



jon bustamante



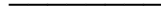
jon bustamante

Jose Maria Sison

On the Youth Movement

Sison Reader Series

Book 16



Julieta de Lima

Editor

Table of Contents

Table of Contents

Foreword

Kabataang Makabayan Founding Speech

Youth on the March

Resurgent Student Movement Sweeps Colleges, Universities

200,000 Students in 10 Schools Rally to Resurgent Protest Movement

Keynote Address to the National Conference of the League of Filipino Students

Message to the UP Student Council and UP Students in General

Intensify the Struggle for National Democracy and Consolidate the League of Filipino Students

In Commemoration of the First Quarter Storm

Brief History of the Kabataang Makabayan

Uphold the Revolutionary Spirit of the First Quarter Storm of 1970! Message To Anakbayan, January 25, 2002

Keynote Address to the 3rd National Congress of Anakbayan

Tasks and Prospects of the Filipino Youth

Advance in the Spirit of FQS 1970 Keynote Speech National Conference of Filipino Youth in Canada

A Time of Crisis, a Time for Militancy Message to the League of Filipino Students on its 31st Founding Anniversary

Remembering the First Quarter Storm

Keep the Revolutionary Spirit Alive

Current Crisis Situation and Tasks Among the Youth

Continue the Great Tradition of Progressive and Patriotic Youth

Crisis of Imperialism, Impact on the Philippines and Challenge to the Filipino Student Youth

Carry Forward the Revolutionary Tradition of Kabataang Makabayan

Significance of the First Quarter Storm of 1970 Statement in Celebration of its 40th Anniversary.

Unforgettable Years as English Major

The Incubation of Activism in the University of the Philippines

Bring your Current Strength to a New and Higher Level

Oppose Commercialization and the Imperialist Onslaught on Education and the Future of the Youth

A Book of Continuing Relevance

Role of the Youth and Tasks of Anakbayan in the National Democratic Struggle

Youth and Working People Rise Up against the Ruling System in the UK

Dare to Struggle, Dare to Win

Unite and Strengthen the Filipino Youth Movement in the USA

Fight for Freedom, Justice and Peace

Celebrate the Youth Marching Towards Emancipation

Fighting the Power of the Reactionary Puppet State

Kabataang Makabayan and its Relevance Today

ILPS Supports the Ad Hoc Committee and Cuny 6 and Condemns Petraeus and his Cohorts

The Current Situation and Prospects for the Youth Movement

On the Ouster of the US-Aquino Regime

Message to the Forum “KM@50: To Struggle Is Just”

Fight and Defeat US Imperialism’s Monstrous Cacique Puppet Regime

Carry Out your Tasks in Advancing the Youth Movement

The Historic Role and Contributions of Kabataang Makabayan

Arouse, Organize and Mobilize the broadest Number of Youth for National Democracy and Socialism

Confront the Global Economic and Political Crisis Respond to the Need for Revolutionary Change

Prospects under the Duterte Administration and Tasks of the Filipino Youth

Celebrate 85 Years of Patriotic and Democratic Campus Press: Challenge the New Regime to Uphold the People’s Democratic Interests

Patriotic Education Must Have a National, Scientific and Mass Character

Message to Sulong Kabataan Conference 2016 and to the Founding of Anakbayan Canada

Advance the Youth and Student’s Movement and the Indonesian People’s Struggle

Strengthen the League of Filipino Students, Fight and Defeat the US-Duterte Regime

Notice to the Public

Opening Speech at the Launch of Jose Ma. Sison People's Academy

Solidarity Message to the First International Rural Youth Assembly

Message to the All-YS Unification: Oust the Despicable US-Duterte Regime

Unite, Take a Stand and Win against the Duterte Tyranny

Historic Significance and Continuing Relevance of the First Quarter Storm of 1970

Integrate and Work with the Peasant Masses to Struggle against the Duterte Tyranny

Carry Forward the Red Flag of the Katipunan and Kabataang Makabayan

Intensify and Advance the Revolution

On Student Activism

On Red Tagging of Youth Activists

Message to the ILPS Commission on the Rights of Youth to Education and Employment

Celebrate the First Quarter Storm of 1970, Honor and Emulate the Heroic Activist Youth

Continuing Tasks of the Filipino Youth Under the Inspiration of the FQS of 1970

Relevance of the First Quarter Storm of 1970 to the Global Anti-Fascist and Anti-Imperialist Struggle

Questions for the Special Mass Course on the Youth Movement

Tsikahan with Tito Jo: COVID-19 and its Impact on Youth Education

Dissecting the Marcos and Duterte Regimes

Fight State Terrorism and Oust Duterte Tyranny

Solidarity With Jovenes Anakbayan ng Bicol at Its Third Regional Conference

Message to Anakbayan Cordillera on Its 8th Congress

The Filipino Youth Movement Then and Now

Fight For Justice And Peace

Foreword

On the Youth Movement consists of the writings—articles, speeches, messages and interviews—of Jose Maria Sison on the subject to guide the development of the youth movement from 1964 to 2022.

