

LIBERATION



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From this year onward, *Liberation* looks forward to writing stories, big or small, that add up to nationwide victory and planting the seeds of socialist construction.



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



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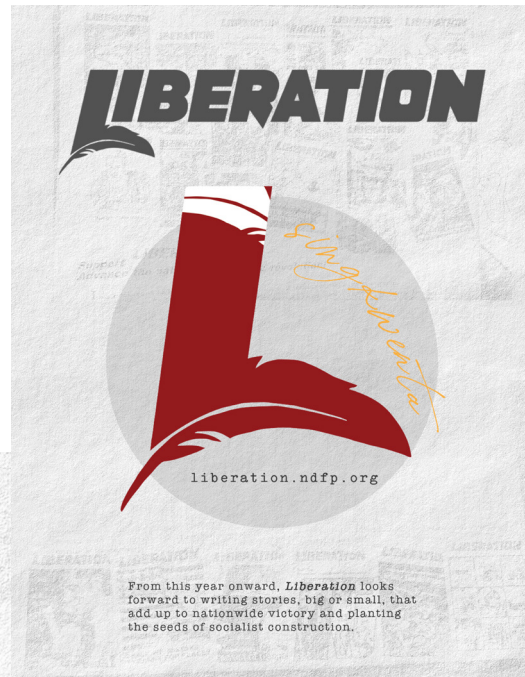
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ABOUT THE ISSUE

This year, as we celebrate the 50th anniversary of *Liberation*, we honor all revolutionary martyrs who, directly and indirectly, took part in *Liberation*. They shall always remain as inspiration. *Liberation* also salutes the masses and their struggle for national liberation and democracy—they are the source of our stories, the source of every revolutionary's truth.

We salute comrade Jose Maria Sison, founding chair of CPP, propagandist *par excellence* of the Philippine revolution and international liberation movements. His writings have changed lives and revolutionary practice for the better. Armed with his rich legacy of written works and revolutionary practice, he will be missed even as we people proudly sing and chant : Ka Joma Lives.

Throughout these years, *Liberation* has chronicled the developments in the revolutionary movement and the empowered masses that are starting to chart their own course—a product of decades of building and strengthening the revolutionary mass organizations and the organs of political power. *Liberation* now additionally speaks about governance in revolutionary fronts spread across the country.

From this year onward, *Liberation* looks forward to writing stories, big or small, that add up to nationwide victory and planting the seeds of socialist construction—the full implementation of land reform, national industrialization, and all that is chartered in the 12-point program of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines.

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At no other time in our nation's consciousness has the word "disinformation" become extremely despised.

Using disinformation as a strategic campaign, the Marcos Sr heirs—now the Marcos Jr regime—have sought to bring honor to high-level thievery, transform their infamy to glory, revise history, defend dictatorship, ride on political dynasties, accept cowardice and treachery, and promise the impossible under their reign.

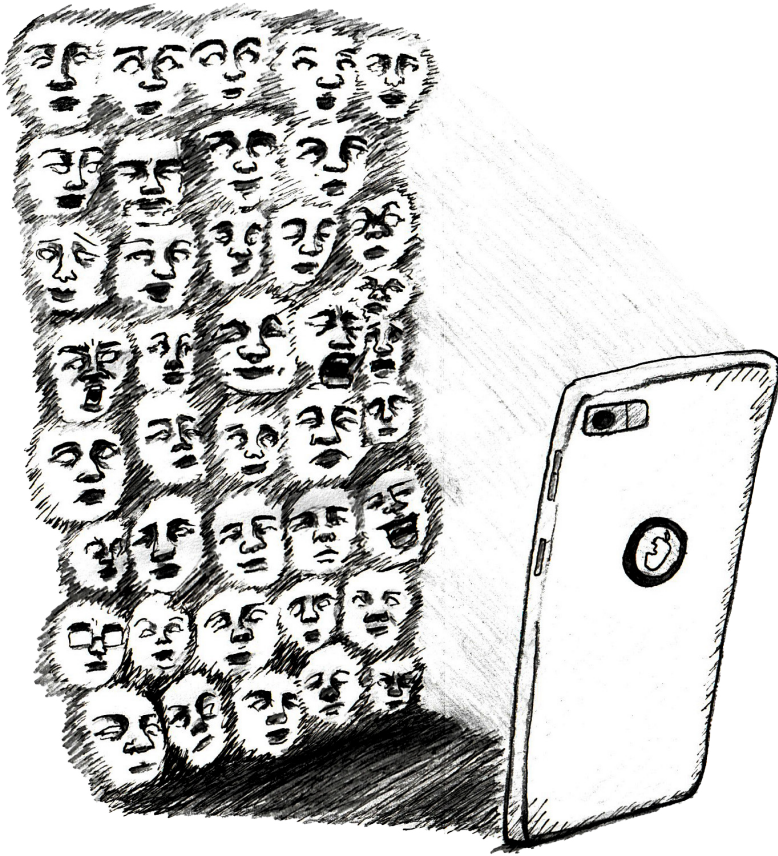
It took decades for the Marcoses to plan for the family's return to the center of power. Its machinery was fueled by their ill-gotten wealth and fashioned by numerous content creators in social media.

Foreign experts joined with local hacks to orchestrate tiers of farm trolls to deliver the Marcos message of "unity" and non-engagement, while bludgeoning political enemies with lies, abuse, conjectures, threats and even physical harm.

Marcos Jr also inherited or simply benefited from Duterte's machinery of DDS trolls. But the greater power, while maintaining its own built-in machinery, comes now from its control of the state's

propaganda machinery as well as the support of the old and new media elites who had witnessed with delight the franchise loss of ABS-CBN, the cyber cases against *Rappler*, and the tax evasion charges against *Inquirer's* Marixi Prieto, and the attacks against alternative media outfits and revolutionary publications.

The Marcos Jr's propaganda machinery is formidable, to say the least. The advent of the internet or electronic media has also allowed the regime not just to invade or disturb the privacy of homes with its constant propaganda; this time it also intrudes into one's personal life, anytime of the day or night.



Since its inception, the revolutionary movement in the Philippines has always been faced by stronger, fiercer enemies. At the current stage of our struggle, the enemy remains stronger than we are.


But this reality has not deterred revolutionaries from doing propaganda work because the strength of the revolution lodges in the people themselves, the masses it serves. No wealth, no resources, no technology can defeat the masses' will to wage revolution. In fact, whenever the fighting morale gets high, the masses can produce funds and other wherewithal, mobilize these resources, and maximize technology to counter and combat reactionary propaganda.

Over the years, despite setbacks or adversities, the revolutionary forces and the masses advancing and supporting the national democratic revolution have already grown into millions. This by itself is an enormous propaganda force that when aroused, organized, and mobilized can promptly reach hundreds of thousands more.

In the revolutionary struggle, propaganda is a mass movement more than anything else. Properly handled, it's a force to be reckoned with. And the forms of propaganda can be limitless. Arouse, inspire, encourage the masses to act, move forward, and spread the word so that the numbers come to life. Have faith in the masses: with passion and creativity, they can counter all the lies that the enemy has been spreading.

As soldiers of the propaganda army, revolutionaries have taken pains to analyze and explain local and national issues. They produce various forms of propaganda, do social investigation, teach the safe use of digital technology, and conduct education sessions. And they relentlessly discuss the path of the national democratic revolution and its program.

More importantly, despite the lack of technology and resources, revolutionary propaganda continues to thrive because revolutionaries have not forsaken the meaning of integration with the masses—of being one with them in their struggles, in their work, and in their lives. As has been told and experienced a lot of times, not even the best propaganda machinery of the enemy can overcome the presence of Red fighters and local organizers who earn the respect and trust of the people on the ground. Connecting and integrating with the people—in flesh and blood—still provide the best condition for successfully doing propaganda work.

Ultimately, the Marcos Jr machinery will be weakened and rendered inutile as the revolutionary movement continues to expand and broaden its ranks nationwide. In due time, the regime will find itself in shock and utter shame as, like its predecessors, it will fail to crush the revolutionary movement. 

MAINSTREAM

The PEOPLE'S ARMY as



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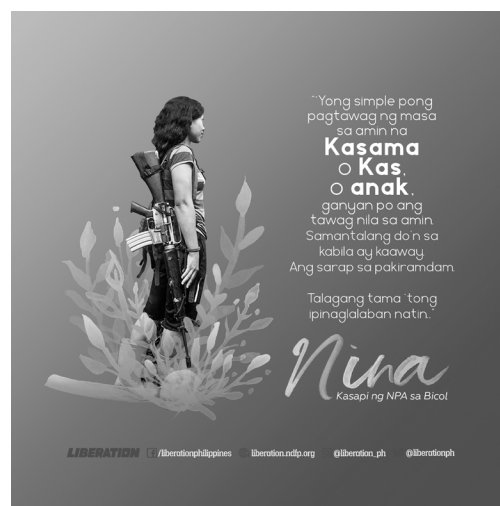
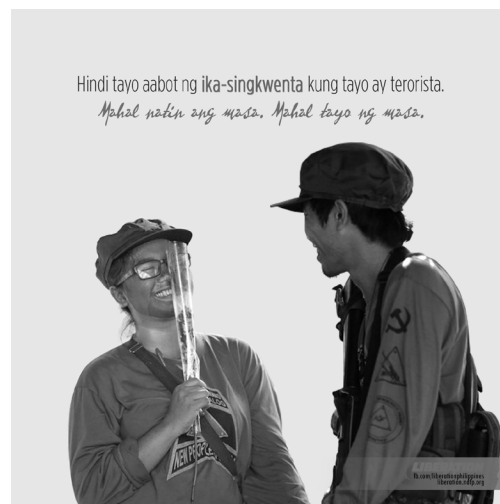
by Iliya Makalipay

There were no images of guns that FB usually associates with “terrorism.” There were only words depicting the truth that come as slaps on the face of the reactionary armed forces. They show that howsoever the state security forces mouth the “serve and protect” slogan, the masses still consider them the enemy; while they regard the New People’s Army variously as their sons and daughters, their friends, their teachers, doctors, agriculturists—and their protectors.

The reactionary regime and its minions would easily dismiss this kind of materials as communist propaganda. Indeed, it is. Because to the revolutionary movement, propaganda is a mass undertaking and everyone is a propagandist, including fighters of the New People’s Army.

Chairman Mao clearly pointed out that the people’s army should certainly not confine itself to fighting, but should be an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution.

At the Kutien Congress, Chairman Mao wrote: “The Red Army fights not merely for the sake of fighting but in order to conduct propaganda among the masses, organize them, arm them, and help them to establish revolutionary political power. Without these objectives, fighting loses its meaning and the Red Army loses the reason for its existence.”



These posts by Liberation were taken down in 2019 by Facebook supposedly for violating community guidelines — whatever that means.

