

**The Factors that Contribute to the Establishment
And Persistence of Revolutionary Movements in the Philippines
Led by the Communist Party of the Philippines/New People's Army**

An Undergraduate Thesis
Presented to
The Department of Social Sciences
University of the Philippines Manila

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirement for the Degree on
Bachelor of Arts in Political Science

By

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April 2006

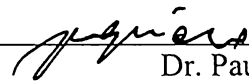
Approval Sheet

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts in Political Science, this thesis entitled "*Factors that Contribute to the Establishment and Persistence of Revolutionary Movements in the Philippines Led by the Communist Party of the Philippines/New People's Army*" prepared and submitted by *Nannette F. dela Cruz*, is hereby recommended for approval.



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Acknowledgment

The completion of this study would have not been possible if not for the persons who helped and guided me during the conduct of the study, and with that, I would like to extend my deepest gratitude to the following.

First and foremost, I would like to thank *God* for giving me enough strength and wisdom to finish this study.

I would also like to extend my gratitude to my thesis adviser, *Professor Doroteo C. Abaya, Jr.*, for guiding me with my thesis and for giving me important and brilliant ideas to improve my thesis. Sir, thank you for your patience.

To *Cecilia F. Genuino, PhD*, for helping me with the technicalities of my thesis. Thank you for the help despite your very tight schedule.

To *Laurice* for giving me a lot of ideas to for my thesis and for lending me some of your books. In spite of your very haggard, toxic and tight schedule, you still spared some of your time to assist me. Thank you for the gift of friendship. Everything that you did for me is very much appreciated.

To *Kuya Jeff*, who actually gave the central idea of my thesis, and to all the Kuya's and Ate's in office. Thank you for the support and for the wonderful experience last summer '05.

To my *blockmates*, especially to *Aeps, Ria, Shana, Kae, Ejay, Ajay, Britney, Josh and Ian*. Thank you for the support and encouragement and for not leaving me behind. You are the best thing that happened to me in my 4-year stay in UP Manila. I will treasure our friendship for the rest of my life. I am more than proud to be part of the block 4 family.

To my family, *Mama, Tatay, Asi, and Mingla*. Thank you for helping me with Reece so I can pay more attention to my studies. Thank you for the unconditional love and for not failing to support me. You have been one of my inspirations that spurred me to finish college.

Lastly, and most importantly, to *Reece Adrian and Sonny*. You have always been my inspiration in everything that I do. Thank you for the love and support. You two are the most important men in my life, and I thank God for giving me such a wonderful blessing.

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CHAPTER I

Research Proposal

INTRODUCTION

A Revolution is a social phenomenon where a group of people initiates, by any means, a radical change of an existing socio-political order into another.¹ In the case of the Philippines, the revolution was manifested, during the Spanish colonization, through the revolutionary movement known as Katipunan. Led by Andres Bonifacio, the Filipinos could no longer endure the maltreatment from the Spaniards, widespread corruption, unequal distribution of lands, excessive tax collections, and massive class exploitation and oppression. The Filipinos wanted independence from these foreign rulers and it can only be done through the establishment of a revolutionary movement that would overthrow the existing government. The said independence was finally achieved on June 12, 1898 when the Filipinos won the battle against the Spaniards. However, the Americans seized the independence fought for by the Filipinos and merely replaced the Spaniards as colonizers. The Americans were no different from the former, for they also did not plan to leave us alone. Behind their friendly façade was their interest to exploit all the natural resources of the country and to make the Filipinos their puppets. They also exploited and tortured those who resisted their domination. When the Japanese came, the Americans left us and promised that they would return to save us. The Japanese were as

¹ New Filipino Heroes. "The Last Revolution: Towards a New Philippine Order." *The Philippine Intelligencer*. August 12, 2003. [http://www.intelligencer.com.ph/08-12-2003/Last Revo.htm](http://www.intelligencer.com.ph/08-12-2003/Last%20Revo.htm). *The Philippine Intelligencer is an online publication of the New Filipino Heroes, an organization composed mostly of junior military officials who seek to effect change in the government and society.*

brutal and atrocious as the Spaniards and the Americans. During their occupation, Filipino women were exploited and were made sex slaves by these foreign rulers, which was really damaging to the morale and dignity of the Filipino people. The Japanese rulers also suppressed the guerilla movements and executed even the suspected guerilla members only. The kind of torture that the Filipinos received from the Japanese could be expressed by such words as cruel or brutal or vile. The Japanese invaders were later overthrown by the Filipinos with the help of the Americans. The Americans were on the scene once more, yet there were less physical exploitation. The Americans educated us and introduced their culture specifically their lifestyle and language. They instilled to the mind of the Filipinos the superiority of the Western culture. As a consequence, there was Americanization of the Philippine culture.

On July 4, 1946, we were granted independence by the Americans. A government headed by Filipinos was established yet it was still under the supervision and control of the Americans. The form of government was patterned after the United States of America. Almost all the government officials were members of the small population of the Filipino bureaucratic elite who were mostly collaborators. The Filipino masses, once again, were under the control, not by the Americans, but by our own fellow Filipinos who were in close relationship with the foreign rulers.

Since the granting of Philippine autonomy, we were never freed from the cage built by the Americans. We venerated them as somewhat ideal thus we adopted their

culture, their products, even the way they talk and dress. We were totally “miseducated”, as Renato Constatino said.

We have been a nation for over 50 years now, yet dissatisfaction persist with some sectors of the government particularly the CPP/NPA who are continuously advocating political reforms even through radical means. From time to time, they insist a change in government for a variety of reasons.

The main concern of this paper is to determine the concrete factors that contributed to the establishment and persistence of revolutionary movements in the Philippines. It examined the case of the CPP-NPA being one of the known revolutionary movements in the country.

This research is significant for four basic reasons. First, to help us realize why revolutionary movements exist despite the democratic form of government we have. Second, to know the problem within the government system making the country “conducive” for the development of revolutionary movements. Third, to know how revolutionary movements are established. And lastly, to see and compare the side of the revolutionary movements, as represented by the CPP/NPA, and the side of the government as represented by the military.

Review of Literature

According to Jose Maria Sison, the Philippine society is “semi-colonial and semi-feudal”. He defined semi-colonial as “a political term that refers to the indirect US colonial rule over the Philippines since the grant of nominal independence on July 4, 1946.”² This means that the Philippines was granted independence formally, but it is still under the indirect control of a foreign country. On the other hand, Sison defined semi-feudal as “an economic term that refers to an economy whose internal forces of production are mainly and essentially agrarian and pre-industrial, and whose relations of production are dominated by the combination of the comprador big bourgeoisie in the cities and the landlord class in the countryside.”³ Semi-colonial and semi-feudal society is always providing the favorable conditions for the generation of a revolutionary mass movement including armed struggle.⁴

Amado Guerrero, in his *Philippine Society and Revolution*, also cited these problems as the reasons why the people are in constant struggle. Furthermore, Guerrero said that the semicolonial character of Philippine society is principally determined by U.S. imperialism.⁵ He also said that, even though the United States granted us independence, U.S. imperialism still continue to interfere and infringe the national sovereignty and independence of the Filipino people.

² Sison with Werning. *The Philippine Revolution: The Leader's View*, 1989.

³ Ibid. p.22

⁴ Ibid. p.21

⁵ Guerrero. *Philippine Society and Revolution*, 1970.

The basic problems, therefore, that stirred up the hearts and minds of the Filipinos in pursuing national liberation and democracy, on the one hand, and national industrialization and genuine land reform on the other, are the foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. These were deepened and aggravated by the 20-year rule of Marcos (who was backed by the US government⁶) and by the succeeding regimes of Aquino and Ramos.⁷

In the book *Ekonomya at Pulitika ng Pilipinas*, Sison and Lima said that the Philippine Revolution of 1896 was the first national and democratic response of the Filipinos to the feudal and colonial domination of the foreign rulers. The said revolution was led by the ilustrados, who started the propaganda movement in Spain because of dissatisfaction with the intellectual, political, and socioeconomic situation in the Philippines.⁸

Let us look at the situation of revolutionary movements in other countries. Revolutionary movements in other countries also started as a response to the growing capitalism, which did not only grow in intensity but also in extensity.⁹ This capitalism began in England, France, America and Germany which were the first centers of industry

⁶ Sison with Werning. *The Philippine Revolution: The Leader's View*, 1989.

⁷ Sison. *Struggle for National Democracy*, 1995.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Pannekoek, Anton. "Why Past Revolutionary Movements have Failed." *Living Marxism*, Vol.5, #2. 1940.

and commerce used to invade foreign countries.¹⁰ Just like what Sison said regarding the social condition in the Philippines, the social structure of the invaded countries was also agrarian or more-or-less feudal. Farmers are being exploited by the landowners; capitalists are developing industrialist policies that paved way for the introduction of new technologies, which in turn hampered the growth of the national economies of the colonized countries. Because of the exploitative policies of the capitalist countries, the people developed a workers' revolution which aims to put an end to capitalism. In Germany, the workers realized that capitalism does not only lay claims on their working power but also upon their lives. This is one of the reasons why the workers' revolution in Germany was able to overthrow the emperors as well as the out-moded governments.¹¹ We can see here that one of the key features of an effective revolutionary movement is unity and thorough knowledge of what the movement is fighting for. Another key feature that can be seen in the workers' revolution in other countries is the presence of a good organization. To Lenin, planned-activities would be useful in guarding the workers against themselves, so to speak, or they might defeat their own cause through ignorance, and, by dissipating their powers, which open the way for counter-revolution.¹²

Georges Sorel further laid down key characteristics of an effective revolutionary movement, and these are large number, extension, and increasing duration of the

¹⁰ Pannekoek, Anton. "Why Past Revolutionary Movements have Failed." Living Marxism, Vol.5, #2. 1940 p.1

¹¹ Ibid. p.3

¹² Mattick, Paul. "Spontaneity and Organization."
http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Lobby/2379/pm_spont.htm

movement's activities such as strikes, and frequency of the activities and operations.¹³ He also said that in order to attain social importance, the organization must be opportunistic, and this opportunism should be equated with realism, since the former cannot be defeated by any radical ideology. These key features are the reasons why the workers' revolutions in the central cities of capitalist countries - England, France, America as well as Germany- were able to gain success. However, although these movements were successful, these movements did not persist due to lack of a central guiding principle that would serve as their guide in planning and continuing their activities. They were not able to see that there is a big difference between the middle-class revolution (or the workers' revolution), which was taught by Russia, and the proletarian revolution (or the people's revolution), which was promoted by the West.¹⁴ This resulted to a clash between the West and the East in terms of the type of revolution that would be promoted.

Comparing the revolutionary movements in other countries and the revolutionary movements in the Philippines, we can see that there is a similarity between them in terms of the beginning or establishment. Both started as a response to the exploitation of the peasants by the feudal lords or the landowners, rise of capitalism, and colonialism.

From the 60's to the 70's, Sison laid out some of the specific socioeconomic and political conditions that paved way for the creation and persistence of revolutionary movements in the country, which was mainly focused on the Marcos regime. Among

¹³ Mattick, Paul. "Spontaneity and Organization."

http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Lobby/2379/pm_spont.htm, p.2

¹⁴ Pannekoek, Anton. "Why Past Revolutionary Movements have Failed." Living Marxism, Vol.5, #2. 1940.

them are the contraction of the economy, limited job opportunities, large and extraordinary privileges of the United States and other multinational firms, opening of the Philippine economy to Japanese multinational firms, intervention of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in the so-called export-oriented economic policy by the US, etc.¹⁵ These conditions consequently gave rise to the establishment of mass organizations, as well as people's army, due to increasing exploitation of the feudal lords, increasing rate of poverty because of the presence of foreign firms, and the existence of a puppet government. This also resulted to the establishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

The Communist Party of the Philippines was founded by Crisanto Evangelista on November 7, 1930.¹⁶ However, due to "subjectivism in ideology, opportunism in politics and violations of democratic centralism in its organizational life"¹⁷, it failed to execute its tasks and objectives. But it was reestablished on December 26, 1968. The establishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines was actually a response to the growing domination of foreign firms and the neglect of the increasing rate of unemployment in the country. Most importantly, the CPP was founded because of the three basic evil historical problems specifically foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. This newly reestablished Party is now guided by the Marxism-Leninism-Maoist Thought, as a result of the first party's failure in having a strategic theoretical and

¹⁵ Sison with Werning. *The Philippine Revolution: The Leader's View*, 1989.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p.41

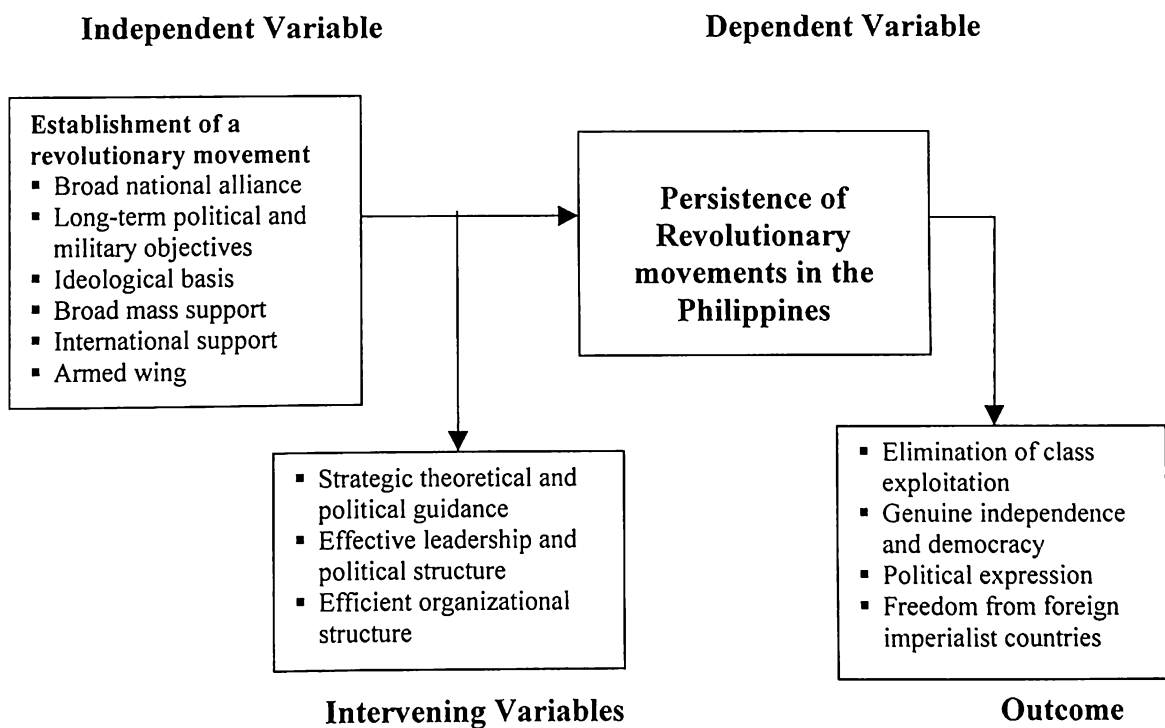
¹⁷ Liwanag, Armando. "The Glorious Record of Revolutionary Struggle", *Rebolusyon*. Central Publishing House. (January –March Issue, 2004).

political guidance.¹⁸ The Communist Party of the Philippines/New People's Army continue to exist until today, growing in size, scope and influence.

Analytic Framework

Revolutionary movement is a movement that has strategic theoretical and political guidance, effective leadership and organizational structure, broad national alliance, and internal unity. Its main objective is to eliminate class exploitation and oppression, remove fascism and imperialism, and achieve genuine independence and democracy.¹⁹ In order to fully understand the framework that was used, a conceptual framework is presented below.

Conceptual Framework



¹⁸ Guerrero. Philippine Society and Revolution, 1970.

¹⁹ This definition is an integration of the concepts given by Sison and de Lima.

The independent variables are the variables necessary to establish revolutionary movements. These are composed of broad national alliance, long-term political and military objectives, ideological basis, broad mass support, international support, and an armed wing. Without these factors, the establishment and existence of a revolutionary movement would not be possible. The diagram also shows the other factors necessary for the persistence of revolutionary movement are the strategic and theoretical guidance, effective leadership, and efficient organizational structure. Without these factors, the established revolutionary movement will collapse the first established Communist Party of the Philippines. This means that both the independent variables and the intervening variables are the ingredients for the persistence of revolutionary movement. With the establishment of revolutionary movement, there would be elimination of class exploitation, genuine independence and democracy, political expression, and freedom from foreign imperialist countries such as the United States.

Operational Definition:

- Broad national alliance
 - Broad national alliance refers to the basic alliance of the working class and the peasantry, as well as other strata with an objective interest in overthrowing the reactionary alliance of imperialists and landlords.²⁰ By this basic alliance, the strength of the proletariat is augmented by the strength of

²⁰ Guerrero. Philippine Society and Revolution, 1970.

the peasant majority of the people. There can be no revolutionary united front without the basic worker-peasant alliance.²¹

- Ideological basis
 - Ideological basis serves as the guiding principle of the revolutionary movement. These are the guidelines that the movements follow in planning and executing their programs and operations so as to avoid any failure.
- Strategic theoretical and political guidance
 - These are the fundamental principles that guide a revolutionary movement in planning and executing its programs and operations, as well as in guiding its leaders in the administration of the movement.
- Effective leadership
 - The class leadership of the proletariat is upheld in the revolutionary united front. The proletariat is the most productive and progressive political force now and in the future. In the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, no other class can lead the revolutionary united front.²²

²¹ Armando Liwanag. "Requirements of the Revolutionary United Front." April 24, 1998.

²² Ibid.

Research Objectives

Overall Objective:

To determine the factors that contributed to the establishment and persistence of revolutionary movements in the Philippines.

Specific Objectives:

1. To define a revolutionary movement.
2. To identify the factors that gave rise to the establishment of revolutionary movements in the Philippines.
3. To identify the conditions that gave rise to the establishment of the CPP-NPA.
4. To identify the factors that encourages the persistence of revolutionary movements in the Philippines.

Research Questions

General Question:

What are the factors that contribute to the establishment and persistence of revolutionary movements in the Philippines?

Specific Questions:

1. What is a revolutionary movement?

2. What factors gave rise to the establishment of revolutionary movements in the Philippines?
3. What conditions gave rise to the establishment of the CPP-NPA?
4. What are the factors that encourage the persistence of a revolutionary movement, particularly the CPP-NPA?

Methodology

Scope

Determining the factors that contributed to the establishment and persistence of revolutionary movements in the Philippines is the main focus of this study. Since there are many revolutionary movements in the country, the researcher only used the case of the CPP-NPA as an example. Some information regarding other revolutionary movements in the country such as the Katipunan was also mentioned but only as part of historical background of the revolutionary movements in general. Revolutionary movements in other countries were also included but only for the purpose of reference and comparison and to have a more substantial analysis and interpretation of the results.

Limitation

This study, on the other hand, is limited to the CPP-NPA as the case in hand. This did not discuss too much information about other revolutionary movements in the Philippines. The sources for this study were limited to interviews, secondary sources, and articles available in the Internet. The researcher did not observe the way of life of the

members of the revolutionary movements, the CPP-NPA in particular, in the highlands, but based the information on the interviews conducted with the members of the Party.

Data Gathering

The purpose of this study is to determine the factors that contributed to the establishment and persistence of revolutionary movements in the Philippines, particularly the CPP-NPA. In doing this, the researcher formulated a data-gathering matrix that guided her in collecting relevant data and information that proved to be helpful in achieving the research objective. The data-gathering matrix is presented below.

Table1. Data Gathering Matrix

Data set to be collected	Sources	Techniques
1. History of the Philippine Revolution	- Secondary sources	- Review of Literature
2. Different revolutionary movements in the Philippines	- Secondary sources	- Review of Literature
3. Information about the CPP-NPA (history, objectives, structure, operations, etc.)	- Secondary sources	- Review of Literature
4. Factors that contribute to the establishments and persistence of revolutionary movements in the Philippines	- Primary sources - Secondary sources	- Key Informant Interview - Review of Literature

As shown on the table, data regarding the revolutionary movements, as well as the different revolutionary movements in the Philippines, came from books and other secondary materials. The technique used in obtaining these data was the review of literature. The same technique was used in collecting information about the CPP-NPA since there are lots of literature about this movement in the library and in the official website.²³ Data on the factors that contributed to the establishment and persistence of the revolutionary movements were obtained from primary sources. The researcher interviewed several members of the revolutionary movement, specifically the CPP-NPA who have wide knowledge about the movement. Books and articles were used as secondary sources of data.

During the interview, I was guided by a KII guide as shown in the succeeding portion.

Key Informant Interview Guide

1. What is a revolutionary movement for you?
2. What do you think are the objectives of this movement? What can you say about this?
3. What are the factors that contributed to the **establishment** of revolutionary movements in the Philippines? In relation to this, what do you think are the factors that led to the establishment of the CPP-NPA?
4. What can you say about the CPP-NPA? How do you view the organization?

²³ The official website of the CPP-NPA is <http://www.philippinerevolution.org/cpp/index.shtml>

5. What do you think are the contributions of the CPP-NPA to the welfare of the masses?
6. Have you had any encounters with the military? How was it?
7. What can you say about the way the military combats communism and terrorism in the Philippines?
8. What do you think are the factors that contributed to the **persistence** of revolutionary movements in our country, particularly the CPP-NPA?
9. In your opinion, how long will such movements exist in our country and why?
10. Do you think that the government has a role in the persistence of such movements? In what way?

Data Analysis

The data gathered from the library research and the review of records were organized easier because they were under specific or defined themes or sub themes. The already organized data was a great help in finalizing the main themes, topics or issues used for the whole paper. However, data obtained from the KII had to be systematic to avoid missing the relevant data. Thus, several steps were carefully followed

First, the researcher transcribed verbatim the recorded conversation with the interviewees. In transcribing, a two-column table was drawn. The first column contained the conversation proper, while the other column contained the remarks or comments based on the data written on the first column. Specific themes and issues that came out of the interview were also noted to make the organization of data more systematic and

encompassing. Each respondent has different tables to see how similar or different their opinions are with each other. It also helped in identifying the common theme or trend or pattern of the formation and existence of the revolutionary movements in the Philippines. It was also helpful in determining the factors that significantly contributed to the strength or weaknesses of a revolutionary movement, specifically the CPP-NPA.

After transcribing the recorded interview, interview field notes for those respondents who did not allow recording were organized. In order to save time, the help of some friends and relatives were asked in transcribing some interviews considering the many respondents involved. The transcriptions made by other people were reviewed by the researcher to make sure that they are correct and accurate.

After transcribing the recorded conversation or interviews, as well as organizing the field notes, the researcher started making the coding scheme. The coding scheme is a means of “*organizing the raw data into conceptual categories, and creating themes or concepts which the researcher uses to analyze the data.*” In this step, a six-column table, known as the “meta-table” where the tables of the different interviewees were integrated. The column on the topics and subtopics contained all the definitions of a revolutionary movement given or formulated by the interviewees. The first column contained the topics and subtopics. The second column contained the data; the third column contained the page where the topics and data were found, the fourth contained the quotes extracted from the transcription, the fifth contained the pages where the quotations were found, and the sixth column contained the themes, insights, and issues the researcher found from the

data collected. This last column was the most important one because it showed the significance assigned by the researcher to the data collected.

After completing the meta-table and getting all the necessary and relevant topics and themes, themes and concepts were grouped under specified topics. As a result,, analyzing data and formulating the answers to the research questions was made easier. The method helped reduce some biases because all the information collected were considered, not only those data which were deemed relevant. With this, the coding scheme was completed.

In analyzing the data, the ideal type of Max Weber was employed.²⁴ In this ideal type, an analysis was done in two ways: contrast contexts and analogies. In *contrast contexts*, contrasts between the specific features of the case was used to know that contrasting aspirations and principles of the masses with the principles and aspirations of the rich ruling class or the bureaucratic elite. In this way, the manner and the reasons why people are struggling to overthrow the existing government through the operation of the revolutionary movements were determined. Likewise, the means by which the bureaucratic elite rule the country, which is really not in harmony with the demands and needs of the people was discovered. *Analogy*, the ideal type was also used communicate ideas and facilitate logical comparisons. The method also transmitted information about the patterns revealed by the data by referring to something that was already known, or an experience familiar to the reader. The said method helped in identifying the pattern of the revolutionary movements in the Philippines. The cause and effect of the existence of

²⁴ Neumann, Social Science Research.

revolutionary movements were also analyzed. The cases of the revolutionary movements that existed during the colonial era and the cases of the revolutionary movements that currently exist were compared. Also, the similarities between the conditions of the society during the colonial era, the martial law era, and the society at present were identified. The logic behind the strength of the revolutionary movement, specifically the CPP-NPA, was also examined.

