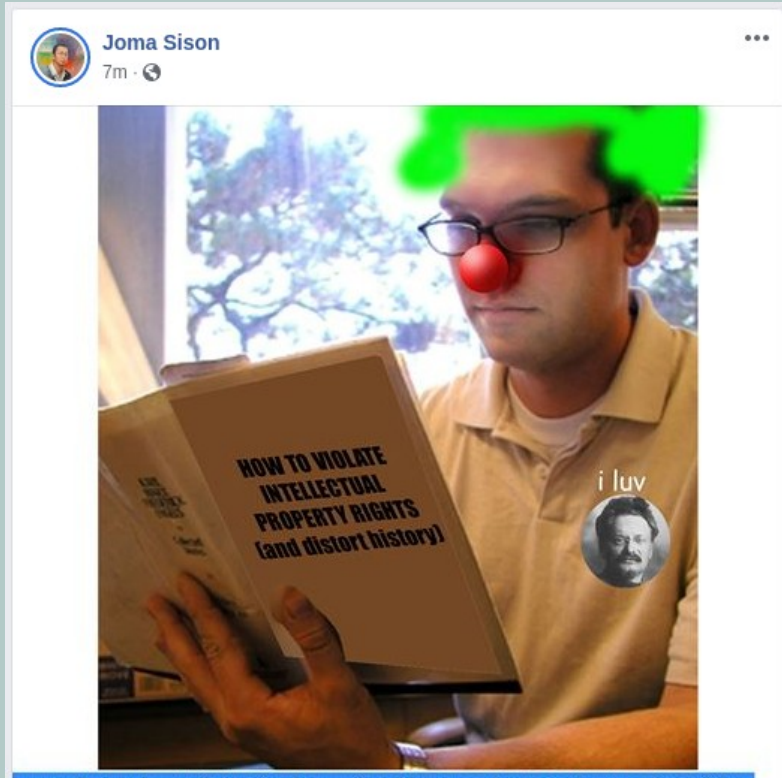




# **“First as tragedy, second as farce”: Marcos, Duterte, and the Communist Parties of the Philippines**

Joseph Scalice  
26 August 2020

# Sison, Facebook, 18-25 Aug 2020



“a pathologically rabid anti-communist and CIA psywar agent posing as an academic Trotskyite.”

“futile attempts of Trotskyites abroad (like Joseph Scalice) and in the Philippines to blame the legal democratic forces as well as the revolutionary forces for the rise to power and current criminal rule of the traitorous, tyrannical, genocidal, plundering and swindling Duterte regime.”

# “a paid agent of the CIA”



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

# Bayan

Special Issue  
English Edition  
August 25, 2020  
www.cpp.ph

## Critique of the Trotskyite attacks on the CPP and the Philippine revolution

Interview with  
**Jose Maria Sison, Founding Chairperson**  
Communist Party of the Philippines

1. It is well-known that Joseph Scalice has been attacking your writings and you personally in violent anti-communist and anti-Stalinist language since 2017. Why did you criticize him only this recently? If you were aware of him before, what has been your view of him?

**Jose Maria Sison (JMS):** My attention to Joseph Scalice was that they are ineffective propaganda and blatantly supportive of counter-revolution.

was butchery aimed at the poor people and intended to intimidate the broad masses of the people. On their own independent account, human rights organizations and legal democratic forces bravely addressed and de-

agency in 2010.

I have been aware of the rabid anti-communist and anti-Stalinist writings of Scalice for quite some time, long before now. I have ignored him because American comrades and friends have told me that he was already well-exposed as a Trotskyite and as a paid agent of the Central Intelligence Agency, paid to focus on the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and my writings and make a career out of attacking and misrepresenting these.

They have told me that the dis-

ations were still going on. In this regard, Scalice is both a liar and incorrigible anti-communist agent of imperialism and reaction. Indeed, he is practically a wild informer for the benefit of the Duterte death squads.



# A public declaration

Those who are acquainted with my scholarship ... know that my historical work is trenchantly critical of the role played by the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines and of the various organizations affiliated with its political line.

I would thus like to be explicitly clear on this point: *I unreservedly defend the party and those associated with it from the attacks carried out against them by the state and by paramilitary and vigilante groups.* The murder of Randall Echanis was an attack on the working masses of the Philippines and marked a dramatic step toward police state rule.

The defense against the danger of dictatorship requires the unity of the working class for its own independent interests. My opposition to the CPP and its allied groupings is based on the fact that they have consistently opposed the political independence of the working class and have forever sought to subordinate its interests to the formation of an alliance with a section of the ruling elite.

It was this perspective, the program of Stalinism, that led the leadership of the party to embrace Duterte, facilitating his rise to power and downplaying the danger of dictatorship. ... My opposition to the leadership of the party and its political program is thus a defense of the interests of the working class. For the same fundamental reason that I oppose the party -- defense of the working class -- I publicly declare my defense of those associated with the party from attacks by the state and its paramilitary forces. – **14 August 2020**

# “War on drugs”



Jennilyn Olayres hugs her murdered partner, Michael Siaron. the placard reads "I'm a pusher." (23 July 2016)

NATION



## 8 of 10 Filipinos fear getting killed in drug war

INQUIRER.net / 08:02 AM December 19, 2016



EDITORS' PICK

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Govt warns of lockdown

About 85 percent of Filipinos are 'satisfied' with the antidrug campaign of the Duterte administration despite 78 percent of them fearing that they could fall victim to extrajudicial killing. That was the result of the latest Social Weather Station survey done from Dec. 3 to 6, 2016. INQUIRER FILE

# “It is an outright lie that the CPP supported the Duterte regime”

**JMS:** Only a Trotskyite can interpret peace negotiations between two warring parties as support for Duterte and betrayal of the people. It is also an outright lie that the CPP supported the Duterte regime and his extrajudicial killings of poor people for two years. The peace negotiations practically came to an end in August 2016 when Duterte released only 19 political prisoners and reneged on his promise to amnesty and release all political prisoners.

As early as July 2016, the CPP and New People's Army (NPA) condemned Duterte's war on drugs when it became utterly clear that it

was butchery aimed at the poor people and intended to intimidate the broad masses of the people. On their own independent account, human rights organizations and legal democratic forces promptly addressed and denounced the "kill, kill, kill" program of Duterte. It also became

**JMS:** The BAYAN and other patriotic and democratic organizations held rallies to ventilate and present what they called the People's Agenda and the social, economic and political reforms that ought to be taken up in the peace negotiations. They were acting as peace advocates on behalf of the people. It is malicious and mendacious of Scalice to present their peace advocacy as supporting Duterte. At the same time, he exposes himself as a red-tagger, communist-baiter and anti-communist agent by calling them front organizations of the CPP. Scalice is as vociferously malicious as that tin can General Parlade.