The first item is his address to the founding assembly of Kabataang Makabayan on November 30, 1964, which relates the historical background of the revolutionary movement in the Philippines, and which presents Andres Bonifacio “as a model of revolutionary militancy among the Filipino youth and among the advocates of national democracy” against the onslaught of US imperialist aggression. However, through the most brutal military operations and through deception, the US imperialists beguiled the ruling classes in the country and instituted the semicolonial and semifeudal system that exists in the country today and which the youth and the people’s movement continue to resist today.

The rest of the items in the book relates how the Filipino youth in the national democratic movement carry out their resistance in communities, in schools, colleges and universities, and in factories in the countryside and in the cities to change the reactionary ruling system propped up by US imperialism. They lay out the tasks and duties of the Filipino youth.

In the book, we also see the rise and development of various youth organizations all over the country. We see how these youth organizations develop cadres in ever growing numbers for the people’s war in the countryside and thus strengthen the entire revolutionary movement.

—Julieta de Lima

Utrecht, The Netherlands

June 29, 2023

Kabataang Makabayan Founding Speech

November 30, 1964

No more propitious day than this can be chosen to found Kabataang Makabayan. Today is the 101st birth anniversary of Andres Bonifacio, a great hero from the proletariat, who in the vigor of his youth led the secret society of Katipunan and mobilized the patriotic forces that generated the Philippine Revolution of 1896—the revolution which smashed Spanish colonialism throughout the archipelago.

Andres Bonifacio was the disciplined revolutionary activist who sought and found in revolution the only process that could give full expression to the national and social aspirations of our people which had so long been suppressed by a foreign power prettified by the soft and evasive terms of liberal reformers.

Andres Bonifacio was the uncompromising leader who was not only inspired by the cogitations and formulations of the Propaganda Movement, but was also ready to act in concert with his people in armed struggle against tyranny the moment peaceful and legal struggle reached the white wall of futility.

Thus, Andres Bonifacio today stands as a model of revolutionary militancy among the Filipino youth and among the advocates of national democracy. His revolutionary courage is a beacon to us all. If Kabataang Makabayan succeeds in its patriotic mission, one important requirement it shall have met is to be imbued with the revolutionary courage of Andres Bonifacio, the courage that gives life

and force to the principles that we now uphold in this epoch.

We recall the memory of Andres Bonifacio not only because we happen to meet on this day but more because we understand his continuing historical relevance to our present situation. We perceive the leading role of his class in this epoch during which our national efforts at basic industrialization and overthrowing feudalism are constantly frustrated by US imperialism and its local reactionary allies.

We remember that, after the death of Bonifacio, the revolutionary initiative of the peasants and the workers in the Katipunan and the anticolonial struggle in general was undermined and debilitated by the liberal compromises made by the ilustrado leadership. The compromises came one after the other: the Pact of Biak-na-Bato, Aguinaldo's trust in Yankee confidence-men in Hong Kong, the bourgeois-landlord upper hand in the Malolos Congress, and the ultimate surrender of the ilustrados and collaboration with the US imperialist regime.

Though we are aggrieved by the fact that the Philippine Revolution has been interrupted and that US imperialism has grabbed the triumph of revolution from our hands, we must take a scientific view of our national history. We recognize such objective historical conditions as that no matter how sharply anticolonial and anticlerical were the ilustrados they did not yet have the ability to comprehend fully modern imperialism; that the working class was still in the embryo stage of its development; that the peasants in the provinces were misled by the equivocating demagoguery of both native landlords and liberals; and that US imperialism was not only superior in industrial might but also well-versed in a liberal jargon which could easily deceive the newly-emergent Filipino bourgeoisie.

US imperialism came to the Philippines and succeeded in imposing its sovereignty upon our people by military violence and by liberal guile. Whereas our people were already capable of crushing Spanish colonialism within the

archipelago, they were still incapable of crushing a new type of colonialism, the imperialism of the United States of America.

Dr. Jose Rizal himself in his essay, “The Philippines A Century Hence,” had predicted that the United States of America would come to conquer us. It was a necessity for a capitalist system, reaching its final stage of development—monopoly capital—to seek colonies for its sources of raw materials and a dumping ground for surplus products and surplus capital and to pass on to other peoples the exploitation and disequilibrium that would otherwise be suffered by its own people alone.

Rizal saw the United States of America as a covetous and expansionist power, no different from Great Britain, Germany, France, Czarist Russia and Japan.

It was out to rob the world, especially the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. A newly-risen imperialist power with its ultra-national capitalist objectives, the United States would be determined to take over the colonial possessions of a decrepit Spanish power in Latin America, in the Pacific and in the Philippines.

The Philippines was especially important to the imperialist planners of the United States as it could very well serve as the staging area for the US venture to participate with the other Western powers in the despoliation of China. Until now, the Philippines serves as a staging area for US imperialism to attack and subvert Southeast Asia and the rest of Asia.

By all means, therefore, as a matter of “manifest destiny,” the United States would beguile the credulous Emilio Aguinaldo in a maneuver to capture Manila and arrange the Treaty of Paris whereby Spanish colonialism ceded the Philippines to US imperialism upon the payment of US\$20 million. This

provoked the Filipino people into a war where 250,000 Filipino lives were snuffed out as the cost of trusting imperialism.