Basically, these were the methods used in organizing and analyzing the data gathered.

Validation

After organizing and analyzing the data, respondents who could still be contacted and talked to were visited again to validate the theories, concepts, and other data collected. It was done in order to avoid the biases in analyzing the data. Likewise, validation was done to find out inconsistencies between the data gathered and the actual statements of the respondents. In such a manner, putting some information that did not really come from the respondents was avoided.

Ethics

This study was conducted in such a way that the research participants were not harmed and were not taken advantage of. To make it possible, the true objectives of the study as well as the benefits and the possible risks that might be encountered by the participants during the conduct of the research was introduced. A letter inviting the participant to participate in the research process was sent. The letter also contained the background of the study as well as the nature of the questions that would be asked.

Upon approval of the respondent, the interview was scheduled based on the preferred time and venue of the interviewee. During the interview, the researcher first asked permission if she could use a recorder. Informants who refused to be recorded were not recorded but a note taker was hired to capture most, if not all, the information given by the informant. Fortunately, all the informants agreed to be recorded on the condition that the recorded interview would be erased after the transcription, and that the transcription would not be published as part of the thesis. These were both done by the researcher.

The informant's desire not to be identified was also respected. Hence, code names were given to the informants to preserve their anonymity. Not only the identity of the interviewee was made anonymous, but also the place where the interview was conducted as a sort of respect to the privacy of the informant. It was also done for security purposes, i.e. for both the informant and the researcher.

Afterwards, the materials that contain the information given by the informant were kept confidentially and stored in a safe place where no one can get it. In such a manner, negligence in securing those materials which might invite several risks for the informants was avoided.

Lastly, in terms of benefits, the interview helped in finishing the study and fulfilling the requirement for graduation. However, there had been really no material benefit for the informant and other participants for this study, except for the fact that this study would help them in promoting awareness among the reader regarding the true nature of their organization.

CHAPTER II

Revolutionary Movement:

Definition and Its Beginnings in the Philippines

In order to give a concrete definition of what a revolutionary movement is, there is the necessity to first define what a revolution is, and from there we can deduce a well-constructed meaning of the phrase “revolutionary movement.”

2.1 What is a revolution?

A revolution is a social phenomenon where a group of people initiates, by any means, a radical change of an existing socio-political order into another.²⁵ And in lieu of this definition, there are three essential elements in a revolution: a cause, a vision, and the patriots. Now, what exactly are these elements and what are the roles of these elements in a revolution?

First of all, a cause is the inspirational force of the movement, the spark that ignites the nationalistic fervor of the people to rise against the system.²⁶ It actually gives significance to what the people are fighting for. It gives the people something to hold on, something to base all their actions. As the word implies, it is the cause to continue fighting against the system. This is the primary reason why the people are trying to bring about change, radical change. Second is a vision. For a revolutionary movement, the vision is the end of the state; a new system that encapsulates the ideals and principles

²⁵ “The Last Revolution: Towards a New Philippine Order.” The Philippine Intelligencer.
<http://www.intelligencer.com.ph/08-12-03/LastRevo.htm>

²⁶ Ibid.

being fought for.²⁷ The vision serves as the standard for a new society, which delineates the fact that the revolution is not merely an instrument to release anger and hate for the preset system but a means to achieve a truly worthwhile objective, which is to radically change the existing system. It also serves as the basis in assessing the success or failure of the revolution, that is, if the movement was able to reach its goals and objectives. Thirdly, an equally essential element of a revolutionary movement is the patriot. This is the individual who had been enlightened of his true environment – the reality of poverty, war, hunger oppression, corruption, fear, anarchy and chaos.²⁸ This is the individual who have had enough of the apparent repression and oppression from the ruling class, someone who finally woke up to the reality that there is a need to stop all these capitalist and imperialist entities, the modern day feudal lords, as well as the ever corrupt bureaucratic elite. This is also a person who is willing to sacrifice all that he/she has in order to achieve the vision of the movement.

From the definition above, a revolution is equivalent to radical change. A revolution cannot be called a revolution if its only aim is changing the political leaders or the dominant political parties or the set of bureaucratic elite, etc. A revolution must have a vision to change not just the political entities but the political system and order as a whole.

²⁷ “The Last Revolution: Towards a New Philippine Order.” The Philippine Intelligencer.
<http://www.intelligencer.com.ph/08-12-03/LastRevo.htm>

²⁸ Ibid. p.1

2.2 What then is a revolutionary movement?

Using the definition of a revolution above, we can construe a definition of what a revolutionary movement is. A **revolutionary movement** is a movement of national character aimed at having fundamental changes in the society, and that is the elimination of the three major societal problems namely, imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.²⁹ It also is a movement which endeavor is to overthrow the existing government and establish a new system that is ruled genuinely by the people. It is a movement that seeks to end poverty, social injustice, corruption in the government, peasant oppression, and the like, by giving equal rights to all. A revolutionary movement is a movement which cause is to put an end to oppression and exploitation of any form from foreign powers, as well as from the ruling bureaucratic elite, and give the people the true essence of freedom, democracy and respect for human rights. Its vision is to overthrow the existing government and put up a socialist and eventually a communist regime that will be ruled by the people themselves. And its patriots are the people who have experienced first hand the massive oppression and exploitation from the ruling class; people who are willing to take up arms and sacrifice their lives in order to achieve their cause. These people are mainly the peasants who have been under the rule of the feudal lords for the longest time and could no longer bear the maltreatment they have been receiving from these people (landlords). Others are activists from different sectors such as the workers, the women, students and the youth, and those who have the conviction that the corrupt system must be overthrown and radically changed.

²⁹ Interview with Kasamang Dikoy. *Ka Dikoy, 24, is a member of the CPP/NPA for five years now and had already finished a 1-year training program with the NPA. But despite that five-year membership, KA Dikoy still continue to study the ideological and theoretical principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.*

2.3 When did the revolutionary movement begin?

As mentioned at the outset of this paper, revolutionary movements began at the time of Spanish colonization of the Philippines, a revolution led by Andres Bonifacio with the revolutionary society called the Katipunan. The revolution against Spain had two phases: the first from the declaration of defiance against the Spanish rule on August 23, 1896 till the conclusion of a truce in December 1897; the second from the return till the outbreak of the Filipino-American War in February 1899.³⁰ From then on, revolutionary movements continued to exist up to the present. But what really are the main reasons why revolutionary movements began at the time of colonization? What are the reasons why such movements were still established at the present day?

Apparently, and as we all surely know, revolutionary movements during the Spanish occupation were established due to the maltreatment of the Spaniards. First, the Filipinos were degraded by the term “*indio*”, which is a term used to refer to the indigenous population of Filipinos.³¹ This term is very degrading because it connotes a primitive character of the Filipinos, implying that the Filipinos, at the time of the Spanish arrival, were not civilized and that the Filipinos are very much inferior to the foreign race, which is the Spaniards. Second, the Spaniards imposed laws and policies that promoted their vested interests. These laws and policies made the Filipinos work for the Spaniards, e.g. tilling their own land but not getting anything from it when the harvest

³⁰ Churchill, Bernardita Reyes. “History of the Philippine Revolution.” <http://www.ncca.gov.ph/culture&arts/heritage/research/research-history.htm>. *The author, Bernardita Reyes Churchill is a Professorial Lecturer at the Department of History of the University of the Philippines, Diliman and at the Department of International Studies, La Salle University, Manila.*

³¹Ibid.

period comes, and even having deficits. The Spaniards imposed excessive taxes and other unnecessary fees to the Filipinos. And when the people could no longer pay for these fees and taxes and all, the sanction was for the Spaniards to confiscate their lands and then own them. Third, the Spaniards used the religion of Christianity in order to subjugate the Filipino people. They require the people to be present at masses and give donations to the Church. They imposed fees if the Filipinos wish to have funeral services to their dead, because if these fees were not paid, then the dead will not be buried in the cemetery. They used the religion to easily penetrate the minds as well as the faith of the people and as a result, to easily impose to the people rules that they pronounce would please God. They used the religion to protect their interests, especially those of the friars. Fourth, the Filipinos were not given equal rights when it comes to holding public offices as well as positions in the Church. They did not give the Filipinos the right to become priests and servers of God. They also did not allow the Filipinos to participate in the decision-making process in the government. It seemed that the Spaniards only wanted the Filipinos to work for them as their slaves, nothing more and nothing less. Fifth, the Filipino farmers were gravely exploited and oppressed by the feudal lords, giving quotas and then sanctions if these quotas were not met. The farmers lost their rights to their own land, and yet the farmers were made to work for these foreign rulers. For more than three hundred years, this was the situation of the Filipinos under the Spanish rulers.

All these reasons combined, the Filipinos realized that they must not allow these foreign rulers to enslave them in their own land. They must not allow these people to impose rules and policies because they do not have the right. And lastly, they must not

allow these foreign people to call them *indios* because there were proofs that the Filipinos were already civilized even before these dominators came. All these reasons served as the spark that ignited the revolutionary sentiments of the Filipinos, and marked the birth of the revolutionary movement, pioneered by the Katipunan.

SUMMARY

This chapter provides concrete definition of a revolutionary movement. To reiterate, it is a movement of national character with a cause to overthrow the existing political and social order, a vision to put up a government of the people, by the people and for the people, and the patriots who are willing to sacrifice everything just to achieve their cause.

Likewise, this chapter shows how the revolutionary movement was first manifested by the Katipunan. In lieu of this, several factors that led to the establishment of revolutionary movements in the Philippines were laid. These factors were closely connected to the basic condition of the Philippine society during the colonization period.

Politically, these factors were the inequality between the Spaniards and the Filipinos in terms of the decision-making process in the government, and the method by which the Spaniards governed the Filipinos. We saw how gravely the Filipinos experienced the maltreatment from the Spaniards. There was evidently lack of social justice, social equality, and no freedom for the Filipinos, no manifestation of respect for human rights, etc.

Economically, feudalism was a constant burden to the Filipinos because of the abusive and brutal means of administration and management of the feudal lords. Also, poverty continued to cut deep into the lives of the Filipinos. There was also the presence of increasing debt, increasing rate of unemployment, confiscation of properties, etc.

In brief, the basic factors that stimulated and motivated the Filipinos to launch a revolution against the Spaniards were period of colonialism and feudalism in the Philippines. They were further discussed in the succeeding chapters.

CHAPTER III

The Factors that Contributed to the Establishment of Revolutionary Movements in the Philippines

The factors that led to the establishment of revolutionary movements in the Philippines today are basically the condition of the Philippine society itself and the situation of the Filipinos as well. These conditions “encouraged” and “nurtured” the existence of revolutionary movements in the country. We can also infer that this condition of the Philippine society, created by the ruling class, brought into its fold the people who are true nationalists and who would fight for genuine independence and democracy.

When the Katipunan was launched, the Philippines was under the presence of the Spanish colonizers. This means that before, Philippine society had **colonial and feudal society**. It was a society basically ruled by the landlord class, while the masses were kept to the status of serfs and even farmers became dispossessed.³² The Filipino people, as being mentioned at the outset, were maltreated and exploited, which resulted to the ignition of their nationalist sentiments and instigation of an all-out war against the Spaniards. And that was the official beginning of the Philippine Revolution. But what about the basic condition of the Philippine society today? An account on the events that happened after the colonial and feudal era would be helpful in analyzing the factors that led to the establishment of revolutionary movements in the Philippines.

³² Guerrero, Amado. Philippine Society and Revolution. 1970.

3.1 What is the condition of the Philippine society after the colonial era?

According to Jose Maria Sison, the basic condition of the Philippine society today, politically and economically, is **semi-colonial and semi-feudal**.³³ As a political term, *semi-colonial* refers to the indirect US colonial rule over the Philippines since the grant of nominal independence on July 4, 1946, which means that the Philippine reactionary state is formally independent and is no longer run at the national level by an American governor-general, but by US-lining Filipino politicians who are the representative of such exploitative class as the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class.³⁴

On the other hand, *semi-feudal*, as an economic term, refers to an economy where internal forces of production are mainly and essentially agrarian and pre-industrial and whose relations of production are dominated by the combination of the comprador big bourgeoisie in the cities and the landlord class in the countryside.³⁵ This made the Filipinos mere exporters of raw materials for the United States and other imperialist countries. This condition of the society, which was not given any attention by the existing government, made the Philippines mere assembly line of products exported to other countries, particularly the United States, for finishing touches. Have you not wonder why we still import rice and cigarettes and other products when we can produce these same products efficiently here in our own country? Apparently, the reason is this semi-feudal

³³ Sison, Jose Maria with Werning, Rainer. *The Philippine Revolution: The Leader's View*. Crane Russak, New York: Tailor and Francis, 1989.

³⁴ *Ibid.* p.21

³⁵ *Ibid.* p.22

system existing in our country and the strong ties which our government have with the United States.

This condition of the Philippine society as semi-colonial and semi-feudal ensured the US imperialists, as well as the Filipino big bourgeoisie, of unlimited control over the Filipino masses. We were granted independence but we are still under the command of the foreign powers. We are independent yet the poor people still lives as if they were still under the direct colonial rule of the foreign powers. Essentially, nothing has really changed since 1946.

In the 1960s, the chronic crisis of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal economy and society was plunging to a new depth, characterized by the contraction of the economy, limited job opportunities, and the problem of unemployment was becoming worse among the masses of workers and peasants.³⁶ During this time, the United States' role had been in the financial side, i.e. through the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank (WB) and the Asian Development Bank (ADB), and this scenario, as we all very well know, put us under great debts and deficits with the international financial system.

From the Roxas up to the Marcos regime, the scenario of the Philippine society remained the same. The role of the United States in the internal system of governance of the country has been constantly increasing. One of the manifestations of strong ties between the United States and the Philippine government was the construction of US military bases in our country. During the Marcos administration, grave abuses of human

³⁶ Sison, Jose Maria with Werning, Rainer. p.24

rights were committed by the government, especially during the declaration of martial law. People were vanishing in a blink of an eye, opposition people/entities were arrested without warrants; many people were kidnapped, ambushed or salvaged. This was the scenario during that time.

However, the Filipinos saw hope when the 1986 EDSA Revolution successfully overthrew Ferdinand Marcos from Malacañang, and was replaced by President Corazon Aquino, widow of the assassinated Senator Benigno Aquino. But still, the fate of the nation and the people did not change because Aquino was just another leader like Marcos, although her actions were carefully planned and executed so as not to agitate the public by contradicting the concept of democracy, the freedom of the people, and human rights. The Philippine society remained semi-colonial and semi-feudal because a lot of people are still poor and are dominated by the “modern” landlord class, while our politics is still manipulated by the imperialist country abroad. Nothing has really changed since the 1986 EDSA Revolution. Up to now, at the present administration of Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, the condition of the country remains the same.

3.2 Establishment of Revolutionary Movements in the Philippines: Contributing Factors

Having read a brief account on the basic condition of the Philippine society in the post-colonial era, we can deduce the basic factors that led to the establishment of

revolutionary movements despite the fact that we were already given “independence.” Let us elaborate on these factors one by one and assess how these elements contribute to the establishment of revolutionary movements.

There are essentially three main factors that led to the establishment of revolutionary movements in the Philippines, i.e. the political, economic, and social factors in the society. These three factors are further composed of another three essential and more specific components.

The political factor refers to the power relations between the people. Meaning, there are those who rule and those who are being ruled. In our country, the political factor is further divided into three components, to wit: semi-colonialism, imperialism and bureaucrat capitalism. First, semi-colonialism, as being mentioned frequently in this paper, refers to the indirect US colonial rule. This means that the Philippines is formally independent but is still under the control of the United States. The Americans are not here, but their presence is still felt because they are “represented” by the Filipino politicians who are taking advantage of and exploiting the peasants and the workers. These “representatives” of the Americans are in the guise of the landlord class who holds huge portion of the agricultural lands in the country. This component plays a very important role in the creation of a revolutionary movement because the semi-colonial character of the Philippine society significantly burdens the Filipino masses, particularly the workers and the peasants. The workers and the peasants are exploited and oppressed, they are denied of the rights that are due to any regular employees, they are not given

rights to the lands they have been tilling for long years, etc. These people are continuously demoralized. And because of these actions of the landlord class and the comprador big bourgeoisie, the people can no longer keep quiet and continue submitting to the manipulation of these exploiters. That is why they need an organization that would protect them from all these harassment, aggravation and repression. That is why they need a revolutionary movement that will punish this abusive and brutal landlord class and the comprador big bourgeoisie. We can see here the power relations between the feudal lords and the peasants. The second component of the political factor is imperialism. Just like the first element, imperialism is basically the use of a country as a market for an imperialist country's surpluses, a location for investments, etc. This is actually more economic in nature. This element also contributes to the establishment of a revolutionary movement because this is the most basic enemy of the masses. This is actually the main reason why huge percentage of the Filipino masses is still in the shadow of poverty. The foreign firms and industries in the country continue to penalize the domestic producers of certain products. The people need to fight this and therefore, a call for a revolutionary movement. In this component, we see how the foreign business entities strangle the Filipino workers and domestic manufacturers. The third element is bureaucrat capitalism. Bureaucrat capitalism refers to the use of public office in the Philippines to accumulate private assets in capital and land.³⁷ Apparently, this is where the graft and corruption practices of some of the politicians come in. They use their position to accumulate wealth and have a good life when a huge percentage of the Filipinos are poor. They acquire wealth constantly, taking for granted the welfare of the people and their need social

³⁷ Sison, Jose Maria with Werning, Rainer. The Philippine Revolution: The Leader's View. Crane Russak, New York: Tailor and Francis, 1989, p. 229.

services. These politicians are using the money of the people for their own vested interest, which can also be described as “robbing” the Filipino people. This component is also one of the reasons why a revolutionary movement is established.

On the other hand, the economic factors that led to the establishment of revolutionary movements are semi-feudalism, sham land reform, unemployment and foreign monopoly capitalism. Semi-feudalism, as we have mentioned early in this paper, refers to an economy where internal forces of production are mainly and essentially agrarian and pre-industrial and whose relations of production are dominated by the combination of the comprador big bourgeoisie in the cities and the landlord in the countryside.³⁸ This semi-feudal character of the society “encourages” and “nurtures” the exploitative character of the landlords and the comprador big bourgeoisie. And, as I have mentioned in the previous chapters, the ones who are gravely affected are the peasants, farmers and the workers, hence a need for a revolution. Connected to this is the sham land reform. Essentially, sham land reform refers to the modification and restructuring of land laws and policies that would give the farmers more rights and privileges when it comes to their lands. However, these land reforms are not really for the welfare of the masses, but still for the interest of the landlord class. There is also the reality of unemployment, which had always been the problem of the Filipinos that still do not have any effective solution. Lastly, there is foreign monopoly capitalism. Foreign monopoly capitalism refers to the dominance of [foreign] monopolies in a capitalist economy, the merging of bank and industrial capital, the export of surplus capital and surplus commodities, international combinations of monopolies and the constant struggle of

³⁸ Ibid, p. 22.

capitalist powers for captive markets, fields of investment and sources of raw materials.³⁹ This is essentially the use of the Philippines as an instrument for industrial expansion of the foreign capitalist countries, using the country as a free market area where they can dump all their surpluses at a very low price. These conditions of the Philippine economy are the elements that motivated the Filipinos to fight for their rights as well as properties. These elements convinced them that only a revolution could put an end to these massive exploitation and oppression from the ruling classes.

On the social aspect, there are the elements of social inequality and injustice, poverty and class strata. Social injustice and inequality are greatly felt by the Filipinos despite the democratic form of government that we have. According to *Kasamang Oni*, majority of the Filipinos no longer trust the justice system because even if you are innocent, you will still be convicted.⁴⁰ *Ka Oni* further said that if a rich, or even a well-to-do, family accused you of something you did not do, there is a big possibility that you will be convicted because most of the justice officers favor the wealthy over the poor ones. In here, we can see how discrimination in the social classes is manifested. The most favored class is the class of the elite, followed by the capitalists, then by the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class, and lastly the masses. Aside from social injustice, poverty is also one of the main reasons why revolutionary movements are established. Many Filipinos are tired of working very hard and getting nothing in return because of the ruling class and the capitalists. All the things the people have worked for do not really

³⁹ Sison with Werning, p. 232.

⁴⁰ Interview with *Kasamang Oni*. *Ka Oni*, 22, is a member of the CPP/NPA for three years. His basic task as of the moment is to organize the people and to promote awareness about the Party and its advocacies.

go to the people, but to the pockets of the capitalists and even the politicians. This is the reason why the people cannot lift themselves from the deepening roots of poverty.

These basic problems in the Philippine society, which started way back the colonial era, are still faced by the Filipinos, and these are also the primary reasons why several revolutionary and armed movements were established and to some extent, persisted. These problems are basically the reason why the Communist Party of the Philippines was created, and persisted for more than 30 years now. But first, what are the requirements in establishing a revolutionary movement?

3.3 Basic Requirements in Establishing a Revolutionary Movement

After discussing the factors that led to establishment of a revolutionary movement, let us now lay down the basic requirements in putting up a movement that is for the peasants and the workers.

Basically, the establishment of a revolutionary movement, as seen in the Katipunan and other revolutionary organizations, of course has certain requirements. First of all, in terms of the establishment of a movement, it requires large support from the masses in order for them to continue their fight for democracy and independence, as well as national liberation. It would be very hard for a revolutionary movement to continue its existence if it does not have the support of the masses. Second, it must have a strong ideological and theoretical guidance so as to eradicate members of the Party whose only aim is to have a favorable position in the government if the time comes that the Party or

the organization has already attained success. The ideological and theoretical guidance will serve as the core of the revolutionary movement because it will serve as their guide in formulating a new system and a new order where there would no longer be exploitation and oppression, maltreatment from the ruling class, social injustice, and most of all, poverty. It will also serve as their guide in building a system that would have the people as the core of the decision-making process of the government. Third requirement in the establishment of a revolutionary movement is the long term political and military objectives. This is very important in the sense that, after the desired victory is achieved, the Party or the movement has a concrete plan on how to execute the radical change. In layman's term, this is the vision of the organization. Fourth, international support is very important in sustaining the operations of the organization. This can be in the form of military or financial aid to the organization for them to be able to carry on their task of liberating the country and the people from the oppressive and exploitative ruling class. Lastly, but most importantly, is the armed wing. As the term explains itself, this will serve as the military wing of the movement that would be defending the Party from the reactionary armed forces. In our country, this armed wing will be the counterpart of the Armed Forces of the Philippines.

Basically, these are the requirements in building up a revolutionary movement. Plus, the additional, but equally important requirement of ideological, political, and organizational guidance and structure.⁴¹

⁴¹ Interview with *Kasamang Dikoy*.

SUMMARY

In this chapter, we discussed the basic conditions of the Philippine society, such conditions became the necessary factors that led the Filipinos to establish a revolutionary movement. These factors are divided into three categories: the political, economic and social factors. Political factors include semi-colonialism, imperialism and bureaucrat capitalism. Economic factors include semi-feudalism, sham land reform and foreign monopoly capitalism. Lastly, the social factors that led to the establishment of a revolutionary movement are social injustice and inequality, poverty and the existence social classes.

In this chapter, we have also talked about the basic requirements in putting up a revolutionary movement. They are large mass support, strong ideological and theoretical guidance, long-term political and military objectives, international support and an armed wing.

Basically, these factors leading to the establishment of a revolutionary movement are the same factors that led to the creation of the Communist Party of the Philippines/ New People's Army. And apparently, they needed to have the basic requirements in building up such a movement.

CHAPTER IV

The Establishment of the

Communist Party of the Philippines/ New People's Army:

Having learned the basic condition of the Philippine society dating from the Japanese occupation of the country, the Filipinos launched the Communist Party of the Philippines. But before dwelling in the factors that led to the establishment of the CPP/NPA, it was deemed necessary to give a short background about the Party.