# The mayor of Davao

“summary execution of criminals remains the most effective way to curb kidnapping and illicit drugs.”

– Rodrigo Duterte, addressing President’s Arroyo’s anti-crime summit (2002)

“No one involved [in the vigilante murders] covers his face.”

– Philip Alston, UN Special Rapporteur

“The mayor deserves our support. Those from outside the city cannot appreciate what the mayor has done to maintain the order that we enjoy. Duterte’s brand of leadership has kept us safe and secure.”

– Cong. Luz Ilagan, Gabriela (Manila Times, 2009)



# “Mayor Duterte should become President”

**January 2015.** Duterte staged a press conference in front of a hammer and sickle flag, and announced that if elected he would abolish congress, privatize government assets—including social security—and form a coalition government with the CPP. He promised that Sison would be made head of the newly privatized Social Welfare bureau.

Sison responded on Facebook, stating: “Mayor Duterte should become President.”





# **“that number will become 100,000”**

**May 25 2015.** During a radio interview, Duterte was confronted with a Human Rights Watch report that over 1,000 people were killed during the late 1990s by death squads in his city.

Duterte responded that he was the head of the death squads. “If I become president ... that number will become 100,000. I will feed the dead bodies to the fish of Manila Bay.”

# Leoncio Pitao wake



# Pitao-Duterte graffiti (July 2015)





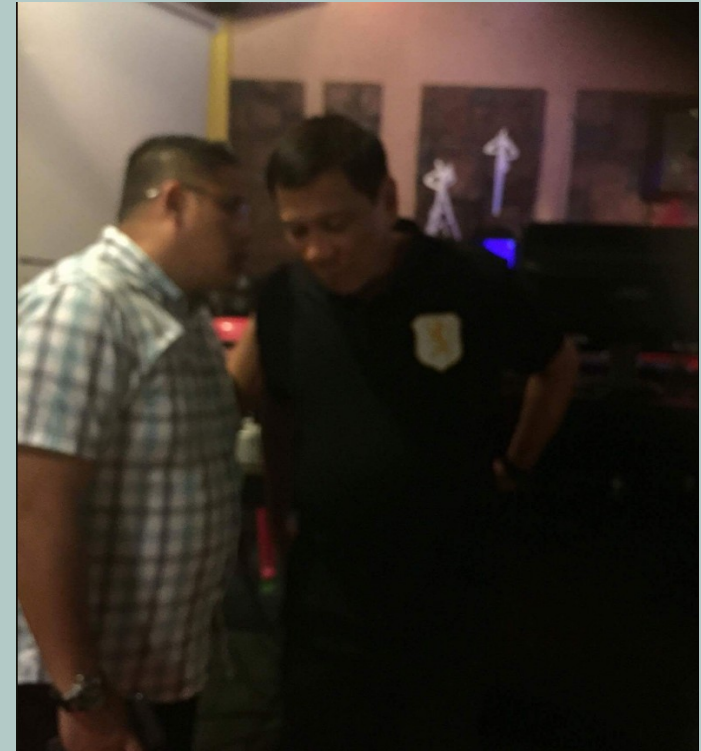
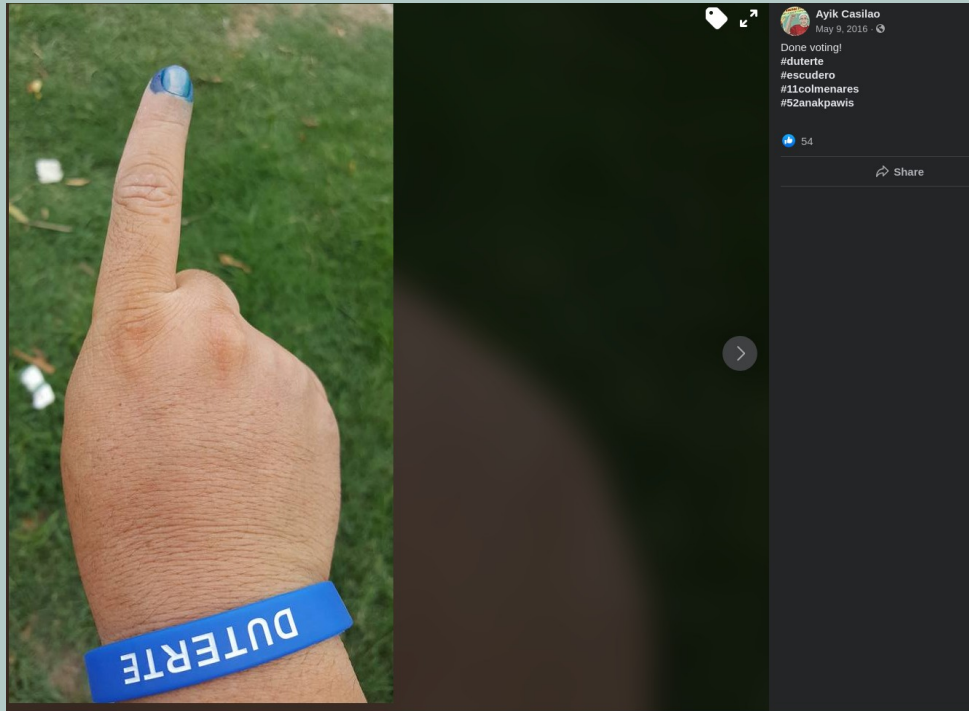
# Campaigning for Duterte, 1



# Campaigning for Duterte, 2



# #duterte





# “Pledge our full support”







# **“You don’t just attack capitalists”**

“You don’t just attack capitalists ... We can work with nationalist capitalists even as we talk to and persuade compradors ... Our honeymoon is just beginning. We’re talking to him. He’s offered us positions.”

– Sison, Facebook, May 2016



# Duterte defends women – Sison

“While mayor of Davao City, Duterte has recognized and appreciated the role of women in public life, has created facilities for women and children in need and has demonstrated his abhorrence of violence to women.”

