accident. And, instead of life advice, they poured in a lot of questions, which I tried to answer immediately (except for questions about my school grades.)

Despite the distance

At times people ask me if I resent my parents for leaving us while we were growing up. But I don’t remember having any ill feelings. Yes, there were times when I would be sad but it didn’t stay too long. Through the years, friends, relatives and close family friends treated me like family. I guess, I am lucky to have them. Compared to other teenage kids, I believe I had a better relationship with my parents, though “long-distance.” I had classmates who complained about their parents, sometimes even crying because they were always fighting saying their parents don’t understand them; while I seldom had arguments, let alone fights with my parents. *Minsan na lang kami magkita, mag-aaway pa ba kami?*

There were many discussions on our choices and life decisions. As parents, they surely had some preference on what they wanted us to be. It was a struggle on both sides. But in the end, just like what they did with their own lives, they let us choose. Yet, in many significant choices I made, I know I was always influenced by them, consciously or unconsciously.

While my parents are not physically present to guide us in life, they trust that we will make the right judgments and decisions. Thinking about it now, they were indirectly telling us to make the right decisions—study hard, stay away from drugs and bad influences. I think it was also their way of

assuring themselves that despite the distance we will grow up to be good people. It actually worked. Although I had a limited time bonding with them, I did study my lessons and finished my homework.

The choice is mine

I became an activist because of my parents' (not-so-gentle) push. I was referred to a college-based organization supporting basic sectors. I know I could have said no. But I didn't. Somehow, I felt that embracing the same principles my parents lived by is the closest thing to being with them. Yet, as I become more involved, my actions and commitment no longer came from them. I was no longer serving the people because of my parents. It has become the product of the people's situation that I came to fully understand.

It was a slow self-realization that our society is in dire need of revolutionary change—that there are so many people suffering from hunger while a few possess obscene wealth enough to feed the whole country; that there is such a thing as oppression and exploitation. With the community immersions, education discussions, the books and articles I read and studied with comrades, I have become aware of the ills of our society, the suffering of mankind and, yes, the need to change it through armed revolution.

The things that I described as “a happy community in a majestic forest” when I was young were, in reality, the seeds of people's democratic republic—the organs of political power my parents helped build in the countryside. Little did I know then that these have become the expression of people's resistance, empowerment, and self-determination. And this is what my parents chose to do by becoming part of the Communist Party of the Philippines and wage a class war through the New People's Army.

When I was a kid, I tried to understand my parents' choice because I love them. But now, I understand them because I undoubtedly understand. This makes me even prouder to have revolutionary parents.

I remember my Tatay telling me, during one of our favorite road trips that, “it is true that you became a revolutionary because you are our daughter. But your decision to stay and commit to continue with the struggle will be your decision alone. We, as your parents, are inconsequential to that decision.” **LIB**

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PAMANA:

Ka Joma at ang Pakikibaka ng Kabataan para sa Kinabukasan

ni Cassandra Bigwas ng LAB & Bernadette Rojo

SA UNA, at nag-iisang, beses na nakausap ko si Ka Joma nang harap-harapan ay nahirapan kaming magkarinigan. Bilang kabataang environmental activist, marami akong inihandang tanong para sa kanya tungkol sa pananaw niya sa kasalukuyang krisis sa klima at kalikasan. Yun nga lang, medyo mahina na pala ang pandinig niya sa puntong iyon. Kahit sa pagpapakilala pa lang, medyo nagkahirapan na kami.

Kahit hindi ko na naihapag ang iba kong mga tanong, naging mayaman pa rin ang aming talakayan. Mula sa kaugnayan ng pagbabagong-klima sa imperyalismo, hanggang sa usapin ng internal migration sa kanayunan, naging malinaw sa akin na, kahit may edad na siya, marami pa ring tumatakbo sa isip ni Ka Joma at ang talas pa rin ng kanyang pagsusuri tungkol sa mga kasalukuyang isyung panlipunan.