The Communist Party of the Philippines, as we know it today, is not the pioneer communist organization in our country. The Party emerged as an opposing faction against the Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas, which was established early in the 1930s. The Party emerged following the guidance of the Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tse Tung Thought. From there, the CPP grew in strength and scope, having been able to get the support of the peasants, workers, and student activists, as well as some of the former members of the PKP, especially its armed wing Hukbong Bayan Laban sa Hapon (People's Army Against the Japanese, Hukbalahap).⁴² It was reestablished in 1968, and on the following year it launched its armed wing which is the New People's Army and became collectively known as the CPP/NPA.

⁴² Weekley, Kathleen. The Communist Party of the Philippines, 1968-1993: A Story of its Theory and Practice. Quezon City, Philippines: University of the Philippines Press, 2001. p.17

4.1. What is PKP?

The Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas, which was born out of the labor movement, was founded in 1930 under the tutelage of the CPUSA (assigned by the comintern as the “mother party” to the Filipino communists).⁴³ Its armed wing was the Hukbong Bayan Laban sa Hapon (People’s Army Against the Japanese, Hukbalahap). The Huk was a guerilla army who fought the Japanese during the latter’s occupancy in the Philippines.

However, the Philippine government and other guerilla armies at that time were suspicious of the reason of the PKP in establishing the Hukbalahap, and was therefore not recognized as one of the legitimate guerilla organizations.⁴⁴ When the Huk was declared illegal by President Roxas in 1948, and when the peace negotiations with the government during the Presidency of Quirino failed, the Hukbalahap disinterred its arms and transformed into the Army of National Liberation (Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan, HMB).⁴⁵ But the PKP still failed because the enemy is strongly backed by the United States, supplying adequate arms and munitions. The Party then decided to give in to the desire of the government, which is to cease the insurgency. Almost all of them, surrendered to the government due to their fear of death torture, and other physical penalties and abuses.

In 1964, the Party started recruiting new members, but the age gap between the old and the new members was very evident. During these years, the only HMB unit that

⁴³ Nemenzo, Francisco. “Philippine Communism After the Huk Rebellion.” Paper presented to the Asian Studies Association of Australia, Adelaide, 13-19 May (1984). P.7

⁴⁴ Weekley, Kathleen. The Communist Party of the Philippines, 1968-1993: A Story of its Theory and Practice. Quezon City, Philippines: University of the Philippines Press, 2001. p.18

⁴⁵ Ibid. p.18

had not given up the armed struggle was the unit belonged to by Bernabe Buscayno, also known as Commander Dante, and he was looking for a political Party to which he could attach his little army.⁴⁶ This little army was the one that would hook up with the activists from the city led by Jose Maria Sison.

4.2. Jose Maria “Joma” Sison

The revolution was started by Jose Maria Sison, then a college English literature teacher. He was fond of poetry and philosophy, but ultimately drawn to the writings of Karl Marx, Vladimir Lenin, and Mao Zedong, fondness to which resulted in the Philippine Revolution that was a product of the classical Third World fusion of peasant unrest and nationalism, and was shaped by a convergence of forces at work in the 1960s: the war in Vietnam, humiliating inequities in the relationship between the Philippines and the United States, the political radicalism that was sweeping college campuses from Michigan to Manila, and the Cultural Revolution in the People’s Republic of China.⁴⁷

Jose Maria Sison began in Manila in the early 1960s by organizing small groups of students and workers around nationalist political and economic issues.⁴⁸ Among these is the Student Cultural Association of the University of the Philippines (SCAUP), which was founded in 1959.⁴⁹ Sison claims that the SCAUP propagated the general line of

⁴⁶ Weekley, Kathleen. The Communist Party of the Philippines, 1968-1993: A Story of its Theory and Practice p.19

⁴⁷ Ibid. p.5

⁴⁸ Ibid. p.5

⁴⁹ Ibid. p.20

national democratic revolution [and] provided cover for discreet Marxist study.⁵⁰ He was invited to join the PKP in 1962 and a month later, he was appointed to the Executive Committee. After almost two years, he was made head of the PKP's Youth section wherein he took on the task of forming a new mass youth organization.⁵¹

Working in close ties with the PKP, Sison learned the incompetence of the Party. In the issue of the recruitment of new members, it was said a while ago that the stoppage of the PKP's operations in the years 1957 to 1964 brought apparent generation gap between the members. In lieu of this, the PKP was too disoriented to mould the outlook of the young intellectuals [new members].⁵² Sison enumerated five (5) main faults of the Party, namely: 1) being incorrectly "city-based and city-oriented"; 2) the "anti-colonial and anti-democratic links between the US imperialism and feudalism were not exposed and denounced for the guidance of the people"; 3) directly after WWII, the Party had "nurtured the illusion that it could engage in bourgeois parliamentary struggle"; 4) later, the leadership had "adopted a two-year timetable for seizing political power... without an all-sided and dialectical appreciation of the strength of the Party and the people's army on the one hand, and the strength of the enemy on the other"; and finally, 5) by embracing "parliamentary struggle as the main form of struggle in 1955," the Party fell into

⁵⁰ Sison, Jose Maria with Werning, Rainer. p.11

⁵¹ Weekley, Kathleen. The Communist Party of the Philippines, 1968-1993: A Story of its Theory and Practice. p.21

⁵² Nemenzo, Francisco. An Irrepressible Revolution: The Decline and Resurgence of the Philippine Communist Movement. Work in Progress Seminar, Research School of Pacific Studies, ANU. November 1984. p.79

“capitulationism.”⁵³ In brief, what the PKP turned out to be is a political pariah, a victim of its own errors and of virulent anti-communist crusades spawned by cold war fears during the 1950s.⁵⁴

4.3 The Re-establishment of the Party

Because of the loss of confidence in the PKP, Sison initiated the formation of a new Communist Party that would be the genuine representation of Marxism-Leninism in the Philippines. On December 26, 1968, Sison and some of his followers held a congress outside a small town in Pangasinan, and declared that the Communist Party of the Philippines had been reestablished.⁵⁵ This is the date the new Communist Party claims as the start of the new revolution, and this date was also the seventy-fifth anniversary of Mao’s birthday. Sison was elected chairman of the new Communist Party.

To claim that the new Party is the re-established Communist Party is very important because it is the basis for the legitimacy of the new organization. He proclaimed that the new Communist Party of the Philippines is carrying out the “new” version of the “national-democratic” revolution begun nearly a century earlier by the Katipunan, and that the PKP betrayed the Philippine Revolution through its erroneous policies and had ceased to be a true Communist Party.⁵⁶

⁵³ Weekley, Kathleen. The Communist Party of the Philippines, 1968-1993: A Story of its Theory and Practice. p.25

⁵⁴ Gregg, Jones. Red Revolution: Inside the Philippine Guerilla Movement. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, Inc., 1989. p.19

⁵⁵ Weekley, Kathleen. The Communist Party of the Philippines, 1968-1993: A Story of its Theory and Practice. p.25

⁵⁶ Ibid. p.26

Since one of the faults of the PKP was the fact that the Party was incorrectly “city-based and city-oriented”, Sison believed that this could be resolved by following the guidance of Mao Tse Tung Thought. He then adopted the strategy of protracted people’s war that has proved to be very effective since there is a continuous struggle. As Mao had determined for the Chinese struggle, the main weapons in the fight against “imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat capitalism” would be the Party, the people’s army and the united front.⁵⁷

4.4 The Need for a People’s Army

After the reestablishment of the new Communist Party, there was a need to form a new People’s Army that will serve as the armed wing of the Party. This is the reason why, soon after its reestablishment, the Party linked up with the good cadres, commanders and fighters of the remnant units of the old people’s army, engaged them in ideological and political studies, mass work and politico-military training.⁵⁸ And on March 29, 1969, the New People’s Army (NPA) was officially launched, which was also the date of the 27th anniversary of the founding of WWII *Hukbalahap* communist guerilla organization.⁵⁹ Sison had purposely selected the date in the hope of leading credence to the claim that the new guerilla movements was actually a continuation of the struggle for agrarian reforms Central Luzon tenant farmers and field hand had begun three decades earlier.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ CPP. Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party.

⁵⁸ Liwanag, Armando. “Celebrate the 25th Anniversary of our Party and Lead the Philippines Revolution From Victory to Victory”. *Rebolusyon*. Number 1/ Series 1994/ January-March. Luzon, Philippines: Central Publishing House, 1994. p.5

⁵⁹ Gregg, Jones. Red Revolution: Inside the Philippine Guerilla Movement. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, Inc., 1989. p.31

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* p.31

The early status of the People's Army was described by Armando Liwanag in an issue of the publication *Rebolusyon*. That is:

*“The People's Army became the main organization of the Party under its absolute leadership. It started with only 60 fighters and 9 automatic rifles and 26 inferior firearms in the second district of Tarlac province. It had a mass base of 80,000 peasants with revolutionary experience since the 1930s especially in the armed struggle against the Japanese occupation during World War II. The People's Army combined legal and illegal forms of struggle. In terms of developing the capability to seize political power, the revolutionary armed struggle based on the countryside is the principal form of revolutionary armed struggle; and the legal forms of struggle in the urban areas are secondary, indispensably important but vulnerable to enemy suppression and therefore defensive in character.”*⁶¹

From only 9 automatic rifles in the early 1969, the New People's Army was able to raise it to 200 in the middle of 1970 through ambushes and raids.⁶²

4.5 Ideological Principles

Ideological and theoretical principles are very important because they serve as the core of the movement. Without them, it is not possible to have a revolutionary movement. The first step to achieve a “cumulative and lasting success”, according to Liwanag, is to adopt and educate the member of the Party of the Marxist–Leninist

⁶¹ Liwanag, Armando. “Celebrate the 25th Anniversary of our Party and Lead the Philippines Revolution From Victory to Victory”. *Rebolusyon*. Number 1/ Series 1994/ January-March. Luzon, Philippines: Central Publishing House, 1994. p.6

⁶² Ibid. p.7

Thought. Unremoulded petty-bourgeoisie elements were able to generate subjectivism and bring in the most outrightly counterrevolutionary ideas within the Party because they were able to move into the vacuum resulting from the lack or scarcity of Marxist-Leninist education, and it is not enough for the Party to be good at promoting the general line of the national democratic revolution.⁶³ The Communist Party of the Philippines armed itself with the most powerful ideological weapon of the world's proletariat for analyzing the revolutionary history and circumstances of the Filipino people, for resuming the new-democratic revolution through people's war and for looking forward to the socialist future up to the threshold of communism. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is the microscope and telescope of the Philippine revolution.⁶⁴

In lieu of this, the Party has been continuously doing studies and teaching lessons regarding the theoretical and ideological principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. In connection to this, there is a necessity for us to know more about the principles/doctrines of these three great communist leaders.

The main thing in the doctrine of Marx is that it brings out the historic role of the proletariat as the builder of a socialist society.⁶⁵ The doctrine of Marx basically talked about the bourgeoisie as the class who started the revolution against the feudal system. However, he said that in every advance in the development of the bourgeoisie comes a

⁶³ Liwanag, Armando. "Celebrate the 25th Anniversary of our Party and Lead the Philippines Revolution From Victory to Victory". p.45

⁶⁴ Liwanag, Armando. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought As a Guide to the Philippine Revolution. Batayang Kurso sa Partido.

⁶⁵ "The Historical Destiny of the Teachings of Marx." Batayang Kurso sa Partido (CPP).

corresponding advance in the status of that class. Until the time came that the bourgeois class eventually dominated the society through the means of production and the exploitation of the world market, and the society went back to the system of semi-feudalism, with the bourgeoisie acting as what seemed like the feudal lords.

However, what the bourgeoisie did was to actually give life to their own grave-diggers, because there is yet another group of people who would seize the power and bring radical changes into the society. The bourgeoisie forged the weapons that bring death to itself; it has also called onto existence the men who are to wield those weapons – the modern working class – the proletarians.⁶⁶ Marx, in his doctrine and other writings, gave emphasis on the importance of the proletariat as a huge part of the revolutionary movement. The proletariat direct their attacks not against the bourgeois conditions of production, but against the instruments of production themselves;* they destroy imported wares that compete with their labour, they smash to pieces machinery, they set factories ablaze, they seek to restore by force the vanished status of the workman of the Middle Ages.⁶⁷

On the relationship of the proletarians and the Communists, Marx said that the Communists generally do two things for the proletarian movement. First, in the national struggles of the proletarian of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independency of all nationality; and second, in the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class

⁶⁶ “Manifesto of the Communist Party” Batayang Kurso sa Partido (CPP).

⁶⁷ Ibid.

against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole. Marx also cited the main theory of the Communists, and that is the abolition of private property. But then, the Communists does not deprive man of the power to appropriate the products with society; all that it does is to deprive him of the power to subjugate the labour of others by means of such appropriation.⁶⁸

Basically, that is what the principle of Marxism is mainly about. Let us now move on to the ideological and theoretical principle of Lenin.

Leninism was actually an expansion of Marxism. In fact, it is often referred to as the “Marxism in the era of imperialism and of the proletarian revolution.”⁶⁹ This is because Leninism grew up and took shape under the conditions of imperialism, when the contradictions of capitalism had reached their extreme, when the proletarian revolution had become an immediate practical question, when the old period of preparation of the working class for the revolution had culminated in the new period, the period of the direct onslaught upon capitalism.⁷⁰ Lenin, basically, further developed the three components of Marxism (basic principles of dialectical materialism, the critique of capitalist political economy, and scientific socialism in the era of free competition capitalism).⁷¹

⁶⁸ “Manifesto of the Communist Party” Batayang Kurso sa Partido (CPP).

⁶⁹ Stalin, Joseph. The Foundation of Leninism. Batayang Kurso sa Partido (CPP).

⁷⁰ Ibid. p.68

⁷¹ Armando Liwanag. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought As a Guide to the Philippine Revolution. Batayang Kurso sa Partido (CPP).

Lastly, and most importantly, is the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought. We know very well that the Communist Party of the Philippines' idea of a protracted people's war was an adaptation of what Mao Zedong did in China during the Cultural Revolution. According to Armando Liwanag,

“Mao Zedong Thought emerged as the third stage in the development of Marxism when Mao confronted the problem of modern revisionism and capitalist restoration already evident in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe as well as in the manifestation of the same problem in China. He put forward the theory of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship in order to consolidate socialism, combat modern revisionism and prevent the restoration of capitalism and successfully put the theory into practice for the first time, from 1966 to 1976. But the teachings of Mao pertaining to the new-democratic Revolution had the most powerful immediate influence on the Filipino proletarian revolutionaries for the simple reason that those teachings had a strong relevance to the social conditions in the Philippines and showed the way to make the new-democratic and socialist stages of the Philippine revolution. Further on, Mao Zedong Thought provides the theory and practice of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship until it becomes possible to defeat imperialism and attain communism on a global scale.”⁷²

This Thought was adopted by the CPP/NPA because it has achieved triumph in China during its Cultural Revolution in 1949. The Party also believes that if it attained success in China, it will also be the same in the Philippines.

⁷² Armando Liwanag. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought As a Guide to the Philippine Revolution. Batayang Kurso sa Partido (CPP).

4.6 The Establishment of the CPP/NPA

From the historical account of the CPP/NPA, we can see that the factors that led to the establishment of a revolutionary movement in the Philippines are apparently the same as the elements that led to the creation of the Communist Party of the Philippines. The first Communist Party, which is the Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas, was launched as a response to Japanese military occupation at that time. The first Communist Party of the Philippines was established in the 1930s because of the burning nationalist sentiments of the Filipinos towards the Japanese. But we might have also noticed that after the granting of the nominal independence to the Filipinos by the United States, the existence of the PKP continued, although considerably weaker. It was even reestablished in 1968, as the new Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), by a group of younger Filipino activists led by Jose Maria Sison. Now, why is it that the CPP was still reestablished despite the fact that we were already independent?

The main reason is that, although we are no longer under the direct control of the United States or other imperialist countries, the condition of the Philippine society is still semi-colonial and semi-feudal. That is why there is a need for a revolutionary movement that is stronger in terms of ideological and military capability and wider in scope and level of operations. Politically, the re-establishment of the CPP/NPA was due to the semi-colonial character of the society, imperialism, bureaucrat capitalism and foreign monopoly capitalism. The elimination of these entities became the main objective of the CPP/NPA when it was re-established. It is also the objective of the Party to eradicate poverty, promote social justice and equality, and put up a government that recognizes and

practices genuine democracy, respect for human rights, and a government that allows the people to exercise their freedom. According to *Kasamang Enteng*, the Party was established to protect the peasants and the workers, and the masses in general, from the abusive hands of the abusive and cruel ruling class, especially the landlords.⁷³ He even cited a particular event wherein the Party helped the masses fight for their rights. The incident happened in a hacienda somewhere in the Quezon Province, wherein a landlord is strangulating the masses by getting the latter's lands and other farm properties, and even some of the farmers were secretly and allegedly killed by this landlord. *Ka Enteng* said that the masses, who can no longer endure this kind of oppression, sought help from the Party, and what the Party did was to raid the hacienda, get the harvested crops, and freed the animals of the farmers, which need in cultivating their agricultural lands.

Talking about the structure of the Party, we saw that the CPP/NPA was able to acquire all the requirements needed to establish a strong revolutionary movement. It has broad mass support in the guise of the peasants and the workers, has strong ideological and theoretical guidance, has political and military objectives, and most importantly, has an armed wing, which is the New People's Army. Most of these requirements and basic requirements will no longer be elaborated since these were all mentioned and fully explained in the previous chapter. It is just the purpose of this study to apply these to the CPP/NPA in order to prove that these are the main reasons why a revolutionary

⁷³ Interview with *Kasamang Enteng*. *Ka Enteng*, 29, has been a member of the CPP/NPA for almost seven years and is still active in the Party. He had experienced a lot of encounters with the military, as well as with some of the landlords in the provinces to which he was deployed.

movement is established in the Philippines despite the independence that we currently have.

As of today, the Party is continuously growing in size in terms of membership and mass base. According to *Kasamang Dikoy*, the NPA today has 130 guerilla fronts scattered in two-thirds of the provinces in the country, approximately 70 out of 79 provinces. He also mentioned that one guerilla front is composed of more or less 5 municipalities, which has the strength of one company size. A minimum number of a company size is 81 persons and above.

CHAPTER V

The Black Propaganda

As the Party develops in time, it has accumulated a lot of support mainly from the masses in most of the provinces; has recruited numerous members through continuous educating of the masses regarding the Party's ideological principles, as well as the general solution to the worsening problems of the masses; and has developed a network of connections abroad with other Communist Parties of other countries.

However, the growing influence of the Party, as well as the growing offensive and defensive activities, poses threat to the reactionary government. It threatens the reactionary government because the possibility of seizing the power from the ruling class is favorably greater than ever. The reactionary government is frightened by the fact that the communist ideologies of Marx, Lenin and Mao Zedong are quickly occupying the minds of most Filipinos. Now, how does the reactionary government respond to this? Basically, through PROPAGANDA!

According to *Ka Dikoy*, we were usually raised and conditioned with the belief that the NPAs are evil entities in the society. We were told that, according to him, what the NPA does is to always fight and fight whenever they have the chance. But he said that it is not true. In fact, bulk of the works of the NPA, as well as the Party itself, is mainly educating the masses regarding the major problems in the Philippine society and suggesting solution to these problems. It is equally not true that the Party is recruiting

members in such a way that they kidnap people who they encounter along their way. This is not true, according to *Ka Dikoy* because if they do that, the people they recruited can actually take up arms against them. There is no such thing as “forced recruitment.” He clarified that the recruitment process of the Party is very strict. Any person vying for membership must be qualified in terms of age, skills and abilities, and loyalty to the Party. That person must also have the knowledge of the ideological principles of the Party and be able to practice it in reality. *Ka Enteng* likewise said that a person wanting to be a member of the Party must go through a series of tests; tests on your ideological and political orientation, mental, physical and military capabilities, etc. Contradictory to what the reactionary group of the AFP was telling the public that there are members of the NPA who are as young as 11 or 13 years of age, the Party is in fact very strict when it comes to age qualification of members. It is true, according to *Ka Dikoy*, that there are young persons who are vying for membership in the Party, but they are not admitted until they reach the age of 18 years and above. The issue that the NPA was recruiting young members, which we can still call kids or children, was mere propaganda to obliterate the image of the Party.

Another black propaganda was the bombings in the cities, especially in Metro Manila. According to *Ka Enteng*, the bombings in the cities were actually done by the military, but they blame the incident to the NPA. However, *Ka Enteng* said that the NPA would never bomb a public means of transportation or any place because there are too many civilians there. He said that the NPA would never ever hurt a civilian in their offensive attacks. Also, there are the cases of raid in the communities in the provinces.

What happens is that the military raids a community, get their food and domestic animals, and then blame it to the NPA. These black propagandas are of course, denied by the members of the CPP/NPA. Most of the members interviewed show a common argument that the Party would never hurt the civilians because the Party is fighting for the masses.

In terms of the ideological principles of the Communist Party of the Philippines/ New People's Army, there is also some black propaganda from the reactionary government. The AFP says that the "government bureaucrats and of the citizenry at large think that the CPP-NPA-NDF cadres are simply militant nationalists or fighters for justice, people wishing to redress some injustice they or their families or friends have suffered, and that they (the people) are not aware or do not give importance to the fact that the CPP, which controls the NPA and the NDF, is an unreformed Marxist-Leninist party.⁷⁴ Moreover, as a typical Marxist-Leninist party, and one with a Stalinist bent, the CPP advocates a type of state socialism, whereby the greater part of the industrial means of production is owned by the state, but actually controlled by the Marxist-Leninist party that totally controls the state; and as a typical Marxist-Leninist party, the CPP aims for a permanent monopoly of state power, because it claims to be the only authentic workers' party and to be the vanguard of the working class.⁷⁵

This statement of the reactionary Armed Forces of the Philippines was argued by *Ka Dikoy* as merely one of the black propagandas against them (the Party).. He said that it is true that the objective of the Party is to seize the power from the existing government

⁷⁴ Intengan, Romeo J., S.J. *Armed Forces of the Philippines: Defender of the Nation, Guardian of Democracy, and Servant of the People* (Groundwork for An Essay). September, 2005.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

and effect change wherein the Party itself will be running the country. But he said that there would be no one personality who would lead the country. The government that would be established will be ruled by the people themselves. He also said that the CPP/NPA, being an organization led by the selected few, has leaders, but he made an assurance that the Party will make sure that these leaders of the organization possess certain qualifications that would make them fit for any position in the new government, if there is a need. These qualifications, according to him, are based on the ideological, political and organizational capabilities of the person. In brief, the new government that would be established would be run by the Party as a whole, and the organization itself would be run by capable leaders. The essence of the power of the people will still be present.

At the moment, the Communist Party of the Philippines/New People's Army as well as Jose Maria Sison are included in the list of foreign terrorist organizations on August 9, 2002, due to the United States' war on terrorism.⁷⁶ According to Sison, one of the objectives of the US in doing this is to bar suspected officers and members of the CPP and NPA from entering the US, to prohibit and punish any kind of activity suspected of being helpful to them, to freeze any suspect bank account and to signal all other countries to act against those whom it designates as terrorists; but anyone who knows the principles and policies of the CPP is aware that it does not send its members or Red fighters of the NPA abroad to attack any US entity.⁷⁷ The CPP has also repeatedly pointed out that

⁷⁶ Sison, Jose Maria. "Comment on US Designation of the CPP and NPA as Foreign Terrorist Organizations." http://www.apk2000.dk/netavisen/artikler/verden/2002-na0819-sison_statement.htm

⁷⁷ Ibid.

Americans can enjoy the basic rights and freedoms of the foreign guest in the Philippines, unless they are deployed for combat operations against the revolutionary forces and people.⁷⁸ Furthermore, Sison said that “the CPP, NPA and NDFP cannot be intimidated. They dared to fight the Marcos fascist dictatorship and in the process grew in strength even while the US military bases were still in the Philippines and were used for delivering war materiel and training Filipino puppet troops. The designation of the CPP and NPA as terrorists is likely to lead to the termination of the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations and to the intensification of the civil war and even to a war of national liberation against US aggression, if the US troops join the puppets in combat against the NPA. Said designation has been done by the US apparently as a psywar preparation for doing away with the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations and for rationalizing the escalation of US military intervention or aggression against the revolutionary forces and people.”

⁷⁸ Ibid.