– Sison, Address to Youth Leaders, 10 June 2016



# **“What is in sight is kind of coalition government”-- Sison**

“What is in sight is a kind of coalition government that involves the participation of the Communist Party amidst other patriotic and progressive forces. It is a government of national unity, peace and development. ... The question therefore arises whether the national democratic revolution can be completed in the absence of a people’s war. ...”

“Revolutionary armed units can become guards of the environment and the industries under conditions of peace and development. Integration of armed forces is permissible.”

– Sison, Address to Youth Leaders, 10 June 2016



# A reign of terror begins

AFP June 12. "Armed police are detaining crying children, bewildered drunks, and shirtless men throughout the Philippine capital in a night-time blitz that is offering an authoritarian taste of life under incoming president Rodrigo Duterte."

"... parents of children found on the streets at night alone were jailed."

# Raised fists and talk of peace





# War on drugs a “boon for the poor”

“We believe that Duterte’s war on dangerous drugs and crime is a boon to the poor.” – Einstein Recedes, secretary general Anakbayan, 26 June 2016.

Renato Reyes, secretary general of BAYAN wrote on July 4, “To put it plainly, he is an ally.” While he admitted that BAYAN has “differences” with Duterte, he argued that “to be immediately confrontational ... every time the President said something disagreeable during the past month would have weakened the alliance.” He appealed to his readers, “We should at least give him a chance.”

# “The Filipino people are elated”



“The Filipino people are elated over Duterte’s nationalist and pro-people policy pronouncements.” – Bayan, People’s 100 Day Agenda, 29 June 2016.




# **“Long Live President Duterte!”**



Sison began ending some of his addresses with the statement, “Long Live President Duterte!”

He posted this image on Facebook a number of times.



# Duterte's SONA was a “breath of fresh air” - Anakbayan

“I have to slaughter these idiots who are destroying my country” and added “I told the military if you see any [criminal], shoot them. Even if they surrender with a white flag. That’s just for war, not criminals. Shoot them. Show no mercy to them.” – Duterte, State of the Nation Address.

The State of the Nation Address (SONA) was “a breath of fresh air.” – Anakbayan



# NPA to join the “war on drugs”

“The people will completely support [puspusang susuportahan] the steps that Duterte will take to remove and punish the drug syndicates.” – Ang Bayan, June 21 2016.

“The CPP welcomes President Duterte's call of cooperation with the revolutionary forces against widespread drug trafficking.” – Ang Bayan, July 7 2016.

Luis Jalandoni: "the relationship between the revolutionary movement and President Duterte is excellent." (Ang Bayan, August 2016)



# NPA to join the “war on drugs”

July 1. Duterte speaking to the heads of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, called on the NPA to “use your kangaroo courts to kill them [alleged drug pushers] to speed up the solution to our problem.”

The CPP responded on July 2 with a statement entitled “Response to President Duterte’s call for anti-drug cooperation,” which opened by declaring that the party “welcomes President Duterte’s call for cooperation with the revolutionary forces against widespread drug trafficking.” The CPP stated that they “share in President Duterte’s reprehension of the illegal drug trade.”



# NPA to join “war on drugs”

“The NPA is ready to give battle to those who will resist arrest with armed violence.”

Sison spoke the next day in an interview on CNN, in which he announced that the party would be violently cracking down on alleged drug dealers. Asked how suspects would be accorded due process in the NPA’s courts, he stated that the “people’s prosecutor” would present prima facie evidence in the form of witness testimony before “revolutionary justice” was carried out.

# “It is an outright lie that the CPP supported the Duterte regime”

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# The class origins of Sison

- 1 -

*Census of Property Belongings  
of Mr. Salustiano S. Sison  
Burned in March, 1945*

*I - House assessed for ₱1870 under  
Tax No. 24018*

*II - Bodega assessed for ₱300 under  
Tax No. 22680*

*III - Granary assessed for ₱100 under  
Tax No. 21202 in the name of Mrs.  
Florentina C. Sison*

*IV - a - Kitchen 7x6 valued for ₱300.00  
b - 1 - Pious, grand, American make ₱1200.00  
1 - Wardrobe w/ mirror, large 400.00*

January 6, 1949

My dear Uncle;

I have learned from reliable source that Secretary Sotero Baluyut is employing Secret Agents of the Department of Interior in pursuance of the present campaign against dissidents in Central Luzon and other parts of the Philippines.

Inasmuch as I have not known personally the Secretary of the Interior, and I know that you are very close to him, I am soliciting said position through your kind intervention, and you can rest assured that I can tackle the job handily, because of my academic qualifications and wide experience in dealing with the peasants.

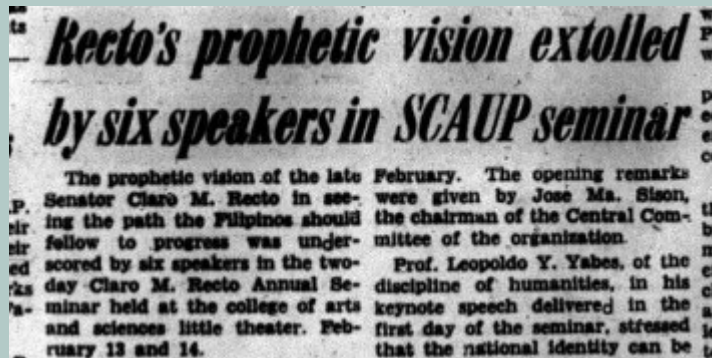
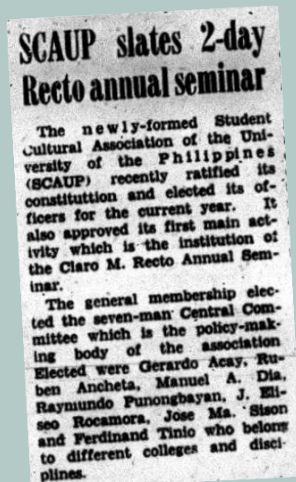
Univ. of Hawaii, Ramon Sison Collection

Univ. of Hawaii, Ramon Sison Collection



# Claro M. Recto and the quest for a mass movement

“... industrialization of the country by Filipino capitalists, and not simply the prevention of industrialization by foreign capitalists; exploitation of our natural resources by Filipino capital; development and strengthening of Filipino capitalism, not foreign capitalism; increase of the national income, but not allowing it to go mostly for the benefit of non-Filipinos.” – Recto, Speech to the Cavite Jaycees, 24 Feb 1957



*Philippine Collegian*, Feb 1961



# **“We are siding with Filipino capitalists”**

“In terms of class tendencies, material interests and ideology, the left wing would be occupied by the working class and the peasantry. The middle wing embraces three strata of the so-called middle class and these three strata can themselves be described as left, middle, and right within the middle wing, the left middle wing is occupied by the intelligentsia, and self-reliant small property owners whom we may call the petty bourgeoisie; the middle middle, the nationalist entrepreneurs, whom we may call the national or middle bourgeoisie; and the right middle, the merchants who are partially investors in local industry and who are also partially compradors. The right wing is composed of the anti-nationalist forces, such as the compradors, the landlords and their rabid intellectual and political agents”.