“Ang NPA ay parang ‘salesman’ ng ideya, ng ideolohiya at pakikibaka. Kung ang inilalako mo ay bagong anyo ng pamumuhay, bagong lipunan, dapat nakikita yan ng masa sa gawa. Tayo mismo ang pundasyon ng propaganda natin sa masa,” (“The NPA is like a salesman of idea, of ideology and struggle. If you were peddling a new way of life, a new society, the masses should see that in your actions. We, ourselves are the foundation of our propaganda among the masses”), said Ka Ompong, a former member of the NPA now deployed in an urban center.

Why should each one of us be a living propaganda? Because, whenever and wherever we are, we embody the vision, the prestige, and the legacy of the revolutionary movement.

In words and in deeds

“Everything a red fighter does has political implications,” said Ka Ompong. That covers their lifestyle, discipline, and how they conduct themselves not only among the masses but also within their collectives and among comrades. “These are as important as our knowledge and analysis on the issues confronting the masses,” he added.

READ

THE NPA COMMANDER WAS WISE ABOUT NOT GETTING STUCK IN HIS OWN IDEAS. INSTEAD, HE PRODUCED RESULTS ACCEPTABLE TO ALL BY ROUSING HIS TROOPS TO SUGGEST HOW TO ATTACK AND CAPTURE ENEMY POSITIONS AND HOW TO FULFILL THEIR TASKS. MUTUAL INSTRUCTIONS CAME OFF FLUIDLY BETWEEN OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS AND ALSO AMONG THE SOLDIERS THEMSELVES.

ibrant
DEMOCRACY

THRIVES IN THE PEOPLE'S ARMY

LIBERATION

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The relationship among comrades in a collective or within a unit of the people's army greatly matters to the masses, because in such setting, everyone's true self becomes evident in the course of time.

What the masses have usually observed is the camaraderie among the red fighters and democracy actually being practiced in the people's army. Outside of tactical military situations, when commanders of the NPA take control, there is no hierarchy, no feudal practices among Red fighters and officers.

Ka Ompong said comrades usually help each other to boost morale, each one serving as inspiration to the other in fostering the revolutionary aspirations as they engage in life-and-death situations every day. And this, he said, is evident to the masses. “One's conduct in the collective and how one values revolutionary work affect not only the trust of the masses but also the morale of the members of a collective.”

“The masses silently observe and they can tell the huge difference between the NPA fighters and the reactionary state troops. They judge us not only by what we say but also by our actions on a day-to-day basis, not only in relation to them but also on how we relate with each other. The masses compare us with comrades who came before us, but contrast us from the reactionary troops,” Ka Ompong explained.

The prestige of the leading comrades and Red fighters today, how they are held in high esteem by the masses, are founded on the trust gained and built up by preceding comrades who first introduced the masses to the revolutionary movement in the 70s.

No match

With varied versions, stories abound on how the people can tell the difference between the mercenary soldiers and the NPA simply in relation to chicken. The state military, they said, would immediately look around for live chicken to cook as soon as they enter the community. The NPA would be embarrassed if they are served with a chicken dish, knowing that villagers raise chicken not for their own consumption but for sale to derive income.

“*Masarap sa dila, masakit sa puso*” (“Delicious to our tongues, painful to our hearts”) is a short story that recounts the NPA’s heartache when they learned, after enjoying a welcoming dinner, that the farmers paid a high price in preparing special food for them. As the NPA deeply identifies with the farmers, they should not eat differently from the latter. This is a fundamental difference from them that the reactionary troops can’t grasp.

There were ridiculous instances in the past when the reactionary armed forces, when they came into the communities, attempted to copy the ways of the NPA: the way they speak, dress up, and help the masses in their




house chores or in the farms. But, sooner than later, the true character of the mercenary troops comes out, their fangs show, their blood-stained hands stink.

Being “second-rate, trying-hard copycats” doesn’t work. Sincerity and truthfulness do. After all, the mercenary soldiers stand to protect the system that oppresses and exploits the masses while the NPA and the masses stand on the same ground—they fight the same battle and dream of the same bright future of genuine national democracy. Besides, the NPA strictly adhere to tres-otso or the “Three Rules of Discipline and Eights Points of Attention” akin to Mao Tse Tung’s military philosophy that serves as guide for the people’s army in dealing with the civilian population.

Under the Party’s guidance, the NPA embodies the revolutionary movement’s main form of struggle, the armed struggle. The fight for agrarian

revolution is the main content of the national democratic struggle. Alongside this is the building of revolutionary mass bases and organs of political power, the seeds of the new democratic republic through which socialist construction shall commence.

The mercenary soldiers of the AFP are no match to the Red fighters of the NPA. “The Red fighters are the foremost propagandists of the revolutionary movement because their words and actions are consistently correlative,” Ka Ompong emphasized. “Our words and our deeds—collectively and individually—is propaganda in the service of the revolution, in the service of our people,” he concluded. 



“One’s conduct in the collective and how one values revolutionary work affect not only the trust of the masses but also the morale of the members of a collective.”

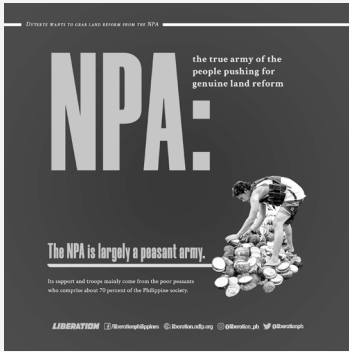
Let's get real.

When the revolutionary movement calls for agrarian revolution, it means agrarian revolution. It is not merely a call or just a slogan but a reality in the guerrilla zones. This propaganda has substance and exists in the real world, so unlike the bogus land reform of the reactionary regimes.

For one, the Communist Party of the Philippines is the only political organization in the country that, in the past 50 years, has implemented true agrarian reform which benefited and freed, in varying degrees, thousands of peasants from the centuries-old feudal bondage. The reactionary state's various land reform programs, despite the pompous rhetoric, only tightened the grip of the landlord class over the peasantry.



**AGRARIAN
REVOLUTION:
THE SLOGAN IS
THE REALITY**



(Read Duterte Wants to Grab Land Reform from the NPA <https://liberation.ndfp.org/counter-current/duterte-wants-to-grab-land-reform-from-the-npa/>)



(Read PKM: Wellspring of the NPA <https://liberation.ndfp.org/main-stream/pkm-wellspring-of-the-npa/>)

Ka Ompong, who was interviewed in the article “The people’s army as propagandists” recalled how the New People’s Army, with the Party’s guidance, has concretized the call for agrarian revolution and turned it into a reality for thousands of peasants. The NPA is the main instrument of the CPP in implementing agrarian revolution in the countryside—a third of its three complementary tasks that include armed struggle and building the revolutionary mass base.

Agrarian revolution in real life

“The Red fighters are used to organizing work—in building groups and organizations. The call for agrarian revolution is at the core of our efforts to arouse, organize, and mobilize the masses; a concern that is at the heart of the interest of the poor peasants and is the main content of the national democratic revolution,” said Ka Ompong.

But the challenge, he said, still lies on the level of organizational and political unity of the masses to make a success of agrarian reform. How the revolutionary movement works with the masses to actualize the call for agrarian revolution is also important.

From his experience, Ka Ompong emphasized the importance of integration with the masses. To apply the correct political line in waging agrarian revolution, social investigation (SI) and class analysis are conducted to firmly grasp the concrete conditions of the barrio and the masses. This then defines the specific tactics to be used. He likewise pointed out the role of the various forms of propaganda and cultural activities in reaching out to the masses and in seeing through the victory of an agrarian reform campaign in the countryside.

Throughout the years, land reform (the minimum and maximum program) has been implemented by the revolutionary movement, specifically the NPA with members of the Pambansang Kilusang mga Magbubukid (PKM). This is done in varying degrees depending on the capacity of the masses and the strength of their mass organizations.

Already, there have been numerous successful campaigns against usurious traders, wage increase for agricultural workers, turning idle lands into productive sources of livelihood, and in

promoting cooperative endeavors among peasants. All these have brought relative improvement in the lives of the peasantry and their community. Consequently, the gains in the agrarian reform strengthen the revolutionary mass organizations and inspire on the masses to advance further the armed struggle.

In consolidated villages, Red fighters have relative ease in reaching out to the masses. They prepare the masses to confront, by themselves, the landlords and traders without relying on the actual presence of the NPA. In these consolidated areas some features of the maximum land reform program are already implemented.

In expansion areas, where the Party groups and NPA units almost start from scratch, continuous SI and integration with the masses result in arousing, organizing and mobilizing them to commit to revolutionary tasks, among them the anti-feudal campaign and agrarian revolution.

Ka Ompong said that in both cases and in all levels of organization and phases of mobilization, propaganda and cultural work are important components of the plan. Specific calls and slogans are adjusted as the people's army gets a deeper understanding of the overall situation in the barrios where agrarian revolution will be implemented.

Propaganda and cultural work

With gusto, Ka Ompong related that propaganda and cultural work normally ease the way in explaining to the masses the benefits of agrarian revolution.

In the barrios assigned to them the SI teams would double as cultural performers to facilitate interaction with the masses. They would serenade households and perform skits to break the ice between them and the village folk.

When the whole team is already in the barrio, they would meet and discuss and synthesize the results of their initial SI. Ka Ompong proudly shared that as they work on the SI result some of the team members would already write the skit and line up the songs based on their data.

Drama, comedy skits were also used by Ka Ompong's team to present back to the masses the results of the social investigation conducted in the barrio, including jokes the NPA members gathered in the process. The initial hesitation of the masses in relating with the Red fighters would be presented in a comic way. Expectedly, the jokes elicited so much laughter from the barrio folk that oftentimes encouraged the masses to participate in the discussion. Getting the masses to speak up, especially the peasants, is not that easy, said Ka Ompong.

“We would immediately know we were on the right track when discussions with the masses continue beyond the formal *pulong masa* (mass meeting) and into the night,” said Ka Ompong with a light in his eyes. 🐦



(Read **Breaking Away from the Usurious Farm Traders** <https://liberation.ndfp.org/main-stream/breaking-away-from-the-usurious-farm-traders/>)

High Time
to Raise

Revolutionary Internet Army

by Pinky Ang



That is SOP inside the hundred-plus guerrilla zones in the Philippine countryside and within revolutionary cells in cities here and abroad. We are talking here of one more tool, albeit owned and controlled by, and a profit source for capitalists: the internet. It is exceedingly useful at spreading information and facilitating communication, but it has dangers also of spreading disinformation and facilitating surveillance.

Still, we cannot allow the reactionaries to hog this communication tool for themselves and for their lies. We can try applying our guerrilla tactics here so we can use it also as a tool where revolutionaries can try to be just as organized and flexible, not only at facing down blatant coercion and censorship but also in bringing the revolutionary agenda closer to the masses.