Kalahating-araw lang kami nagkasama. Pero hindi doon natapos ang aming usapan tungkol sa krisis sa klima. Sa mga sumunod na buwan, naglabas ng ilang artikulo at interbyu si Ka Joma na nagpapaliwanag sa kanyang pagsusuri sa pag-init ng mundo, sa mga proseso ng United Nations sa pagharap sa pagbabagong-klima, at marami pang iba. Pinanghawakan niya ang climate imperialism, o imperyalismo sa klima, bilang gulugod ng kanyang pagsusuri — na bilang mga rebolusyonaryo ay kailangan nating ugatin ang krisis sa klima sa imperyalismo.

Pumanaw si Ka Joma noong Disyembre 2022. Ngunit para sa akin — at sa marami pang ibang aktibista't rebolusyonaryo — hindi doon natapos ang usapan. Sa relatibong maikling panahon sa dulo ng kanyang buhay, maraming iniwan na konseptual na sandata si Ka Joma na maaring gamitin natin para harapin ang kasalukuyang krisis sa klima. Sa kabila ng kanyang pagpanaw, umaalingawngaw ang kanyang diwa sa pananaw at pagkilos ng mga rebolusyonaryong



kumikilos para sa isang makatarungan at sustenableng kinabukasan.

PAMANA SA KABATAAN

“Maraming kabataang Pilipino ang nababahala sa pagbabagong-klima,” sabi Ka Sinag, isang kabataang aktibista. “Dahil sa krisis sa klima, nakikita rin ng mga kabataan na hindi sapat ang indibidwal na aksyon. Kailangan talaga natin ang sama-samang pagkilos,” dagdag niya.

Isa sa mga naghatak kay Ka Sinag palapit sa rebolusyonaryong kilusan ay ang napanood niyang interbyu kay Ka Joma. Dito naging interesado si Sinag sa Marxismo, at paano ito nailalapat sa konteksto ng Pilipinas. Ngayon, bilang isang aktibistang kumikilos sa hanay ng kabataang estudyante at miyembro ng Liga ng Agham para sa Bayan (LAB), nakikita niya ang kabuluhan ng mga isinulat ni Ka Joma sa gawaing pulitikal, maging sa pagpapakilos tungkol sa krisis sa klima.

“Hindi ko pa nababasa mismo ang mga sulatin ni Ka Joma tungkol rito, pero marami sa mga pag-aaral namin ngayon, nakabase sa kanyang mga akda,” sabi ni Ka Sinag. “Siguro ang kagandahan kay Ka Joma, malinaw kung sino o ano ang nasa likod ng krisis — ang imperyalismo, ang mga lokal na papet nito sa Pilipinas, kaya sila ang kailangan nating singilin hanggang sa pabagsakin.”

Nagmula naman si Ka Ellie sa isang rebolusyonaryong pamilya, kung saan madalas banggitin sa bahay ang mga quotable quotes at pagsususuri ni Ka Joma sa mga napapanahong isyung panlipunan. Nang lumaki na siya at naging kasapi ng Kabataang Makabayan (KM), nabasa niya ang ilang mga akda ni Ka Joma, kasama ang mga sulatin niya ukol sa krisis sa klima.

Ngayon, natutuwa siya na sa ilang taon na niyang pagkilos sa pambansa-demokratikong kilusan, nakita niya ang pag-abante ng pag-unawa ng iba't ibang sektor sa usapin ng krisis sa klima. Aniya, malaki ang naging ambag ni Ka Joma rito.

“Sa tingin ko, napalalim talaga ang talakayan ukol sa krisis sa klima sa loob ng kilusan dahil kay Ka Joma,” sabi ni Ka Ellie. “Para sa amin na ilang taon na ring nakapokus sa isyu ng climate change, nakatulong si Ka Joma sa connecting the dots, mula sa imperyalismo, hanggang sa pagbabagong-klima, hanggang sa sitwasyon ng malakolonyal at malapyudal na lipunang Pilipino.”