Sison, *The Nationalist as Political Activist*, 1966



# Winning over the “middle forces”

“To tilt the balance for the purpose of isolating the right wing composed of the enemies of progress and democracy, it is necessary therefore for the main and massive forces of the workers and peasants to unite with the intelligentsia, small property owners and independent handicraftsmen, win over the nationalist entrepreneurs and at least, neutralize the right middle forces. The resulting unity is what we call nationalist or anti-imperialist and anti-feudal unity.”

Sison, *The Nationalist as Political Activist* (1966)

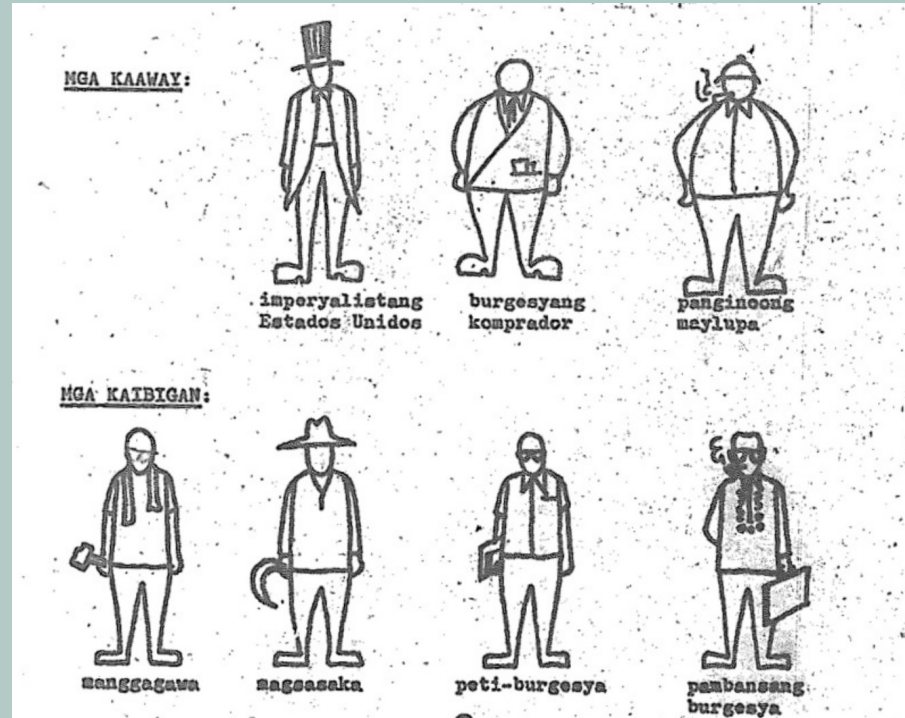


# Stalinism: two stage revolution

Quoting Mao: “Some people fail to understand why, so far from fearing capitalism, Communists should advocate its development in certain given conditions. Our answer is simple. The substitution of a certain degree of capitalist development for the oppression of foreign imperialism and domestic feudalism is not only an advance but an unavoidable process. It benefits the proletariat as well as the bourgeoisie, and the former perhaps more. It is not domestic capitalism but foreign imperialism and domestic feudalism which are superfluous in China today; indeed, we have too little of capitalism.”

Sison continued, “It is a basic principle of Marxism that bourgeois-democratic conditions must first exist before a socialist society can be built up. What we need in the Philippines today is a conscious national unity strong enough to assert our own sovereignty and achieve Filipino democracy before we are divided on the issue of socialism.”

# Bloc of four classes



CPP, Drowing: Tulong sa Pagtuturo

# The progressive national bourgeoisie,

## 1: Diosdado Macapagal



Ignacio Lacsina  
(APL 30 Apr 1971)



LM (Sison), Handbook on Land Reform (1963)



# Port strike of 1963



MT, 13 Aug 1963

“Aware of the *epochal social and national reforms* now being energetically carried out under the leadership of President Diosdado Macapagal;

“Believing that nothing short of the unity of all forces for democratic change can assure the success of these reforms ...

“Realizing that *the forces opposed to reform programmes* have banded together under the banner of the Nacionalista Party; ...

“AGREE TO COALESCE THE PARTIES effective immediately ...”

LP-LM Coalition Agreement, 6 Aug 1963



MC, 8 Sep 1963



# Land reform

## The Resumption of the Unfinished Revolution

President Diosdado Macapagal believes that the land problem cannot be solved by merely regulating share tenancy and/or by coercing a restless peasantry with civilian guards and military operations

In the Agricultural Land Reform Code, the basic solution to the basic problem is provided: Share-tenancy is to be totally abolished and owner-cultivatorship be instituted in its place. To accomplish this principal objective the Code offers a full panoply of implementing land reform agencies whose functions and operations are all revealed in this primer.

LM (Sison), *Handbook on the Land Reform Code* (1963)

“To further make itself appear progressive and to swindle the peasantry, the Macapagal puppet regime enacted the Agricultural Land Reform Code. Like all previous land reform laws, the code amounts to nothing when shorn of its littering generalities and when the provisions favorable to landlords are exposed. After a few token land reform projects, the bankruptcy of the code becomes conspicuous....”

Macapagal’s land reform was “a bombastic collection of words to cover the oft-repeated lies of the landlord class.”

Sison, *Philippine Society and Revolution* (1970)

# The progressive national bourgeoisie,

## 2: Ferdinand Marcos



Marcos “received greater American financial support [than Macapagal] and ... this proved to be one of the decisive factors in the outcome of the election....”