Where the masses are, so there too are the revolutionaries.

Where people consume and exchange news and views, the programs for revolutionary change must be out there also. As the social and economic crisis deepens, the masses are searching for answers and solutions. As such, the programs and goals of the national democratic revolution with socialist perspective should be there for their taking, easily posted, discussed, and widely shared and reacted to.

Filipinos ranked second on the list of countries whose citizens spend the most time on the internet and social media. Across the globe, internet users aged 16 to 64 spent an average of six hours and 58 minutes using the internet each day on any device, said the latest Digital 2022 report released in February 2022. Internet users in the Philippines in the same age range connected to the internet even longer, spending an average of 10 hours and 27 minutes each day in the same period within the last 12 months.

Of course, a bitter joke easily comes to mind: internet is so slow in the Philippines inducing the people to surf longer than their counterparts in other countries. Still, the fact that the masses are in the internet means the revolutionaries just cannot let them become captive audience by all sort of reactionary, backward, and toxic thinking spewed by the troll armies of reactionary governments.

Optimizing online presence

“Ceaseless publication of the truth and fact-checking” are needed to counter the consistent lies, whitewashing, and claims of troll armies, said Ka Agosto in an interview with *Liberation*. He is a member of *Liga ng Agham para sa Bayan* (League of Scientists for the People, LAB), a revolutionary underground group of scientists and technologists affiliated with the National Democratic Front of the Philippines.

But more than aspiring to release just tit-for-tat correction of the loads of garbage being dumped against the truth, the revolutionary underground organizations are encouraged to build and strengthen their presence in the internet.

“*Kahit toxic ang socmed* (social media), *kung nasaan ang masa, dapat nandoon ka.*” (No matter how toxic the social media is, wherever the masses are, you ought to be there as well), said Ka Danica, a science student in charge of LAB revolutionary propaganda.

She hoped the revolutionaries also have a way of distributing content in various cultural forms that are followed or liked by many. To become adept at it, getting involved in various platforms being used or followed by many in the internet is a must, said Ka Danica.

This means, revolutionary propagandists making use of the internet should at least consume or familiarize themselves with trends in social media and internet. That way, explained Ka Danica, the team can better tap such trends and platforms and relate them to revolutionary propaganda work.

During the longest series of lockdowns ascribed as responses to the COVID-19 pandemic, the people’s internet usage increased as schools, work, and personal interactions turned to online mechanisms.

The online world was maximized as well by some revolutionary organs



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#CPPSA

and groups who conducted consultations using relatively secure and privacy-conscious or privacy-respecting apps and platforms. Some groups reported to have even conducted short or staggered revolutionary education courses online during the pandemic.

“We were able to systematize our education materials and send it to participants securely,” said Ka Agosto.

The revolutionary mass movement can and should flex its presence online, through increasing posts, shares, comments and engagements, and increasing online repositories of revolutionary materials such as websites and hosting of revolutionary sites and archives. Particularly after the websites of the PRWC, *Liberation*, and various wordpresses publishing revolutionary articles were repeatedly shut down in recent years, there is a need to organize and run more websites, hosting and mirroring of revolutionary content.

As we say in protracted people’s war, guerrilla tactics can also work here. Not all our websites and socmed accounts can be blocked, shut down or subjected to Distributed Denial-of-Service (DDoS) attack at the same time and for long. Thus, we can reappear in different addresses and accounts keep our presence increasing in more circles in the internet.

Distributing and improving on these repositories for our content online are tasks that revolutionaries have been doing, either by downloading and outright physical printing and distribution or by religiously sharing and making sure these are spread to as wide a network as possible in their internet accounts.

“Just be prepared that these online repositories and/or socmed accounts might be taken down or shut down, blocked or reported. In which case be ready to swiftly create new accounts,” said Ka Agosto. The point is, the creation, posting, sharing, and engaging with revolutionary content must be continuously happening, at times even trending, in the internet.

Serve The Revolution
Serve The People
#CPP54

LONG
LIVE
THE
CPP




Nothing beats F2F

Despite this, Ka Agosto was quick to point out the limits of what one can do in the internet. Anything that can be done face-to-face is still better, he stressed, such as in discussing revolutionary issues and conducting education courses.

Abroad, revolutionaries among migrant workers also insist that face-to-face interaction is



still better. And, participating in the national democratic revolution is not just about posting in social media. Online rallies are not the new way or the sole way of taking action, but just another way of strengthening and amplifying people's collective actions on the ground.

The physical on-the-ground movement is still the best and the original source of strength of the revolution. 



the context

INFORMATION CONTROL

Attacks in physical world are deodorized and covered up in the traditional media but is actually worse in the virtual world. Lies and disinformation in fact have gone frenzied online

In the last few years of *de facto* martial law in the Philippines, both urban and rural communities have been intensely saturated with the deployment of reactionary armed military troops and police forces. Separately or in tandem, they have acted as “investment” defense forces of landlords, plunderers and exploiters; suppressing the people to enable the ruling classes’ unhampered amassing of riches.

The government leaders clearly side with imperialist dictates in exchange for power and share in spoils, loots,

and kickbacks. Yet, whenever they speak, they thoroughly convert black into white and vilify the people opposed to them, especially the Red fighters of the New People’s Army.

The reactionary government’s lies-based witch-hunting and the bombing and strafing of communities have an equivalent operation in the traditional mass media and internet. One only has to see the red-tagging, terrorist labelling, vilification, and disinformation campaigns by the NTF-ELCAC to see the abundance of fake news it churns out every day.

As a puppet of American imperialists since 1946, the reactionary government has been following the US borderless “war on terror” since 2002 and implementing its 2009 counterinsurgency guide. As an “ally,” it has been getting US military aid, including building its cyberwarfare capabilities so it can deal with local revolutionaries and “control the situation.” With such aided capabilities, the AFP’s real-time monitoring of the battlefield is enhanced allowing them to know when, where, and how much troops and equipment to deploy against the people and the revolutionaries.


The US also continually trains AFP personnel in ‘controlling the information environment’ through psy-ops and disinformation, as the CPP disclosed in a statement last March 29, the anniversary of the New People’s Army.

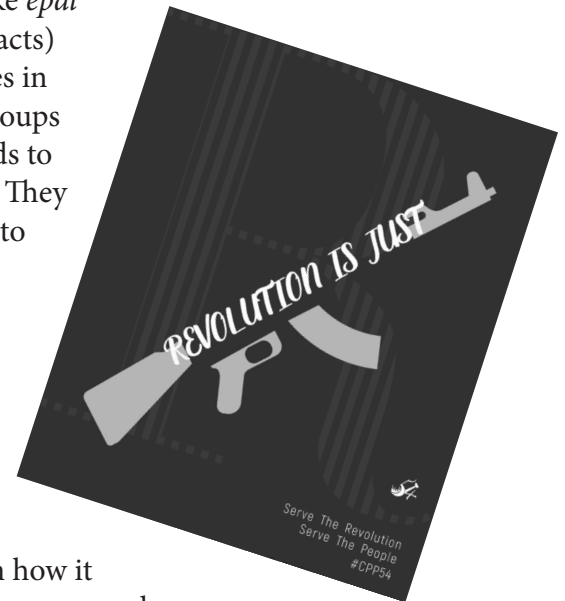
Regarding information control, the reactionary government and its military are doing what they can to censor the truth especially about the great contributions of revolutionary programs to the people’s welfare, particularly in the countryside. At the same time, it maximizes the use of media and the internet to parade “surrenderers,” and conjure illusions that the revolutionaries are being abandoned by the masses. For example, they repeatedly claim in the media that the AFP receives “information

from civilians” against NPA units whereas the information is supplied by their hired agents and spies.

At the same time, the government and its military try hard to project a positive image of the AFP, showcasing “livelihood” or “housing” projects which, as the CPP pointed out on March 29, 2022, do not address the deep roots of the masses’ poverty and oppression. Recall also how the AFP tries to make *epal* (attention grabbing acts) squeezing themselves in whenever civilian groups distribute relief goods to victims of disasters. They have also attempted to hijack achievements and projects of peoples’ and non-government organizations.

During the Duterte regime, the AFP was exposed on how it trained and tasked its personnel to mount cyberattacks against the websites of the CPP and NDFP, and other news websites that are critical of the Duterte regime.

Their goal is to annihilate the armed revolutionaries, but their actions actually include as targets the masses of civilians and democratic activists and critics. But, as history has proven, these acts only fuel the revolution and hasten the downfall of the reactionary State. 





Propaganda
in the days of
dictatorship

by Vida Gracias

She was young, in her early twenties, fresh out of journalism school. But instead of working for the mainstream media, she went underground. As many similarly inclined activists and cadres had done, she joined the staff of numerous underground publications during martial law.

Ka Merced began her stint as revolutionary propagandist when Ferdinand Marcos Sr turned dictator and ruled tyrannically for the next 14 years. Note that upon the declaration of martial law, media was the first adversely hit, she said. People immediately sensed something was amiss when in the early morning of September 21, 1972, the radio was dead quiet. TV screens showed only ant-like electronic images, and newspapers no longer appeared on doorsteps or newsstands.

On September 23, Marcos Sr's information minister Francisco "Kit" Tatad read on state television Proclamation 1081 placing the entire Philippines under martial law.

With media offices padlocked, information was coming solely from the government station, PTV 4. To buttress the dictatorship, cronies churned out mouthpieces like *The Daily Express* and TV Channel 9 (both owned by Roberto Benedicto, a sugar baron and known Marcos crony). To ensure further censorship, the KBP (*Kapisanan ng mga Brodkaster ng Pilipinas*) was controlled and "rumor-mongering" was criminalized. Also, anyone found with a single leaflet critical of the regime could be thrown in jail for six months. Being tagged a "subversive" then was as dangerous as being red-tagged now as "terrorist."



Let a hundred flowers bloom

Amid the forced information blackout, the national democratic mass movement went to work. The prevailing conditions of repression and censorship only fueled what Chairman Mao Zedong once said: “Let a hundred flowers bloom.” And true enough, underground publications sprouted—from the national to the local levels, from sectoral to territorial lines, from Luzon to Mindanao.

The already existing *Ang Bayan*, official organ of the Communist Party of the Philippines led the pack and soon the National Democratic Front also published *Liberation*. An enterprising cadre launched the underground news service, *Balita ng Malayang Pilipinas* (BMP). Among others the cultural workers and artists published *Ulos*; the workers, *Proletaryo*; the youth, *Kalayaan*; the women, *Malayang Pilipina*; the health workers, *Lunas*; and the Christian for National Liberation, *Pilipinas*.