US imperialism is deceptive and violent. The violence it unleashed against our people was justified in terms of Christianity and democracy. US imperialism wanted to “Christianize” the Philippines after 350 years of Spanish clerical rule and to teach us “democracy” even after it had crushed the national democratic movement which was tested in the fire of the revolution of 1896 and bore the first Philippine republic.

After suppressing the first Philippine Republic through the most brutal military operations, the US government started to employ semantical cover for its scheme of domination and put up such hypocritical slogans as “benevolent assimilation” and “education for self-government” to justify its unwanted presence. During a full decade of the most damnable suppression of any public expression of nationalism and bribery of the native bourgeoisie, US imperialism started to glamorize certain political figures as “nationalists.” These were the nationalists who compromised and accepted the US-imposed limitation that they go to Washington and beg for Philippine independence. The Americans conveniently used these figures to prove their self-proclaimed benevolence and to steal the fire from the revolutionary anti-imperialists who preferred to take to the hills and prepare for a more meaningful struggle for national independence.

Until now, the Americans try to misrepresent Filipino nationalism. They would rather have what they call “positive” nationalism—a positive force in the “special relationship” between the Philippines and the United States. Compromise with US imperialism is what is called positive nationalism.

There is only one nationalism that we appreciate. It is that which refers to the national democratic revolution, the Philippine Revolution, whose main tasks now are the liquidation of imperialism and feudalism to achieve full national freedom and democratic reforms.

The Filipino nation has been formed through struggle against Spanish colonialism and, soon after, US imperialism. As US imperialism triumphed by brute force in the Filipino-American War, it must be vanquished by the resumption of the Philippine Revolution of 1896. There can be no genuine national democracy in the Philippines without US imperialism being done away with first.

Imperialist propaganda constantly attempts to impugn Filipino nationalism and communism together. The communist bogey has always been raised with the view of frightening our people. But, little do the reactionary propagandists realize that through their own efforts the people are getting to know that it is the imperialist strategy to destroy communists first to destroy the nationalists. In the strategic thinking of the US imperialists, which has been tested in their counterrevolutionary practices in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the most relentless anti-imperialists—whether communists or left-wing nationalists—must first be destroyed for any imperialist scheme of exploitation to succeed.

Thus, in the Philippines, we have seen the communists become the main target of massive attacks against civil liberties by the US colonial government in 1931, by the Japanese after their successful landing in 1942, and again by the US imperialists in their attempt after the Pacific War to recapture us. If we study closely the ratification of the Bell Trade Act and the Parity Amendment, we will discover that the communists had first to be harassed, imprisoned, assassinated and provoked before the bourgeois nationalist leaders in the Nacionalista Party and in the Democratic Alliance could be discouraged and would compromise.

What the US imperialists and their local cohorts, the compradors and big landlords, do not want to happen is the alliance of all anti-imperialists, as has often happened in Asian countries, with fatal effectiveness against imperialism.

With the continuing triumph of US imperialism in the Philippines and the stability of its control, it is the chief task of the Filipino youth to resume and complete the unfinished revolution under the banner of national democracy, to expose and oppose the national and social iniquities caused by US imperialism and its local reactionary allies.

If the Filipino youth should relent in this task, then their people shall continue to suffer the direct impositions of US imperialism as well as feudalism, which the former protects for its own selfish profit.

The youth today face two basic problems: US imperialism and feudalism. These two are the principal causes of poverty, unemployment, inadequate education, ill health, crime and immorality which afflict the entire nation and the youth. The youth do not only suffer with their people the iniquities of US imperialism and feudalism but are also the first ones to suffer them.

It is the task of the Filipino youth to study carefully the large confrontation of forces between US imperialism and feudalism on one side and national democracy on the other side. To know the nature of this contradiction of forces is to know the dynamism and internal motion of our semicolonial and semifeudal society.

For the youth to know so much is for them to act more effectively and cooperate more thoroughly on the side of progress in the historical process of change.

Kabataang Makabayan, in its historic role as the vanguard organization of Filipino youth, should know the balance of forces between imperialism and feudalism on the one hand and national democracy on the other. On the side of US imperialism are the compradors and the big landlords. On the side of national democracy are the broad masses of our people, composed of the working class

and the peasantry to which the vast majority of the Filipino youth today belong; the petty bourgeoisie, composed of small property-owners, students, intellectuals and professionals; and the national bourgeoisie, composed of Filipino entrepreneurs and traders.

From the present scheme of social classes, we can derive a new and powerful combination of youth—the students, young professionals, labor youth and the peasant youth. Above all, the Filipino youth should integrate themselves with the masses in order to achieve victory in the fight for national freedom and democracy.

Kabataang Makabayan, as the vanguard organization of the Filipino youth, should assist in the achievement of an invincible unity of all national classes and forces to push further the struggle for national and social liberation in all fields—economic, political, cultural, military—against the leading enemy, US imperialism, and against the persistent and pervasive main enemy, landlordism. Both have frustrated the national democratic aspirations of the Philippine Revolution of 1896 and have made the suffering and exploitation of our people more complex and more severe.