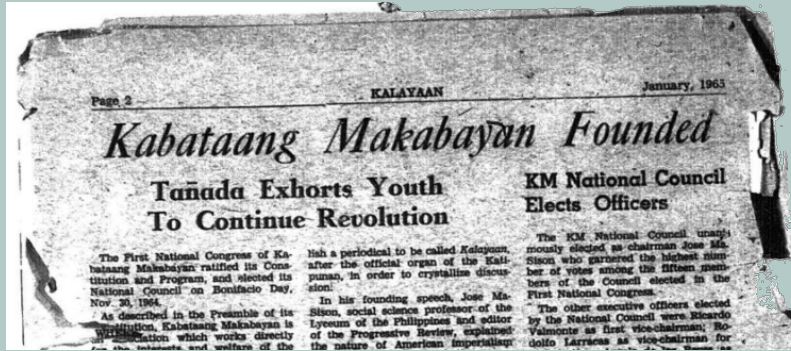
“Since the early 1950s, the nationalist bourgeoisie or Filipino industrialists have grown in size and strength. They now constitute an important force in Philippine politics.... the Filipino national bourgeoisie turned decisively against the Macapagal government....”

“Marcos himself will be forced to make a choice between his people and his financiers....”

“[The national democratic forces] must redouble their efforts to amass collective strength at the time when the President is performing his balancing act in domestic affairs. For it is only the strength of the national democratic forces that is capable of drawing the president to their side one the moment of decision is at hand.”

Sison, *Progressive Review* (1966)

# Kabataang Makabayan (KM)



“On the side of imperialism are the compradores and the big landlords. On the side of national democracy are the national bourgeoisie, composed of Filipino entrepreneurs and traders; the petty bourgeoisie, composed of small-property owners, students, intellectuals and professionals; and the broad masses of our people, composed of the working class and the peasantry to which the vast majority of the Filipino youth of today belong.”

Sison, Speech to KM Founding Congress (1964)



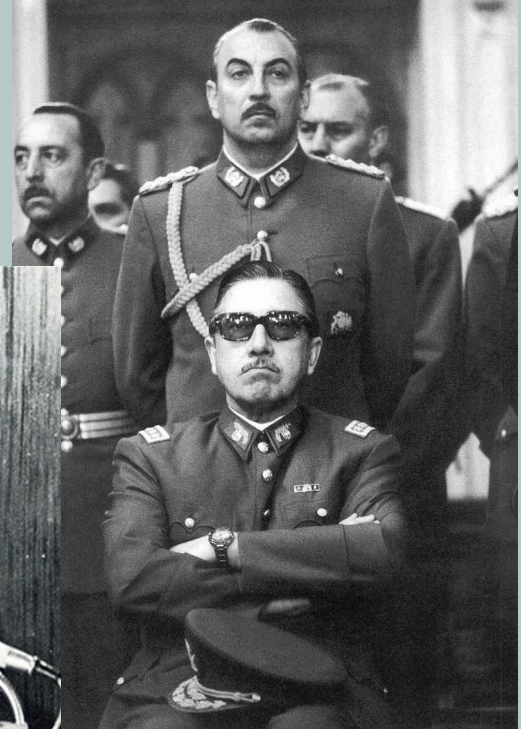
# Social crisis

“It would be nearly impossible to overestimate the gravity of the problems with which our next ambassador to Manila must deal. It has become common-place for people knowledgeable on the Philippines to predict a vast social upheaval in the near future. There is widespread talk that the current president will be the last popularly elected Philippine chief executive. Many high-level American officials consider the Philippines to be the most serious and the most bleak threat that we face in Asia.”

Marshall Wright, US National Security Council, memo to National Security Advisor  
Walter Rostow (1967)



# Rising tide of global authoritarianism



# Sino-Soviet split



## INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

### Mao Tse-tung's Thought Lights Up the Whole World

—Statement of the Communist Party of the Philippines

THE Political Bureau of the Communist Party of the Philippines (C.P.P.) in a statement on May 1 said that Mao Tse-tung's thought—the highest development of Marxism-Leninism in our era of world socialist revolution—has lighted up the whole world, according to a Manila report.

The statement reaffirms the C.P.P.'s commitment to fight U.S. imperialism and its reactionary allies in the Philippines; to fight modern revisionism and all forms of opportunism; to unite with all Marxist-Leninist Parties; and to pursue the policy of international united front.

The statement says that the C.P.P. is committed to a life-and-death struggle against U.S. imperialism and its local reactionary allies, comprador capitalists and landlords. The Philippines has long been a strong base of U.S. imperialism in Asia since its aggression against Filipino sovereignty in 1898. It has long been a stepping-stone for U.S. aggression against China and the whole of Southeast Asia and Asia. It is the bounden duty of the Filipino people, under the leadership of the working class and its Party, to expel the imperialist power of the United States from the Philippines. In pursuing its

anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle, the Party undertakes nationwide Party rebuilding, development of rural bases and armed struggle and a national united front under the leadership of the working class.

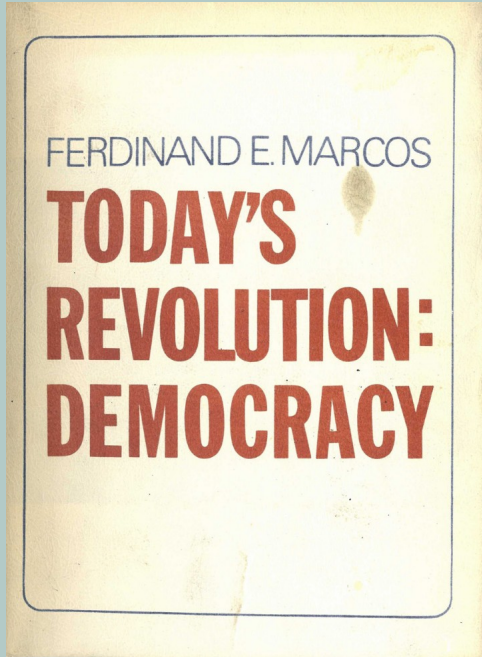
The C.P.P., the statement says, is committed to an uncompromising struggle against modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist ruling clique as its centre. There is no middle road between modern revisionism and the proletarian revolutionary line. The outlawed situation of the Party dictates clearly that there is no path to national and social liberation except through armed struggle. The C.P.P. is committed to the strongest fraternal unity with all Marxist-Leninist Parties. In this regard, the thought of Comrade Mao Tse-tung lights up the whole world as the highest development of Marxism-Leninism in this era of world socialist revolution.

In conclusion, it declares, the C.P.P. is committed to the policy of international united front led by the international proletariat, resolutely directing its spearhead against U.S. imperialism. It rejects the slogan of "united action" raised by the Soviet revisionist ruling clique. This slogan is a clever ruse to trap the working class of the world into a collusion with U.S. imperialism.