Some regions also came out with serial publications such as the *Taliba ng Bayan* in Manila-Rizal; *Himagsik* in Central Luzon; *Dangadang* in Northern Luzon; *Larab* in Eastern Visayas; *Kalatas* in Southern Tagalog; and *Silyab* in Bicol. Later, the guerrilla broadcast *Radyo Sierra Madre* broke into the scene, though short-lived. These underground media dealt not just with the abuses of the Marcos regime but, more so, expounded on the national democratic line and program.

As the anti-dictatorship movement flourished, more people and groups in the open mass media were emboldened to challenge the dictatorship, such as *We Forum* and *Ang Pahayagang Malaya* of the late Joe Burgos Jr in Luzon and the Church-based *Bandilyo sa Bukidnon* in Mindanao.

Other publications, though still clandestine, also merited popular support, such as *Signs of the Times* for its humor and wit. Also, *Balita ng Malayang Pilipinas* continually brought uncensored news, developments, and analysis including the armed struggle being waged in the countryside.



Revolutionary pressroom

Quite fascinating were the behind-the-scenes happenings—the difficulties matched with the perseverance—which revolutionary propagandists experienced during this period. A propagandist was commonly understood to be a writer. As Ka Merced shared, at the time the main medium of propaganda was print. It was just perfect as propaganda was clandestine—print could not be easily detected, could be shared and repeatedly read, and could be replicated.

Also, the only technology available to the underground mass movement were hand-crafted V (Vietnam)-type silk screens, and much later, typewriters, stencils and mimeographing machines, and print scanners. Though households were beginning to acquire betamax machines, at the time video production and computers were expensive and required special skills.

Instantly a private home, or any available room, could be turned into a printing press using a V-type silk screen. One or two persons could squeeze into a small space,

surrounded by a few stacks of mimeographing sheets and tubes of Gestetner ink in a corner. Not all household members were made aware what the young propagandists were doing except that, when the task was done, they would emerge from the room with spots of black ink peppered on their clothes, and smudges lining their faces, hands and fingers, and legs to boot.

Far into the night, when people are already asleep, Ka Merced and her comrade would sit sprawled on the floor, their backs hunched as they squeezed ink on the

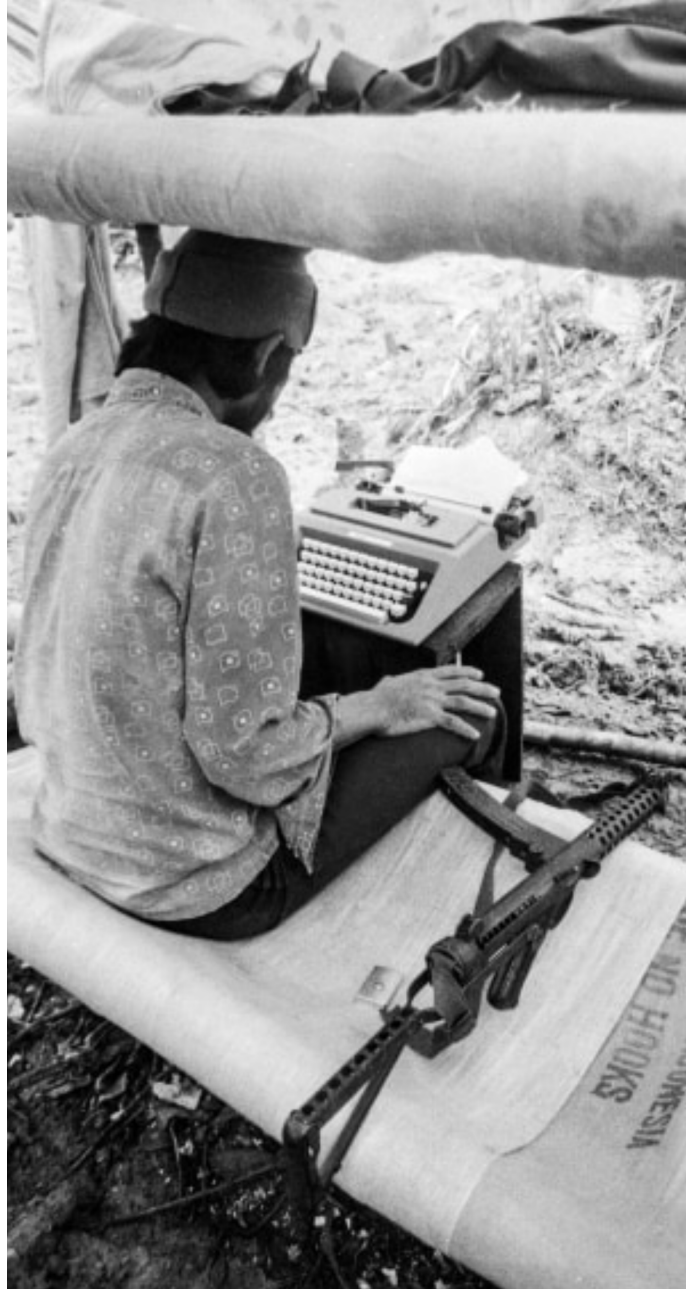
silk screen and, aided by a squeegee or a smooth rubber, would carefully slide it from top to bottom of the screen. They did this page by page always hopeful to get the desired image that was sharp, clean and readable, lest so many papers could go to waste. They would repeat it a thousand times, literally, for a thousand copies, no matter that their backs were aching, their stomachs growling for food, their throats drying for lack of water, and their noses assaulted by the smell of ink.

How they did it

That was how precious propaganda was, and many forms, series, versions of it were delivered and many young revolutionaries got into this norm. In urban centers, some comrades would fly balloons in crowded areas only to burst with anti-dictatorship slogans. Or had cats run around in Churches with tingling bells on their neck and plastered on their body was the slogan: “Marcos, Hitler, Diktador, Tuta.” Pentel pens and paper tapes were made ready to paint slogans on walls, halls, comfort rooms, and even on the backs of bus seats that are visible to the next passengers.

Nothing was, or ever sacred, in piercing the enemy with their pen.

Conditions differed in the countryside, said Ka Merced. She also worked with a propaganda unit in Central Luzon and experienced busily running after deadlines. Every two or three days, depending on the security situation or the availability of hosts, they would change stations, carting away with them their typewriters, drafts, office supplies, and voluminous papers,



plus heavy backpacks and long or short arms on their side. The *masa* would reserve a small working space for them, mostly on the floor, because working on tables ran the risk of making their presence visible from the outside.


The sound of the typewriter was muffled, they would speak and argue in low tones, editing quietly, always with their backs hunched, until you notice that they had long ago said goodbye to good posture.

Professionalism

Meanwhile, professionalism was at its best in the office of *Ang Bayan* (AB). Amazed, she certainly was, said Ka Merced. Senior writers were around, top-notch journalists who went underground because of martial law. There were also artists who meticulously did their illustrations on stencil paper using stylus pens (different from those used today for tablets and pads.)

Work was done in clock-work fashion: deadlines were met, editing was tight, and *Ang Bayan* rolled off the mimeographing machines every two weeks, on the dot. Every phase of production was run separately in different houses by different units, who never knew each other saved for their aliases or team leaders. The editorial staff kept to themselves and so did the production and distribution teams.

AB was the most awaited publication not only by Party members but practically all revolutionaries. Much care and creativity ensured that AB got to its readers, especially in the regions. But like the struggle, the publication had its ups and downs and at certain periods became vulnerable to enemy attacks.

Ka Merced has remained a dyed-in-the-wool optimist. She said that conditions may change, new technologies may develop, yet new propagandists and new methods of work have arisen to continue what other propagandists have started decades ago. But with certainty, revolutionary propagandists will always remain true to their calling of spreading the word of the national democratic revolution whenever and wherever possible. 



From the campus to the countryside: **Spread the word to liberation**

by *Pat Gambao*

Campus journalists play a vital role in the unfolding of society. After all, the school is a microcosm of a larger intricate world where the youth, the hope of the future, can contribute to change. Antonio (“Tony”) Sandoval Tagamolila was Editor-in-Chief of the *Philippine Collegian*, the campus publication of the University of the Philippines. He was also national president of the College Editors Guild of the Philippines (CEGP) in 1970, a time of the culmination of the 1960s political awakening and the heightening of inspiring activism.

Conveniently using his writings and those of fellow student journalists brought to light the real situation of the country and the yokes of US imperialism, domestic feudalism, and bureaucrat capitalism that fettered the broad masses to abject poverty and exploitation. They



elucidated on the principles and programs of the national democratic movement and the imperative and decisive solution to the ills of Philippine society.

Cognizant of the need to involve the broad masses for the pursuit of change, Tony and other students and youth immersed with workers in factories and eventually with



farmers in the countryside. When Martial Law was declared, Tony and many activists and cadres in Metro Manila went back to their respective provinces to continue the goal to attain social and national liberation. Tony or Ka Del left for Western Visayas, the region of his birth, to

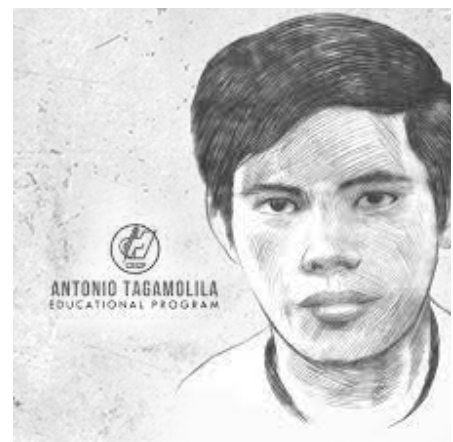
pursue his propaganda work as Party cadre of the National Press Bureau (NPrB). Soon after, he joined the New People's Army (NPA). It was there where he was martyred in a lopsided battle with the instrument of the fascist State.

Humble beginnings and lofty aspirations

Born to Manuel Tagamolila and Casiana Sandoval on

January 17, 1950, Tony hailed from Iloilo City where he spent his childhood until his elementary years. His father had no stable job but that did not hinder Tony and older brother Crispin to pursue their education. Intelligent as they were, the siblings enjoyed government scholarships.

In high school, Tony was a scholar at the UP High School where he was literary editor of the school publication *UP Highlights*.



He graduated First Honor. Called “Tony Taga,” by his high school classmates, he was known to be “quiet, calm, self-assured. And super *talino* (intelligent),” wrote a high school barkada, Dr. Sonny Siasoco, MD. in his article “Remembrance of Times Past with Tony Tagamolila” (<https://bit.ly/3CcKvxB>).

became Fraternity brothers when they joined the Alpha Sigma Fraternity with another high school buddy, Doy Vea.

As a student, Tony also became a member of progressive organizations such as the *Kabataang Makabayan* (KM, Patriotic Youth) in 1966 and later in the *Samahan ng Demokratikong Kabataan* (SDK, Organization of Democratic Youth). His membership in these organizations and immersion with workers in factories and farmers in the countryside molded Tony into a committed proletarian revolutionary.

