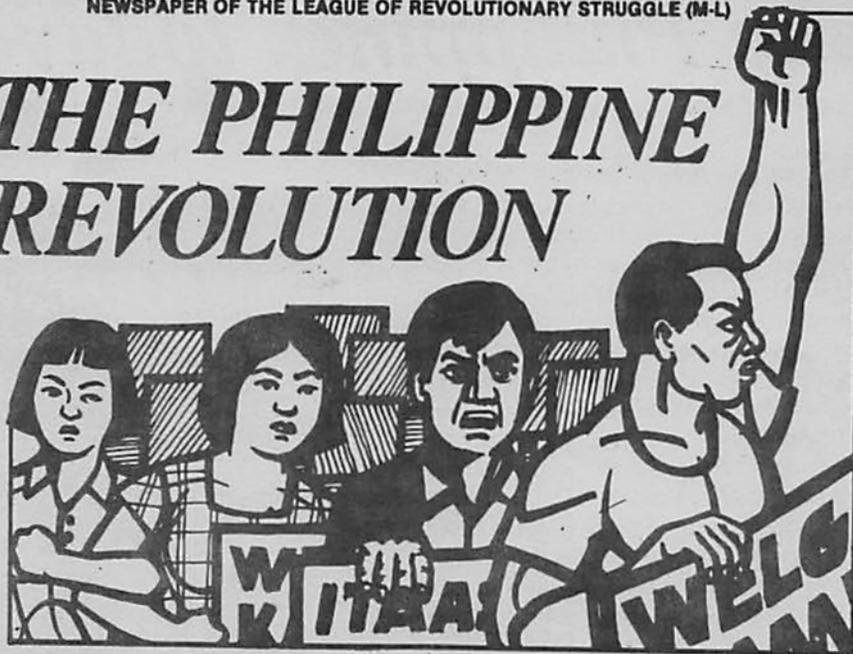


NEWSPAPER OF THE LEAGUE OF REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE (M-L)

# THE PHILIPPINE REVOLUTION



UNITY is the newspaper of the League of Revolutionary Struggle (ML). We are reprinting these articles on the Philippine revolution as a concrete reflection of our support for the Pilipino people's struggle against US imperialism and the Marcos martial law dictatorship. Within the Pilipino community here in the US, we have seen an upsurge in anti-martial law activity, greatly contributing to the Philippine struggle. Workers, oppressed nationalities and all progressive people in US society as a whole should better understand and fully support the aspiration of the Pilipino people for liberation, independence and national democracy. We hope that this pamphlet will be a contribution in building greater support for the Philippine revolution in the US.

## UNITY interviews Pilipina activist Charito Planas

**“No one can stop  
the pendulum of change  
in the Philippines today”**

*In the Philippines and here in the U.S., Charito Planas is known as one of the most outspoken and eloquent opponents of the Marcos dictatorship. In May, the Philippine Education and Support Committee of the San Francisco Bay Area and the Friends of the Filipino People worked with many other groups to sponsor Ms. Planas on a tour of California. The largest response came from the Pilipino community, with hundreds turning out to programs in Delano and Daly City.*

*Ms. Planas was also asked to speak by the Pilipino-American Alliance of UC Berkeley, Pilipino Studies teachers at San Francisco State University and the City College of San Francisco, and a Pilipino hotel restaurant workers caucus. In addition, Ms. Planas spoke to church groups, Asian student organizations and cultural workers.*

*This interview was conducted during her tour. Ms. Planas may be contacted by writing the Friends of the Filipino People, 110 Maryland Ave. N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002; phone: (202) 543-1093.*

**UNITY:** Charito, could you tell us about how you came to the U.S.?

**Planas:** Well, it would be good to mention a little about my background. I am a lawyer and director of the Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines, and have been involved in so many civic and social and legal organizations in the Philippines.

I belong to the opposition, and so I have been actively criticizing the Marcos regime. A little after



Woodcut by Nestor Gener.

martial law was declared — it was sometime in 1973 — I was arrested and imprisoned for 14 months without charges. After having been released temporarily, an election was called in 1978. I joined in that election and then an order of rearrest was issued . . . and we decided I should go into hiding. It (would have been) stupidity for me to surrender. Upon consultation with the people who were hiding me, it was decided that I should leave the country. So I came from the Philippines with a heavy heart. I escaped, not to enjoy the comforts of this country, but to remain alive and join the many voices of the Pilipinos struggling for democracy in the Philippines.

**UNITY:** Could you talk about life under martial law?

**Planas:** Visitors who come to the Philippines on the surface are impressed by clean streets, beautiful buildings and classy hotels. Quite a number are impressed by the fact that the GNP (gross national product — *ed.*) has increased under martial law, and that for the first time we have stopped importing rice.