CHAPTER VI

Analysis and Conclusion

Going back to the era of Philippine colonialism, we faced the brutality and offensive treatment of the colonizers to the Filipino people. There were grave abuses of the rights of the people as human beings and as native citizens of the Philippines. We were called and branded as “*indios*”, which actually refers to the primacy of the Filipino culture and civilization. We were under the direct rule of the Spaniards, the Americans, the Japanese, and then the Americans once more. These colonizers seized from us our own country as well as our own identity. They imposed their own beliefs, culture, lifestyle, etc., to us and made us like them. They gave us the identity that was very similar to theirs but we were never given the same rights they enjoyed. We were made slaves. In the modern period, we were given independence and were given the opportunity to rule our own land. But this so-called independence/autonomy apparently has loopholes: loopholes that they made sure to still give them the power to take control of our country.

This is the beginning of capitalism, and later on, imperialism. This means that we are independent, we have our own government and we run our own economy, but all are still under the control of the imperialist countries, the biggest of which is the United States of America. We became the puppet, and the United States as the puppeteer. We do as they say. For so many decades, we were under the United States domination. And in the modern times, we are still like this. Our government officials are in close ties and

cooperation with the United States, and are always venerating the United States as the superior one. There have been several multinational companies in the country which further the poverty of the masses. Some trade agreements with huge states, and local and domestic producers have been taken for granted. There is the modern day feudalism that created burden to the peasants. There are the bureaucratic elite, who made the government their own businesses. There exist political dynasties, wherein politicians run for public office and promise the people of the progress that they would initiate if they win. But when they win, they easily forget the people who voted for them and hoped that their victory would improve their lives.

This is the scenario of the Philippine society. Jose Maria Sison describes it as a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society because we are still under the auspices of the United States and other imperialist countries. This basic condition of the Philippine society, from the time of colonialism and feudalism up to the era of semi-feudalism and neocolonialism, stirred up the nationalist sentiments of the Filipino people, which resulted to the launching of revolutionary movements. These revolutionary movements evolved into a protracted people's war, which the CPP/NPA adopted from the Cultural Revolution of Mao Zedong in China. This protracted people's war has been proven to be invincible in the struggle against imperialism and capitalism. This is also the principle that the CPP/NPA is following ever since the Party's re-establishment.

Having learned all of these, we have construed a concrete definition of a revolution and a revolutionary movement. Basically, a **revolution** is a phenomenon

where a group of nationalist and patriotic individuals initiate a revolutionary armed and ideological struggle to bring radical change in the existing political and economic order. It follows then that a **revolutionary movement** is a society composed of individuals that has the same ideological and theoretical convictions on what the system must be, and are prepared enough to sacrifice their own lives in order to effect a radical change in the existing political order. It is a movement that has a cause and a vision as to how the government must be. It is a movement that has ideological perspectives and a people's army as instruments for national liberation. It is a movement that will lift the Filipinos from poverty. It is a movement that advocates social justice for all and equal rights for the people, and promotes genuine democracy and independence through the combat of imperialism, foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism, and bureaucrat capitalism.

These revolutionary movements, particularly the CPP/NPA, were established as a response to the continuing oppression and exploitation of the Filipino masses. Also they were established to liberate the people from the imperialist countries and uplift them from poverty. As a communist organization, the Communist Party of the Philippines/New People's Army seeks to overthrow US imperialism and to put an end to mass poverty and social inequity. It is a Party that will truly represent the voice of the people. It has been in existence for more than 30 years, and yet it is still growing in size and strength as time goes on. How is this possible with the presence of the reactionary Armed Forces of the Philippines that launches anti-insurgency campaign? How is this possible when other revolutionary movements have been crashed down and disappeared? How does the

CPP/NPA manage to stay intact and even increase in strength? How does the CPP/NPA manage to persist in this modern era of imperialism and anti-communism?

Factors Contributing to the Persistence of the CPP/NPA

The main reason for the persistence of the CPP/NPA is, first, the Party's strong ideological, political and organizational structure that cannot be broken down by any external forces such as the AFP and the PNP. Having learned from the mistakes of the pioneer communist party, which is the *Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (PKP)*, the newly re-established Communist Party of the Philippines armed itself with ideological weapons that would continuously motivate the members of the Party regarding the purpose they are fighting for. The ideological structure of the Party, which is a combination of Marxist-Leninist-Mao Zedong Thought, serves as the Party's guide in launching a revolutionary people's war. For more than three decades, this ideological structure of the Party has not been crashed down by the reactionary government. It is actually what makes the Party stronger, no matter how many all-out wars had been launched against them. The Party even grew stronger because of the continuous study of these ideological principles of Marx, Lenin and Mao Zedong. These are basically the factors internal to the Party that contribute to its persistence.

Second, equally important factors that contributed to the persistence of the CPP/NPA as a revolutionary movement are from the basic social condition itself. Social injustice and social inequity are basically these factors. These conditions contribute to the persistence of the CPP/NPA because putting an end to these social conditions is one of

the main goals of the Party. As long as these conditions exist, the revolutionary movement will continue to exist. This might be true for other revolutionary movements in the country. As long as there is social injustice, social inequity and poverty, there will always be the revolutionary movements because these are the factors that continue to ignite the nationalist sentiment of the people. If these factors disappear from the society, then we can say that the revolutionary movement has already achieved victory.

Third, the factors of poverty, corruption and malnutrition also contribute to the persistence of the CPP/NPA. **Poverty** is the inability of the people to obtain at least a specified minimum of the food, clothing, and shelter that are considered necessary for continued survival.⁷⁹ Now, what is the current poverty situation in the Philippines that drives the CPP/NPA, as well as the masses, to continue the struggle? In the Philippines, latest official estimates from the National Statistical Coordinating Board (NSCB) show that in 2003 about 25 out of 100 families and 30 out of 100 individuals were poor while 10 out of 100 families and 14 out of 100 individuals were food poor.⁸⁰ This only shows that the government is not doing its task of eradicating poverty in the country. The only thing that the government does is to promise the people that it will lift the Filipinos from poverty through its numerous anti-poverty programs. But what we can only see is the numerous photo ops of the government officials in poor areas, giving people land titles, water and electrical system, etc. But these areas contain only a small portion of the

⁷⁹ "Poverty and Welfare." U.S. Library of Congress. <http://countrystudies.us/philippines/74.htm>

⁸⁰ Virola, Romulo A. "Gutom Ka Ba???" Posted 13 March 2006.
http://www.nscb.gov.ph/headlines/StatsSpeak/130206_rav_hunger.asp

Filipino population. What about those who really needs the social services of the government? According to the NSCB, majority of the poor Filipinos can be found on the rural areas, which are not reached by the services of the government. These areas are often neglected because these places are too far for the public officials to take their photo opportunities. The top ten poorest provinces in the Philippines from the year 1997 to 2000 are shown in the table below:

Table 1. Ten Poorest Provinces in 2000

Province	1997	2000	Inc/Dec (%)	Rank '97	Rank '00
Sulu	67.1	63.2	-3.9	1	1
Masbate	61.4	62.8	1.4	2	2
Tawi-Tawi	35.0	56.5	21.5	40	3
Ifugao	57.7	55.6	-2.1	4	4
Romblon	52.8	55.2	2.4	8	5
Maguindanao	41.6	55.1	13.5	27	6
Lanao del Sur	55.6	55.0	-0.6	7	7
Sultan Kudarat	36.6	54.3	17.7	38	8
Camiguin	32.5	53.1	20.6	49	9
Camarines Norte	49.7	52.7	3.0	10	10

Source: National Statistical Coordination Board⁸¹

These provinces, which are mostly found in the Mindanao Island, remain purely agricultural, receiving not enough attention and help from the government. The main reason of this continuing trend of poverty in the rural areas is the inequality in the land

⁸¹ www.nscb.gov.ph

ownership. But despite this fact, the government still failed to implement effective land reforms that will benefit the poor people in rural areas. The Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program (CARP) started by former President Aquino was not effectively implemented since the number of the people without land titles remains the same, and this ineffective implementation of land reform programs continues today in the present administration of President Arroyo. The efforts at land reform over the last 15 years have served only to perpetuate the cycle of rural unrest, poverty, and economic stagnation.⁸² On the other hand, the least poor provinces in the country can be found in the National Capital Region. This only shows the bias of the government, as well as the unequal distribution of the government's funds. There is inequality in terms of the distribution of social services in the country.

Table 2. Ten Least Poor Provinces in 2000

Province	1997	2000	Inc/Dec (%)	Rank '97	Rank '00
2nd District, NCR	4.5	4.1	-0.3	81	81
4th District, NCR	4.6	4.9	0.3	79	80
Bulacan	8.3	5.4	-2.9	73	79
Manila	5.7	5.8	0.1	78	78
Batanes	8.7	7.5	-1.2	72	77
Rizal	8.3	8	-0.2	74	76
Laguna	12.3	8.6	-3.7	71	75

⁸² Henderson, Clarence. "Notes on Poverty in the Philippines, 2002 Ed." Asian Business Strategy and Street Intelligence Ezine, Asian Pacific Management Forum. 20th August 2002. <http://www.apmforum.com/columns/orientseas49.htm>

3rd District, NCR	4.6	9	4.4	80	74
Bataan	7.7	9.9	2.3	76	73
Cavite	8	10.2	2.1	75	72

Source: National Statistical Coordination Board

Aside from the rural provinces as being the poorest areas in the Philippines, another manifestation of poverty in the Philippines is the annual income and food poverty threshold of the Filipinos. The latest official poverty data indicate that, in 2003, about 3.97 million families, less than a quarter of the country's total families, were living below the poverty line. The annual per capita poverty threshold reached PhP12, 267 (US\$ 220.64) in 2003, up by 7.1% compared with the 2000 level of PhP11 451 (US\$ 205.96). Thus, a family of five should have an income of at least PhP5111 or around US\$ 92 a month to be able to sustain their minimum basic needs, both food and non-food.⁸³

A direct consequence of poverty is **malnutrition**. Malnutrition is the condition of the body characterized by the lack of necessary minerals needed in order for the body to function well. Official data from the FNRI 6th National Nutrition Survey show that for 2003, out of 100 children 0-5 years old, about 27 are underweight (suffering from current malnutrition), 30 are stunted (chronic malnutrition) and 5 are wasted (acute malnutrition).⁸⁴ Many Filipinos who are living below poverty line cannot afford to provide their families with the recommended amount of food needed to have a balanced

⁸³ "Demographics, Gender and Poverty." <http://www.wpro.who.int/countries/05ph/>

⁸⁴ Virola, Romulo A. "Gutom Ka Ba??" Posted 13 March 2006. http://www.nscb.gov.ph/headlines/StatsSpeak/130206_rav_hunger.asp

and nutritious diet. The victims of malnutrition in the country are infants as well as newborn babies. According to the Philippine Ministry of Health, nearly 1/2 of all reported deaths are among infants and children through age 4, and about 1/2 of the accelerated death rate among those age 5 and younger is related to malnutrition, compounded by diarrhea, measles, and malaria which is returning to areas where it once was almost eradicated.⁸⁵

But the root cause of this poverty and malnutrition in the Philippines is the **corruption** in the government. Government officials are using their positions in order to acquire personal wealth. Corruption, defined, is the abuse of public power for private gain.⁸⁶ Corruption in the Philippines can be blamed to the principal-agent relationship that has always been a part of the Filipino culture. The principal-agent problem refers to a situation where one party (the “agent”) is contracted to promote an outcome in behalf of someone else, namely the “principal.”⁸⁷ This problem in the Philippine society constantly burdens the masses because they are not given attention by the public officials they voted for. Instead, these public officials are doing their own businesses in their public offices, making sure that the persons who supported them to win their positions will not be taken for granted and will benefit from the policies that these officials formulate and implement. This is the reason why the budgets that are supposed to be allocated for social

⁸⁵ Ravenholt A. Malnutrition in the Philippines.

http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/entrez/query.fcgi?cmd=Retrieve&db=PubMed&list_uids=12264685&dopt=Abstract

⁸⁶ Gray, C. W. and D. Kauffman [1998]. “Corruption and Development”, *Finance and Development*, The World Bank. <http://www.worldbank.org/fand/english/0398/articles/>

⁸⁷ Emmanuel S. de Dios and Ricardo D. Ferrer. Corruption in the Philippines: Framework and Context. <http://www.tag.org.ph/pdf/PCPS-Study1.PDF>

services for the people do not reach them. This is also the cause of the growing poverty and malnutrition in the country. The public fund that was supposed to be spent on programs for the masses only goes inside the pockets of the public officials. As of today, the Philippines ranks second on Asia graft list, immediately following Indonesia. This was according to Political and Economic Risk Consultancy Ltd. (PERC), a company that provides advice to companies and governments on how to do business in Asia, who polled more than 900 expatriate respondents across the region in January and February.⁸⁸ This only shows that the endemic culture of corruption in the Philippines is not only known to the Filipinos but also in the whole region in Asia.

The fourth factor is the brutality of the military. According to *Ka Oni*, every time the military engages in abusing the civilians in search for the NPAs, the Party will continue to fight back. He cited a situation wherein the military was searching for a NPA member in a certain community. What the military did was to question a suspected NPA member, who is really not a member, and then eventually torturing that person just based on mere suspicion. He said that the more you hurt the innocent ones, the more the eagerness of the NPA to fight back. Furthermore, another form of brutality is manifested by the assistance extended by the American troops to the Armed Forces of the Philippines in combating insurgencies, particularly the NPA and the Abu Sayaff. This act of the government was in violation of the Visiting Forces Agreement that states that the presence of the American troops here in the country is limited to training the AFP, and not in joining the AFP in its actual operations. Another example of American assistance

⁸⁸ "Philippines No. 2 on Asia graft list: Survey covers 900 foreigners in region." Philippine Daily Inquirer, page A1, March 9, 2005 issue.

to the AFP is the incident wherein the American troops were made to guard the 2004 elections in a certain province. *Kasamang Enteng* said that the government is allegedly using the American troops in order to secure the vote of the incumbent President. Hence, the NPA launched an offensive attack and sniped one American soldier. The AFP and the American troops could not do anything at that moment because it would bring chaos and panic which was not good during an election. The military buried the body of that American soldier and kept silent because they would be condemned by the people due to their violation of the provisions of the Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA).

Lastly, and most importantly, are the factors of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. These are the evils of the state which the CPP/NPA is trying to eliminate from the system because these are the main causes of the people's sufferings. And because of these three factors mentioned above, the CPP/NPA, and other revolutionary movements for that matter, will continue to exist until they have eliminated the presence of capitalist and imperialist entities in our country. As long as we are under the control of foreign dominators, the struggle will continue. Also, as long as there are politicians that are taking advantage of their position in the government and continue to neglect the poor, the revolution to liberate the country will continue. In brief, as long as there is the ruling class serving their own interests and plundering the public coffers, the revolution will go on. Only when the people are finally in power, the armed struggle will cease. When that time comes, the Party will no longer have to continue their struggle. They only need to serve the people and make sure that the people's enemy can no longer rise into power.

In brief, we have tasted the maltreatment from the colonizers, experienced widespread corruption, unequal distribution of lands, excessive tax collections, and massive class exploitation and oppression. As an answer to this, we launched revolutions against them and we achieved “independence.” But then nothing has really changed. We were just able to change the faces of the ruling class, but they remain the same characters with vested interests. Since the Spanish colonization up to the current administration, the life of the Filipino masses and citizens as a whole did not really change. We are still dictated and dominated by “other” people; we are still subjugated; we are still exploited and oppressed. How long can we endure this kind of “Filipino life”?

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Personal Interviews

Interview with *Kasamang Dikoy*. *Kasamang Dikoy*, 24, is a member of the CPP/NPA for five years now and had already finished a 1-year training program with the NPA. But despite that five-year membership, *Ka Dikoy* still continues to study the ideological and theoretical principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

Interview with *Kasamang Oni*. *Kasamang Oni*, 22, is a member of the CPP/NPA for three years. His basic task as of the moment is to organize the people and to promote awareness about the Party and the Party's advocacies.

Interview with *Kasamang Enteng*. *Kasamang Enteng*, 29, has been a member of the CPP/NPA for almost seven years and is still active in the Party. He had experienced a lot of encounters with the military, as well as with some of the landlords in the provinces to which he was deployed.

Interview with *Kasamang Jenny*. *Kasamang Jenny*, 24, has been a member of the CPP/NPA for four years. Her task was mainly organization of the masses, as well as educating them of the basic principles of the Party.

Interview with an NPA member who refused to be identified. This respondent, 35, has been a member of the CPP/NPA for more than 11 years and is still active with the Party. This member had numerous encounters with the military and based on the answers given, this member is completely aware of the ideological and theoretical principles of the Party.

APPENDICES

Informed Consent Form

I, Nannette F. dela Cruz, a student under the BA Political Science program of the University of the Philippines Manila, am conducting a research regarding the persistence of revolutionary movements in the Philippines, particularly the CPP-NPA. The study aims to find out the elements that contribute to the persistence of revolutionary movements in the Philippines. The study is focused on the case of the CPP-NPA as one of the known revolutionary movements in our country.

In lieu of the aforementioned research objective, I would like to request your kind participation in this study as being one of the key informants. The information that you would be giving will be very helpful in answering my research questions in the sense that it would provide the key in deciphering the elements deemed to contribute to the persistence of a revolutionary movement. The information that you would be relaying will help the researcher in discovering the reasons for the establishment and persistence of revolutionary movements in our country.

Since the topic is highly sensitive and delicate, I would assure you that the data will be taken good care of and will be stored in a safe place. Likewise, the researcher will hide your real identity through anonymity, if you wish so. But then, the researcher would use codenames so as not to create confusion as to whom the information is coming from. This is because, admittedly, there are certain risks that might be encountered. You might be suspected as having direct connections with the CPP-NPA or other revolutionary movements. On the other hand, there is also the risk of being suspected as a spy to the

internal organization of the said revolutionary movement. In any case, you would be assured of protection through anonymity.

There would be no material benefit that you would get from participating in this study, but the guarantee that the information you will give will not be modified. It would be written/ quoted as is.

The interview will be conducted on your free time and in the place of your convenience, depending on our agreement. The interview will be recorded in order for the researcher to transcribe the conversation accurately. But in case you would not give your consent in using a recorder, there would be a note taker so as to capture most, if not all, of the information that you would be relaying. The interview would last for, more or less, an hour, depending on the flow of the conversation. Enclosed in this letter are the questions that I would be posing.

Thank you very much and your kind participation would be highly appreciated.

For questions, please contact the researcher at these numbers: (02) 524-6151/0919-3727983, or 0922-9585581.

(This part is optional.)

Date

To Whom It May Concern,

I, _____, agree to participate in this research study by giving as much information as I can relay in helping to achieve the goal of this study. I allow the interview to be recorded or for a note taker to be present during the interview.

Researcher's Signature

Informant's Signature

Key Informant Interview Guide

1. What is a revolutionary movement for you?
1. What do you think are the objectives of this movement? What can you say about this?
2. What are the elements that contribute to the **establishment** of revolutionary movements in the Philippines? In relation to this, what do you think are the elements that led to the establishment of the CPP-NPA?
3. What can you say about the CPP-NPA? How do you view the organization?
4. What do you think are the contributions of the CPP-NPA to the welfare of the masses?
5. Have you had any encounters with the military? How was it?
6. What can you say about the way the military combats communism and terrorism in the Philippines?
7. What do you think are the elements that contribute to the **persistence** of revolutionary movements in our country, particularly the CPP-NPA?
8. In your opinion, how long will such movements exist in our country and why?
9. Do you think the government has a role in the persistence of such movements? In what way?

Pahintulot Para sa Panayam

Ako po si Nannette F. dela Cruz, mag-aaral ng kursong Agham Pampulitika sa Unibersidad ng Pilipinas Maynila. Ako po ay kasalukuyang nagsasagawa ng isang pag-aaral na naglalayong malaman ang mga elemento na nagbibigay-kontribusyon sa pagkakaroon o pagtatatag at pananatili ng mga kilusang rebolusyonaryo sa Pilipinas, partikular na ang Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas-Bagong Hukbong Bayan o PKP-BHB (o CPP-NPA sa Ingles). Ang pag-aaral na ito ay iikot sa kaso ng PKP-BHB bilang isang halimbawa ng kilusang rebolusyonaryo sa ating bansa.

Kaugnay ng layuning nabanggit, hinihingi ko po ang inyong pahintulot upang makiisa sa aking isinasagawang pag-aaral sa pamamagitan ng isang panayam. Ang mga impormasyon po na inyong ibibigay ay makatutulong ng malaki upang malaman ang mga elemento na nagbibigay kontribusyon sa pananatili ng isang kilusang rebolusyonaryo.

Sapagkat ang paksa ng pag-aaral na ito ay sensitibo, sinisiguro ko po sa inyo na ang mga tala ng mga impormasyon na inyong ibibigay ay pakaiingatan at itatago sa isang ligtas na lugar kung saan walang sinuman ang makakakuha o makakabasa. Sa pagsusulat naman po ng aking pag-aaral, itatago ko po ang inyong tunay na pangalan o pagkatao, kung inyong nanaisin, sa pamamagitan ng paggamit ng “alyas” o palayaw upang maingatan ang inyong kalagayan.

Wala pong materyal na benepisyo ang inyong matatanggap sa paglalahad ng mahahalagang impormasyon kaugnay sa aking paksa, kundi ang garantiya na hindi

mababago ang mga impormasyon na inyong ibibigay. Ito po ay isusulat ng ayon sa inyong pagkakasabi.

Ang panayam po ang gaganapin sa oras at lugar kung saan kayo magiging komportable, depende sa ating magiging usapan. At upang maging maayos ang paglilimbag ng ating napag-usapan, ako po ay gagamit ng rekorder. Sa pamamagitan po nito, maisusulat ko ng walang kakulangan ang lahat ng mga mahahalagang impormasyon na inyong ibibigay. Ngunit kung nanaisin po ninyo na hindi mairekord ang panayam, mayroon po akong magiging kasama na siyang tutulong sa pagtatala ng ating mapag-uusapan. Ang panayam po ay maaaring umabot ng mahigit-kumulang sa isang oras, depende sa takbo ng ating usapan. Kalakip po ng liham na ito ay ang mga katanungan na ating mapag-uusapan.

Maraming salamat po at ang inyong partisipasyon ay lubos kong ikagagalak.

Para sa mga katanungan, maaari po lamang na makipag-ugnayan sa akin sa mga sumusunod na numero: (02) 524-6151, 0919-3727983, o 0922-9585581.

(Ang bahaging ito ay opsyonal.)

Petsa

Sa Kinauukulan,

Ako, _____, ay nagbibigay ng aking pahintulot upang iyong makapanayam kaugnay sa iyong paksa ng pag-aaral. Pumapayag din ako sa paggamit ng rekorder o kaya naman ay sa pagkakaroon ng tagapatala ng ating usapan.

Lagda ng Mananaliksik

Lagda ng Impormante

Mga Gabay na Tanong Para sa Panayam:

1. Ano ang isang kilusang rebolusyonaryo para sa iyo?
2. Ano sa tingin mo ang layunin ng isang kilusang rebolusyonaryo?
3. Sa iyong opinion, paano at ano ang mga dahilan ng pagtatatag ng isang kilusang rebolusyonaryo?
4. Ano ang masasabi mo sa Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas – Bagong Hukbong Bayan (CPP-NPA) bilang isang kilusang rebolusyonaryo?
5. Sa iyong palagay, sa anong paraan nakatutulong ang PKP-BHB sa kapakanan ng masang Pilipino?
6. Ano ang mga katangian ng isang matatag na kilusang rebolusyonaryo? Paano mo nasabi?
7. Sa tingin mo, ang PKP-BHB ba ay isang matatag na kilusang rebolusyonaryo? Paano mo nasabi?
8. Sa iyong opinyon, bakit nananatili ang mga kilusang rebolusyonaryo sa ating bansa? Ano ang mga elemento na nagbibigay-kontribusyon sa pananatili ng ganitong kilusan?
9. Ano sa iyong palagay ano ang papel ng gobyerno sa pananatili ng klusang rebolusyonaryo sa ating bansa? Ipaliwanag.
10. Sa tingin mo, hanggang kalian mananatili ang mga kilusang rebolusyonaryo sa Pilipinas? Ipaliwanag.