Tony married his college sweetheart and comrade in SDK, Victoria Segui. At the time, Vicki was also a leader of the *Malayang Kilusan ng Bagong Kababaihan* (MAKIBAKA, Free Movement of the New Women) before it was banned when martial law was declared. Before Tony finally left for his deployment in Western Visayas to fulfill his tasks as Party cadre of the NPrB, he had spent some time to cuddle and care for his newborn son. He left in November 1972, after Martial Law was imposed.

An article posted in *Bantayog ng mga Bayani* (<https://www.bantayog.org/tagamolila-antonio-s/>), Tony’s wife Vicki was quoted, “He wanted to go back to his roots...He was going to give back everything that he had learned...it was his obsession.”

Earlier, on March 29, 1971, his brother Crispin, then a 26-year-old lieutenant of the Philippine Army had already defected to the NPA. (Read Crispin Tagamolila’s journey: <https://liberation.ndfp.org/main-stream/rise-up-for-country-and-people-pt-1-of-2/>)

READ

CRISPIN TAGAMOLILA



“I have realized that the (AFP) is the primary instrument of oppression of the righteous dissent of the suffering masses.”

Ka Cely
Lt. Crispin Sandoval-Tagamolila
March 29, 1971

LIBERATION | liberation.ph | liberation.ndfp.org | [@liberation_ph](https://twitter.com/liberation_ph) | [liberation.ph](https://facebook.com/liberation.ph)

He was a “regular guy,” said Dr. Siasoco. “In high school, we did the usual high school things that teenagers do. We climbed the 200-plus circular steps to the wings

of the angels in the Quezon Memorial Circle and tossed paper airplanes, and cigarette butts at our nervous buddies on the ground.” But upon learning of his involvement in the revolutionary movement and later Tony’s death as a Red fighter of the NPA, Siasoco remarked, “Growing up with the guy, and knowing him as I did, I do not doubt these allegations.”

Tony and older brother Crispin again earned scholarship grants in college. Crispin went to the Philippine Military Academy while Tony enrolled in engineering at the University of the Philippines. He later shifted to economics and graduated in 1971 with a Bachelor’s Degree in Economics.

At the UP, Dr. Siasoco and Tony joined the *Philippine Collegian*. They also

Campus journalist

Starting out as a columnist in the *Philippine Collegian*, Tony later became Editor-in-Chief. It was during his time as editor-in-chief that Amado Guerrero's *Philippine Society and Revolution* was serialized in the *Philippine Collegian*. He also played an important role in organizing the League of Editors for the Advancement of a Democratic Society (LEADS), which developed progressive campus editors.

Their weekly presswork at the Liwayway Printing Press in Manila gave them the opportunity to meet fellow campus activists and writers from various campus publications from the University Belt, "which led to the revival of the College Editors Guild of the Philippines (CEGP), which had been inactive for a while," recalled Dr. Siasoco. This ushered in militancy in the CEGP as they won the leadership. CEGP began issuing statements and press releases that undauntedly exposed and condemned the Marcos regime's incompetence and negligence. CEGP even came out with a poster that said, *Isulong and Ikalawang Kilusang Propaganda* (Advance the Second Propaganda Movement).

A CEGP colleague interviewed by *Liberation* remembers Tony as the soft-spoken Ilonggo. "As a speaker, Tony brought with him his journalist's grounding—brief, clear, and concise," said Ka Sophia. Tony also took efforts to lighten up discussions on serious issues to hold interest. And to ensure that the issues were imbibed, he painstakingly continued elaborating on them during informal discussions. "It was his way, too to convince those who might still have doubts," continued Ka Sophia.

Onward to fulfilling his aspirations

Tony excelled not only in propaganda but also in united front work. This had exposed him to the prying eyes of the enemy. Twice, he gingerly evaded being caught. With his urban job getting risky, he requested deployment to the countryside with the NPA. Their team settled in a forested area in Panay where life was so impoverished. The land, mostly stones and rocks made planting rice impossible. The people there thrived on roots and tubers. Isolated, they sewed their own clothes from hand woven abaca fibers. An ideal place for guerrilla warfare, it was also the base of the *Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon* (HUKBLAHAP) in the 1940s.




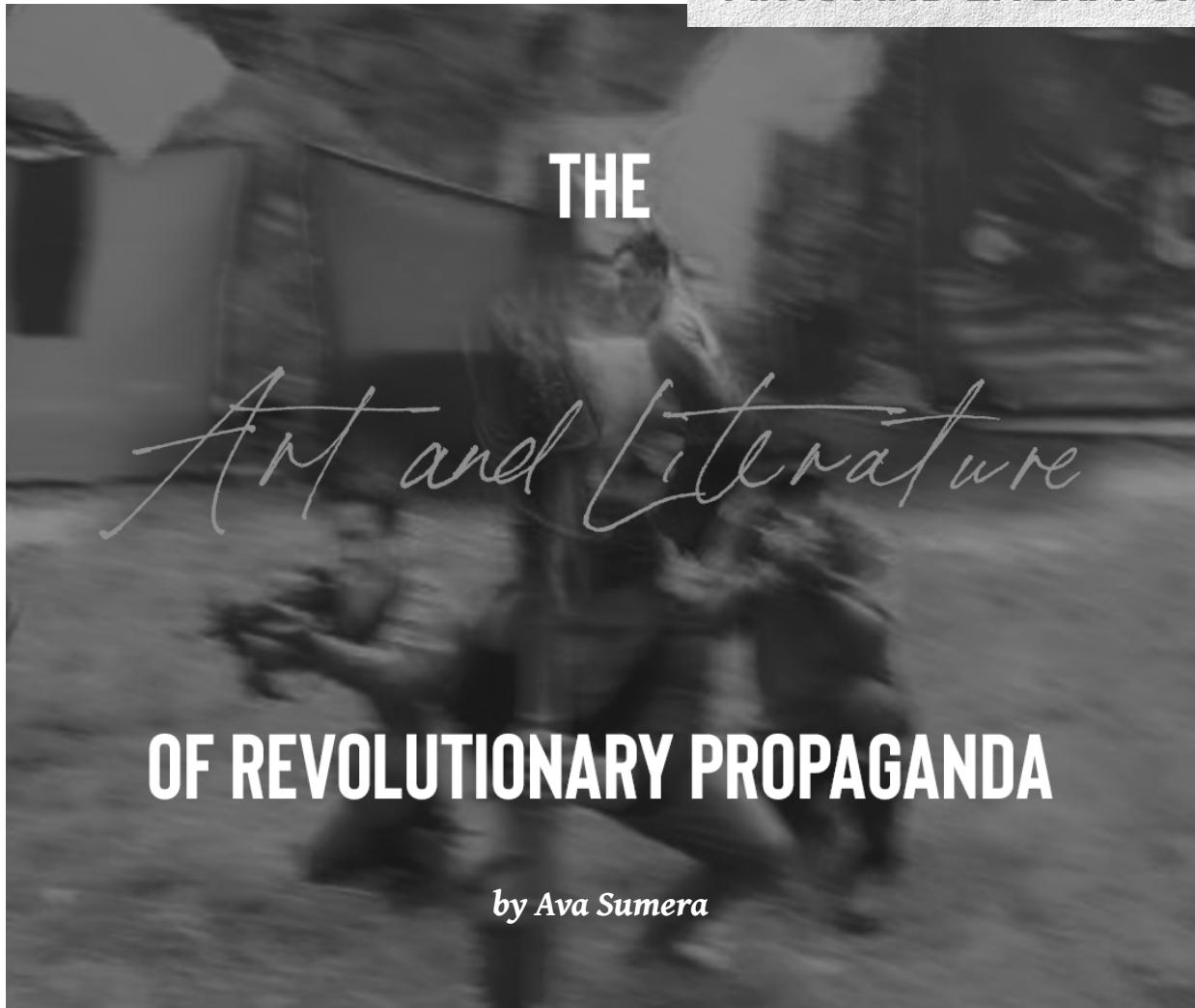


On that fateful day of February 18, 1974, government military forces raided their hut located on the common border of Aklan and Capiz provinces. Despite being outnumbered, they put up a valiant fight against the far superior weapons of state forces. Killed with Tony/Ka Del were student leaders from Manila, Babes Calixto of the *Samahan ng mga Progresibong Propagandista* (SPP, Association of Progressive Propagandists) and Antonio Hilario (Tony Hil) of SDK.

In the obituary carried by a national newspaper, Antonio Tagamolila's death was described as heavier than a mountain. It

reminds of the Great Leader Mao Zedong's quote in tribute to people's martyrs: "All men must die, but death can vary in its significance. The ancient Chinese writer Szuma Chien said, 'Though death befalls all men alike, it may be weightier than Mount Tai or lighter than a feather.' To die for the people is weightier than Mount Tai, but to work for the fascists and die for the exploiters and oppressors is lighter than a feather."

In 1991, at the 25th year homecoming reunion of Tony Taga's high school batch, a Scholarship Fund named after him was started "to commemorate his legacy and ultimate sacrifice." Dr. Siasoco remembered how he felt when he saw Tony's eldest son Crispin (named after his brother who was also martyred). "Cris is the spitting image of his dad, and I have to admit, for a few moments during the ceremony, yours truly went *verklemt*." 



For more than five decades now, Filipinos have read, watched, heard and discussed the opposing revolutionary and reactionary propaganda. In recent years though, the reactionary propaganda has degenerated to just big budget production of fake news and redtag-to-kill-the-messengers approach. The way they have to organize a national task force just to do this—to evade addressing the plight of the masses and to deodorize its armed troops and mercenaries—shows how hard-pressed the reactionary government is at quelling revolutionary propaganda.

Have the reactionaries run out of inspiration to conjure illusionary catch-calls for their failure to address the needs and interests of the masses? At present the US-Marcos Jr regime can't even mint new slogans to try to repackage the puppet government as THE people's government, and arrest its exposure as actually the government of landlords, bourgeois compradors and imperialists. Instead,

between attending parties, Marcos Jr has been busy parrying criticisms not just of the plunderous US-Marcos Sr but of its own bumbling leadership.

If the only source of information were the reactionary media and institutions—which it seeks so hard to do given the heap of censorship tools it has been slapping against the people—the public would be shocked that in fact, the national democratic revolution is still alive and kicking. How many regimes of puppet and reactionaries have boasted it would crush the revolution since the time of Marcos 1?

The persistence of Philippines' new national democratic revolution with socialist perspective can be understood in part through a reading of its propaganda.