Of course, we can't deny these accomplishments. But the question of these accomplishments is whether they have benefited the people. Studies made by the Center for International Policy based in Washington, D.C., have shown that the so-called "development" that took place under martial law has not benefited the people. In fact, what has happened is that the poor have become poorer. We have never had so many poor in our country as now under martial law.

The reason why the people become poor in the Philippines today is the policy initiated by Marcos of attracting foreign investors in the Philippines, and the attraction that he offers is that we provide the cheapest labor in Asia, and that they are guaranteed repatriation of their profits, as well as assuring that no strike will ever take place. Our workers are paid only from \$1.50 to \$2.00 a day, when studies were made by impartial organizations in the Philippines which showed the worker would need \$6.00 to \$7.00 to live simply.

Workers who go on strike to demand better wages get arrested and imprisoned, and others tortured.



In spite of the repression that is now taking place in the Philippines, opposition is growing. There are organized opposition forces in the Philippines today. We have the legal opposition, legal in the sense that they are able to surface and they are the traditional opposition. We also have what you call the National Democratic Front. This group comprises workers, peasants, progressive religious groups, urban poor and the Communist Party. They have an armed group called the New People's Army. Before martial law, they were only a very small group, but now they are almost all over the regions of the Philippines today. We have about 12 to 13 regions in the Philippines and they are now seen in about 9 to 10. Their mass-based support is growing.

Another group is called the social democrats. They also have workers and peasants and urban poor and the religious groups. They are anti-communist. Recently they just formed an armed group called the Sandigan. They are mostly based in the urban areas or in metropolitan Manila.

In the south, we also have the Muslims, the Moro National Liberation Front, which also engages in armed struggle. The bulk of the strength of Marcos' army is concentrated in the south, because the Moro National Liberation Front has more arms than the New People's Army and the Sandigan.

These are the opposition groups that are underground, but with an armed support group, and are in struggle with the armed forces of Marcos.

**UNITY:** Given the existence of a number of armed opposition groups and the unpopularity of the Marcos regime, how has he managed to stay in power?

**Planas:** When martial law was first declared, the first few years one can say the people gave him a chance to find out what he could do with his promised new society. He instituted a land reform at the time, and he declared a revolution from the center. Now that martial law is in its eighth year, the people are convinced that his regime is a failure. Because first of all, martial law is based on fear, and people are now starting to overcome that fear. In fact, in spite of the fact that strikes are prohibited, strikes are taking place in many corporations. At the same time, people are beginning to talk, expressing their opposition to the Marcos regime.

During the early part of martial law, only one opposition group believed in force or armed struggle. Now all the opposition groups in the Philippines are unanimous in the need for the use of force in order to attain a meaningful change in the Philippines today.

**UNITY:** Could you talk about the role of the U.S. in the Philippines?

**Planas:** With regard to the U.S., participation in the martial law regime — you know nothing can happen in the Philippines without the U.S. knowing about it. So when martial law was declared, it was with the knowledge and consent of the U.S. government.

Marcos is supported by the American government. In fact, military aid has increased by 138% during martial law. One may ask, why is the American government supporting Marcos, in spite of the fact that Carter has initiated his human rights policy. For the reasons that Marcos is committed to protect the multinational corporations' investments in the Philippines, which were the ones which were threatened before martial law was declared. The other reason is for the unhampered use of the military bases in the Philippines. Carter has promised one billion in aid.

But this regime is now on its way out. No one, and no amount of military aid to Marcos, can stop the pendulum of change in the Philippines today.

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# Free José María Sison!

— Felix Razon

"You can imprison a revolutionary, but not the revolution." This saying encapsulates in memorable form the current thrust of the struggle to affirm and defend the people's rights in the Philippines.

This struggle centers on about 6,000 political prisoners, and on one prisoner in particular whom the Marcos dictatorship identifies as the "head" of the nationwide resistance — José María Sison.

Sison is alleged to be Amado Guerrero, chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines, which is guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. The Party today spearheads the raging people's war against U.S. imperialism and its local henchmen.

With Sison's capture on November 10, 1977, the Marcos dictatorship announced the demise of the Communist Party and the collapse of its military arm, the New People's Army.

Such propaganda turned out to be hopelessly premature. The Marcos regime came to realize that the revolution's motor force is the united energies of the masses, not single individuals.

In 1977 and April-May of 1979, the New People's Army demonstrated its phenomenal accumulation of strength and support by occupying several towns on the island of Samar. This is an unprecedented feat, owing largely to the theoretical guidance and practical leadership that Sison has provided to the movement since the early 1960's up to his arrest in November 1977.