Kung tatanungin naman si Ka Ellie kung ano ang pinakamalaking ambag ni Ka Joma sa pagtugon ng kilusan sa krisis sa klima, ang sagot niya ay ang muling pagtayo at pagsulong ng isang armadong rebolusyon sa Pilipinas sa pamumuno ng Communist Party of the Philippines.

“Minsan tinatanong kami, bilang kabataan, hindi ba kami natatakot para sa aming kinabukasan dahil sa pagbabagong-klima? Para sa akin, wala akong kinatatakutan dahil alam ko na ginagawa ng mamamayan ang lahat ng kaya niya para tugunan ang krisis na ito, hanggang sa armadong pakikibaka ng ating Hukbo,” aniya. “Malaki ang naging papel ni Ka Joma sa pag-unlad nito, kaya malaki ang ambag ni Ka Joma sa pangkabuuang kilusan laban sa krisis sa klima.”

SA SULOK NG KANAYUNAN

Ilang buwan mula noong pumanaw si Ka Joma, nahanap ko ang sarili ko sa kasukalan ng kanayunan, sa isang yunit ng New People's Army. Medyo masikip ang mga botang pinahiram sa akin, kaya dahan-dahan ang aking pagmaniobra papunta sa kabilang kubo. Naghihintay na nakaupo at naninigarilyo si Ka Megan, ang pampulitikang gabay ng aming NPA unit.

Pinatay ni Ka Megan ang kanyang yosi nang nakaupo na ako, at nagsimula ang aming usapan. Isa sa mga hiling niya—makatulong ako sa pagtapos ng kanilang praymer ukol sa krisis sa klima.

“Grabe yung epekto ngayon ng mga bagyo at tagtuyot sa magsasaka rito,” sabi ni Ka Megan. “Di ba sabi nga

ni Ka Joma na mas malala pa ang banta ng climate change sa gerang nukleyar?” Tulak ng lumalalang sitwasyon ng magsasaka sa kinikilusang erya, mga memo ng Partido ukol sa kalamidad, at mga sulatin ni Ka Joma, nagsikap ang yunit na gawin ang praymer para makatulong sa pagpukaw at pag-organisa ng masang apektado ng pagbabagong-klima.

Doon nagsimula ang aming paghahanda para sa ilang internal na talakayan sa yunit ukol sa krisis sa klima. Nang makapagbigay na ako ng komento sa binuo nilang inisyal na burador, sinubukan naming gawing mas simple ang mga salita para mas madaaling intindihin.

Nagsisimula ang praymer sa ilang mga lokal na karanasan sa pagbabagong-klima—mula sa pagbago ng panahon hanggang sa mga kwento ng matitinding bagyo at tagtuyot. Kabilang dito ang patuloy na pagbabago ng pattern ng ulan. Dahil dito, hindi na masundan ng mga magsasaka ang nakasanayang praktika ng pagtatanim at pagkakaingin.

Nilaman din ng praymer ang maikli at simpleng paliwanag kung bakit nangyayari ang pagbabagong-klima, na nakaugat sa labis na pagbuga ng carbon dioxide ng mga imperyalistang bansa. Idinidiin sa talakayan na ang nasa likod ng pagbabagong-klima ay walang iba kundi ang imperyalismong US at iba pang imperyalista.

Para maging kaakit-akit ang pagbasa ng praymer na ito, nagsikap ang yunit na maglagay ng artwork na gawa ng isang kasamang kabataan. Gumawa rin kami ng isang kanta—acapella lang muna—ukol sa krisis sa klima para makatulong sa talakayan sa masa.