This generation of Filipino youth is lucky to be at this point in history when US imperialism is fast weakening at all significant levels of conflict: that between capitalism and socialism; that between the capitalist class and the working class; and that between imperialism and national independence movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Even as the Philippines today is the scene of frantic US imperialist readjustment and it appears that US imperialism would succeed in controlling the country more thoroughly by destroying our national industrial base and by shifting it back to a plantation economy dominated by the US agro-corporations, the Filipino youth would find it easier than they expect to overthrow US imperialism provided they are inspired and guided by the new national democratic objectives

of the Philippine Revolution.

The October 2 demonstration against US imperialism in front of the US embassy and Malacañang Palace, whose participants and sympathizers Kabataang Makabayan should now consolidate, has already manifested the rising wave of national democracy among our people. Such a mass action has shown to us the changing balance of forces in our country.

The objective national and worldwide conditions favor a national democratic movement of the Filipino youth. It is high time for the Filipino youth to raise and carry forward the red banner of Andres Bonifacio and the Katipunan, with the new emblem of the worker-peasant alliance.

Philippine Involvement in the Vietnam War

Speech delivered before the 19th National Assembly of the Student Councils Association of the Philippines (SCAP) at the YMCA Youth Forum Hall, December 19, 1965

More and more Filipino students are becoming committed to national democracy. A new collective image of the Filipino student is fast rising. It is an image that is militantly patriotic and anti-imperialist, of one who is no longer isolated and apathetic in his narrow self-seeking careerism or of one who is no longer carried away by the trifles, frivolities and diversions that US imperialist culture provides to subvert our national purposes and objectives.

As the national chairman of the Kabataang Makabayan, I have had the good fortune of observing closely the objective development of the national-democratic movement among the youth in general. I have also observed that, among the various sectors of the Filipino youth, the students have had the signal achievement of being the first to speak out boldly on the Vietnam crisis in a manner different from our so-called high statesmen who have long sold their souls in compromises with the large vested interests, chief and most strategic of which are those of US imperialism.

In a historic manifesto entitled, "Peace Manifesto on South Vietnam," signed on August 11, 1964, student leaders—all of whom are members and high-ranking officials of the Student Councils Association of the Philippines (SCAP) documented their basic views and commitments on the Vietnam crisis in the

following terms:

“We, students of various colleges and schools in the Philippines, condemn the clear attempt of the United States to provoke an international war in Asia, involve the Filipino youth in another futile war of US imperialist expansion as in South Korea, contravene our fundamental law which renounces war, and moreover, endanger the lives and homes of our people who themselves have more than enough problems of their own due to colonialism and imperialism.

“We know for a fact that the United States, in taking over what the French left in South Vietnam after Dien Bien Phu, has been in direct violation of the Geneva Agreements which prohibit foreign intervention. The bogey of Communism has been raised only to justify the suppression of the South Vietnamese peasantry and strengthen US imperialism through the successive “free world” dictatorships of Ngo Dinh Diem and Nguyen Khanh and the brutal use of strategic hamlets (barbed wire enclosures), noxious chemicals and other forms of ‘special warfare.’ We know for a fact that the South Vietnamese movement now bravely opposing the full power of the United States is neutralist and nationalistic in policy and would have none of imperialism.

“Now, as if it were not satisfied with the senseless killing and oppression of the South Vietnamese peasants, the United States is trying to provoke a northward war against the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam.

“We condemn both the basic act of US intervention in Indochina and the heightened provocation against a people wanting to live peacefully within their own territories. We hereby affirm the principles of national freedom and peace to which we are deeply committed in the Manila and Bandung Declarations and the UN Charter. The US has always been flagrantly too far out from its own national territory.

“We see clearly that our military treaties and commitments with the United States negate our constitutional process and would be the very cause of our doom if a general nuclear conflagration breaks out in Asia. And, death shall not be our only share but also shame — shame for allowing the military bases of the United States in the Philippines to be the staging grounds for attacks against our Asian brothers.”

As militant student leaders, the signers of this document were not satisfied only with signing it but they acted together to picket in protest before the fortress-like US Embassy, symbol of alien exploitation in our country.

This patriotic action of the students in 1964, no matter how small and modest, was demonstrative of a great spirit that has since materialized into bigger and broader mass actions as those of January 25 and June 18 of this year. The students have proven once more to be capable of initiating movements that bring away their people from the spell of imperialist domination.

On the basis of that student manifesto, there is adequate reason to believe that a good number of us know well the facts and implications of the Vietnam crisis, especially as they affect us today.

But in order to set the record straight and remove the confusion that US imperialist propaganda is constantly making, let us once more review certain basic facts about Vietnam and the US imperialist intervention there.

The Vietnamese people immediately accomplished their August Revolution, founded the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on September 2, 1945, and asserted their sovereignty in both North and South Vietnam. Nevertheless, only a few months after the proclamation of independence, in line with the secret agreements at the Potsdam Conference, Jiang Gaishek’s troops—supported and

encouraged by the United States—entered North Vietnam while British troops advanced into South Vietnam. These two invasions paved the way for the return of the French colonialists. The direct arm of US imperialist intervention—the Guomindang troops—was driven out in 1946, but the French colonialists were able to encroach upon the territory of Vietnam, North and South. They subsequently provoked the outbreak of the French-Vietnamese war on December 19, 1946.