Although the Marcos military claims to have killed or arrested 20 of the 26 members of the Central Committee of the Party, the underground has reported that in April 1978, a completely reorganized Central Committee met for its fourth plenum.

**YOU CAN IMPRISON A REVOLUTIONARY  
BUT NOT A REVOLUTION...**



**Sison — a great revolutionary**

Why was Sison considered by the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship as "the Philippines' most wanted man"?

Primarily because it was Sison who, together with other comrades, reversed the revisionist course of the vanguard party of the Pilipino working class and reestablished it on Marxist-Leninist principles. The Soviet-inspired revisionists later on surrendered to Marcos and at present serve his bureaucratic machine.

In 1964, after decades of repression of the left, Sison founded the Kabataang Makabayan (Nationalist Youth) which sparked the fires of a deep, ongoing cultural revolution among students, intellectuals and the middle strata of 45 million Pilipinos.

In the years 1964-1968, as General Secretary of the Movement for the Advancement of Nationalism (MAN) and one of the leaders of the Workers Party, Sison concentrated his efforts into transforming what he called then "the idea of the national democratic revolution . . . into a material force."

Sison was instrumental in reorganizing the Communist Party of the Philippines on December 26, 1968, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

The two documents that crystallize the complex ideological and political conflicts underlying such a historical movement are: *Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party* (1968), a party document; and *Philippine Society and Revolution* (1972), by Amado Guerrero. This latter book has become a primer for Marxist-Leninists in the Philippines and, with appropriate modifications, in other parts of the third world. A summing up of the experience by Amado Guerrero since 1972 was published in *Specific Characteristics of Our People's War* (1974).

On March 29, 1969, the New People's Army was formed by the Party, signaling the onset of protracted people's war against U.S. imperialism and its three class allies in the Philippines: the feudal landlords, compradors and bureaucrat-capitalists now temporarily led by the Marcos clique.

It is to Sison's credit that those decisive qualitative leaps in the Philippine revolution occurred. He applied materialist dialectics (the concrete analysis of concrete conditions) to Philippine society. This enabled cadre, progressive militants and other anti-imperialist forces to engage in class analysis, distinguish friends and enemies, and form a broad united front using all means necessary to isolate the enemy and focus the people's forces against it.

#### **Sison's imprisonment**

Because of these tremendous gains which the enemy attributes to him, Sison has experienced severe physical and mental torture since his capture. Isolated in his detention cell, separated from his wife, Juliet de Lima-Sison (also a political prisoner), with feet and hands manacled to his bed, Sison has so far survived.

In a statement issued March 13, 1979, as his case was scheduled for a hearing before the Philippine Supreme Court, Sison described his harrowing experiences as a political prisoner. His case epitomizes the plight of thousands of political

prisoners (70,000 since martial law was declared in 1972). Marcos' violation of the people's rights has become a celebrated example, heavily indicted by world opinion, as represented by Amnesty International, the World Commission of Jurists, National Council of Churches, and so on.

Sison's imprisonment at the maximum security stockade of the Philippine Army Military Security Unit at Fort Bonafacio near Manila has been extremely long and harsh, even compared to other prisoners.

Because Sison is viewed to be the living symbol of the nationalist and anti-imperialist resistance, he has been marked for "salvaging" — Marcos' policy of unofficial execution or assassination of "subversives."

Of course, Sison is more than a symbol of massive opposition to the martial law regime. He is the living historic personality who embodies the profound needs and long-range aspirations of the Pilipino people for freedom, sovereignty, genuine independence — the struggle for national

democracy and national liberation.

### Free Sison!

The National Democratic Front, the broad coalition of all sectors of the people opposing the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship, is appealing to all advocates of human rights and justice throughout the world to help free all political prisoners in the Philippines, in particular, José María Sison.

We urge all our friends and allies to demand that the Philippine government end the torture of Sison, transfer him from isolation to regular detention, and assign his case to a nonmilitary judicial body instead of the military court controlled by the Marcos dictatorship.

Today, the struggle to save Sison's life and ultimately to free him occupies an urgent foreground position on the agenda for all revolutionaries in various anti-imperialist fronts, from Nicaragua and Palestine to Kampuchea.