Sa buong panahon ng paghahanda namin, tumatak ang dalawang bagay sa isip ko. Una, seryoso talaga ang rebolusyonaryong kilusan na aralin at tugunan ang nagbabagong kalagayan ng masang api. Pangalawa, hanggang sa kasuluk-sulukan ng kanayunan, umaabot ang salita at diwang rebolusyonaryo ni Ka Joma. **LIB**

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5 must-read articles by Ka Joma on climate and environment

by Bernadette Rojo



THROUGHOUT HIS LIFE, and particularly towards the end, Ka Jose Maria Sison wrote a lot about environmental and climate issues. Through his organizations and on a personal capacity, he wrote to provide valuable insights and guidance for activists and revolutionaries in the Philippines and beyond regarding emerging ecological issues.

As an environmental activist and a member of Liga ng Agham para sa Bayan (LAB-NDFP), I first encountered Ka Joma's writings and interviews on climate and environment through a compilation released by the International League of Peoples' Struggle—where he was chairperson emeritus—entitled *On Climate Imperialism*. In 2024, the Sison Reader Series 25 *On Ecology and the Environment* was released, which contained more articles and creative works by Ka Joma, dating back to as early as 1983. On a personal level, many of Ka Joma's writings helped develop my understanding of ecological issues as they are (inextricably!) linked to imperialism.

Comrades and budding environmental advocates have asked me, “where can I start reading up on climate change?” A good start would be Ka Joma's works. Here are my five must-read articles by Ka Joma on climate and environment.

1. Need for a Socialist Future for Genuine Sustainability (2012)

In this article, Ka Joma historicizes and critiques the popular concept of “sustainable development”. Ka Joma argues that “sustainable development”, as the concept is deployed by imperialists, covers up the fact that imperialist countries are the ones responsible for much of the world's environmental degradation. In addition, the use of the concept by imperialist powers has fueled arguments against the development of neocolonial countries seeking to break away from imperialism.

2. On Oplan Bayanihan and the Prospects for Environmental Justice (2013)

Here, Ka Joma links the environmental crisis to the semicolonial, semifeudal character of the Philippines. He directly points to the responsibility and accountability of foreign multinationals and the comprador bourgeoisie for the ecological devastation in the country. Accordingly, he emphasizes the role of the US-backed Oplan Bayanihan (the “counterinsurgency” program of the reactionary Aquino government) in facilitating environmentally-destructive projects in the country as this military Oplan worked to secure areas for projects such as large-scale mining, logging, power plants, and plantations.

3. Burning Questions about Climate Change, Capitalism, and Revolution (2015)

In this interview by Quincy Saul, Ka Joma gave his insights into other revolutionary movements around the world and their attempts to address ecological and climate issues. This is a must-read for those looking into how other revolutionary and progressive movements are tackling climate change.

4. Paris Talks are Predetermined by Monopoly Capitalism to Aggravate Climate and Social Injustice and Crises (2015)

Written around the time of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change Conference of Parties (COP) in Paris in 2015, Ka Joma correctly points out how imperialist powers continue to dominate the UN process. Nearly a decade after the Paris Agreement, we can see how Ka Joma's insights remain valuable in the face of continued rampant carbon emissions by imperialist countries.

5. System Change, Not Climate Change (2021)

Taken from the Climate Crisis Special Education of the ND Online School of Anakbayan-Europa, this work provides a comprehensive summary of the climate and environmental crisis under imperialism. Here, Ka Joma tackled several pertinent questions regarding climate finance, pollution, UN processes and agreements, among many other topics.

In all his works, Ka Joma never failed to link climate and environmental crises to the root cause—imperialism. More than just describing the state of the world, he also left us with concrete suggestions on how to address climate and environmental injustice to activists and revolutionaries in the Philippines and across the globe.

Ka Joma indeed lives through his writings and through the revolutionary movement he continues to influence. As we confront climate change, ecological collapse, and other pressing issues of our time, Ka Joma's works remain a vital contribution to the struggle against the unsustainable imperialist world order. **LIB**

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MAG-ARAL, MATUTO, KUMILOS

May sorpresa ang dalaw sa BHB ni Roberta Gonzalo



Balitaan

MAY ISANG simpleng gawain sa mga sonang gerilya na nakakadagdag ng kaalaman. Nagpapatalas ng pagsusuri, nagpapaunlad ng pagkamalikhain at nagpapalakas ng pagkakaisa.