The United States promptly took a direct part in the anti-Vietnamese aggression by sanctioning the French military plans, shouldering a great part of the war expenditures, and setting up in Saigon a military mission, the Military Aid Advisory Group (MAAG—the Vietnam version of our JUSMAG).

Even when the French were already facing defeat at Dien Bien Phu, the US interventionists took massive efforts to protract the war and assume the initiative. Together with the French advocates of attritive war, they mapped out the “Vautour Plan” for massive bombing of the northern part of Vietnam in order to extricate the French from certain defeat at Dien Bien Phu. Despite such joint US-French efforts and despite US military support amounting to US\$2.6 billion, hundreds of thousands of tons of armaments and 200 military advisers to help destroy Vietnamese aspirations for independence and national democracy, the vigorous struggle of the Vietnamese people had already sealed the fate of the elite 200,000 troops of French colonialism at Dien Bien Phu on May 7, 1954, and thereby shifted decisively the balance of war in favor of the Vietnamese people. On May 8, 1954, the Geneva Conference on Indochina held its opening session.

Despite the attempts of the United States to sabotage and frustrate it, the Conference was successful and was determined in the main by the Dien Bien Phu victory. At the closing session on July 21, 1954, the US government representative was compelled to issue a declaration respecting the Geneva Agreements.

Let us refer to two important provisions of the Geneva Agreements:

First, on the Partition of Vietnam. The state of Vietnam would be partitioned into two approximately equal areas by a demarcation line near the 17th parallel, the northern part (including the ports of Hanoi and Haiphong) passing under the control of the Vietnamese government and the southern part remaining under the control of the Bao Dai government.

Second, on Vietnam Elections. Elections would be held simultaneously in both parts of Vietnam by July 20, 1956, with the aim of establishing a unified government. They would be organized after consultation between the Vietminh and Bao Dai governments, and carried out under the supervision of an International Supervisory Commission consisting of India, Canada and Poland.

According to the Geneva Agreements, Vietnam was temporarily to be divided into two zones for purposes of eliminating the state of war, mainly for the French Expeditionary Corps withdrawing into South Vietnam, and withdrawing thereafter to France as it did. And on July 20, 1956, elections were to be held to elect a single government unifying the temporary governments in the North and the South under the one state that had been proclaimed and had come into being on September 2, 1946.

Before the ink had dried on the Geneva Agreements, the US government engineered the Manila Pact, organized the SEATO and brazenly, in violation of the Geneva Agreements, placed South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia in the so-called "protocol area" of the bloc, which was equivalent to placing South Vietnam under the command of the United States.

True enough, Ngo Dinh Diem, who had been brought back into Saigon by the US government from New York, and who acted beyond doubt in his capacity as

Prime Minister to Emperor Bao Dai as a puppet of US imperialism, consolidated his position with the US Military Aid Advisory Group and the CIA (particularly the Michigan State University group led by Wesley Fischel), giving the necessary fire power and money to back him up. Soon enough he deposed the French-backed Emperor Bao Dai by coup d'état.

In violation of the Geneva Agreements, particularly its provision requiring elections on July 20, 1956, to elect a single government for the entire Vietnam, the United States—through its puppet Ngo Dinh Diem who could not rule for a single day without military support from the MAAG and the CIA—decided to establish South Vietnam as an “independent” state and put up the Ngo Dinh Diem government as the government of the state.

On July 16, 1955, the bogus state of South Vietnam—militarily supported by the US government—announced its opposition to the holding of a plebiscite on July 20, 1956.

The installment of Ngo Dinh Diem and his corrupt family did not mean the ascendancy of democracy in South Vietnam, but it only meant the replacement of the effective power of French colonialism with that of US imperialism. It meant the suppression of national democracy in one-half of Vietnam by US imperialist global power.

As the student manifesto we have just reviewed would reveal, I presume that you know much of the barbarism that has been conducted by US imperialism by misusing such slogans as “defense of democracy,” “free world,” and so on and so forth. The non-communist Bertrand Russell can always provide us with an authentic picture of the series of US imperialist atrocities in Vietnam, such as those committed under the Staley-Taylor Plan, the McNamara Plan and the W.W. Rostow Plan Six, if you care to read the Progressive Review.

To provide you with relief from the overdose of slanted reports made through the USIS, UPI, AP, VOA, Time and Newsweek, I wish to refer you to the Philippine Committee for Freedom in South Vietnam for more facts.

At this juncture, let us round out two basic facts. First, US intervention in Vietnam dates back as early as that time it tried to help the French colonialists suppress the Vietnamese government under Ho Chi Minh. Second, the United States government broke the Geneva Agreements by encouraging and militarily supporting the unlamented Ngo Dinh Diem to seize power in complete disregard of the provisions governing the nationwide free general elections of July 20, 1956 to reunify the entire Vietnam.

It is necessary to keep these facts in mind to fortify our just position that the Philippines cannot involve itself in the Vietnam crisis simply because the United States has embroiled itself there on its own account. The United States embroiled itself there in order not only to cheat the Vietnamese people but also to cheat its fellow capitalist nation, France, and gain South Vietnam for its own imperialist interests. What is extremely lamentable is that US imperialism, in the wake of its selfish expansion in Asia after World War II, has deprived the Vietnamese people in South Vietnam of the basic right to national self-determination.