APL 23 Apr 1971

# Today's Revolution: Democracy



“To Lenin we owe the statement that there could not be revolution without a revolutionary theory. ... Lenin conceived of the revolution in two steps: the first the bourgeois, then the proletarian.”

Ferdinand Marcos, *Today's Revolution Democracy* (1971)

Marcos' book is “a brilliant analysis of the ills of Philippine society as well as a prescription for a ‘revolution’ from the center.”

Jesus Lava, 1971



# “...it is all to the good.”

October 1, 1972

Dear Donahille & Jim,

Thank you very much for your (Donahille's) letter of September 22, with the copy of Vera's letter to you enclosed. One of these days perhaps you will meet her. It is typical of her to want to magnify the kindness you have shown her.

The last letter we had from Ester was written September 18, a few days before the Marcos wanted her move. She did not mention having heard from you. However, mail has been extremely slow in reaching people in the Philippines. According to Ester, it takes our letters 20 days to get to her. The fault lies in Philippine post office, which is clogged with inefficiency and corruption. We assume that Ester's mail is opened, anyway. A few months ago a reactionary general was put in charge of the post office. He introduced the policy of opening and delaying all packages of books and printed papers. It is reported that this was done because of the flood of Maoist propaganda sent in via Hongkong, but any stamp down kills everything. This will probably worsen with the present Marcos assumption of official power.

I did a piece for the Daily World on the recent Philippine developments, but the situation is really too complex to be done justice in a short article. So far there is nothing in any of the press reports we've seen to indicate whether any of our people have been affected. Our movement of course is and has been for a long time underground, and it has been affecting the Marcos move for a couple of years, so no doubt if many would be caught off-guard. There are certain reasons why the steps taken by Marcos would even be beneficial to us at present. Those who have been arrested from the Liberal Party and the Catholic groups and from the press are those who have had links (an alliance, actually) with the Maoists and have been publicizing and encouraging Maoist propaganda and action against the PKP as well as Marcos. ... If the vicious Maoist propaganda can be stifled, it is all to the good.

W. Pomeroy to J.S. Allen, 1 Oct 1972

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W. Pomeroy to J.S. Allen, 1 Oct 1972

# ... only to get it in the neck ...

Oct. 6, 1972

Dear Bill:

It is of course difficult to try to judge the new development in the PI at this distance, and with the limited information available to us. The NY Times has daily carried rather long dispatches from Manila and SE Asian cities but, as we know, these are heavily censored or are based on doctored information. Nevertheless, overall the new turn cannot be a positive one, either for the PI people or in the world situation; rather, it seems to me, it is dangerous in both respects. Thus, I was rather surprised by the positive note in your first DW article, and again in your letter. While there may be certain side effects which in passing may be of benefit (say, breaking up of the Maoist-type alliances in the PI), these seem to me far overshadowed by the entrenchment of the most reactionary forces by the imposition of martial law, which, according to all official statements emanating from Manila, is to be maintained indefinitely into the future.

That the bone fide CP forces are already well underground and had anticipated such a move, while the open allies of the Maoists had been caught by surprise, is hardly ground for optimism. Marcos' move, dressed up as it is with anti-corruption demagoguery and talk of agrarian reform, etc., can only mean even greater repression of all labor, peasant and progressive elements--as such moves by that particular kind of power structure have always meant. And in the PI particularly, where the inner tensions are so great and the oligarchy has always needed the U.S. imperialists to keep it in power (except when a part of it accepted the Japanese during the war), the Marcos military dictatorship can mean only, and above all, that reaction and repression will ride supreme as long as remains in power. I think this is the central fact.

True, Marcos has taken steps of reconciliation toward the socialist countries (so did Franco) and the Maoists have been discomfited. (Remember when the CPUSA did not lift a finger when the Smith Act was first used against the Trotskyites, only to get it in the neck very soon?) The truth is that the basic internal meaning of such developments is not determined by the world forces, which can only play a secondary role in the outcome of internal crises. The attention has to be directed homeward--and to the new situation, new tasks, etc. now created.

From all the news we get here, Marcos has given plenty of assurance that U.S. interests will be safeguarded, in fact he has overthrown the Supreme Court ruling about the limitation of these interests after the term of the current Act. Nor is there any uneasiness in Washington. True, as you say, it is complex--but the above is the way I see it initially. Perhaps you have other information--and second thoughts. Let's hear. Best to you and Celia, Jim

“True, Marcos has taken steps of reconciliation toward the socialist countries (so did Franco) and the Maoists have been discomfited. (Remember when the CPUSA did not lift a finger when the Smith Act was first used against the Trotskyites, only to get it in the neck very soon?)”

J.S. Allen to W. Pomeroy, 6 Oct 1972



# The Smith Act

“Now that you are under attack, we, the first victims of the Smith Act offer you our aid. We are convinced that only a united struggle by the whole labor movement -- by all the tendencies within it -- can defeat this conspiracy to deprive you of your democratic rights....

“We ask you not to permit the profound political differences between your party and ours to stand in the way of a broad united front of the working class in defense of Civil Rights. While you did not come to the defense of the Trotskyists when we were persecuted under the Smith Act, we have already made public our opposition to your indictment and are fully prepared to further assist in your defense.”

Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party to the Central Committee of the CPUSA (1948)

# The suppression of the MLG

## THE PARTY'S STRUGGLE AGAINST ULTRA-"LEFTISM" UNDER MARTIAL LAW

During the period immediately following the proclamation of martial law, the PKP was confronted with the splittist challenge posed by a number of intellectual and lumpen elements who formed an anti-Party front called the "Marxist-Leninist Group". Failing to impose their adventurist policy of an all-out armed struggle through foco guerillism, this grouping made elaborate plans to subvert the Party through splittist activities both from within and without, all of which were roundly repulsed.

This article reviews the highlights of the ideological struggle conducted by the Party against this group, and draws the practical lessons gained from this struggle.

### From Trotsky to Marighella

The splittist activities of the so-called "Marxist-Leninist Group" took concrete forms during the first few months after the proclamation of martial law, and simmered down after their political and organizational rout during the first half of 1973.

A measure of the gravity of the problem posed by the splitting group was the fact that it was headed by no less than the then head of the Party's Education Department, and that it took place during the highly confusing period right after the proclamation of martial law.