Cherished by the People

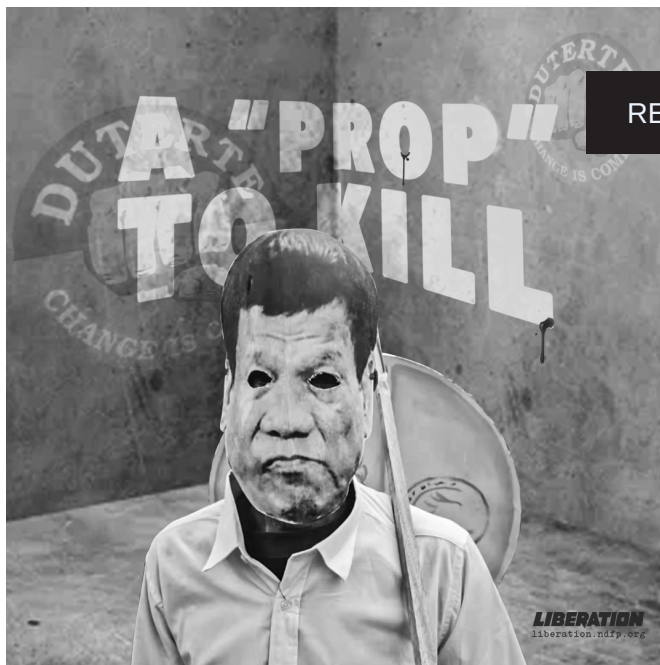
Every revolutionary is a propagandist. Part of their work is to produce news, reports, and artworks containing the collective views, tasks, concerns, and achievements of the Philippine revolution.

Since its inception, the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), New People's

Army (NPA), and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) have come out with news, reports and analyses, interviews, statements, and studies on national, regional, and international situation. These are carried by the CPP's central publication, *Ang Bayan*, the NDFP's *Liberation*, and the many regional publications of the CPP, various NPA commands, and the NDFP member

organizations.

These publications are distributed nationally and globally and are available both online and in print. Overall, these are mostly timely sources of information and analyses for the political guidance of the revolutionaries and the masses.



Interspersed with these are propaganda in the form of literary and art works that land on the Arts and Literary section of the publications. Mostly these are stories, poems, skits and plays, letters, biographies/tributes and other narratives, illustrations and artworks, etc. These pieces remain relevant despite regime changes.

For being reflective of the people's plight and aspirations, all these propaganda forms naturally resonate and connect with the people.



PRECIOUS OUTPUTS IN OBVIOUS AND HIDDEN PLACES:

REVOLUTIONARY PROPAGANDA AS MASS MOVEMENT

Apart from these publications, several other forms of propaganda abound with stories of people's dreams, hopes, and vision of the future of the revolution.

Writings on the Wall

The revolutionary and progressive peoples' poetic and artistic bent are easily heard and seen on resounding slogans chanted in street rallies, public gatherings, OP-OD'ed (literally means operation painting or pasting) on walls and carried around or hung as posters, banners, streamers, sometimes even worn on one's skin or clothing, or put on one's pet like cats that roam around. A popular form in the countryside is *balatengga* where slogans are written on rice sacks and hung on trees.

During the dark days of the dictatorship, when campus publications were banned, pieces of *perydikit* or wall news (usually using Manila paper where news items were handwritten) were posted in strategic areas.

(Related article: *Propaganda in the Days of Dictatorship* in this issue)

ORAL SHARING

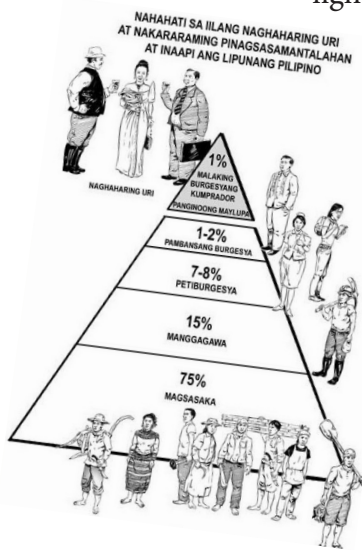
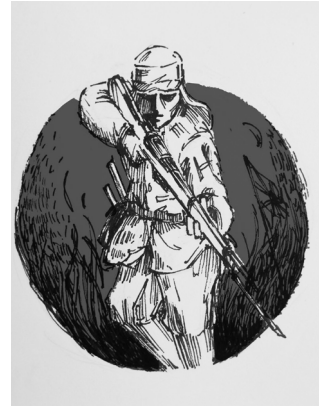
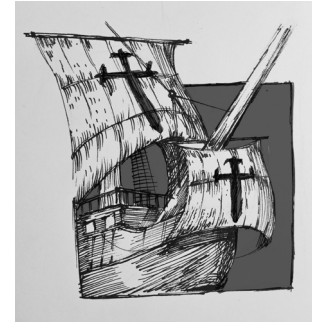
There is verbal propaganda such as fiery speeches at demonstrations and mass meetings in urban and countryside. Happening continually are house-to-house visits where a regular team of Red fighters and local organizers visit and engage the community in discussions about their lives and how these relate to local and national issues. (Related article: *The people's army as propagandists* in this issue).

Not to mention their meetings as collectives, revolutionaries and activists also habitually gather in circles with others to discuss or study current events or anything of import. Done in homes and communities, farms and outside workplaces, campuses, rooms, offices, or wherever safe and feasible, these have been an effective tool not only in recruitment but also in spreading oral history, news, insights, and experiences.

From sharing in discussion groups and gatherings, especially when followed up with deeper immersion and integration with the masses, propagandists absorb plenty of materials and inspirations. As the late Ka Parts (John Niebres) put it, “I wouldn’t have learned the lines and colors of the people’s war if I was not a Red fighter.” Ka Parts was a commander of the NPA and an artist.



 @umiigpaw



VISUALS

Thanks to works of revolutionary visual artists, guerrilla zones and even rallies in urban cities have become “moving art galleries” as the late artist Leonilo Doloricon said. The artists not only provide covers, cartoons, photos, and illustrations to publications but their works also became main features in posters, postcards, calendars, photo books, shirts, and education materials. In all these, the heroes are the masses.

Murals of them taking part in changing the exploitative system enliven mass gatherings and celebrations in both rural and urban settings.

Among the most notable contribution to this art form was the *Philippine Society and Revolution (PSR)* in comics form produced by the Education Bureau of the CPP with a collective of creative writers and artists. Some artists like Leyla Batang of the *Ulos* publication also produced for the CPP Education Department the *Modyul sa Pagdrowing para sa mga Instruktor*, a guide for instructors of Party courses. The revolutionary movement puts premium on the role of visual arts to facilitate the learning process especially of the masses.



SONGS

Over at YouTube there are Philippine revolutionary and progressive songs, but these are just scratching at the surface of the likely more numerous albums the revolutionaries have produced in the last five decades. Led by songs such as *Tano*, *Papuri sa Sosyalismo*, *Awit ng Tagumpay*, the hills and mountains are literally alive with the sound of music. These were reproduced and passed around from the time on cassette tapes, then CDs, and now via SD cards in the countryside.

In the 80s, there were many songs and artists who recorded revolutionary and progressive songs. Songs that dealt with the struggles of farmers, workers, various people's issues, vows to wage revolution, women's equality, struggle for self-determination, denunciation of imperialism, dirty wars, among others. Some even made it to mainstream radio, TV, and films. In Samar, adaptations of popular folk songs and even songs by bands like The Cascades or Beatles brought spring to the

steps of Red fighters and the masses. They kept the tune but changed the lyrics into issues and aspirations of the people.

Political prisoners in the late 70s to 80s produced songs which were compiled into an album *Ibong Malaya*, in cassette tapes. Some of these songs were: *Mutya* (Aloysius "Ochie" Baez), *Awit sa Kasal* (Jose Pepe Luneta), Andres Bonifacio's *Pagibig sa Tinubuang Lupa* (set to music by Luis Jorque.)

In 1984, the Special Committee on Culture of the CPP Central Publishing House issued *Mga Kanta ng Rebolusyong Pilipino*, a compilation of revolutionary songs since the 70s.

During the rectification movement in the 90s, ARMAS-Timog *Katagalugan* produced two albums *Dakilang Hamon* and *Alab ng Digmang Bayan*. The songs all tackled the lessons of the 2nd Great Rectification Movement. Also with ARMAS-TK, Bicol region came out with *Martsa kan Bicolandia*. Other regions such as Northern Luzon and Northern Mindanao had *Kanta ti Dangadang*

album, *Salidumay Diway* album, and *Salamin ng Northern Mindanao*, respectively.

Even the late Ka Roger Rosal, former spokesperson of the CPP, had a composition *Awit ng Kainginero* in the 80s—his tribute to his class origin, the peasantry.

When the CPP marked its 50th anniversary in 2018, revolutionaries and allies



skilled in music production organized a project to remaster or record again some of the revolutionary songs produced over the years—*Mga Kanta ng Rebolusyong Pilipino Revival*.

RADIO BROADCASTS

Filipino revolutionaries had a breakthrough with radio broadcasting when it built the guerrilla *Radyo Sierra Madre* that aired for the first time during the 19th anniversary of the CPP on December 26, 1987. People's scientist, the late Ramon Ramirez, using his knowledge in engineering and broadcasting set up the defunct *Radyo Sierra Madre*, a mobile radio, hosted by Ka Roger Rosal.



Later, also in Southern Tagalog region, *Radyo Pakikibaka* took over but was still hosted by Ka Roger Rosal. The program was much awaited by the masses every Sunday when it aired over 100.7 FM. After Ka Roger passed away, the program continued with news reports anchored by *Ronda Gerilya*. Its segment, *Tinig ng Rebolusyon* featured analysis of current issues affecting the masses. Special broadcasts were also produced to feature revolutionary poems, songs, and drama.

Bicol region's teleradyo *Dagundong* continues to dish out news reports and short videos via youtube.com. In other regions like in Northern Mindanao, red fighters use i-Com radios to broadcast news and analysis of issues.

MULTI-MEDIA PRESENTATIONS AND DOCUMENTARIES

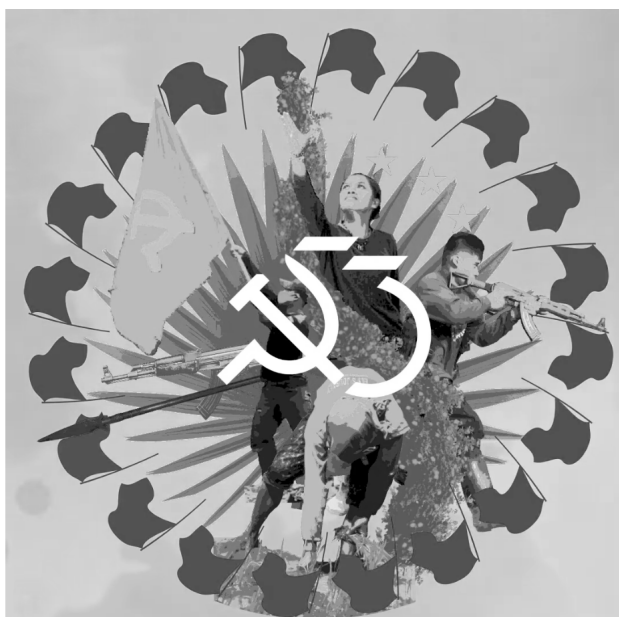
Although these require greater effort and tools, revolutionaries started producing multi-media presentations and video documentaries led by the CPP's video production outfit, *Sine Proletaryo*. Regional organs

of the Party also established their own multi-media groups and started producing videos. Some of these groups are *Isnapp* (Bicol), *Pulang Sidlakan* (North-East Mindanao Region), *Rekon* (*Rebolusyong Kultura at Sining ng Quezon-Southern Tagalog*). With the use of social

media, most of the regional publications now have multi-media contents online. The proliferation of revolutionary video production outfits started in early 2000.