The US government, in flaunting this basic right, has illogically described the North Vietnamese as the aggressors in South Vietnam despite the fact that the South Vietnam National Liberation Front, which came into being only in 1960 in the heart of South Vietnam, has always maintained its own patriotic and neutralist policies independent of North Vietnam. If one were simply to recall that there was once only one Vietnam undivided by US imperialism, how can one say that the North Vietnamese are aggressors even if we were to assume that they actually give moral and material support to their brothers in the South? Who are the US interventionists, who come from more than 7,000 miles away, to tell the North Vietnamese that they are aggressors within that single state of Vietnam recognized by the Geneva Agreements? Who are these US

interventionists to say that they are for Vietnamese freedom when they impose one puppet-dictator after another on the South Vietnamese and move in hundreds of thousands of US troops and drop hundreds of thousands of tons of bombs and deadly chemicals on the Vietnamese people of both South and North? Despite the ever-increasing military expenditures that the US government is now shouldering in the Vietnam War, all the huge American manpower, all the modern weapons used against the South Vietnam National Liberation Front and all the 600,000 US-paid South Vietnamese mercenaries, the South Vietnamese people ceaselessly fight US imperialism without any fear and they increase their number as well as their territory, which is now more than four-fifths of South Vietnam.

The South Vietnamese men, women and even children are resisting the intensified conscription, and the reserves of the reactionary government are already admittedly exhausted. Thus, the American youth themselves are now being marched to their death in Vietnam by the hundreds of thousands. If the US imperialists cannot even motivate their mercenaries to fight and their conscription efforts are resisted by the South Vietnamese themselves, why should they expect other countries, such as the Philippines, to intervene with them? The United States cannot even maneuver the SEATO wholly to “protect” South Vietnam, as its supposed protocol area. Certainly, within the SEATO, there is no communist to blame. The bankruptcy and isolation of the US position is becoming evident even among its fellow capitalist nations.

Within the United States itself, students like you are now becoming a force to be considered seriously by the military-industrial complex and the government policy-makers. More and more American students are resisting the government policy of aggression and escalation in Vietnam. They burn their draft cards, they hold teach-ins, they demonstrate and engage in many kinds of mass actions in protest against US intervention in South Vietnam.

The American students are now patriotically and heroically opposing the Hitlerite policies of the ruling monopoly-capitalist class which are bound to

waste their lives and energies in wars of imperialist aggression.

Philippine intervention in the Vietnam crisis is inconceivable under the present circumstances without being directly related to US intervention. Thus, the prior discussion on US intervention.

US intervention in Vietnam has been facilitated from the very beginning by the jump-off bases, such as its military bases in the Philippines. It is well-known that these US military bases are being used as launching grounds against the Asian peoples. The people of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia have felt too often the dangers coming from the direction of these US military bases and they have actually suffered attacks from Philippine-based US military crafts.

Through the SEATO, the US government has made the Philippine government an accomplice in its intervention in and rape of Vietnam. The SEATO has been internationally recognized as the imperialist weapon which made a mockery of the Geneva Agreements.

Ramon Magsaysay was also acting as an agent of US imperialism when in 1955 he extended recognition to South Vietnam as an independent state notwithstanding the Geneva Agreements.

The late Senator Claro M. Recto, as early as 1955, exposed the foolhardiness and puppetry in the policy of Magsaysay to recognize the bogus state of South Vietnam and to risk deeper Philippine involvement in the US policy of intervention in the affairs of the Vietnamese people. Filipino technical men, engineers, nurses, pilots and outright military personnel and so-called social workers have been used by CIA-operated firms in Vietnam as instruments for the US imperialist subversion of South Vietnam.

Now that the US imperialists have a difficult time getting more mercenaries for their projects, especially their last desperate efforts to control South Vietnam, they have resorted to ordering the Philippine government to provide “2,000 Filipino technical men with combat support” to work under the US imperialist command in South Vietnam at the cost of PhP35 million for this year alone, with the Filipino people paying the bill.

You remember that our Congress appropriated PhP1 million for medical aid to the Saigon government in 1964. In the following year, PhP25 million was being demanded for an engineering battalion and combatants to be sent to the battlefronts. This year, the escalation continues and we are being asked to contribute PhP35 million to the US war effort. At the rate the Philippine government is involving itself, it will certainly abuse the Filipino people increasingly while it helps US imperialism destroy the freedom and welfare of a brother Asian people.

The puppet government of South Korea started to commit 3,000 combatants to the Vietnam War; now it has more than 18,000 men in active combat duty there. The US government used to spend only PhP2 million a day in the war; now it is spending US\$20 million a day—with no effect but continued defeat.

These various forms of Philippine intervention under US direction in Vietnamese affairs mock our own independence as they try to subvert the sovereignty of a brother Asian nation.

These, however, have received their corresponding rebukes from the various sectors of the population, especially the patriotic students and youth led by the Kabataang Makabayan.

As the US imperialists continue to use our military bases to commit aggression and expand their sphere of influence, then these US military bases should be removed or taken over by the Filipino people.