Sa umaga pagkatapos mag-almusal ay nagbabalitaan ang mga kasama. Bawat isa ay nagbabahagi ng nabasa o napakinggan sa radyo na mga balita. May mga kategorya na tulad ng sa radyo, telebisyon o pahayagan. **Headline.** **Editoryal.** Lokal at internasyunal na balita. **Pangkultura.** **Palakasan.**

May kanya-kanyang pamamaraan ng pagbabahagi. Maaring parang balita sa radyo o telebisyon. O di kaya ay para talagang mga broadcaster ang mga nag-uulat na mga kasama. Puwede rin namang sa porma ng isang maikling dula, tula o kanta.

Hindi nagiging mekanikal o nakakabagot ang mga balitaan kahit may regularidad sa paggawa nito. Mas natutuon din ang mga talakayan sa konteksto at mga pagsusuri ng mga balita. Kaya sa pagbabalik sa lungsod ng mga kasamang may pulong lamang o mahalagang pakay sa mga kampuhan at sonang gerilya ay tiyak na hahanap-hanapin nila ang mga ganitong kaganapan.

May kaibahan talaga kung may kasama kang nagsusuri at nag-aaral kahit pa nga sabihing mga balita lamang iyon. Napapalalim ang mga pareho ninyong mga pagsusuri at naitama naman ang mga maling basa ng mga kasama sa mga nilalaman ng mga pangunahing pangyayari sa lipunan.



Panunuod ng Pelikula at Dokumentaryo

Sa mga gabing nakaiskedyul ay makikita ang mga kasama na nanunuod ng pelikula. May mga temang nakaplano kung ano ang tatalakayin at hahanapan ito ng angkop na pelikula. Halimbawa ay tungkol sa buhay ni Karl Marx at ang ipapakitang pelikula ay ang “The Young Karl Marx”.

Minsan naman ay tungkol sa panghihimasok ng US sa Ukraine at ipinalabas ang dokumentaryong “Ukraine on Fire”. Dahil hindi naman sa lokal na wika ang mga naturang panuorin, may dalang hamon ang mga ganitong gawain na parehong anyo ng edukasyon at pagpapalipas ng oras para aliwin ang bawat isa.

Kailangan ng magsasalin ng pelikula at dokumentaryo mula sa Ingles tungo sa Filipino o sa kung ano ang lenggwahe sa lugar. Pagkaraan ng ilang eksena ay ititigil muna ang pinanunuod at may tagasalin ng mga naging usapan o naratibo sa pinanunuod. Kung iniisip lang natin ang ganitong pamamaraan ay parang mahirap. Pero sa aktwal ay hindi naman. Interesado

kasi ang mga tagapanuod. Nakapokus sila sa pelikula o dokumentaryo. At alam nila na maaaring matagal na muling mauulit ang mga ganitong gawain, depende sa sitwasyon, na siyempre pabago-bago rin. Kaya mahalaga ang bawat sandali. Hindi ito dapat masayang.

Sa mga mas maliliit na grupo o kolektibo ay sila ang pumipili ng mga pelikulang panunuorin nila habang nagpapahinga. Walang pagsasalin. Walang talakayan pagkatapos ng panunuod ng pelikula. Pero gaya ng lahat ng nababasa, napapanuod at nararanasan lahat ay may kontribusyon sa ating mga natututunan. Sa katunayan, mahirap mo nang mapapanuod ang 1960 na bersyon ng “The Magnificent Seven” pero meron sila nito sa ilang mga sona. Kuwento ng tagumpay ng mga magsasaka laban sa mga bandido.

Tunay ngang maraming sorpresa ang mga dalaw sa BHB. Bigyan lagi natin ang mga sarili natin ng ganitong oportunidad. Sa kaduluhan, mahalaga ito saan mang larangan ng gawain tayo kumikilos. **LIB**