**ARMED FORCES OF THE
PHILIPPINES:
DEFENDER OF THE NATION,
GUARDIAN OF DEMOCRACY,
AND SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE
GROUNDWORK FOR AN ESSAY**

(Endorsed by the Office of the National Security Adviser)

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SEPTEMBER 2005



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Introduction

This article is intended to serve as the groundwork for an essay describing how the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) fares today in terms of its duty as defender of the nation¹, as guardian of democracy², and as servant of the people, and what could or should be done in order for the AFP to better fulfill these duties. This article and the proposed fuller essay of which it is a groundwork is especially relevant today, at a time when the country is in the throes of a severe multifaceted societal crisis, with markedly prominent political signs and symptoms, and in a situation in which the AFP shares in the crisis as part of the problem, and yet as part of the possible solution.³ “Groundwork” is said of the nature of the article because its content and scholarly apparatus are rather basic, and have to be developed further toward the fuller essay needed to describe and address the ongoing crisis. The completion of such an essay will take much time amidst the press of the many duties of this author and of the staff of the Center for Strategic Studies. However the critical situation of our country needs to be addressed much sooner than what the writing of a full essay would permit. Hence the need for the immediate writing and dissemination of this groundwork article. The themes of this article, treated at varying lengths as needed, will flow in the following listed sequence:

- (A) the various duties of the AFP in the laws of our country and in the actual missions of the AFP
- (B) the expectations of the people on the carrying out of the duties of the AFP: historical background and present situation
- (C) a description of the present national crisis as a whole
- (D) a description of how the AFP partakes in the national crisis
- (E) the response called for from patriotic elements in Philippine society
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(A) The Various Duties of the AFP in the Laws of Our Country and in the Actual Missions of the AFP

The 1987 Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines contains provisions regarding the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP), including the following:

Article II (Declaration of Principles and State Policies), Section 3 states that “The Armed Forces of the Philippines is the protector of the people and the State. Its goal is to secure the sovereignty of the State and the integrity of the national territory.”

¹ Mark N. Hagopian, in *Regimes, Movements, and Ideologies: A Comparative Introduction to Political Science*, 2nd ed (Harlow, United Kingdom: Longman Group United Kingdom, 1983), on p. 34, defines “nation” as “a group of people who identify with each other” and further affirms that “the only foolproof definition of a nation is that of a group of people who consider themselves to be a nation.” On pp. 12-13 he gives he makes the following observations relevant to the meaning of “state”: “Not all historical political systems can be called “states,” since they lack certain key traits such as a high level of centralization, emergence of a full-time officialdom, a popular awareness of the central government, the issuance of rules that go beyond mere custom, and a reliable system of taxation.”

² “Democracy” refers to the type of political system in which the society is governed according to the free and continuing consent of the people, and in which all the citizens of sufficient age have essential equality in the determination of the laws and the election of the officials to govern the societal aspects of their lives.

³ What is said here about the AFP is also true analogously of the Philippine National Police. Should time and resources allow, the Center for Strategic Studies will write a similar essay on the Philippine National Police.

Article XVI (General Provisions), Section 5 says the following, in paragraph (1): “All members of the armed forces shall take an oath or affirmation to uphold and defend this Constitution.” Paragraph (2) provides that “The State shall strengthen the patriotic spirit and nationalist consciousness of the military, and respect for people’s rights in the performance of their duty.” To grasp the full import of these provisions regarding the AFP one needs to consider the Preamble and some further provisions of this Constitution. Thus the Preamble reads as follows:

We, the sovereign Filipino people, imploring the aid of Almighty God, in order to build a just and humane society and establish a government that shall embody our ideals and aspirations, promote the common good, conserve and develop our patrimony, and secure to ourselves and our posterity the blessings of independence and democracy under the rule of law and a regime of truth, justice, freedom, love, equality and peace, do ordain and promulgate this Constitution.

The text of Article II (Declaration of Principles and State Policies), Section 1 is as follows:

The Philippines is a democratic and republican state. Sovereignty resides in the people and all government authority emanates from them.

Executive Order 297, otherwise known as the Administrative Code of 1987 mandates the AFP to

- (1) Uphold the sovereignty, support the Constitution and defend the territory of the Republic of the Philippines against all enemies, foreign and domestic
- (2) Promote and advance the national aims, goals, interests and policies
- (3) Plan, organize, maintain, develop and deploy its regular and citizen reserve forces for national security
- (4) Perform such other functions as may be provided by law or assigned by higher authorities⁴

Republic Act 8551, Title II, Section 12 provides as follows:

. . . The Philippine National Police shall, through information gathering and performance of its ordinary police functions, *support the Armed Forces of the Philippines on matters involving suppression of insurgency*, [emphasis mine] except in cases where the President shall call on the PNP to support the AFP in combat operations. Some of the foregoing texts reveal the intent of our laws with regard to the AFP. When the Constitution, in Article II (Declaration of Principles and State Policies), Section 3 calls the AFP “the protector of the people and the State” and defines its goal as being “to secure the sovereignty of the State and the integrity of the national territory,” we can say that the AFP has the duty of being **defender of**

+Jose N. Nollado, ed. The Revised Administrative Code of 1987 with Related Laws and Administrative Issuances, 1996

rev. ed. (Metro Manila: National Book Store, 1996), p. 149.

the nation, insofar as in the discourse of constitutional law “nation” is synonymous with “State” and “people” is an element of a States. The same duty is indicated in Executive Order 297 (Administrative Code of 1987) when the latter directs the AFP to “. . . to uphold the sovereignty . . . defend the territory of the Republic of the Philippines against all enemies, foreign and domestic; promote and advance the national aims, goals, interests and policies; and plan, organize, maintain, develop and deploy its regular and citizen reserve forces for national security.” The same duty to defend the nation is pointed out in Republic Act 8551, Title II, Section 12, when the latter shows that the AFP

has the main role in combating insurgency, with the Philippine National Police (PNP) having a support role. Some of the above texts show that our laws oblige the AFP to be **guardian of democracy**. This is evident when Article XVI (General Provisions), Section 5 affirms in paragraph (1) that all members of the AFP “shall take an oath or affirmation to uphold and defend this Constitution,” and paragraph (2) provides that “The State shall strengthen . . . respect for people’s rights in the performance of their duty.” This is made very clear by the Preamble of the Constitution when it states that the “Filipino people . . . in order to . . . secure to ourselves and our posterity the blessings of . . . independence and democracy . . . do ordain and promulgate this Constitution.”

Another source of clarity with regard to the obligation of the AFP to guard democracy as a consequence of its duty to uphold and defend the Constitution is the text of Article II (Declaration of Principles and State Policies), Section 1 saying that the Philippines is a democratic and republican state, and that “[s]overeignty resides in the people and all government authority emanates from them.” When Republic Act 8551, Title II, Section 12 assigns to the AFP the main role in combating insurgency, and in a case in which one or more of the insurgent groups is anti-democratic, it follows that this law expects the AFP to be guardian of democracy. By defending the nation and guarding democracy the AFP already functions in a major way as **servant of the people**. But the defense of the nation and the guarding of democracy are not the only way by which the AFP serves the people. This is evident in the following enumeration of the six types of missions that the AFP is currently tasked with:

- (1) **Internal Security**, which involves confronting the internal security threats of insurgency and terrorism
- (2) **Territorial Defense**, addressing concerns ranging from transnational threats to territorial integrity
- (3) **Disaster Response**, consisting in rescue, relief, and rehabilitation of disaster ravaged areas

s Joaquin G. Bernas, S.J., in *The 1987 Philippine Constitution: A Review-Primer, 3rd ed.* (Manila: Rex Bookstore, 1997), on p.14, defines a “state” as “a community of persons more or less numerous, permanently occupying a definite portion of territory, independent of external control, and possessing an organized government to which the great body of inhabitants render habitual obedience.” He observes that “commentators break down the concept into the following four elements: people, territory, sovereignty, government. On page 15 he says the following: “Although for the purpose of political sociology a state, which is a legal concept, may be distinguished from nation, which is an ethnic concept, for the purpose of constitutional law the two terms are not distinct. The Constitution uses them interchangeably to designate the legal concept of state as defined above.” Further on he defines “people,” in the sense of an element of the state, simply as “a community of persons sufficient in number and capable of maintaining the continued existence of the community and held together by a common bond of law.” He adds that “It is of no legal consequence if they possess diverse racial, cultural, or economic interests.”

- (4) **Support to National Development** through the engineering brigades that build roads, bridges, and school buildings to spur economic development in conflict areas
- (5) **International Defense and Security Engagements** that seek to forge alliances with other countries given the trend of globalization and common security concerns such as global terrorism

(6) **International Humanitarian Assistance and Peacekeeping Operations** in which the Philippines participates by sending AFP contingents to war-torn countries to undertake civic action In the course of perusing this list one realizes that the AFP, in responding to disaster, supporting national development, and carrying out international

humanitarian assistance and peacekeeping operations, fulfills further functions as **servant of the people**. Even the international humanitarian assistance and peacekeeping operations serves the people of the Philippines because a peaceful, safe, and prosperous world favors the security and all-around progress of our people. At this point it is important to note that the **Philippine National Police (PNP)** has roles and duties, in relation to defending the nation, guarding democracy, and serving the people, that are analogous to those of the AFP. Republic Act No. 6975, entitled “An Act Establishing the Philippine National Police under a reorganized Department of the Interior and Local Government and Other Purposes” became law on 13 December 1990. This law ended the existence of the Philippine Constabulary and the Integrated National Police and in their stead created the Philippine National Police, a police force that is national in scope and civilian in character. As such the PNP is administered and controlled by the National Police Commission.⁶ Republic Act No. 8551, otherwise known as the “Philippine National Police Reform and Reorganization Act of 1998,” envisioned the PNP to be a community and service oriented agency. Implementing this law, the PNP on 1 June 1999 organized and activated the Internal Affairs Service (IAS) on a national scope. The IAS is an organization within the structure of the PNP and one of its tasks is to help the Chief, PNP institute reforms to improve the image of the police force through assessment, analysis and evaluation of the character and behavior of the PNP personnel. It is headed by the Inspector General.⁷ The men and women of the PNP profess commitment to a vision of a professional, dynamic and highly motivated Philippine National Police working in partnership with a responsive community towards the attainment of a safe place in which to live, work, invest and do business.⁸

The following are the functions that the PNP recognizes as its own by law:⁹

- enforce all laws and ordinance relative to the protection of lives and property
- maintain peace and order and take all necessary steps to ensure public safety
- investigate and prevent crimes, effect the arrest of criminal offenders, bring offenders to justice and assist in their prosecution
- exercise the general powers to make arrest, search and seizure in accordance with the Constitution and pertinent laws

⁶ See the Philippine National Police website, particularly the webpage entitled “Overview of the Agency, at URL

<http://www.pnp.gov.ph/about/content/overview.html>, accessed on 9 September 2005.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*; cf. J. N. Nollado, ed. *The Revised Administrative Code of 1987 with Related Laws and Administrative Issuances, 1996 rev. ed.*, p. 161..

- detain an arrested person for a period not beyond what is prescribed by law, informing the person so detained of all his rights under the Constitution
- issue licenses for the possession of firearms and explosives in accordance with law
- supervise and control the training and operations of security agencies and issue licenses to operate security agencies, and to security guards and private detectives for the practice of their professions
- perform such other duties and exercise all other functions as may be provided by law

(B) The Expectations of the People on the Carrying out of the Duties of the AFP: Historical Background and Present Situation

(1) Historical background

It is predictable that the majority, perhaps the vast majority of the people of the Philippines, would expect the AFP to be defender of the nation, guardian of democracy, and servant of the people. Why would this be the case? A brief excursus into the history of the AFP is useful at this point. The origin of the AFP could be traced to the Tejeros Convention on 22 March 1897, when the assembly dissolved the *Katipunan*, established a government called *República Filipina*, with the loose and heterogeneous armed units of the revolution composing the army, and elected Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo as President and Gen. Artemio Ricarte as Captain General (a rank that corresponds to today's Chief of Staff).¹⁰ At the Naic Revolutionary Assembly on 17 April 1897, at which the bulk of the two rival former *Katipunan* councils in Cavite--the *Magdalo* and the *Magdiwang*--were reconciled and their war effort united, Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo, as President, confirmed the choice of Gen. Artemio Ricarte as Captain General of the re-organized revolutionary armed forces that came to be known as the Philippine Army.¹¹ The Philippine Army evolved from the revolutionary forces that took arms against the Spanish colonial regime from 30 August 1896 till 10 December 1898 when the United States of America and Spain entered into the Treaty of Paris. The same Army engaged the United States armed forces during the Philippine-American War, which began on the night of 4 February 1899 and lasted up to 25 September 1903 when Gen. Simeon Ola, the last of the Filipino Generals, surrendered to the United States forces.¹² At the beginning of the Commonwealth period the country's armed forces were organized through the promulgation, on 21 December 1935, of the National Defense Act, which created the Philippine Army (PA), the latter including the off-shore patrol and the Army Air Corps.¹³ The Philippine Constabulary (PC) was established by the United States colonialist government on 18 July 1901¹⁴ to "preserve peace and order" and provided the nucleus of the first regular division of the Commonwealth's army in 1936.¹⁵ It remained an element within the army (after 1946 as the

¹⁰ Cesar Pobre, *History of the Armed Forces of the Filipino People* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 2000), 26-27.

¹¹ For these data on the Tejeros Convention and the Naic Revolutionary Assembly, see Sonia M. Zaide, *The Philippines: A Unique Nation*, with Gregorio F. Zaide's *History of the Republic of the Philippines*, 2nd ed. (Quezon City: All Nations, 1999):244-8.

¹² See the webpage "History of the Armed Forces of the Philippines" of the website "Armed Forces of the Philippines," the webpage having the URL <http://www.afp.mil.ph/0.history.php>, accessed on 10 September 2005.

¹³ *Ibid.*. See also C. Pobre, *History of the Armed Forces of the Filipino People*, 204.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 99.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 205-6.

Military Police Command) until 4 October 1947 when it was reestablished as a separate force and placed under the newly established Department of the Interior.¹⁶ During the World War II, after the fall of Corregidor¹⁷, the PA engaged in guerilla warfare against the Japanese occupation armed forces. On 4 October 1947, by virtue of Executive Order No. 94 the Philippine Army was renamed Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) and was organized in three major commands: the Philippine Ground Force, the Philippine Air Force (PAF), and the Philippine Naval Patrol.¹⁸ On 23 December 1950 Executive Order No. 389 was issued, providing for the reorganization of the AFP. The order restructured

the AFP into four major services: the PA, the Philippine Constabulary (PC), the PAF, and the Philippine Navy (PN).¹⁹ The country was divided into four military areas.²⁰ From September 1949 to July 1953 AFP elements organized into Battalion Combat Teams (BCTs) were fielded as the Philippine Expeditionary Force to Korea (PEFTOK) to fight in the Korean War on the side of South Korea and the United Nations forces. The successive BCTs sent there—the 10th, 20th, 19th, 14th, and the 2nd—served with great valor and distinction.²¹ As a result of effective combat operations, civic action, and psychological techniques, by the mid 1950s the AFP had contained the Marxist-Leninist or Communist rebellion. The armed forces of the latter, called the *Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan (HMB)* was driven to small pockets of resistance in the remote countryside, and the CPP itself was reduced to isolated foci in the countryside and small clandestine cells in the city. However by the mid-1960s the spread of mass poverty from the failure of autonomous Philippine industrialization and the effects of the worldwide cultural revolution led to the resurgence of the Communist armed rebellion, this time of Maoist orientation, and the emergence of armed secessionist movements among predominantly Muslim groups in the southern Philippines, some of which movements used the term “Moro” for themselves. On 21 September 1972, supposedly to save the republic and create a new society, then President Ferdinand E. Marcos imposed nationwide martial law, and this was speedily executed, though public announcement of martial law was made only on 23 September. From that time till late February 1986, when the Marcos regime fell, the country was in effect under martial law. The AFP was the chief agent for implementing martial law, as it moved to defeat the Communist and Moro insurgencies and suppress the democratic opposition. Marcos and the other leaders of the regime tried to combine nation-building with economic and political self-aggrandizement, and failed miserably. The Communist insurgency and eventually the democratic opposition grew. In the early 1980s the Regional Unified Commands (RUCs) were created within the AFP in response to the growing Communist insurgency throughout the country. The areas of responsibility that these RUCs were assigned conformed to the twelve administrative regions into which the country was divided at that time.²² It was also elements of the AFP that helped, by action or by acquiescence, in the overthrow of the Marcos dictatorship and the re-establishment of formally democratic government in 1986.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 377.

¹⁷ *Corregidor fell to the Japanese invaders on 6 May 1942.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 379.

²⁰ See webpage “History of the Armed Forces of the Philippines” of website “Armed Forces of the Philippines,” at URL

<http://www.afp.mil.ph/0.history.php>, accessed on 10 September 2005

²¹ C. Pobre, *History of the Armed Forces of the Filipino People*, 432-60.

²² Cf. *Ibid.*

As mentioned earlier, in 1990 the PC was removed from the AFP and became the core of the Philippine National Police, since the AFP shifted its focus from internal security to national defense in the 1990s.²³ At present, the 114,000 strong AFP is organized into three major services: the PA, the PAF, and the PN. It is controlled and supervised by the President of the Republic of the Philippines. The AFP is divided into six major service commands:

(1) National Capital Region Command

- (2) Northern Luzon Command
- (3) Southern Luzon Command
- (4) Western Command
- (5) Central Command
- (6) Southern Command²⁴

(2) Present situation

After the foregoing historical excursus comes the following effort to explain why the majority of the people of the Philippines would expect the AFP to be defender of the nation, guardian of democracy, and servant of the people. It is true that the conceptual clarity of the nature of and the reasons for such expectations would not be at the same level for the whole Philippine polity. It would be clearest at the level of those with high levels of formal education, especially those who by temperament or profession are concerned with sociopolitical matters. Nevertheless such expectations are indeed very widespread among the people, even though these would often enough be intuitive and affective rather than discursive and intellectual in character and origin. Why the prevalence of such expectations? To begin with, ardent desire for national independence as a republican²⁵ and democratic polity has prevailed among the people since the last decade of the 19th century, and this commitment to win and consolidate independence under a republican and democratic regime led to the outbreak of the Philippine Revolution of 1896, the establishment of the Philippine Republic in 1898, the fierce Philippine armed resistance to United States imperialism during the Philippine American War that broke out in 1899 and to Japanese imperialism during World War II, and the persevering campaign for independence that bore partial fruit in 1946, and still continues in the context of our undue dependence on foreign or transnational finance, technology, and cultural direction. Our people have maintained their republican and democratic aspirations in spite of the vicissitudes of war, internal armed conflict with insurgencies, and an almost fourteen-year (September 1972 to February 1986) period of martial law, probably because of their sensing that the objective and subjective benefits of democracy outweigh its difficulties and dangers, more than would be the case with other political arrangements. It happened that the AFP and its predecessor organizations took major part in all the above narrated struggles for national independence as a republican democracy. The people's expectation that the AFP would be defender of the nation, guardian of democracy, and servant of the people was established and still remains, because through the struggles and vicissitudes mentioned above, for the most part and for most of the time, the officers and enlisted personnel of the AFP and its predecessor

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ See the webpage "Organization" of the website "Armed Forces of the Philippines," the webpage having the URL <http://www.afp.mil.ph/0/org.php>, accessed on 10 September 2005.

²⁵ A republican state is a state wherein all government authority emanates from the people and is exercised by representatives chosen by the people. For this, see J. G. Bernas, S.J., *The 1987 Philippine Constitution: A Review-Primer*, 3rd ed., on p. 19,

organizations risked loss of physical liberty, of bodily health and integrity, and of this mortal form of life itself, precisely in defending the nation, guarding democracy, and serving the people in these and other ways, in obedience to our laws and even beyond the strict call of duty. It was only during and since martial law that the AFP came to be seen by a significant segment of the people (mainly democrats whose rights were curtailed

under martial law, but also small but intensely committed groups of armed dissidents of Marxist-Leninist orientation, as well as secessionist movements among the predominantly Muslim ethnocultural groups in the southern Philippines) as an enemy of the nation, of democracy, and of the people. With the participation of the AFP in the overthrow of the Marcos regime and the reestablishment of formally democratic government in 1986, and the continuing role of the AFP in defending the consolidation of democracy against military adventurists and the Marxist-Leninist and the Muslim secessionist armed insurgencies, Philippine democrats have recovered or are on the way to recover their expectation that the AFP would be defender of the nation, guardian of democracy, and servant of the people. It is indeed heartwarming to recall that for most of their recent history, the AFP and its predecessors carried out well and at times even heroically their duties as defender of the nation, guardian of democracy, and servant of the people. This can be justly claimed for the conduct of the AFP and its predecessors in the Philippine Revolution of 1896, the Philippine-American War, World War II (Bataan, Corregidor, guerrilla resistance to and liberation from the Japanese invaders), the Korean War, the campaign against the Communist insurgency, the restoration of formal democracy in 1986, and its consolidation since then and on to the present. Knowing the self-sacrificial service that the AFP and its predecessors rendered, the generation of Philippine males born just before or during World War II was proud to be associated with the AFP by taking serious part in Preparatory Military Training (PMT) while in High School, and training to be a reserve officer through the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC). How proud that generation of young men was to take PMT and ROTC, and to be commissioned as a reserve officer. For the men of that generation PMT and ROTC served as part of their rites of passage to adult manhood. Those of our people who were adults in the 1950s and early 1960s enjoyed the relative prosperity, cohesion and optimism of our nation and the relative high morale and sense of wellbeing of the AFP. They were aware, as some of us are now aware, that the prosperity, cohesion, high morale, sense of wellbeing, and optimism of the nation and the AFP in those times were the fruit of the sacrifices of our forebears, of our sacred departed. Indeed for those of that generation and those before them, and perhaps for many of our people who are alive today, the AFP was one of the chief symbols, and in a way the backbone, of our independent national dignity and strength. But our present mortal form of life passes away quickly. Societal reality tends to change with increasing velocity. The individual and collective memory and attention of human beings can be fleeting, quite incomplete, and biased or prejudiced. Moreover the fabric of contemporary civilization, with all its economic, political, and cultural achievements, though apparently tough and enduring, is actually rather fragile and in many ways ephemeral, more so since the processes and products of technology are not self-generated and self-directed but rather emerge from and are employed according to the decisions of human beings, who are limited in knowledge and wisdom and ambivalent in moral character. Thus we realize with sorrow and apprehension that what was won by our ancestors through arduous struggle can easily be lost. We realize that the preservation and consolidation of the societal gains of our forebears needed constant vigilance and arduous effort, which many among succeeding generations of our people were unwilling or unable to contribute. We realize that the glorious achievements of past generations of our people and of the AFP, in terms of our nationhood, our democracy, and service to our people, are being diminished and

are in grave danger of being extinguished and replaced with some form or other of new barbarism that will plunge our country into deepening societal disorder, destitution, and despair. So today we are in such a time of grave danger. Today we live in a time of deepening national crisis, in which the AFP participates, and the PNP as well. Still we hope and trust that with the grace of our compassionate God we will be able as a people to address this crisis with intelligence, courage, energy, and persevering commitment to the common good, and so emerge from this crisis purified and strengthened as a people.

(C) A Description of the Present National Crisis as a Whole

(1) Revolutionary situation aggravated by political crisis

Our present national crisis is correctly described as a revolutionary situation aggravated by a political crisis. The country is in the grip of a political crisis largely because of the chronic inability of the present political system to effectively attend to the economic and cultural problems of Philippine society that are at the root of the revolutionary situation that the country is in now. Not only that, the political system, as it is, has heavily contributed to bringing into being this revolutionary situation, and the crisis that the system is undergoing is in fact aggravating the situation. The Philippines is indeed in a revolutionary situation.²⁶ A revolutionary situation has at least three necessary characteristics:

- (1) The existing societal arrangements have become deeply dysfunctional, causing a major worsening of the quality of life of many members of the society.
- (2) Very many if not the majority of the people are deeply discontented with existing societal arrangements, and desire that major changes in society (changes at least in the political system, but very often also in economic arrangements and cultural patterns) take place rapidly.
- (3) There exist within society organized groups of significant strength that are actively pursuing revolutionary change with real possibilities of success.

These characteristics of a revolutionary situation certainly exist in the Philippines today. Most of our people are experiencing increasing difficulty in pursuing their basic life goals. There is a growing clamor for change among the people, mediated and amplified by organized groups. What needs to be clarified for most of our people is the direction and manner of change--what societal model and form of government to aim at constructing, and what means are to be used to pursue that aim.