The SEATO has always been used to advance US imperialist interests but it cannot be used now for such a purpose in South Vietnam because of inter-imperialist contradictions between France and the United States. Pakistan, too, has found out that it is against her self-interest to help in US imperialist adventures while the United States supports India, not a SEATO member, against Pakistan, a SEATO member. It is a matter of national interest, dignity and sanity to withdraw from the SEATO.

As the US imperialists continue to hire and use our professionals, technical men and military men, let us remind our own countrymen how injudiciously an alien power is depriving us of the forces and funds badly needed by our own people in our own national crisis.

In response to the continued attempts of US imperialism to deepen Philippine involvement in the Vietnam crisis, let me reiterate the position of Kabataang Makabayan which was stated on the occasion of that memorable demonstration of June 18 attended by 10,000 men and women against US intervention in South Vietnam and Philippine involvement on the side of US imperialism.

We vigorously condemn US intervention in South Vietnam which began in 1954 after the French defeat at Dien Bien Phu. We abhor the barbarous use of strategic hamlets (concentration camps), lethal gas, napalm bombs, genocide and mass torture and other forms of "special warfare" against the South Vietnamese people. We hereby declare to our people the hypocrisy of US propaganda that dishes out such slogans as "democracy" and "free world" only to suppress the democratic and libertarian aspirations of Afro-Asian peoples like the Vietnamese and establish the worst puppet dictatorships which depend for their existence on imperialist military support.

We consider it unconstitutional, criminal and immoral for Filipino citizens to be involved in one way or another in the war efforts of US imperialism against the South Vietnamese people; and there is no valid reason for declaring war, in accordance with the Philippine Constitution, against the South Vietnamese people, the vast majority of whom, two-thirds, have successfully freed themselves from the Saigon puppet government maintained by US imperialism. If the South Vietnamese people are at war with any foreign nation, it is basically with the United States whose insatiable greed and violence are victimizing people everywhere. Otherwise, a state of civil war in South Vietnam must be respected by all other nations.

We condemn with all our strength the reactionary and imperialist scheme of making the Filipino youth die and suffer injury in foreign battlefields in the ignoble service of US imperialism. We refuse to be mercenaries of a foreign power which deprives and oppresses our own people. We refuse the imposition of war upon the youth for the sake of imperialist interests. The efforts of the Filipino youth must be directed towards building up a national democracy that is free from US imperialism and from those iniquitous encumbrances exposed by the January 25 demonstration—such as the Parity Amendment, the Laurel-Langley Agreement, the Quirino-Foster Agreement, the US-RP Military Bases Agreement, the Military Assistance Pact, the Mutual Defense Pact, SEATO, the Peace Corps and countless other agreements and devices—which stifle and destroy our freedom as a nation. We condemn the waste of precious and limited resources, such as the PhP35 million appropriated by the House of Representatives for the sake of advancing the material and expansionist interests of US imperialism. These resources must be used for improving our socioeconomic condition, for employing our unemployed youth in productive endeavors and for paying adequately those employees in the government who do not even receive their salaries on time and who are often victimized by layoffs and insecurity.

To contribute anything to the US war effort in any form is criminal, whether that contribution be called combat aid, economic aid, technical aid or medical aid.

Anything that contributes to the military aggression is military in character; the distinction can only be semantic and not substantial. We condemn those who advocate sending combat aid and also those who advocate “technical and economic” aid. We know very well that the US government has been step by step aggravating Philippine involvement in the South Vietnam War. Before, it was an appropriation of PhP1.0 million for “civic action” and “non-military” aid; now, the stupendous amount of PhP35 million is being appropriated, with the military intent more and more evident and demanded by the reactionary politicians and military officials. US policymakers and propagandists, as a matter of fact, have long announced to the entire world that the Philippines has always been a willing instrument in the US imperialist war in South Vietnam.

In opposing the involvement of the Philippines in the Vietnam War, we, the Kabataang Makabayan, are motivated by the deepest patriotic concern for the welfare and dignity of our people, for the future of the Filipino youth, and for our fraternal bonds with the South Vietnamese youth who must liberate themselves from foreign tyranny.

In conclusion, let us tell the imperialists that if ever the Filipino youth have the opportunity of their own to fight on the side of the Vietnamese people against them, they shall gladly do so as they recall the same brutalities that the same US imperialist power inflicted upon the Filipino people in the Filipino-American War of 1899-1902 and as they still suffer from the exploitative conditions determined and imposed upon them by US imperialism.

If we must fight for democracy, let us first fight for it in our own country against US imperialism which continues to subvert our nationhood, exploits our people and deprives us of the substance of democracy. Let us first free ourselves from US imperialist control formalized in such treaties and agreements as the Parity Amendment, the Revised Bell Trade Act, the US-RP Military Assistance Pact, the Quirino-Foster Agreement and others which make us economically, politically, culturally and militarily subservient to US monopoly capitalism.

Let us not be like the colonial conscript, Tano, or the self-seeking careerist, Basilio, in Dr. Jose Rizal's *El Filibusterismo*, so low in sociopolitical consciousness that we can be carried away from the basic problems of our motherland, Sisa, and our own oppressed peasantry, Cablesang Tales. Let us not be carried away from our own land oppressed by US imperialism in overt and covert ways. Let us not kill our fellow youth and the peasants in Vietnam for the cause of US imperialism here and there.