The various NPA commands in the regions also underwent training on video

production to document/cover tactical offensives both for internal assessments, instruction work, and for public viewing. They also produce real life stories of Red



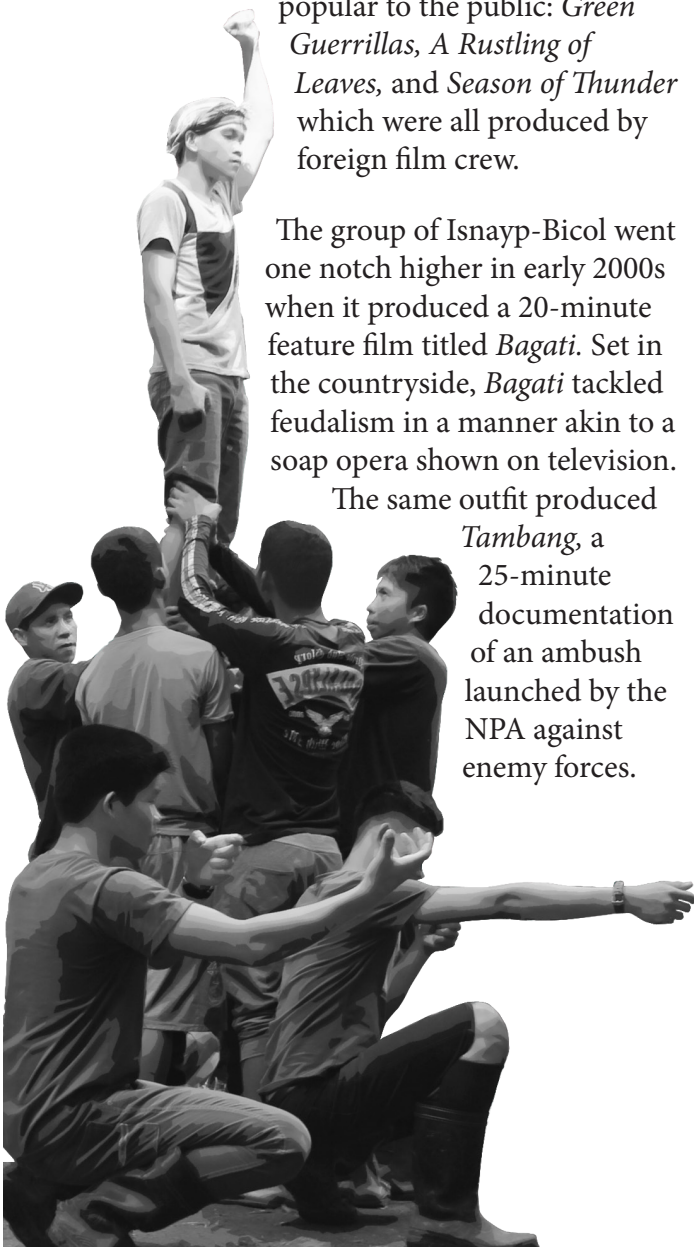
fighters to combat vilification by the reactionary forces. Music videos have also become popular online.

On the occasion of its 28th anniversary in 1998, the NDFP produced the video documentary *Resurgence*, which featured the masses and the people's army's thoughts and lessons on the Rectification Movement and its implications on their lives. So far, *Resurgence* is recorded as the first documentary produced by the revolutionary movement. Prior to this, three notable documentaries became

popular to the public: *Green Guerrillas*, *A Rustling of Leaves*, and *Season of Thunder* which were all produced by foreign film crew.

The group of Isnayp-Bicol went one notch higher in early 2000s when it produced a 20-minute feature film titled *Bagati*. Set in the countryside, *Bagati* tackled feudalism in a manner akin to a soap opera shown on television.

The same outfit produced *Tambang*, a 25-minute documentation of an ambush launched by the NPA against enemy forces.



PEOPLE'S THEATRE, DANCE AND MOVEMENTS

In the countryside the NPA use these forms partly to lighten up the way issues and analyses are shared, entertain each other and the masses along the way, and cope with uneven literacy in the countryside. The collective engagement to produce plays and dance also build camaraderie between the NPA and community, liven up programs and celebrations and of course, facilitate organizing.

Teams of Red fighters that conduct social investigation in barrios or those who went into integration with the masses also had to learn improvised acting as performers in skits to present issue analysis and highlight calls for collective action of the masses. These are mostly in the form of *kilos-awit* or *tula-dula* or the traditional *harana*.

In Cordillera, the influence of the revolutionary movement has seeped through the traditional dances like *patnog* and acquired new meaning with tweaked movements. In the 80's, the snaking line in the traditional dance was used to form words like PKP, BHB, and NDF, to the delight of the audience coming from other parts of the country and the globe.

A stage play based on the book *Philippine Society and Revolution (PSR)* was mounted in the forest of Caraga region with the masses and Red fighters as actors. The play was documented through video by the region's *Pulang Sidlakan* and was later reproduced and distributed through CDs.

LITERATURE

ARMAS, the revolutionary mass organizations of artists and writers, and an allied organization of the NDFP, publishes both historical and literary books. It publishes *Ulos*, a series of collection of vignettes,

short stories, poetry, songs from or about armed revolutionaries. With the NPA, it facilitates workshops in guerrilla zones, gathering a rich resource of output from participating red fighters and visiting revolutionaries from white areas. *Ulos*

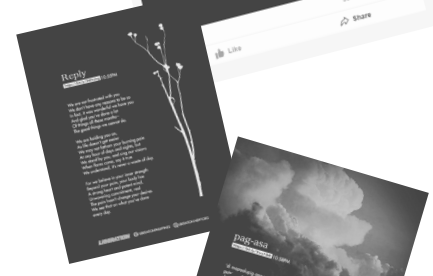
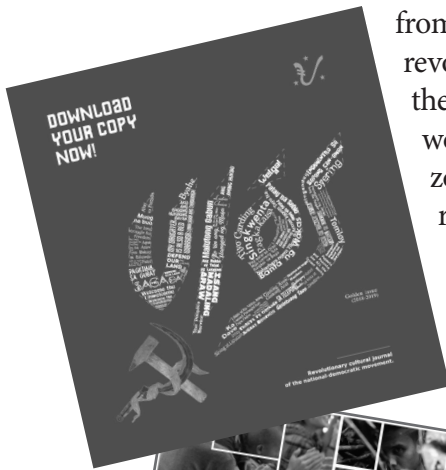
Golden issue (2018-2019) marking the 50th anniversary of the CPP, and *Kwentong Kasama, Isang Koleksyon* from the Bicol region were the latest compilations of literary works sharing day to day lives in Philippine revolution.

Like the regular publications of the CPP-NPA, and NDFP, regions also publish their own revolutionary cultural journal, some of these are: *Dagitab* (Southern Tagalog), *Inang Larangan* (Central Luzon), *Punla* (Bikol), *Ramut* (Ilocos), *Rissik* (Cagayan Valley),

Sublak (Panay), and *Bangkaw* (Mindanao). Also, there used to be “STR” (acronym for “*Sa Tagumpay ng Rebolusyon*”), an anthology of poems. In terms of literary works published in revolutionary publications over the years, just a sampling of it compiled and published in 1998 can already be considered parts of *Muog* (Fortress) as the compilation is aptly entitled. *Muog* has an introduction written by the late revolutionary poet and critic Gelacio Guillermo. In it, he gave a panoramic review of all the works in the compilation. He said these are chosen to represent pivotal moments from building to expanding of guerrilla zones and networks.

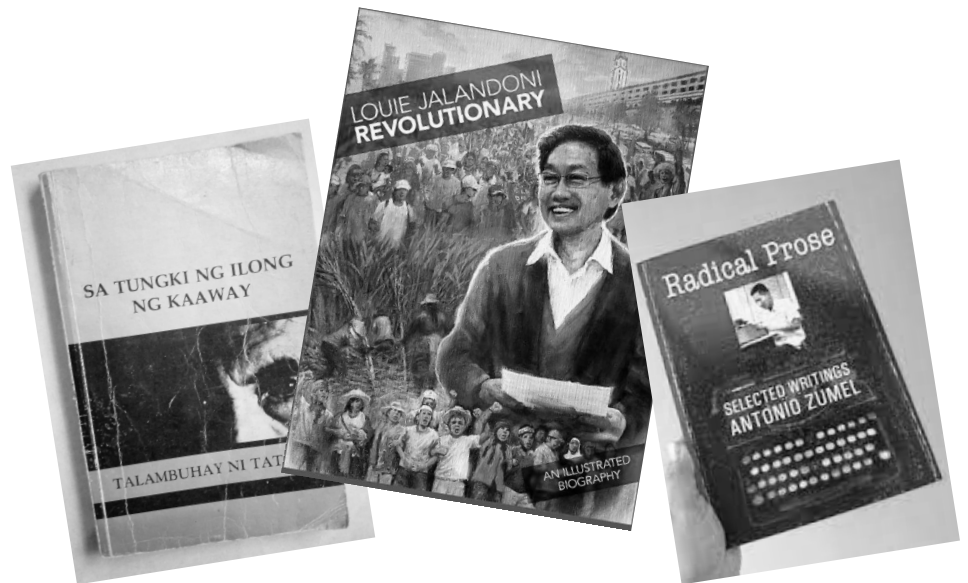
Among the most notable poems were those from the late Kerima Tariman and Maya Mor (Maya Daniel), who wrote in English and Hiligaynon. Both poets-writers were members of the NPA.

Revolutionary propaganda in literary forms teems with people and events the writers had encountered—in



their collectives, public gatherings, or mass work. It shows the social context of the revolution, the revolutionaries at work, the lives of farmers, workers, students and even professionals, and their transformation when they joined the national democratic revolution. These come in the forms of letters, biographies, diaries, tributes/memorials, fables, vignettes, short stories and excerpts of novels, fables, photo-essays.