²⁶ A "revolutionary situation" is the second stage of a revolutionary process, which can be said to usually consist of three stages. The first stage is called "revolutionary mood," and the final stage is called "revolutionary crisis." A revolutionary mood obtains when there is widespread desire for radical sociopolitical change among the people, but no groups have emerged that could lead or effect change. The next stage is called "revolutionary situation." A revolutionary situation is one in which there is widespread desire for radical sociopolitical change among the people, groups have emerged that could lead or effect change; the prevailing system is under serious attack, the holders of state power are hard put to maintain the system or change it in the direction they want; societal institutions are under serious challenge; and there are real prospects of seizure of power by forces other than the present besieged wielders of state power. The third stage, called a "revolutionary crisis," is one in which widespread desire for radical sociopolitical change among the people; groups have emerged that could lead or effect change; the prevailing system and societal institutions are facing extreme challenge by organized forces, or are breaking down into chaos; and the besieged holders of state power are hard put to maintain their grip or are on the verge of losing it to a competing force.

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The many grave and long-standing societal problems that make life increasingly burdensome for an ever greater proportion of our people have brought us to this revolutionary situation. Changes of government in the recent past held out the promise of fundamental societal changes that would lift our people from poverty, establish social equality, and equip our people with the attitudes, knowledge, and skills that make for authentic societal peace and progress. The successive sets of political leaders that came to state power since the Philippines became an independent republic in 1946 were not able to bring about the beneficial fundamental societal changes that would achieve the fulfillment of this promise of social equality, peace and progress. It is time that as a people we resolutely embark on identifying and carrying out the fundamental societal changes needed for the lasting good of our people, especially of the poor. In order to bring about these changes we must overcome the errors and deficiencies of past efforts at beneficial societal change in the Philippines. These errors and deficiencies did not stem only from a lack of good intentions and good character. It can be plausibly claimed that many of our people and some of our leaders had and have much love for our country, our people, humankind and creation. They were committed to justice and freedom, and were focused and persevering in the pursuit of their patriotic, humanistic, and beneficent endeavors. But somehow they did not succeed, because sincerity, good intentions, and a good character, though necessary, are not sufficient to bring about victory in the struggle for the liberation of our people from ignorance, destitution, and servitude. As a precondition to successfully tackling this revolutionary situation, one has to clearly identify the **societal conditions** that are giving rise to this situation, and sufficiently understand the **historical process** that form the background and paved the way for these societal conditions. In a groundwork paper like this, the description of these societal conditions and this historical process has to be very concise.

(2) Societal conditions giving rise to the revolutionary situation

In terms of societal conditions, it suffices to present three sets of paragraphs describing in a summary way what are arguably the three main systems of Philippine society: the **economic system**²⁷, the **political system**²⁸, and the **cultural system**²⁹, and another set of paragraphs pointing out and describing certain **factors that help configure the specific character of the ongoing Philippine societal crisis**.

(a) the economic system

²⁷ The economic system refers to the material conditions of life. This includes food, clothing, housing, employment, and wages and other forms of income. The economic system is also concerned with the means of production, as well as with the distribution and the use of the products and services in a given society. For example, the reality that most inhabitants of the rural areas of the Philippines earn their livelihood from relatively backward agriculture and fishing is a datum describing the economic system.

²⁸ The political system refers to the patterns and arrangement of civil, legal and military power in a given society, especially in the aspect of decision-making regarding the policies in appropriating the finances and other resources of the state and of society. The fact that the Ramos administration maintained and even expanded the private ownership of most of the means of production and exchange is included within the political system. So is the fact that the Ramos administration relied on indirect taxes such as the value-added tax to produce the bulk of government revenues.

²⁹ The cultural system refers to the beliefs, values and viewpoints held by the whole of a given society or by a large part of that society, together with the actions and customs which result from these beliefs, values, and viewpoints. The noteworthy closeness of children to their parents within the Philippine family is included within the cultural system.

From an **economic** viewpoint, the basic structure of Philippine society at present may be

described as a patriarchal³⁰ dependent neoliberal capitalist system³¹ with remaining areas of feudalism.³² Within the present neoliberal capitalism that overwhelmingly dominates the world, the Philippine economy has a role that is heavily dependent on and subordinate to the autonomous and comprehensively developed capitalism of the industrialized countries. Philippine capitalism is dependent, in the sense that to produce goods and services it relies largely not on finances and technology generated in the Philippines, but by what other countries actually make available, according to their own national interest. Being fundamentally a dependent capitalism, the Philippine economy is backward, disarticulated and unevenly developed. Backwardness means being mired in mass poverty from lack of access to capital and up-to-date technology, resulting in low economic productivity. Disarticulation means not being able to carry out with one's own resources all of the steps in production--from the collection or extraction of raw materials or information, to the intermediate processing thereof, to the making of high value-added finished goods or specialized services. The uneven development of the Philippine economy is seen in its extremely class-divided character, in which a small minority enjoy a disproportionately large share of the benefits of economic growth and modernization, while the great majority carry a disproportionately large share of burdens connected therewith. The uneven development of the Philippine economy is also evident in the more severe backwardness and disarticulation of the rural aspect of the Philippine economy, in contrast to the relatively developed urban aspect thereof. This uneven development has an urban aspect too, as seen in the contrast between the developed economy of the financial districts of the urban areas and the subsistence-level informal economy characterizing our huge urban poor communities. Under present conditions of the world market, the dependent character of the Philippine economy makes for a chronic deficit in the balance of trade and of payments. This depletes capital from the economy, which stunts further growth and hinders comprehensive development. Thus the Philippine economy is always in crisis or on the verge of crisis.

30Patriarchy is the ideology and the system of social organization based on father-dominance, which underlies the dichotomous dualism of many cultures. The paradigmatic dominance-subordination dualism is that between husband-father and wife, a dualism that is intrinsically sexual and that involves the extension of the attribution of superiority to all that is perceived as masculine, and of inferiority to all that is perceived as feminine

31Neoliberalism or neoliberal capitalism advocates a return to a certain understanding of free enterprise, which sees society, both domestic and international, primarily as a market, in which everyone is both a producer and a consumer, and in which the free operation of market forces (supply and demand) (untrammelled by government regulation) at both the national and international levels will promote, as though by a hidden hand, the common good, consumers being given access to the best products at the cheapest prices, and the most efficient producers gaining the most profits. Neoliberal capitalism advocates a new version of the principle of comparative advantage, according to which each production unit, whether an enterprise, region or country, should concentrate on producing or providing the commodities or services that it can most efficiently produce or provide, and exchange these with the commodities and services of other production units. Neoliberal capitalism demands for its adequate functioning a dismantling of national protectionist economic systems and the integration of economies, whether in regional blocs, or whether in a total world or global economy. 32Feudalism is the economic system based on agriculture, and which in addition possesses the following characteristics. First, large tracts of agricultural land are owned by relatively few private individuals (feudal landowners or landlords). Second, most of this land is cultivated by relatively numerous poor peasants working individually or in family units on small

parcels of lands rented from the landlords. Third, the peasants generally use simple agricultural implements and methods in cultivating the land. Fourth, a large part of the crop or of the financial proceeds from the crop is taken from the peasants by the landlords in the form of land rent

The Philippine economy is patriarchal, so that women bear the burden of systemic economic discrimination, suffering more from unemployment and underemployment, being fired first and rehired last, and often receiving less pay and less benefits for the same work.

(b) the political system

From a **political** viewpoint, the Philippines is at present governed essentially according to a dysfunctional patriarchal liberal democratic framework dominated by traditional politicians. Liberal democracy stresses liberty, and depends upon private initiative and formal equality before the law to bring about social equality. This social equality is not too difficult to achieve under the rules of a liberal democracy, if there is not too much economic inequality among the citizenry, and if the legal system works in such a manner that formal equality before the law translates largely into real equality. However, in a situation of great economic disparities and a poorly functioning legal system, such as what obtains in the Philippines, the formal liberty and equality of liberal democracy ends up actually producing wanton privilege for the wealthy few, and constraints and disadvantage for the poor majority. Liberal democracy is faulty in that it is contented with equal formal rights and does not emphasize equal social power. The dysfunctions of liberal democracy in the Philippines are worsened by patriarchy, the lack of authentic politics³³ and the preponderance of "traditional politics."³⁴ In the Philippine political system, patriarchy is evident in the under-representation of women in public office at all levels of government and in the leadership of most political parties and movements. An important feature of Philippine liberal democracy, especially as distorted by traditional politics, is bureaucrat capitalism³⁵ and undue landlord influence in government (though to a much lesser extent than before, with the displacement of feudalism by capitalist agriculture as a mode of production). An additional feature of the Philippine political system, related to the dependent character of the Philippine economy, is interference by neocolonialist interests in the crafting and implementation of public policy.

(c) the cultural system

From a **cultural** viewpoint, we can say that Philippine society has some sound values such as sensitivity to personal needs, strong regard for the family, and resiliency in the face of hardships. At the same time, Philippine society is heavily influenced by colonial mentality, excessive personalism and family-centeredness, patriarchy, prescientific worldview, and escapism.

33 "Authentic politics" is political activity directed toward what the aim of politics should be, which is none other than the common good. It is characterized by the prominence of considerations of ideology or worldview, well-developed programs of government, and qualifications for public office, as well as honest, orderly and meaningful elections

34 "Traditional politics," as the term has come to mean in the Philippines, is political activity directed according to narrow considerations not related to the common good. It is characterized by the prominence of considerations of personalities and patronage, and the propensity to resort to fraud or coercion

35 "Bureaucrat capitalism" refers to a situation or arrangement in which capitalists who hold or control public office misuse public office by misdirecting the formulation and implementation of laws and public policy to favor their own economic interests, rather than the common good.

Centuries of economic and political subjugation by foreigners resulted in the internalization by our ancestors of much of the worldview of foreign conquerors. Part of this worldview was a narrow, often racist ethnocentric idea of culture, which considered Europeans and their colonialist emigrants to the Americas and Oceania as the prime analogate of humanity, and European culture and its extensions to the Americas and to Oceania as the prime analogate of culture. To this day, many if not most Filipinos still measure their worth--in values, customs and mores, physical appearance, language, literature, music, apparel, interpretation of history, and so forth--not according to standards most appropriate for themselves and their interests as a nation, but according to the internalized standards of foreigners, including the most superficial and senseless fads. Philippine culture is extremely oriented to personal relations and to the family. Consequently it is relatively easy for Filipinos to disregard the common good for the sake of cultivating pleasant personal relationships or advancing the immediate interests of the family. Philippine culture is still largely patriarchal, in that the society imposes a double standard of sexual morality (strict on women, lax on men), somewhat narrowly stereotypes the types of professions and occupation acceptable for women, and expects subordination of women to men. The uneven development of the Philippine economy combines with the inequitable distribution of opportunities for modern education caused by bureaucrat capitalist and landlord control of government, to produce a result by which very many Filipinos are still stuck in a prescientific worldview. Part of the latter is fatalism, since the awareness of the capabilities of science and technology for changing reality comes with modern education. The heavy physical and psychological burdens of life for the poor and marginalized majority in Philippine society, combined with a sense of helplessness at their lack of social power to change their situation, lead many Filipinos to seek psychological relief in escapist entertainment. In this way, they seek to escape the grimness of Philippine societal reality, if only for a short while. Of course, the foregoing description of the structural characteristics of Philippine society needs nuancing. There are desirable aspects in the structure of Philippine society, especially in the political, cultural, and religious systems. No product of human endeavor is completely bad. The overall impression, however, is one of a profound and intractable problematic. Because of this impression-- certainly a justifiable one--some authors³⁶ consider the Philippines to have been in permanent crisis at least since the early 1960s. This crisis has certain recurrent climactic points, characterized by political upheavals, such as the imposition of martial law, the People Power Revolution of 1986, the *coup d'etat* attempts of August 1987 and December 1989, the ouster of former President Joseph Estrada in January 2001, and the continuing political turmoil since his ouster. Nevertheless the crisis has been practically permanent, and will remain in existence and even worsen unless the necessary structural remedies—the correct package of economic, political and cultural policies--is implemented. This paper, on its part, reserves the term “crisis” for the recurrent climactic points mentioned above, and uses the term “pre-crisis” for any of the periods in which the conditions that will bring about the next crisis are evolving. This choice of vocabulary is meant to avoid being labeled “alarmist,” and more important, to elicit, not resignation and despair, but rather, anger and resolve to help bring about the liberating transformation of Philippine society.

(d) certain factors that help configure the specific character of the ongoing Philippine societal crisis

36Cf. Alejandro Lichauco (*The Philippine Crisis*. Manila: Citizens Committee on the National Crisis, 1993).

Three factors are most important in bringing about the specific character of the present Philippine crisis: first, the **approaching exhaustion of the ecological carrying capacity of the Philippines**; second, **rapid change**; third, **globalization**. The **approaching exhaustion of the ecological carrying capacity³⁷ of the Philippines** makes the task of promoting ecological consciousness³⁸ and effectively protecting and rehabilitating the natural environment of the Philippines take on the dimensions of an emergency.

The world today is characterized by a dizzying pace of **discontinuous change**—mainly technological, but with profound economic, political and cultural consequences and associations. This change is unprecedented in its breadth, radical in its depth, and largely uncharted in possibilities for the future.³⁹ This underscores the need for agility and flexibility of response, while remaining faithful to the basic principles and broad programmatic goals of authentic humanism. The accelerating process of **globalization** has bound the Philippines closely, for better or for worse, with the predominantly neoliberal global economy, politics and culture. Since globalization is a relatively new phenomenon, it is helpful to give some fundamental information in its regard. By “globalization” is meant the integrative process of worldwide scope, spurred on by new technology especially in communications, information and transport, primarily within the framework of a neoliberal market economy. This integrative process simultaneously involves financial, technological, industrial and commercial aspects, as well as political procedures and pressures, together with some cultural and ideological elements. Globalization presents humankind with opportunities for a richer and fuller life. It could give access to markets for developing countries and make a great variety of quality products available at lower prices to more people. It could lead to a lessening of international political and military tensions and to global political integration. It could lead to the enriching of cultures by mutual exchange of attitudes, insights and artifacts. Globalization could make nations and people truly interdependent in peace, progress and prosperity. Such a desired goal of globalization will not come about automatically, and in fact meets with many obstacles. Incorrectly carried out, it is bound to result, on one hand, in the enrichment of the minority of men and women who have the money, knowledge and skills to take part in the expanding global market for goods and services, and on the other hand, in worse impoverishment and marginalization of the majority who do not possess this money, knowledge and skills. In other words, globalization could end up in a situation of greater dependence of the many poor on the few rich, rather than in a really interdependent world. True interdependence will not come about by the sheer play of market forces; it needs to be fostered deliberately by carefully formulated and implemented public policy. Globalization exerts pressure upon business enterprises to be more competitive. Such pressure on business enterprises, in conjunction with urbanization, has certain effects on the labor market, which

37“Carrying capacity” refers to the maximum rate of resource consumption and waste discharge that can be sustained indefinitely in a given region without progressively impairing the functional integrity and productivity of relevant ecosystems

38“Ecological consciousness” refers to the awareness that has grown in recent decades, of the fact that how human beings treat the natural environment has critical implications. Minimally, ecological consciousness calls to mind physical survival, material prosperity, and good stewardship. In its more

ample sense, ecological consciousness is also concerned with psychospiritual growth, maturity and fulfillment.

39C.f. Workers' Satellite (Official Publication of the Philippine Social Institute - Federation of Free Workers) (Manila), vol. 7, no. 1, January to April 1995

endanger the human rights of workers. These effects, which we ought to address, include the following: flexibilization (casual, contractual and piece rate employment); shift from wage employment to selfemployment; entry of more women into the labor force, under discriminatory conditions that lead to the further erosion of the bargaining position of workers in relation to management; prominence of labor mobility as a consideration at the microeconomic and macroeconomic level. Globalization is likely to result in the excessive erosion of the sovereignty of weaker nations and of the self-determination of communities, at the hands of the economically, politically and militarily stronger nations, as well as at the hands of transnational corporations. There is need to defend the autonomy and the legitimate interests of nations and communities. Under the guise of a "global culture," globalization could abet the propagation of an individualistic, amoral, consumerist-pornographic "culture" originating from the wealthy countries. Such a "culture" is destructive of ethico-spiritual values. Moreover, it is productive of psychological malaise among the peoples of the poorer countries who have not contributed to that "culture" that is being relentlessly propagated in the media. It is urgent to mount a countercultural defense against such a destructive pseudoculture, through the definition and propagation of a value-laden and historically conscious national culture. A humanizing globalization is therefore not a foregone conclusion, but a difficult project to be undertaken systematically and with determination. So far this paper has briefly described the **societal structural conditions** that characterize and give rise to the revolutionary situation.

(3) The historical process producing the societal conditions of the revolutionary situation

This paper will now proceed to concisely narrate the **historical process** that form the background and paved the way for these societal structural conditions of the revolutionary situation. The narration will begin with the formal political independence of the Philippines in 1946, and will focus on why after six decades of formal political independence the Philippines remains socially backward and is in retrogression with respect to the attainment of a good life for the people according to the authentically humanist criteria of the common good. After World War II the government of the United States of America eventually conferred political "independence" upon the Philippines, after more than three years of generally brutal Japanese imperialist occupation of the country. But this grant of political "independence" marked the transition of the Philippines from colonialism to neocolonialism. The Philippines, from being a colony, became a neocolony—having formal political independence, but with an economy dependent upon and controlled by the United States, and with sovereignty impaired by United States extraterritoriality, military bases and parity rights. The successive administrations governing the Philippines since the grant of formal political "independence" have to a great extent been dependent on the approval and support of the military, commercial and industrial interests which mold the policy of the government of the United States. The greater part of the wealthy minority in the Philippines who control domestic economic, political and social power continue to serve as social bases of the

foreign interests which support them and share with them in disproportionately benefiting from the labor of the economically, politically and socially marginalized majority of the people of the Philippines. During the first two decades after formal political independence in 1946, Philippine society could be described as a country dominated by U.S. neocolonialism, in which feudal and dependent domestic capitalist forces and structures of Philippine society served as social bases for U.S. imperialism. Initially the feudal elements were the stronger of these two social bases of U.S. imperialism. However, with the growing urbanization of Philippine society and with the spread of dependent capitalist relations all over the country and even into the countryside, the dependent domestic capitalist elements displaced the feudal elements from being the stronger of these two social bases of U.S. imperialism. There was no fundamental conflict among these elements, because they were for the most part related by blood or by marriage. Meantime, the condition of the Philippine masses—peasants and small fisherfolk, workers and small bourgeoisie--continued to worsen. Along with this, patriarchy still continued to characterize Philippine society. This U.S. neocolonialist - feudal -dependent capitalist and patriarchal configuration of Philippine society continued until the 1980s, when the Philippine problematic changed its shape. In spite of the growth in numbers, economic holdings and political clout of domestic capitalist elements since formal political independence in 1946, the Philippines has not been able to attain the transition to an autonomous and modern capitalist economy. The dominant landed segment of the domestic capitalist elements that could have decisively induced an autonomous and comprehensive industrialization failed to do so. Factors leading to their failure included their continuing ties to feudal or backward agrarian capitalist land tenure or to primary industries such as logging and mining, from which they extracted huge profits. Thus they had no strong incentive to commit themselves to industrialization based on manufacturing of a whole array of products—consumer items, intermediate products, and capital goods—characteristic of a mature modern economy. Controlled by these domestic capitalist elements, the Philippine economy failed to make the transition from the early easy type of import substitution industrialization to the later difficult type of import substitution industrialization. (The early easy type of import substitution industrialization consists in the domestic manufacture of substitutes for imported consumer goods. The difficult later type of import substitution industrialization consists in the domestic manufacture of substitutes for imported intermediate products and capital goods and the attainment of an autonomous technological research and development capability.) Once the growth potential of import substitution of consumer goods was exhausted toward the middle of the 1960s, the Philippine economy went into chronic crisis caused by a persistently negative balance of trade and a resulting shortage of capital for modernization. Most domestic capitalists, because of their ties with feudal or backward agrarian capitalist land tenure, also blocked agrarian reform, thereby obstructing any improvement in the income of the rural masses and therefore stunting the growth of the domestic market for the products of industry. Domestic capitalists also controlled the state. They directed the decisions of the state away from lines of rational and consistent policy in pursuit of the common good, and turned these decisions toward favoring particular interests by skewed policies or by unwarranted exceptions from rational policies. Thus a relatively autonomous and sufficiently strong developmentalist state could not emerge. Consequently, there did not come to be any overarching

institution that could direct the transformation of wealth based on land, logging and mining into industrial capital. Not surprisingly, rural and urban poverty became wider in scope and worse in degree, more so with rapid growth in population and the exhaustion of the land frontier. Societal discontent and conflict began to spread and deepen. This problem still remains unsolved. By the start of the 1990s there took place a change in the configuration of the Philippine societal problematic, to some extent reflecting changes in the international situation, especially the increasing scope and depth of globalization of the neoliberal⁴⁰ kind. This is how Philippine society is now. To reiterate, from an economic viewpoint, the basic structure of Philippine society at present may be described as a patriarchal dependent neoliberal capitalist system with remaining areas of feudalism. From a political viewpoint, the Philippines is at present governed essentially according to a dysfunctional patriarchal liberal democratic framework dominated by traditional politicians. From a cultural viewpoint we can say that Philippine society has some sound values such as sensitivity to personal needs, strong regard for the family, and resiliency in the face of hardships. At the same time Philippine society is heavily influenced by colonial mentality, excessive personalism and familycenteredness, patriarchy, prescientific worldview, and escapism. Our brief historical narrative has finally arrived at its designed end point—the present structural characteristics of Philippine society, which make Philippine society the fertile seedbed of revolution.

(4) Concrete focus on the political system: corruption, inefficiency, collusion with antidemocratic forces

Using the framework of some versions of societal structural analysis⁴¹ one can plausibly affirm that in Philippine society today the political system is the “dominant system” “Dominant system” is the term for the societal system in a particular society which is the most directly decisive for the maintenance of that society or for effecting relatively rapid change therein. The dominant system is the societal system that should be controlled by any group which desires to maintain, or to change in a relatively rapid way, the existing societal arrangements. In some societies, such as Iran today and Tibet before its occupation by the People’s Republic of China, the religious system⁴² may be considered to be or to have been the dominant system. In regimes

⁴⁰Neoliberalism or neoliberal capitalism advocates a return to a certain understanding of free enterprise, which sees society, both domestic and international, primarily as a market, in which everyone is both a producer and a consumer, and in which the free operation of market forces (supply and demand) (untrammelled by government regulation) at both the national and international levels will promote, as though by a hidden hand, the common good, consumers being given access to the best products at the cheapest prices, and the most efficient producers gaining the most profits. Neoliberal capitalism advocates a new version of the principle of comparative advantage, according to which each production unit, whether an enterprise, region or country should concentrate on producing or providing the commodities or services that it can most efficiently produce or provide, and exchange these with the commodities and services of other production units. Neoliberal capitalism demands for its adequate functioning a dismantling of national protectionist economic systems and the integration of economies, whether in regional blocs, or whether in a total world or global economy, more often than not in an asymmetrical manner, with dominant and dependent, central and peripheral aspects. Neoliberal capitalism or economic neoliberalism has liberal democracy as its political corollary liberal democracy, and postmodernist cultural and ethical individualism as its cultural associate.

⁴¹To carry out accurate societal structural analysis one needs to understand and employ the theoretical framework of societal structural dynamics. The leading principle for understanding societal structural dynamics (the structural patterns of society) is the fact that society is composed of interrelated and interacting systems. Each of these systems has its meaning, function, and influence on the whole of society

and on the other systems within this society, for the maintenance or change of the foregoing. In addition, the structure, meaning, and influence of these systems is usually hidden from the consciousness of the persons within a society, and careful investigation and reasoning is needed in order to discover and clarify these structures, meanings, and influences. The most important systems that compose society are the following: the economic system, the political system, the cultural system, the religious system, the ideological system, and the social system. The ideological system is an important part of the cultural system.