# Endorsing the Dictator, pt. 1

“On the part of US imperialism, there are two complementary reasons for the imposition of fascist rule. The first is to suppress the national liberation movement, and the second is to pave the way for a more accelerated development of the capitalist system in the Philippines...

“The Marcos military-technocratic dictatorship is reforming the government by weeding out official corruption in response to the demand of foreign capital for an efficient administrative machinery.”

PKP, “New Situation, New Tasks” December 1972



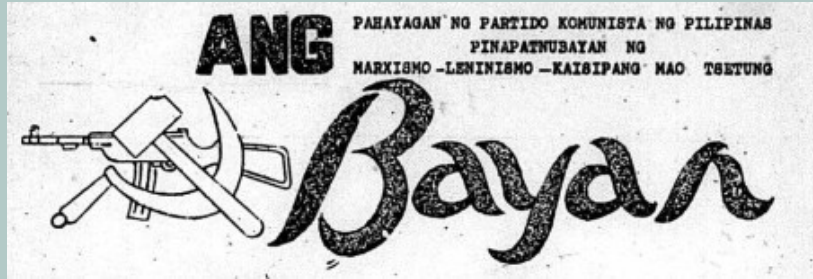
# Endorsing the Dictator, pt. 2

“The Philippines is a neocolonial country of dynamic capitalist development. Its economy is in the main backward and deformed by colonial plunder. ... Under the hegemony of finance capital, spearheaded by US imperialism, the Philippines is vigorously being transformed from a predominantly feudal country into a modern capitalist economy. Today it is experiencing a tremendously rapid pace of capitalist buildup through the instrumentality of the martial-law dictatorship.”

Political Resolution, 6<sup>th</sup> PKP Congress (1973)



# The CPP



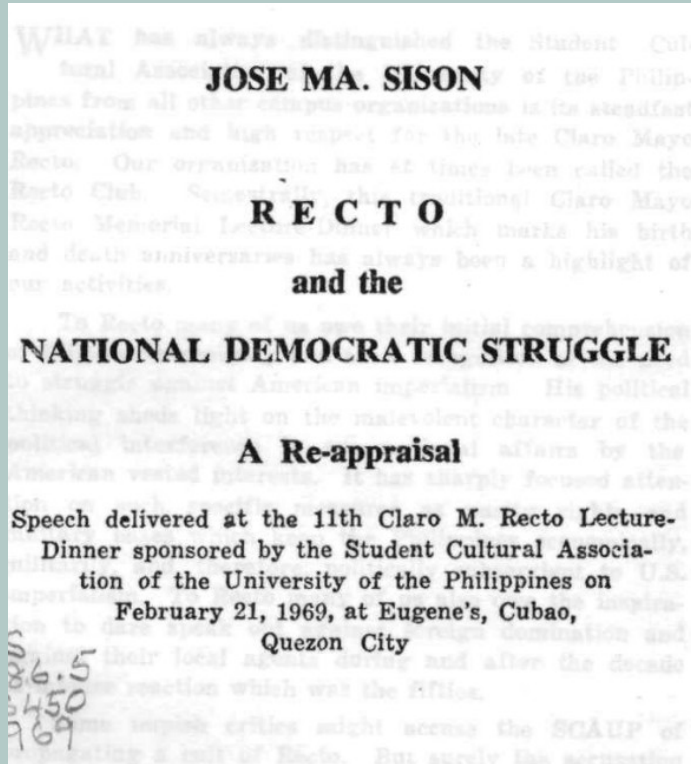
KM, Kalayaan (1971)



GW 13 Mar 1968



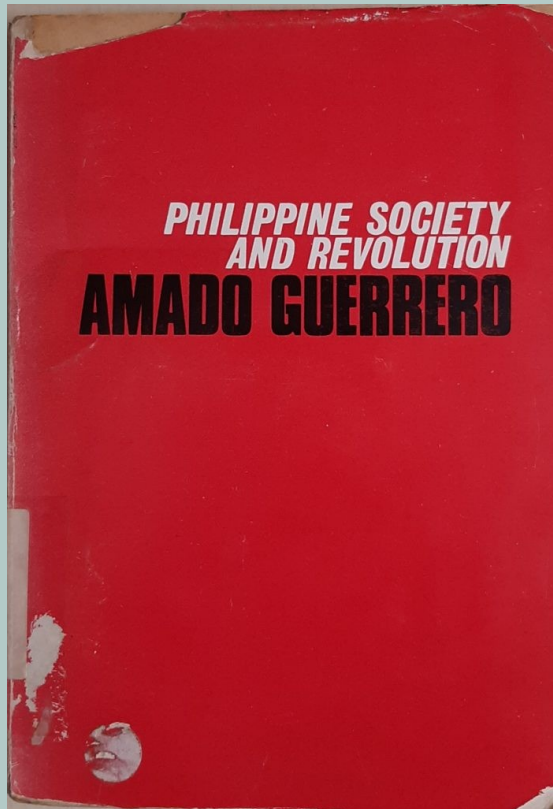
# A final Recto speech



“He spoke of nationalist industrialization and the riddance of US imperialism but failed to see the necessity of agrarian revolution as the basis of a movement towards the achievement of a self-reliant economy which is in turn the basis of genuine political independence....”

“For more than ten years already, every administration has found it suitable to use such slogans as “Filipino First”, “Unfinished Revolution”, and “New Filipino”, with a seemingly national democratic content but actually devoid of any determination to achieve national democracy.”

# ***Philippine Society and Revolution***



“[D]omestic feudalism is the social base of US imperialism. ... An agrarian revolution is needed to destroy the links between US imperialism and feudalism and deprive the former of its social base.”

Sison, *PSR* (1970)



# **“The good of the country requires...”**

“Aquino believes that martial law is the most likely means Marcos will use in order to stay in power. Aquino said that he would support Marcos if this is the course he adopts. Since the law and order and economic situation is deteriorating so rapidly, in Aquino's view, the good of the country requires strong measures on the part of the Central Government. The growing threat from the dissidents, the worsening law and order problem ... were cited by Aquino as reasons why stronger central government action is needed. Such action means martial law. Were he President, Aquino indicated that he would not hesitate to take such strong action and would, for example, execute several corrupt officials at the Luneta Park in Manila as a lesson to other officials that he meant business.” – Memorandum of confidential meeting of Aquino with US Embassy political officers, 12 September 1972



# Repression breeds resistance

“[W]e consider the present situation far more favorable to the revolutionary movement than ever before. ...