(UNTITLED) by JOSE MARIA SISON

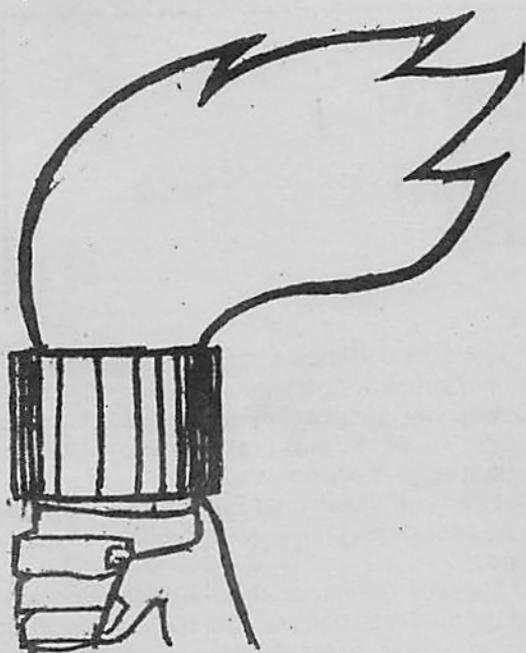
*So you're kept shackled and chained!*

*My anger burns, burns, burns!  
There is no fire as blue  
Fueled as it is by my pain;  
For I can shed no tear  
To cool the flame.  
I can laugh though  
At the powers that be  
Who prove themselves unworthy  
Of their humanity.*

*They keep you in shackles and chains  
But your word they cannot  
And it shall be!*



8 August 1978



## **Support the National Democratic Front**

In April 1973, the Preparatory Commission for the Philippines National Democratic Front (NDF) issued a manifesto entitled, *Unite to Overthrow the U.S.-Marcos Dictatorship*, which included a "Ten Point Program" as the NDF's basis of unity and to guide the revolutionary struggle for national democracy.

Since that time, the NDF has grown to encompass

such ideologically diverse forces as the Communist Party of the Philippines and the Christians for National Liberation. It is presently a major force in the mass movement against martial law. Like all groups opposing martial law, the NDF is forced to operate underground.

The Ten Point Program not only calls for the overthrow of the Marcos regime, but also for the transformation of the existing exploitative, corrupt and foreign dominated system that led to martial law. In particular, the program calls for genuine land reform and an end to U.S. domination of the economy.

The NDF recognized from its inception that the resistance movement must develop its armed struggle against the dictator, as he would never surrender peacefully. The Ten Point Program endorses both the New People's Army and the Bangsa Moro Army, and calls for material and moral support for them.

At the same time, the NDF seeks the widest possible unity by supporting the demands of the minority nationalities, patriotic businessmen, and all others being downtrodden under martial law.

In contrast to others who rest their hopes on the U.S. or USSR, the NDF relies on the masses of the Pilipino people, unites with the third world, and opposes both superpowers. While the U.S. is the principal backer of the Marcos dictatorship, the Soviet Union has also offered aid in attempts to woo Marcos. The revisionist, pro-Soviet PKP (Partido Komunista Pilipino) backs martial law and even holds positions in the government!

The NDF, in a special issue of their organ, *Liberation*, condemned the Soviet-backed Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea. Lately, Radio Hanoi has been attacking the resistance movement in the Philippines and other Southeast Asian countries as terrorist. This shows the growing danger of Soviet social-imperialism in the region.

These are only some of the main points covered by the Ten Point Program. On November 12, 1977, the Preparatory Commission reaffirmed the program as it was issued in 1973, and further expanded on its points:

Following is the Ten Point Program of the NDF:

## TEN POINT PROGRAM OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT, PHILIPPINES

1. Unite all anti-imperialist and democratic forces to overthrow the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and work for the establishment of a coalition government based on a truly democratic system of representation.

2. Expose and oppose U.S. imperialism as the mastermind behind the setting up of the fascist dictatorship, struggle for the nullification of all unequal treaties and arrangements with this imperialist power, and call for the nationalization of all its properties in the country.

3. Fight for the reestablishment of all democratic rights of the people, such as freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association, movement, religious belief, and the right to due process.

4. Gather all possible political and material support for the armed revolution and the underground against the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship.

5. Support a genuine land reform program that can liberate the peasant masses from feudal and

semi-feudal exploitation and raise agricultural production through cooperation.

6. Improve the people's livelihood, guarantee the right to work, and protect national capital against foreign monopoly capital.

7. Promote a national, scientific and mass culture and combat imperialist, feudal and fascist culture.

8. Support the national minorities, especially those in Mindanao and the mountain provinces, in their struggle for self-determination and democracy.

9. Punish, after public trial, the ringleaders of the Marcos fascist gang for their crimes against the people and confiscate all their ill-gotten wealth.

10. Unite with all peoples fighting imperialism and all reaction, and seek their support for the Philippine revolutionary struggle.

Copies of this document are available for \$.50 from the Philippines Research Center, P.O. Box 101, Mansfield Depot, CT 06251

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