42 The religious system refers to the beliefs, values, viewpoints, actions, and customs characterizing a whole society or a large part of that society, when these are deemed to originate from a supernatural or transcendent source, as for example from God. The noteworthy closeness and obedience of the children to their parents within the Philippine family, when this closeness and obedience is due to the internalization by the children of God's commandment to honor and obey one's parents (within the bounds of moral law), is included within the religious system.

strictly governed according to an ideology, such as Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge, the ideological system could be considered, though with much stretching of concepts, as the dominant system.⁴³ In the **Philippine situation**, however, in which there are many religions and ideologies with considerable following, and in which therefore the power of any religion or ideology within the whole society is not overwhelming, the **political system** is the **dominant system**. Since the political system is the dominant system in Philippine society, it stands to reason that if one wishes to rapidly change Philippine society for the better, one first has to focus on the political system, striving to attain sufficient grasp of its characteristics, problems, and possibilities. For this reason this paper next presents, in broad strokes and in a more concrete way than that in the section on the structural characteristics of the political system earlier presented in this paper, some of the most serious problems of the political system, problems that have to be taken into account in proposing the radical reform of Philippine society. It is widely known that **corruption** and **inefficiency** are two of the worst ills of the Philippine political system, rendering the latter unresponsive to the common good. The public is aware, often from dire experience as victims, of the large proportion of government and government-accessed funds that public service loses because of corruption. The citizenry is also aware about with how much delay many urgent public needs are addressed by the government, if at all, because of inefficiency. It is a bitter truism the prevalent political culture and practice in the Philippines is among the major factors leading to the above mentioned corruption and inefficiency. It is a political culture and practice that is too much tied to particularistic promotion of private economic interests, personalities, patronage, and collusion with various political formations that employ coercive violence. Consequently, far too many public officials obtain elected or appointive office because of influence exerted on their behalf by certain industrial and commercial interests, or because they have access to huge sums of money to use for their candidacies, or they belong to well-known political families whose names enjoy high rates of recall among voters, or they are entertainment celebrities, or they were able to borrow large sums of money to finance their campaign and hence have to repay political debts to creditors. Far too many public officials are able to call upon the intimidating if not coercive power of deviant elements in the AFP and the PNP or the armed insurgents of the Communist Party of the Philippines-1968 (CPP- 1968)⁴⁴ – New People's Army (NPA) – National Democratic Front (NDF) complex and their party-list projections. (Henceforth, for the sake of brevity and stylistic smoothness, the CPP-1968 shall be referred to simply as CPP.) Corruption and inefficiency are the signs and symptoms of a weak state—poor in delivering even

basic public services, ineffective even in defending its legitimate interests against its enemies and the

43 The ideological system refers to the beliefs, values and viewpoints which aim to give reason and meaning to the history, situation, and future of a group, and also to give the group a basis for analyzing, criticizing, or advocating particular societal arrangements, whether past, present, or future. The stand that democracy is the most humane type of political system is included within the ideological system. The fact that critical realism and authentic humanism comprise the theoretical framework which guides many Philippine social democrats in their struggle for the common good of the Filipino people is also part of the ideological system.

44 This refers to the Maoist-oriented Marxist-Leninist Party that Jose Ma. Sison organized in conjunction with his splitting, in 1968, the original Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP). The latter, founded in 1930, is often referred to as CPP-1930. It sided with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in the Sino-Soviet conflict within the international Marxist-Leninist camp, which a conflict that became sharp and well-nigh irreconcilable in the early 1960s. The official date of foundation of Jose Ma. Sison's party is 26 December 1968. It took the side of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in the Sino-Soviet conflict. Over the years the CPP-1968 has far outstripped the CPP-1930 in numbers and influence, and the CPP-1930 has become marginal in Philippine politics, while the CPP-1968 grew to the point of being a real contender for state power in the mid-1980s. Thus, for the sake of brevity, the acronym CPP, henceforth in this work, will refer to Sison's CPP-1968.

enemies of the people, and impaired in the capacity to plan and implement a comprehensive agenda for national societal development. This deadly combination of evil causes and effects affects all branches of government—executive, legislative, judicial. It affects even the constitutional commissions, such as the Commission on Elections and the Commission on Audit. The prevailing political system in our country is evidently quite remote from an authentic politics based on worldviews, analytical and synthetic understanding of world and national problematics, programs of government, strategies and tactics, and deep understanding of political social and ethical realities and their challenges and dangers, possibilities and opportunities. The appalling situation of the Philippine political system is worsened by collusion of intimidated or opportunistic politicians, with antidemocratic forces of the extreme right but especially with the Marxist-Leninist extreme left. This collusion involves politicians in power or vying for power, from the level of the barangay to that of national-level elected office. This collusion with the Marxist-Leninist extreme left is particularly widespread with the Reaffirmist⁴⁵ groups such as the CPP, the NPA, and the NDF. In the course of this collusion these politicians provide the CPP–NPA–NDF forces with votes for the latter's candidates for national office (including party-list candidacies) and local office, legal cover for their personnel, organizations and activities, and financial and logistical support such as firearms and ammunition, motor vehicles, rice and other foodstuff, medicine, communication equipment, audiovisual and printed campaign material, computers, office rental, and the like. This collusion with the Marxist-Leninist extreme left constitutes flagrant and unconscionable betrayal on the part of these politicians against our nation, our democracy, and against the men and women of the AFP and PNP. The firearms and ammunition and other forms of support they give to the CPP deal injury and death to personnel of the AFP and the PNP and their auxiliaries, who habitually risk or even offer their lives so that these politicians, among others, may benefit from the democratic rights and freedoms provided for in the Constitution and the other laws of our country. Consequently a growing number of our people have given up on the kind of political system dominant in the Philippines today. They regard with contempt and anger those who operate this political system that they consider hopelessly

decadent. Some of them, including elements from the military and the police, have joined groups that have taken up arms or have joined plots to put an end to this deeply flawed political system and replace it with one that is responsive to the real and urgent needs of the people. Indeed the scandalous condition of the Philippine political system is the best medium for the growth of various insurgencies and of the urge to direct political intervention felt by some elements in the military. Witness to the latter is the series of *coups d'état* and attempts at *coups d'état* launched by elements of the military and the police since the twilight years of the Marcos regime.

(5) Underperceived and underattended threats to the nation: focus on the CPP-1968, the NPA, and the NDF

45 After the reverses suffered by the CPP – NPA – NDF in connection with nonparticipation in the 1986 snap elections and People Power regime change, the CPP suffered a crisis, which party Chairman Jose Ma. Sison, using the pseudonym "Armando Liwanag," tried to resolve through a series of guidelines, especially those in the paper "Reaffirm Our Basic Principles and Rectify Errors," released in 1992. These guidelines basically called for a return to Maoist strategic principles in the struggle to seize state power, these consisting in primacy to rural-based protracted armed struggle and political work, and the insistence that the Philippine situation is still semicolonial and semifeudal. In the polemics that followed the CPP-1968 suffered a split. Those who accepted Jose Ma. Sison's guidelines have become known as the "Reaffirmists," while those who did not accept these and either left the party or were expelled from it have come to be called "Rejectionists."

The incessant turmoil in recent "mainstream" Philippine politics has given rise to dangerous side-effects, among them the underperception of and insufficient attention to other major threats to the nation, to democracy, and to the people. These often underperceived and underattended major threats include the following: (a) drug trafficking and narcopolitics; (b) the growth and increasing activity of extremist Islamist terrorist groups (such as *Abu Sayyaf*, *Jemaah-al-Islamiyah*, Rajah Sulaiman Revolutionary Movement, and the *Hukbong Khalil Trinidad*); and (c) the growth of Marxist-Leninist movements and of their capability for seizing state power. Fuller development of this paper should include some treatment of all these three underperceived and underattended major threats to the nation, to democracy, and to the people. For now, what follows will be remarks on some additional aspects of the threat from the greatest danger to national security and to democracy, none other than the "Reaffirmist" Marxist-Leninist groups organized in the CPP, the NPA, and the NDF and their various legal projections. By the end of the administration of President Corazon Aquino the CPP–NPA–NDF complex was clearly on the defensive, with the NPA reduced from some 25,000 fighters in 1987 to about 6,000 in 1992, and with the membership of the CPP, the NDF, and their legal fronts diminishing markedly. This trend came about by a combination of AFP military operations constricting the NPA base areas, social development in the countryside, hope for social reform through the newly restored democratic institutions and processes, relative economic stability (in spite of the damage to investor confidence caused by recurrent attempts at *coup d'état*), and the visible advocacy of people's issues by democratic mass organizations, many of these social democratic, which provided an alternative channel for the quest for social justice, good governance, and the redress of grievances. The Ramos administration (1992-1998) prematurely removed from the focus of government attention and effort the containment and definitive defeat of the armed struggle waged by the CPP-NPANDF. This was done presumably with the best of intentions, within the framework of the pursuit of national

unification and social reform. Republic Act 7636, which took effect 11 October 1992, repealed Republic Act 1700 as amended (Anti-Subversion Act), thus legalizing the CPP and therefore allowing it and the NDF unlimited activity. Moreover, staffing and funding for intelligence work was shifted from efforts directed at the Marxist-Leninist-led groups to economic intelligence and investigation. Though well-intentioned, these series of measures turned out to be ill-advised, for a number of reasons, some of which will be explained in the next paragraphs. In the first place, the Ramos administration did not realize that it had left relatively intact a critical mass of committed CPP cadres and seasoned NPA fighters, who could work even under relatively adverse conditions to make both the CPP and the NPA reverse their decline and resume growth. At the inception of the Ramos administration there were already effective and growing social democratic mass organizations that were competing with increasing success with Marxist-Leninist organizations for control or influence among various sectors of the population, especially among the basic masses (peasants and fisherfolk, urban and rural workers). The Ramos administration tried to put up its own network of Christian and Muslim Democrat mass organizations, and marginalized the social democratic mass organizations, instead of assisting them together with the Christian and Muslim Democrats, and encouraging them to cooperate. When the administration effort to build the Christian and Muslim Democrat mass organizations reaped scant success because of lack of sustained attention, effort, and funding, the resultant was a relative weakening of the broad democratic mass movement, leaving a vacuum that the CPP-NPA-NDF could fill once they recovered from their setbacks. Republic Act 7941 (An Act Providing for the Election of Party-List Representatives Through the Party-List System, Appropriating Funds Therefor), dated 3 March 1995, sought to implement Article VI, Section 5, paragraph (2) of the Constitution. This constitutional provision, as well as the foregoing specific implementing law was meant to ensure the representation of marginalized sectors in the legislature, no doubt a laudable aim. However, perhaps because of flaws in the formulation of the law, but certainly because of faulty implementation by the Commission on Elections (COMELEC), R.A. 7941, known for short as the Party-List Law, became the entry point for membership in the House of Representatives of persons who militantly support the CPP-NPA-NDF.⁴⁶ This has come about in part because the COMELEC did not bother to consult and take seriously the findings of government intelligence agencies concerning suspicious groups among those applying for COMELEC recognition as groups entitled to present candidacies in the party-list elections. From this failure of COMELEC has resulted the strange but deadly phenomenon of CPP-NPA-NDF partisans or allies getting elected to public office using the threat or the actual use of physical violence by the NPA, and once elected, using government funds in the tens of millions of pesos each year to support the politico-military effort of the CPP-NPA-NDF. Reliable reports have it that many CPP members and NPA elements double as campaigners for these party-list groups. Earlier this paper has mentioned the widespread collusion of intimidated or opportunistic politicians with the Marxist-Leninist extreme left, multiplying the political influence of the latter and strongly advancing their quest to seize state power. The danger that the CPP-NPA-NDF constitutes to the nation, to democracy, and to best interests of the people is heightened by “ideological naïveté” regarding the CPP-NPA-NDF among very many people in Philippine society. This “ideological naïveté” comes from lack of knowledge or

advertence to the thrust and concrete content of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy and practice that guides and is carried out in the CPP-NPA-NDF. A significant proportion of government bureaucrats and of the citizenry at large think that CPP-NPA-NDF cadres are simply militant nationalists or fighters for justice, people wishing to redress some injustice they or their families or friends have suffered. They are not aware or do not give importance to the fact that the CPP, which controls the NPA and the NDF, is an unreformed Marxist-Leninist party. As a typical Marxist-Leninist party, and one with a Stalinist bent, the CPP advocates a type of state socialism, whereby the greater part of the industrial means of production is owned by the state, but actually controlled by the Marxist-Leninist party (often called “Communist Party”) that totally controls the state. As a typical Marxist-Leninist party the CPP aims for a permanent monopoly of state power, because it claims to be the only authentic workers’ party and to be the vanguard of the working class. It considers the working class to be the most progressive class, destined by the operation of the “laws of historical materialism” (considered to be inexorable) to be the only remaining class in the final stage of human history, called “Communism”). Hence the CPP considers the working class, and itself as the party supposed to represent the interests of the working class, to be endowed with ethical privilege and priority. Within such a framework of ideas, the state is subordinate to the party and functions as an instrument of the Marxist-Leninist party. Hence the state serves as an instrument for the consolidation of the party’s permanent rule over society. The CPP, following Lenin and Stalin, expresses contempt

⁴⁶ In the May 2004 elections the following party-list groups controlled or heavily influenced by the CPP-NPA-NDF participated: *Bayan Muna*, *Anakpawis*, Gabriela Women’s Party, *Anak ng Bayan*, *Migrante*, and *Suara Bangsamoro*. *Bayan Muna* obtained three seats in the House of Representatives, *Anakpawis* two, and Gabriela Women’s Party one.

for democratic alternation in state power and for political pluralism, considering these as only the trappings of merely formal and hypocritical “bourgeois democracy.” As a typical Marxist-Leninist party, in the field of culture the CPP militantly professes dialectical and historical materialism⁴⁷—a determinist⁴⁸ and atheistic form of philosophy—and once in power, would give monopoly or at least a highly privileged status to dialectical and historical materialism in the use of the public channels of cultural transmission (school system and media of mass communications). Other worldviews, whether religious or philosophical, would be marginalized by the state and their advocates persecuted. The cultural monopoly by dialectical and historical materialism would be imposed by state coercion. As a typical Marxist-Leninist party, the CPP is generally negative to religion, considering it to have no objective basis in extramental reality (reality outside the mind of the believer). The CPP concedes a temporary progressive or revolutionary function to some forms of religion, but it considers religion to be ultimately alienating since it thinks of religion as being based on illusion or on mere psychological need. Hence it would establish a secularistic or hostile separation of religion and the state, with the state excluding religion from any effective influence in public life (public policy on economic, political, and sociocultural matters) independent of the Marxist-Leninist party and the state, and with religion confined to the sphere of private life (individual conscience, family, home, church buildings and facilities). The term “Stalinist,” describing political conduct like that of the ruthless Soviet dictator Iosip Vissarionovich Dzugashvili alias Stalin (1879-1953), is an adjective synonymous with totalitarianism or an all-controlling and brutally tyrannical regime. The term has been used to describe regimes that fight political

dissent through violence, imprisonment, and killings. The CPP can be correctly described as Stalinist. The Plaza Miranda bombing on 21 August 1971, which killed some innocent persons in the crowd and seriously injured many others, including some top Liberal Party leaders, such as former Senator Jovito R. Salonga, was ordered by Jose Ma. Sison in order to intensify the contradictions among the ruling bourgeois political forces and generate a revolutionary crisis.⁴⁹ To this day, neither Jose Ma. Sison nor the CPP has admitted, much less apologized, for the deaths and injuries inflicted by the Plaza Miranda bombing. It is also important to recall that the CPP, through the NPA, is in the habit of physically threatening unarmed members of political forces competing with them, and killing leaders and members of these forces, even of Democratic Socialist or social democratic ones, who also belong to the political Left. It is therefore extremely and dangerously naïve to think that CPP-NPA-NDF cadres are simply militant nationalists or fighters for justice, and not to be effectively aware that they are Marxist-Leninists with a Stalinist bent.

(6) Societal retrocession and its causes

⁴⁷ *The 1984 edition (designated by its publishers as "Bagong Edisyon") of the Batayang Kurso ng Partido (Basic Party Course) of the CPP has Materyalismong Dyalektiko for the title and content of its first chapter (pp. 1-27), and Materyalismong Istoriko for the title and content of its second chapter (pp. 28-50).*

⁴⁸ *Determinism in the sense used to describe Marxist-Leninist theory refers to the doctrine that assumes that all that exists is matter, and that the laws of matter explain everything, and that all the facts in the physical universe, and hence also in human history, are ultimately dependent upon their causes, which are purely material or "natural." It posits that societies have a general pattern of passing through a general sequence of stages, that the characteristics of each stage are determined by the existing material conditions of life (referring to the economic and technological systems), and that societal change from one stage to another occurs when the material conditions of society outgrows the political and cultural superstructure, with the breakdown of the latter (usually in a process involving physical and psychological violence) the construction of a new superstructure congruent to the new base.*

⁴⁹ *Victor N. Corpus, Silent War (Quezon City: VNC, 1989), 15-16.*

With the set of problems described above it is no wonder that the Philippines has not advanced in terms of human development, and has not even stood still. Our country has slid backwards in relation to many of our neighboring countries, and even in absolute terms, as has happened with our environmental resource base. This societal retrocession is the bitter fruit of failure that is both moral and technical. It is the result of mutually reinforcing failures of character, of knowledge, and of skill. It is the consequence of demoralization in two senses—in terms of morals (ethics and character) and of morale (self-respect, self-confidence, prudent optimism).

(D) A Description of How the AFP Partakes in the National Crisis

It is evident that the AFP partakes in our national crisis. Some of its officers and personnel have mired the AFP in corruption and inefficiency. Some of them, by ideological naïveté, endanger the nation, democracy, and the common good of our people. The duty-born roles of the AFP as defender of the nation, guardian of democracy, and defender of the people have been mocked, scorned, and betrayed, in deed if not in word, and at least have been neglected and taken for granted. For this reason the image and reputation of the AFP has suffered much deterioration among the citizenry and among AFP elements themselves, to the sorrow and pain of patriots in the AFP and among the citizenry at large, who wish to restore and improve its capabilities and its good name. What follows is a description of some of the forms that corruption and inefficiency

have taken in the AFP, to the detriment of its capability of performing its duties and of its reputation among the people.

(1) Corruption and inefficiency in the AFP

As the AFP pursues its missions, it has also been constantly hounded by its own share of problems and challenges as an organization and as an institution, problems and challenges that dispose to, result in, or perpetuate corruption and inefficiency. Organizationally, the defense establishment as a whole faces problems in systems and management, specifically in strategic planning, procurement and acquisition, budgeting and financial management, logistics, personnel management, and information management. Systemic deficiencies have caused capability gaps in the AFP operations and have engendered opportunities for malpractices like graft and corruption within the ranks. In terms of operations, the AFP lacks the basic capability to carry out internal security operations. The AFP currently experiences a backlog in its basic training and education, basic operational readiness in sea, air and land mobility, firepower, and communications. Its operational enablers such as health and medical support facilities are in poor condition. The AFP even suffers a dearth in basic equipment like radios, combat vests and boots, and other basic combat requirements. Recently, the issue of graft and corruption has beset the AFP as an institution. The many forms and instances of graft and corruption in the military include the following: (1) corruption in the AFP Retirement Service and Benefits System (RSBS); (2) the practice of “conversion,” (3) fraudulent acquisition of homes and lots in Fort Bonifacio; and (4) transfer of military arms and ammunition to persons outside the military establishment and anomalies in the construction of military facilities.⁵⁰ Ranking military officers have been linked with the latter issues, causing demoralization among the ranks of the AFP. These issues and other grievances triggered the Oakwood mutiny led by young AFP officers in July 2003. Moreover, the AFP continues to be vulnerable to graft and corruption and to the undue intervention of politicians with the existing promotions system. AFP officers are at the mercy of politicians either from the Commission on Appointments that confirms the officers’ promotion, or from whoever happens to be the incumbent President, who is also *ex officio* the AFP Commander-in-Chief. As a result of the graft and corruption issue, the public has developed a negative perception of the AFP. A relatively recent Pulse Asia survey for instance revealed that 80% of those who are aware of the reports of graft and corruption in the AFP actually believed such information. An even larger proportion of the respondents perceived that graft and corruption have been going in the AFP on for a long time, with an indicative 85% affirming such a perception. Of the entire set of respondents, a huge 92% say that the amount of money involved in such malpractices range from millions to billions of pesos.⁵¹ The survey undeniably indicates the weakening public credibility of the AFP. This weakening public credibility of the AFP and the corruption and inefficiency therein, with its reduced capability to carry out its missions, has given rise to serious discontent and restiveness among some AFP officers, especially younger ones,

(2) Ideological naïveté in the AFP

Just like many among the citizenry, some officers and personnel of the AFP underperceive the danger that the CPP-NPA-NDF constitutes to the nation, to democracy,

and to the common good of the people. This underperception of danger from these Reaffirmist Marxist-Leninist – led forces is in part due to ideological naïveté, proceeding from lack of knowledge of or advertence to the thrust and concrete content of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy and practice that guides and is carried out in the CPP-NPA-NDF. A surprisingly large number of officers and enlisted personnel of the AFP (and of police officers) are still captives of this ideological naïveté. Like many in the Philippine population at large, they think that CPP-NPA-NDF cadres are simply militant nationalists or fighters for justice, people wishing to redress some injustice they or their families or friends have suffered. They are not aware or do not give importance to the fact that the CPP, which controls the NPA and the NDF, is an unreformed Marxist-Leninist party, and as such, state socialist⁵² and commandist⁵³ in economics, antidemocratic in politics, culturally intolerant of any worldview that competes with dialectical and historical materialism, and hostile to and manipulative of religion. This lack of knowledge and this ideological naïveté in the AFP is a major factor in the relative lack of vigor and focus among some officers, enlisted personnel, and civilian staff in the thinking out

⁵⁰ Prof. Carolina Hernandez's Presentation entitled Academe Meets Government: Reforms to Redress Corruption in the Military, Forum on Academe Meets Government (Corruption in the Military?), Policy Dialogue Series 2004, Department of Political Science and Third World Studies Center, University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City, 18 February 2005.

⁵¹ Ulat ng Bayan Survey, Pulse Asia Probes on Military Graft and Corruption, Pulse Asia. The survey on the military graft and corruption conducted by Pulse Asia from 22 October to 6 November 2004 looked into the awareness, perceptions and opinions of 1,200 voting-age respondents distributed equally among the following areas: National Capital Region, Balance of Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao.

⁵² State socialism is a centralized form of socialism in which all or practically all the industrial means of production are owned by the state and in effect controlled by the party or group that holds state power..

⁵³ To be commandist in economics means to be for a command economy—one in which decisions on production and distribution of goods and services and the allocation of the surplus obtained by production units is determined by command or decision of the state through a centralized planning body.

and implementation of efforts to contain and eventually put an end to the threat that the CPP, the NPA, and the NDF constitute for our nation, for democracy, and for the people. Moreover it makes these AFP elements relatively susceptible to recruitment into the Lt. Crispin Tagamolila Movement (LCTM)⁵⁴, which is one of the recent vehicles for recruitment by the CPP-NPA-NDF from among the ranks of the AFP officers and enlisted personnel, its civilian employees, and the families of AFP elements.

(3) Retrocession of the AFP

Like Philippine society in general, the AFP, facing the problems of corruption and inefficiency, reduced capability, and ideological naïveté, has not advanced in terms of capability in defending the nation, guarding democracy, and serving the people. Like Philippine society in general, it has not even stood still in relation to capability to carry out these vital functions, especially in relation to the growing challenges presented by contemporary international and national events and trends. The AFP has slid backwards in relation to the armed forces of many of our neighboring countries and in relation to the needs of our nation. Like in the case of Philippine society in general, the retrocession of the AFP also stems from a double failure, one that is both moral and technical. It is likewise the result of mutually reinforcing failures of character, of knowledge, and of skill. It is similarly the consequence of demoralization in two senses—in terms of morals (ethics and character) and of morale (self-respect, self-confidence, prudent optimism).

All that has been said above of the involvement of the AFP in our national crisis is also true analogously of the PNP.