“The more the fascist dictator madly goes after all kinds of workers' organizations, the more it will aggravate its already isolated position. The more the workers' rights are suppressed, the more will the workers become fearless of the US-Marcos dictatorship. ... The violent suppression of workers' unions and strikes can only yield more determined fighters for the revolutionary cause, provided the Party does well its duty of arousing and mobilizing the workers.”

Sison, *Ang Bayan*, October 1 1972



# “win over members of the national bourgeoisie”

The Party should win over members of the national bourgeoisie, in the cities and in the countryside, to give political and material support to the revolutionary movement. Since they themselves cannot be expected to bear arms against the enemy, they can extend to the revolutionary movement support in cash or kind or allow use of their facilities. The Party should protect their legitimate interests against the wanton assaults of US imperialism and the puppet dictatorship. The national bourgeoisie can join the anti-imperialist and antifascist united front and it will be amply represented in the national coalition government to be set up in the future.

- Sison, *Ang Bayan*, October 1 1972



# Mao embraces Marcos

## A DIPLOMATIC VICTORY OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

### A VICTORY OF THE PHILIPPINE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE

The following are excerpts from the October 20, 1974 special issue of Ang Bayan, the official publication of the Communist Party of the Philippines. Chapters will receive a copy of the complete text of this article for their reference.

The recent visit of Mrs. Imelda Marcos and her entourage to China, the cordial reception extended to them by their Chinese hosts (including Chairman Mao Tsetung, Premier Chou En-lai and Comrade Chiang Ching) and the initial trade agreement made at a government-to-government level in the course of that visit comprise a significant step towards the establishment of diplomatic relations between the People's Republic of China and the Philippines.



# The defense of human rights?



"Ang batang rebolusyonaryo" (1978)

## SA KANAYUNAN

### ANG BATANG NPA

MGA HAPON!

Nula sa bintana ng silid-  
aralan, nakita ni Boy ang mga  
Hapon, dumating, patungo sa  
kanilang baryo. Nanganib ang  
mga kasama!

Hindi na niya nakuhang  
magpaalam sa kanyang guro sa Grade  
II na noo'y obala sa pagsusulat  
sa pisara. Inihahilin niya sa  
kanyang katabi ang kanyang mga  
libro, notbuk at iba pang gamit.  
Tumakbo siyang palabas ng silid-  
aralan, ng kampus, ng tarangkahan  
ng paaralan. Pagbalik na niya  
siya hihingi ng pamonhin sa kan-  
yang guro.

Sa daan, napahisto siya.  
Isang harap niya ang mga Hapon.  
Nakangisi sila. Tinapik ang kan-  
yang ulo ng isa sa kanila at si-  
la'y nagtawanan. "Bata pa iyan  
para maging NPA!" ang tudyog ng  
isa naming Hapon.

Dumunt uli siya ng takbo.  
Umalisbakay ang alikabok sa kan-  
yang paanan, mag-init ang kanyang  
ulo sa init ng araw at dumikit sa  
kanyang paraisang katawan ang kan-  
yang komiseta. Humihingal siya  
nang dumating sa kanilang kubo.

"O, bakit munga pa'y umari  
ka na?" tanong ng kanyang ina na  
noo'y naglalaba sa harap ng kubo.

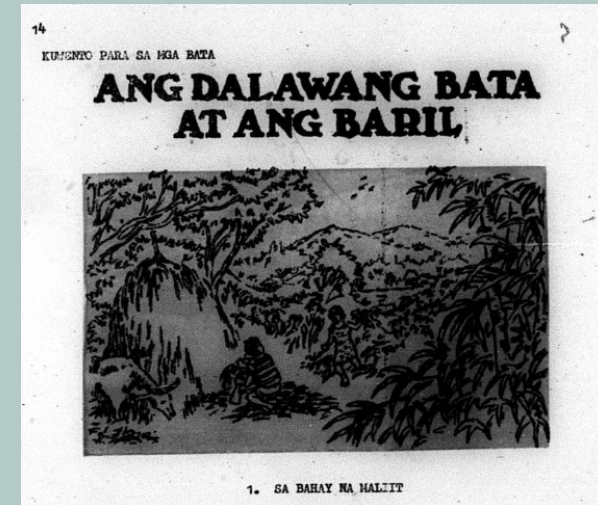
Sumulap si Boy sa may  
bintana. May mga Pulang mandi-  
rigmanag nagpupulong sa loob ng  
kanilang bahay.

Kagabi sila dumating, at  
siya'y nagising nang ang isa sa  
kanila ay nahiga sa tabi niya.  
Inilagay nito sa may gawing ulu-  
nan ang riple nito at pek. Kina-  
umagahan, tinulungan niya ang  
kanyang ina sa paghahanda ng al-  
musal para sa mga kasama, namat-  
alang ang kanyang ama nanan ay

nagtungo sa may likuran ng bahay  
upang gumama sa palarang kanyang  
hinuharisan. Habang nag-almasal  
sila, sinabi ng isang Pulang man-  
dirigma: "Paglaki mo, NPA ka rin."  
"Bakit," ang kanyang tanong, "ba-  
la bang batang NPA?" Ang mga Pu-  
lang mandirigma, pati na ang kan-  
yang ina, ay natawa sa kanyang  
tanong.

Lumapit siya sa kanyang  
ina. "May mga Hapon, pagawi ri-  
to," ang bulong niya.

Tumilawik ang mga bula ng  
sahon nang maring pilipitin ng  
kanyang ina ang pantalong nila-  
labanan. Tumindig siya habang pa-  
ngpit na sinumara ang mga Hapon.  
Pumasok siya sa kabahayan at ipi-  
nagbigay-alas sa mga kasama ang  
pagdating ng mga Hapon sa kani-  
lang baryo. Ano ang dapat gawin  
ng mga Pulang mandirigma? Pupun-  
ta suno sila sa bukid at doo'y  
sasamahan ang ama ni Boy sa pag-  
gama. Tumulong si Boy at ang  
kanyang ina sa pagliligpit ng mga  
baril, pek at papeles.





# The defense of historical truth

“With every zig and zag they are compelled to revamp history all over again. ...”

“The lie serves, therefore, as the fundamental ideological cement of the bureaucracy. The more irreconcilable becomes the contradiction between the bureaucracy and the people, all the ruder becomes the lie, all the more brazenly is it converted into criminal falsification and judicial frame-up.”

Leon Trotsky, *The Stalin School of Falsification*