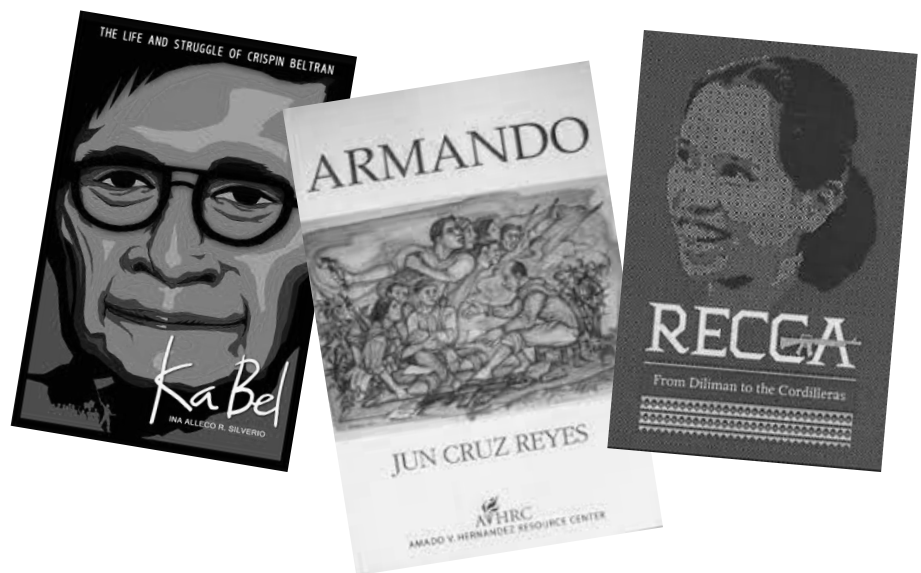
These show slices of the life and struggle of Red fighters, the communities of farmers, fisherfolk, indigenous peoples, women, the stories behind forming and strengthening the revolutionary organs of power, base-building, social investigations, organizing collective farming, training to operate “industries” to manufacture own agricultural produce, punishing enemies, conducting armed tactical offensives, attending to injuries, teaching nutrition and hygiene, literacy and numeracy, medical skills from first aid to surgical operation, the humbling yet liberating point of self-criticisms and vowing to remould, etc.



BIOGRAPHIES, INDIVIDUAL MEMOIRS

Still, there is a dearth of individual memoir-writing among revolutionaries perhaps due to security concerns or the revolutionaries’ ethic to think in terms of the collective. However, few memoir-like writings have surfaced such as “*Tatang*:

Sa Tungki ng Ilong ng Kaaway.” Though a *nom de guerre* of a 72-year old Filipino communist and Red fighter, *Tatang* was written not from the conventional I-Me-Myself style but instead kept to what Gelacio Guillermo called the “flow of revolutionary collectives” discussion of each comrade’s life and struggle (*talakayang-buhay*), *bangkaan* or sharing.”






If written at all, biographies of some revolutionary luminaries were either produced by their families and friends or the revolutionary movement in the form of books or video documentaries. These include *“He never wrote 30”* for Antonio Zumel as well as comics bio and video documentary on Luis Jalandoni, Crispin “Ka Bel” Beltran, Armando Teng, and Recca Monte.

Many more are waiting to be written, perhaps in forms that may defy the conventional bios and shaped

only by the content it needs to share to the world. The revolution is ongoing and persistently engendering epic tales, stories to remember, poetry, and oral and written history that are not just heartfelt and illuminating but humorous as well.

The reactionaries are alarmed at how the masses can relate with and engage in revolutionary propaganda. Deep down, the reactionaries know that revolutionary propaganda embodies the masses’ life, struggles, and dreams.

That is why the reactionary regime attempts to turn revolutionaries into villains while censoring their voice and sabotaging their outlets. Though at times posing also as revolutionaries (e.g., as helpers in relief distribution), the reactionaries shamelessly finance the production of literary works, films, and reports vilifying revolutionaries. But, they have a big problem: how can they counter the propaganda of those whose stories are that of the masses? 



STATEMENT OF THE NDFP NATIONAL COUNCIL ON THE PASSING OF BELOVED COMRADE JOSE MARIA “KA JOMA” SISON

Ka Joma Lives

National Council | *National Democratic Front of the Philippines*
December 17, 2022

The National Democratic Front of the Philippines National Council renders its highest tribute and salute to Comrade Jose Maria “Joma” Sison—great proletarian internationalist, patriot, communist, revolutionary leader, teacher and poet, who passed away after a lingering illness December 16, 2022 in Utrecht, The Netherlands.

As Founding Chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), Ka Joma led in the establishment of the NDFP on April 24, 1973, and in further building the broad national united front by inspiring the basic

sectors of peasants, workers, students, women, indigenous people, church people and professionals to form their own revolutionary mass organizations and become members of the NDFP. Together with the CPP, the New People's Army, and Ka Joma's leadership, the NDFP has been able to help advance the people's democratic revolution, and build the people's organs of political power.

The NDFP-NC will forever cherish Ka Joma's wisdom, guidance and inspiration in revolutionary united front work, and vow to build and further strengthen the People's Democratic Government until the total seizure of political power and finally establish the Peoples' Democratic Republic of the Philippines.

We vow to remain steadfast and uncompromising in firmly pursuing the armed revolution to free the Filipino toiling masses from the shackles of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

We send and express our deepest condolences to his wife, Comrade Julie de Lima, his children, grandchildren, friends and close comrades.

Ka Joma Lives!

Advance the People's War to Achieve National Freedom and Democracy! Victory to the People's Democratic Revolution! Long Live the People's United Front! Long Live International Solidarity!

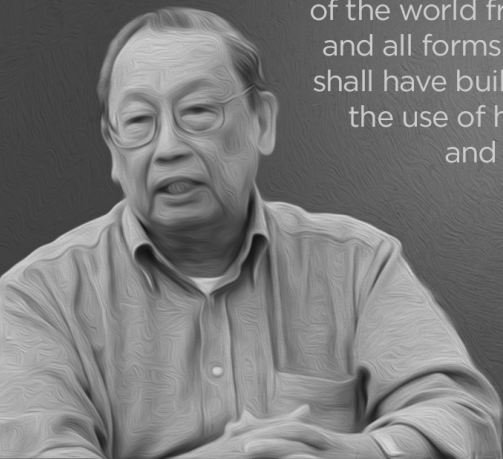
In behalf of the NDFP National Council,

LUIS JALANDONI MEMBER, NDFP NATIONAL COUNCIL

STATEMENT



“ As an irrepressible revolutionary optimist, I hope that a century hence will give the Filipino people more than enough time to win the people’s democratic revolution and proceed to the socialist construction in the Philippines and that the proletariat and people of the world shall have already freed many, if not most, of the countries of the world from imperialism and all forms of reaction and shall have built socialism with the use of high technology and collective labor. ”



JOSE MARIA SISON
FOUNDING CHAIRPERSON, CPP
DECEMBER 15, 2021

“ If you yourself, you don’t live long enough to see the biggest of the victories, others will carry out the revolution and win the revolution, that’s good enough. Because a communist does not expect to make millions of dollars, or some material rewards as a result of the revolution. You may even die without seeing the basic victory of the New Democratic Revolution but you have a strong belief and conviction that the revolution would triumph in the end. You have to be optimistic. And that also gives you the temperament to endure any difficulty. It’s part of the sacrifice to achieve victory. ”



JOSE MARIA SISON
FOUNDING CHAIRPERSON, CPP
DECEMBER 15, 2021

GIVE THE HIGHEST POSSIBLE TRIBUTE TO OUR BELOVED KA JOMA

Ka Joma Lives

Central Committee | *Communist Party of the Philippines*
December 17, 2022

The Central Committee and the entire Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) grieve the passing away of Comrade Jose Maria Sison (Amado Guerrero), its founding chairman. Ka Joma died peacefully after a period of confinement in a hospital in Utrecht, The Netherlands last night at around 8:40 p.m. (Philippine time). He was 83.

With Ka Joma's passing, the Party lost a great leader. Indeed, he is

among the greatest of Filipinos of the past century for masterfully and creatively applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the Philippines and the Philippine revolution, and giving the Filipino people the strength to carve the country's future and attain their aspirations for national freedom and democracy.

The Central Committee and the entire Party will forever be guided and inspired by Ka Joma's immortal

revolutionary spirit. Let us forever keep red his memory and legacy and strengthen our determination to continue and bring forward the revolution that he ignited together with other great leaders of the Central Committee and its Political Bureau and Executive Committee.

Through his writings, Ka Joma laid out the theoretical foundation of the Philippine revolution. He also left us with a rich and

deep Marxist-Leninist-Maoist treasure trove which will serve as guide for the Party's continued growth in the next stage of the Filipino people's revolutionary struggles.

We affirm as well the important role that Ka Joma played as a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist torch bearer who helped inspire the proletariat across the world, and keep the embers of the international communist movement as it enters a new phase of resurgence.

In 2016, the Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Philippines issued a comprehensive statement giving Ka Joma the Party's highest tribute and tracing his contributions to the growth of the Philippine revolution.

We declare the following ten days as a period of mourning for the entire Party in order to give the highest possible tribute to Ka Joma. Let us dedicate our the Party's upcoming 54th anniversary to Ka Joma's memory, to celebrate his life and all the victories that we have achieved under his leadership and guidance.

We order all units of the New People's Army (NPA) to stand in formation at the break of dawn of December 26 and silently perform a 21-gun salute by way of giving the highest tribute and bidding farewell to our beloved leader. During this period of mourning, the NPA can stage tactical offensives against the rampaging fascist forces to defend the people.

The Party and all revolutionary forces await the homecoming of Ka Joma's remains or ashes, a wish he had expressed in the past. This will give the broad masses of workers and peasants the opportunity to pay their last respects, and give honor to the revolutionary leader who dedicated his entire life to the cause of liberation.

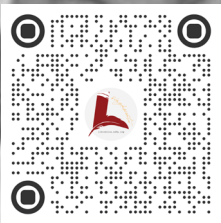
Today we declare Ka Joma as the greatest hero of the Filipino people in their past century of resistance against imperialism. His immense contributions to shaping the patriotic and revolutionary consciousness of the Filipino people and breaking open the path towards national and social liberation, will never be erased.###

“If you expect easy victory, your first fault would be to underestimate the enemy that defends the ruling system. So there's a failure of thinking there. But if you anticipate the enemy will do his best, and you do your best, and you win, that's because you have the people, that's the winning factor, on your side.”



La Joma Lives

“If you expect easy victory, your first fault would be to underestimate the enemy that defends the ruling system. So there’s a failure of thinking there. But if you anticipate the enemy will do his best, and you do your best, and you win, that’s because you have the people, that’s the winning factor, on your side.”



LIBERATION