(E) The Response Called for from Patriotic Elements in Philippine Society

(1) Radical reform, social revolution, national unity

Many a crisis, aside from being times of danger and disintegration, are also times of opportunity and transformation. Faced with the political crisis gripping our nation and aggravating the revolutionary situation, Philippine patriots would ask themselves a question. What are those who love their country and people to do, in order to make use of the opportunity offered by the crisis to transform our nation for the better? What should be done to radically change Philippine society so that all its members are cared for equitably and enjoy at least frugal comfort and adequate opportunities to live productive and meaningful lives? What is to be done to restore our self-respect and the respect of other nations and peoples for the Philippines? It is evident that just making minor adjustments in the economic, political, and cultural systems of Philippine society as they are now will not resolve the crisis favorably, and is likely to prolong and worsen the ongoing political turmoil and aggravate the already difficult problems of our people, especially the poor. Only radical reforms, radical changes in our economic, political, and cultural systems, amounting to a social revolution, will make correct use of this opportunity to transform our country according to the deepest desires of our long-suffering people. Our nation needs a process of revertebration—the painstaking building of a new backbone. This new backbone has two elements: a technical one (economic, political, and cultural policies and

⁵⁴ The LCTM is named after Lt. Crispin Tagamolila, a graduate of the Philippine Military Academy who defected to the New People's Army in 1971, and who was killed in an armed encounter with AFP troops in Isabela Province in 1973.

programs), but most of all a moral one (ethics and character). Our people need to continually acquire new knowledge and skills, but most of all we have to transform our character, resolutely rooting out the evil habits that have ruined our societal life, and retrieving and deploying the virtues—personal and civic, subdued and latent—in the depths of our national character. This process of national transformation has to be a twofold one, with two interrelated sets of tasks—moral and technical; building character and acquiring knowledge and skills; inner work and outer work—being carried out in a simultaneous integrated manner. With the growing moral and technical transformation, our societal life should become more honest and more efficient in the service of the common good, and our morale—our self-respect, self-confidence, and prudent optimism—will recover. We shall once more be “proud”⁵⁵ to be people of the Philippines. As the momentum of reform builds up, attaining the character of a veritable social revolution, which one hopes will be nonviolent, then our people will become more united, because all but the most demanding and intransigent will feel themselves considered as valued members of the political community, and will be gratified by their participation in crafting the destiny of the nation, as well as by the fundamental equality that all will have in sharing in the burdens and benefits of societal life.

Unity through reform, unity through social revolution.

As national unity grows, so will all kinds of support for the process of societal transformation, so that a united people will together consolidate the gains of the social reform, or social revolution, if you will.

Reform through unity, social revolution through unity.

The use of the term “revolution” may make some persons uneasy. However the use of the term cannot be avoided, because the current economic, political, and cultural arrangements of Philippine society require major changes, and soon. This suggests the meaning of the word “revolution,” none other than relatively rapid change of major kind and degree of the systems—economic, political, and/or cultural—of a given society. Some revolutions involve armed violence, some do not. It may seem paradoxical, but in the present Philippine situation, the broader the scope, the more profound the depth, and the more rapid the pace of societal changes undertaken in a relatively nonviolent way, chiefly through the judicious deployment of state power, the lower the probability of attempts at violent revolution or the full-bodied outbreak thereof.

(2) Toward social democracy

It is the firm conviction of the author of this paper that a decisive movement away from liberal democracy and toward social democracy is essential for the social revolution that Philippine society needs. Liberal democracy is part of the ambivalent colonial heritage of our political system. Its characteristics have been presented in a previous part of this paper. In Philippine society, with its great economic disparities and a poorly functioning legal system, the formal liberty and equality of liberal democracy, combined with its lack of concern for the equalization of social power, ends up actually producing more advantage for the wealthy few, and systematic disadvantage for the poor majority. In the Philippines liberal democracy is rendered even more anti-people, anti-poor, and dysfunctional in other ways by its combination with “traditional politics” and local warlord rule.

⁵⁵ For many religious believers, this “pride” will be a humble and discreet one, since they are convinced that all life blessings, including the good character, knowledge, and skills needed to bring about liberating societal change, are in a real sense God’s grace.

It is evident to the author of this paper that for satisfying the people’s hunger and slaking their thirst for justice and the common good, for peaceful, productive, and meaningful lives in conditions of frugal comfort, the Philippines has to move toward social democracy. In practice if not in name, this is the societal model of many of the most livable societies in the world, of countries such as Canada, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Finland, and Germany. In these countries the common good prevails to a high degree, and their people enjoy the flourishing of democracy, in the sense that political democracy, with the full range of civil liberties and political rights, is practiced in a wholesome way, with citizenry and public officials comporting themselves in a manner that shows acute awareness of commitment to the duties and obligations of citizens in a democracy. Moreover, the strong social democratic forces in these countries have had much success in pursuing the typical social democratic agenda of extending democracy to the sphere of economics and culture, to decision-making in the areas of production, income distribution, investment, education and the arts. While maintaining a market economy for the sake of creativity and productivity, the social democratic state regulates economic activity and propagates socially responsible values and practices in order to protect the income, the health, and the access to quality education of the citizenry, especially the

working people, and to restore and conserve the health of the natural environment. The mission of carrying out this revolutionary agenda entails a strong state and a well-organized and patriotic citizenry that together can rectify the main defects and dysfunctions of our political system and make our democracy an authentic one because its power truly emanates from the people and because it functions for the benefit of the people. While accomplishing the rectification and reinvigoration of Philippine political democracy, the state and the organized citizens are to move to extend democracy beyond the political system, to the economic and the cultural systems of Philippine society. More concretely, this mission entails that the state be appropriately renewed and strengthened, so that thus empowered, and with the support of the citizenry, the state can become capable of undertaking certain basic initial policies and measures, as preparation for advocating and implementing the entire social democratic societal model. The renewal and strengthening of the state entails three sets of measures

- putting an end to corruption
- rooting out inefficiency
- remedying the lack of resources.

Some of the basic initial policies and measures referred to above can be conveniently organized in summary form within two complementary frameworks that are interrelated and mutually reinforcing. These two frameworks are:

(a) policies and measures directed to the main societal systems, i.e., economic, political, and cultural; and to the natural environment

(b) measures directed toward promoting the country's attainment of five basic securities: defense, internal security, food, water, and energy.

Certain basic initial policies and measures have relatively direct impact across societal systems and specific security concerns. The renewal and strengthening of the state, together with the above mentioned basic initial policies and measures, work together toward the overall security and welfare of each and every citizen, in other words, toward the common good. The concrete measures for attaining these goals, as well as the vision from which they proceed and the mission which they are meant to detail and advance, are found in a Center for Strategic Studies draft document entitled **Program Points for Addressing the Revolutionary Situation**, and dated September 2005.

The Center for Strategic Studies also has a draft medium- and long-term program for the future of the Philippines along lines compatible with social democracy. This program is entitled **Building the New Philippines: Program for National Recovery and Transformation**. It is dated September 2005.

(F) The Response Called for From the AFP

(1) Initial remarks

The AFP participates in its own way in the causes and the manifestations of our national crisis, but could also be an important part of the remedy to this crisis and a major agent in the recovery and life-giving transformation of Philippine society. Its importance for the recovery and transformation of Philippine society stems from its more than considerable human and material resources, its capacity to employ force, if necessary, in pursuit of its purposes, and its significance as the strongest symbol of our nation. Clearly the role of

the AFP in the recovery and transformation of Philippine society, though major, is not exclusive. This task should be a common endeavor of patriotic elements of the whole nation—the basic peasant, fisherfolk and worker masses, the *Bangsa Moro*, indigenous communities, the various religious communities, the academe, business, media, and the police forces. Nevertheless the AFP still remains the prime symbol of the strength of the nation, a strength that one hopes will be more and more founded upon a sustained basic unity of ideals, goals, and efforts, of vision, mission, and effective program. Because of the capital importance of the AFP for our national safety and welfare it is important that it be an institution that our people, especially our youth, can be truly proud of, can have confidence in, can have affection for. The AFP should be an organization that every young citizen of the Philippines would be glad to be part of for some significant time in his or her life. For the AFP to fulfill its functions and meet the expectations of the people, it has to undergo serious and sustained reforms and renewal—of moral and technical nature, of character and ethics as well as of knowledge, skills, and equipment. In the pursuit of reforms and renewal, two general kinds of tasks have to be thought through and carried out. Some of these tasks are more incumbent on the national government rather than on the AFP, while the others are tasks of the AFP itself. For the sake of better comprehension and integration of concepts, these two types of tasks have been presented here, rather than the first kind of tasks being treated in the section (E), on the response called for from patriotic elements in Philippine society at large.

(2) Strengthening the AFP through a new National Security Act

The Philippines needs a new National Security Act. The Philippines gained political independence from the United States of America almost half a century ago, yet most of the affairs of the Philippines remain heavily influenced by the United States. The 1987 Constitution clearly stated, in the Declaration of Principles and State Policies, that the Philippines will pursue an independent foreign policy. Yet the economic and security affairs of the country have always been closely tied with the United States. Worse, even the domestic affairs of the country are oftentimes unduly influenced by the U.S.

government. The present national leadership of the country has yet to fully remove the imprint of undue U.S. influence in the economic, political, and social life of the Filipino people. Vestiges of colonialism remain not only in our minds but also in our laws. The country's National Security Act was enacted by the Philippine Commonwealth on 15 November 1935, some 70 years ago. Commonwealth Act No.1, otherwise known as the National Defense Act of 1935, was crafted by U.S. Generals, such as Dwight D. Eisenhower and others. This law underwent several modifications and amendments, but the overall framework remains unchanged, a framework which no longer responds to the needs of our time. The notion of defense and of security at the time of the enactment of Commonwealth Act No. 1 was defined in military terms. The new or the post - Cold War notion of security accommodates nonmilitary concerns, to include the political, economic, and socio-cultural dimensions. Security therefore is defined more comprehensively than defense. Defense as it is defined and understood, at present, pertains to the military component of security. This development is important because non-military concerns, indeed, have potential in causing instability in a country and could threaten the political survival of a government or regime. Lack of food, for example, has been time and again a cause of insecurity of a country as exemplified by widespread riots

and hunger strikes in Tunisia, Morocco, Brazil, and Venezuela. Present laws on security in the Philippines remain heavily influenced by the traditional notion of security which is purely military. **A new national security act which provides a more comprehensive notion and definition of security must therefore be enacted.** The National Defense policy as enunciated in Commonwealth Act No. 1 was oriented towards preparedness against external threats. This orientation was influenced by fear of a militaristic Japan. The defense establishment was accordingly built and developed along the concept of defense against foreign aggression. The external strategic concepts and orientation of Philippine defense policy at that time were justified by the succeeding events of World War II. However, since the time of independence, the Philippines has always been burdened with the threat of internal aggression and rebellion from groups such as the old CPP-1930 and its *Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan (HMB)* (People's Liberation Army) and the CPP-1968 and its armed wing, the NPA. It is interesting to note that the defense policy of the country did not evolve to accommodate internal security concerns. While several administrations in the past, and the present one as well, have already recognized that the immediate security concerns of the country are the internal threats of communism and secessionism, attempts to address these threats in a comprehensive manner, to include legislative means, remain few. Internal security concerns have remained a concern primarily of the Executive branch. The role of Congress in defining the national security policy of the country has been very minimal and has been exercised only through the power of oversight. Thus most of the laws which have bearing on security emanate from the President, in the form of Administrative Orders and Executive Orders. **A new national security act with a balanced focus on both internal and external concerns and which recognizes the vital role of Congress in defining the country's defense and security policies must be enacted.** The latter measure will help avoid collisions on this matter between the Executive and the Legislative branches of government. Such a collision took place when in January 2000 President Joseph Estrada ordered the deployment of Marines in Metro Manila for police duty in order to combat snatching and other common crimes, and some legislators reacted adversely to such a deployment, regarding it in such terms as "reminiscent of martial law, without martial law being imposed." Moreover, the joint responsibility of the President and Congress in the field of defense and security will ensure Congressional support of the security and defense undertakings of the President. Philippine laws that have security or defense implications so far only address traditional armed threats, or threats which have defined battle fronts and defined protagonists. Terrorism remains outside the ambit of important laws on security and defense. Although terrorism has been recognized as a serious threat to security, most items of legislation and most operational plans of government agencies focus on consequence management, not on detection and prevention of terror attacks. This brings to mind the urgent need to strengthen the capabilities of agencies doing intelligence work. **A new national security act must therefore pay due attention to terrorist threats, giving more emphasis to precrisis activities of detection and prevention.** Current proposed bills relating to terrorism focus on punitive sanctions, which involve after-crisis events, when damage to life and property has been consummated. While in expert academic circles, as well as government in other countries, a more comprehensive notion of security and its distinction from the concept of defense (the military component of security) has been accepted and recognized in policy

formulation, including the prescription that defense policy must be derived from the overall security policy of the country, in the Philippines, national security planning and defense policy formulation often take place independent of each other. Defense policy formulation and strategy making remains disjointed from national security policy and strategy making. This causes incoherence in the policy direction of agencies which are tasked to protect the security interests of our nation. **A national security act which ensures coherence in policymaking and implementation within the defense and security community must be enacted in order to efficiently achieve the country's objectives.** The security interests of a nation are often pursued over a long period of time. Continuity is therefore essential in the realization of the country's goals. While continuity is hard to achieve in the Philippines given the frequent turnover of national leadership and the lack of clear ideological orientation of the political parties who so far have determined and still determine the economic, political, and cultural direction of our country, **continuity can be achieved by enacting a national security act which clearly defines the country's security interests and the framework within which government agencies and instrumentalities are mandated to operate.** The absence of a national security act makes coherence and continuity in defense and security policymaking hard to achieve. Continuity in policy implementation is also hampered by lack of sufficient budget. Thus, **a multi-year budgeting for the defense and security of the country must be provided in the new national security act.** Corruption in the security and defense establishment is quite prevalent. The recent *coup* plotters linked with the Oakwood mutiny and destabilization efforts justified their illegal actions by citing corruption in the defense establishment. This corruption happens in part because procurement is decentralized. Each of the area commanders (of the Southern, Northern, Visayas, and other Commands), the service commands (army, navy, air force), the Chief-Of Staff AFP, and the Secretary of Defense, has his own turf and say on procurements. Thus each of them has the opportunity to commit graft and corruption. In a setting in which the culture of secrecy and confidentiality prevails and in a culture that respects seniority, corruption is often ignored or condoned. It is therefore imperative that **the new national security act provide for the establishment of a National Security and Defense Resource Board** which will be given charge of the management of financial resources and procurement of the AFP and the PNP and will be given the power to audit material resources that have been turned over to the AFP and the PNP.

A national security act that promotes the foundation of a good defense strategy must be immediately enacted by Congress. The success of the implementation of our National Defense Strategy is strongly dependent on capable and ready Armed Forces of the Philippines. Moreover, the state of readiness and the level of capability of the AFP are dependent on six factors, as follows:

- **Quality Personnel** — Quality people means a quality force. It is imperative that the AFP gain and maintain quality people. The state of professionalism in the service is defined by the quality of our leaders and the soldiers under them--physically, intellectually and morally.
- **Good Education and Training** — Tough, realistic and continuous training is important to force preparedness. Training builds strong and competent soldiers who can deliver wherever and whenever necessary. To achieve the latter, our training facilities must be conducive to student learning, with high faculty standards and decent facilities for

lodging, studying and research. Education of the AFP personnel should give emphasis to the nationalist and patriotic values orientation of the soldiers.

- **Balanced Force** — There must be an appropriate mix of forces for efficient and effective operations. The mix must be balanced, with the flexibility and capability to respond to a variety of contingencies and situations, both military and non-military, in combat and in the community.
- **Sound Doctrine** — Doctrine essentially describes how one intends to fight in war and how one intends to carry out operations other than combat, such as “civic action” types of operations during times of peace and of crisis. It is unfortunate that doctrine development has been a neglected area with the AFP. This is highly irresponsible and must be corrected as soon as possible.
- **Appropriate Technology** — The technology of armaments has improved dramatically over the years, with advances in digitization, telecommunications, information management, and photonics. However, with the limited defense budget of the AFP, the latter cannot afford to buy state-of-the-art technology. What the AFP needs are weapons and equipment that fit the unique requirements needed to enable the carrying out of its campaign strategies, and that fit the limited resources available for the defense of the nation and the AFP. Information management in the Department of National Defense (DND) and in the AFP needs to be upgraded with affordable hardware and software.
- **Rational Planning** — It is essential that the DND and the AFP adopt a long term, macro-level type of strategic planning in order to have a strong and clear sense of direction while gaining an appreciation for the importance of the soldier’s job at the level of the foxhole. Planning at all levels—strategic, operational and tactical—should be backed up by solid and strong intellectual foundations.

(3) Strategies and opportunities to confront threats and address challenges

(a) confronting threats

To confront the current and emerging threats to national security, the government through the Department of National Defense (DND) and the AFP is undertaking the Philippine Defense Reform (PDR) and the AFP Capability Upgrade Program (CUP). The PDR, on one hand, addresses the systemic deficiencies in various areas such as strategic and policy planning, budgeting and financial management, logistics, personnel, staff development, information management and other critical functional areas. It aims to create a critical link between acquiring basic operational capability and force modernization. The AFP CUP, on the one hand, directly deals with closing the capability gaps in operations such as in firepower, mobility, communications, basic equipment, operational enablers and other operational support. The acquisition of basic capability shall enable the AFP to effectively carry out its missions. Moreover, to address insurgency and terrorism, the AFP supports the Cabinet Oversight Committee on Internal Security (CO-CIS) in the implementation of the National Internal Security Plan (NISP), and the Anti-Terrorism Task Force (ATTF) in its fight against terrorism. Positive opportunities are currently present for the AFP to confront the security threats. The recent declaration of peace-loving nations on the global war on terrorism entails that anti-terrorism funds, assistance and initiatives are available for the AFP. Also, regional initiatives such as the Regional Maritime Security Initiative (RMSI) and Proliferations

Security Initiative (PSI) are vital in the AFP's effort to curb transnational crimes and other regional and global concerns.

(b) addressing challenges

Since January 2003, the present government has undertaken reforms to curb military corruption, to wit:

- establishment of the Presidential Task Force on Military Reforms, to reform the financial and procurement system of the AFP
- creation of the Office of the Undersecretary for Internal Control (USIC), to conduct management audit
- setting in motion the Philippine Defense Reform program to address systemic deficiencies and in this way reduce opportunities for graft and corruption
- implementation of the Feliciano Commission (FelCom) Recommendations through the Office of the Presidential Adviser to Implement the FelCom Recommendations
- strengthening the Office of Ethical Standards and Public Accountability (OESPA), to address graft and corruption through a three-pronged strategy, namely:
 - integrity promotion
 - graft prevention—by reducing opportunities for graft and corruption, and if possible eliminating these
 - graft prosecution—through the Inspector-General System, the Office of the Ombudsman, and the General Courts Martial

The current environment presents opportunities for the AFP to seize in order to address the pressing challenges facing the institution. At present, the AFP is pushing for a new National Defense Act that will update the 1935 Act. This new law will institutionalize the following reforms, among others, in the DND and AFP:

- multi-year budgeting
- acquisition and procurement process
- professional career development, i.e., setting the tenure of office for key defense positions, promotions, and retirement

(4) Providing the immediate support needed by soldiers

The AFP is the primary defender of the nation, and is also a major guardian of our democracy and an important servant of the people. The men and women fulfill these duties often at the risk of their earthly lives. It is therefore important that the government address the concerns which affect the soldiers' morale, by providing them institutional support, especially such forms that have direct implications for their individual and family welfare. Some of these concerns are described as follows:

(a) Implement the Officers and Enlisted Personnel Time for Rest and Recreation (R & R). The rule is that for every three months of combat duty, an officer is entitled to one month of R & R, while six months of combat duty entitles enlisted personnel to one month of R & R. At present few officers and enlisted personnel enjoy R & R. Although the budget for R & R is incorporated in the AFP budget (Moral and Welfare Budget), soldiers do not get financial benefits if they manage to secure R & R privileges.

(b) Increase the combat pay of members of the Army and sea duty pay of members of the Navy to at least 50% of their base pay. At present, only air pay for the

members of the Air Force is pegged at this level.

(c) Give the soldiers various forms of non-salary assistance. An example is discounts for transportation expenses. This can be done by establishing a Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) with each major airline, sea transport line, and bus company. Scholarships and other forms of educational assistance, as well as health assistance, should be given to the children and equivalent dependents of our soldiers. This can be done through a MOA with schools and private hospitals. This could substantially increase the benefits of soldiers without increasing the budget of the AFP.

(d) Narrow the duration of the processing of financial assistance to casualties of war (dead and wounded soldiers). The AFP must fix the duration to two to five working days only.

(e) Soldiers should be provided decent housing. There are ample spaces in which staff houses can be built. In-base housing for officers and enlisted personnel may be sourced from trust receipts of the AFP. Trust receipts refer to a pool of funds generated from lease of AFP properties, e.g., golf courses, restaurants and canteens, and so forth. Estimates of the fund range from P400 to P500 million annually. This should provide sufficient funds for housing our soldiers properly.

(5) Special attention to improving AFP elements' grasp of societal realities

The AFP carries out its duties and functions not in a vacuum but in a societal context—global, regional, and national—that is usually quite complex and changing. Ignorance of the realities of that context impairs the capacity of the AFP to do its work well, and could even be the source of extremely harmful judgments, decisions, policies, and programs. One example of such ignorance involves basic aspects of political science, such as basic political macroeconomic terms and positions. Ignorance in these matters is one of the leading causes for the ideological naïveté of some AFP officers and enlisted personnel as well as their civilian staff, leading, on one hand, to their underestimating the threat from some extremist forces or unknowingly or imprudently fraternizing with and aiding enemies of the nation

and of the democracy, or on the other hand, harming or harassing legitimate and democratic individuals and groups. It is therefore important for AFP officers and enlisted personnel and their civilian staff to receive quality sociopolitical education, both basic and continuing, at a level commensurate to their respective educational backgrounds. This should include societal structural dynamics, basic political macroeconomic terms and positions, comparative study of political groups and their ideologies, and the political spectrum. It should aim at orientation in an authentic politics based on worldviews, analytical and synthetic understanding of world and national problems, programs of government, strategies and tactics. This sociopolitical education should give the AFP a deep understanding of social and ethical realities in politics, with the challenges and dangers and with the approaches and tasks of Philippine societal reform, renewal, and transformation. What the officers learn should be communicated in appropriate ways to the enlisted personnel and the civilian staff. Educated in this way and applying what they have learned in practice, the men and women of the AFP will acquire ideological wisdom, will be resistant to the blandishments of extremist or antidemocratic forces, and will cooperate more effectively and productively with democratic political

forces. This task of learning and communication sounds like a very formidable task, but there are good reasons to think that the AFP is capable of accomplishing it if it puts its heart and mind into it. After all the officer corps of the AFP has a strong academic tradition and AFP officers are disposed to keep on studying whenever they have the opportunity. What has been said about the AFP in the foregoing paragraphs is also analogously true about the PNP.

Epilogue

The author of this paper is deeply aware that the men and women of the AFP, more than most organizations and institutions of comparable size within Philippine society, can be said to be born of the people. AFP officers and enlisted personnel, with the civilian staff, usually come from the classes and sectors that comprise most of the people of our country—the peasants, fisherfolk, urban and rural workers, small professionals and businessmen. The AFP is indeed born of the people. *Tunay na anákbayan ang karamihan ng mga opisyal at kawal ng Sandataháng Lakás ng Pilipinas o AFP*. As such the men and women of the AFP, more than most other groups in Philippine society, have greater experiential knowledge and sensitivity to the conditions of life and the problems of the majority of our people. Since they are from the people, it is natural for them to dedicate themselves to the people, to focus their desires and aspirations on work for the people, and to do this work in cooperation with the people. They are predisposed to take to heart the roles and duties the people expect of them, as defender of the nation, guardian of democracy, and servant of the people. In fact the author has known and knows many AFP soldiers and civilian staff who fulfill these duties in an outstanding and heroic manner. Hence there is much hope for the reform of the AFP. There is hope that the AFP would sooner than later vigorously carry out its duty as defender, guardian, and servant of the nation, democracy, and the people, in cooperation with other patriotic and democratic social forces. There is hope that the AFP would contribute in a major way to the reform, renewal, and transformation of Philippine society, thus fulfilling the hopes and aspirations of its best men and women and of their fellow patriots. When our nation, our democracy, and our people shall have been renewed and transformed for the best, then shall come true the fond desire and ardent yearning of our people, expressed in this final verse of Bonifacio Abdon's *Kundiman*:

*Bulaklák ng aking laging pinithayà
Ang ikáw 'y makitang may sariling laya't
Sa dagat Silanga'y butihing diwatà,
Mayama't mapuri, bihis sa dálità.*

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