Youth on the March

November 2, 1968

A nation that does not continuously renew itself through progressive-minded and militant youth cannot possibly advance. A world of timid and apathetic youth will merely feed all the regimes of injustice and exploitation with a constant flow of manpower for exploited labor and cannon fodder for unjust wars. Even a revolutionary society, say, a socialist one, would stagnate and be thereafter corrupted if the process of renewal and of continuous revolution is neglected or deliberately held back.

It is in the very nature of the world and of history that while there are youth who question and fight the outdated order, striving to build a new system or reach a new stage of development in which they stand to gain.

The problem of succession through the youth is common to both reactionaries and revolutionaries. The reactionaries strive to preserve an educational and cultural system that molds the thinking and behavior patterns of the youth in a conservative way. The true revolutionaries work to make all parts of their superstructure correspond to the mode of existence of their society. Just as reactionaries zealously try to preserve a heritage of exploitation, the true revolutionaries look after their successors in the march towards greater social progress.

The youth are divisible into two conflicting sides of history, each side trying to influence the apathetic in the middle sections of the political spectrum. It is necessary to recognize that the youth, more than their elders, are more receptive to what is new and progressive.

This receptiveness is sharply seen in crises, when the old ruling classes and the old authorities no longer can rule the old way and resist change. As the crisis ripens, a youthful movement and leadership inevitably emerges with the new ideology, the new political program and the new course of action. No matter what social class ascends to replace the old ruling class, it relies on the ever expanding adherence of the youth to what is new and progressive. Even the youth in self-satisfied centers of learning in the Establishment raise the banner of change.

We are living today in a world of crises, marked by rapid emergence of the new and rabid resistance of the old. Never has the world been so shaken as now. The forces of socialism and national liberation are striking down the ramparts of imperialism and local reactionary power with global sweep. We are in the midst of radical choice.

We are in a world where old verities and old structures are the target of angry yet positive, critical but constructive, mass actions of the youth and the people.

“To rebel is justified!” is the battle cry of the youth of China. There the youth came to be known the world over as the Red Guards. Millions mobilized all over China and, because of our proximity to China, we could almost hear the sound of their marches. Supported by the masses, they brought down the bourgeois academic authorities (reactionary teachers and administrators) and demanded a change in the educational system. Again, together with the masses, the Red Guards gathered enough strength to topple down degenerate government and party officials taking the capitalist road.

Where but in their own schools did the Red Guards start their great proletarian cultural revolution? They saw their schools reflecting society incorrectly. They acted to rectify the irresponsiveness of schools and school authorities to the needs and demands of workers and peasants. At the University of Peking, the whole earth-shaking phenomenon called the great proletarian Cultural Revolution started with big posters denouncing the highly-placed miscreants.

From the confines of academic walls, the youth took to the streets to muster support from the masses of the people. Soon, because of the relationship between school and society, the masses saw the point of the Red Guards. The Chinese youth became, in the May 4th Movement, a vanguard force of enlightenment, arousing not only their own new generation but the broad masses of the people. They could have been easily pushed back by the reactionaries but for the overwhelming support of the masses who themselves fully participated in the most extensive democracy and mass learning ever witnessed by mankind.

What the Red Guards did in China also transpired in France, United States, West Germany, Italy, Brazil, Uruguay, and Mexico. The youth form a progressive force and subsequently strive to merge with the masses on the basis of basic popular demands against US imperialism and the various stripes of local reactionaries.

The seizure of entire universities as Columbia University, the Sorbonne and many others in Latin America and Western Europe is similar to the seizure of Chinese universities by the Chinese youth.

In France, the youth seized the university and then took the streets in the Latin Quarter. All this was followed by something more extensive and more profound as the general strike of French workers and farmers which still haunts De Gaulle's regime. A few tens of thousands of youth started what subsequently

embraced more than ten millions workers and farmers, frightening the reactionaries and compelling them to unleash the violence of the state. The French youth became truly strong politically with the support given them by the masses of workers and farmers.

Let us compare the progressive actions of militant youth with those much ballyhooed in the Western press as exemplary models of youth rebellion.

In Eastern Europe, particularly in Czechoslovakia and Poland, the ultra-revisionist youth press for rapid liberalization, which means a faster return of capitalism and collaborative relation with the United States and West Germany.

In Asia, we are witness to youth movements which helped overthrow certain regimes, Syngman Rhee's in South Korea and Sukarno's in Indonesia. These youth actions differ radically from what transpired in China. In the former, the existing corrupt state was retained and the old problems of exploitation and bureaucratic corruption aggravated. The change was not actually made by the youth, together with the masses, but by the reactionary army which always tries to preserve the old state. In Korea, General Park Chung Hee merely took advantage of youth unrest against Syngman Rhee and seized power by coup d'état over the heads of the masses. In Indonesia, the same thing happened with Generals Nasution and Suharto replacing Sukarno. The previous character of the state did not change.

Summarizing all these phenomena, we can state that the youth can be revolutionary only if supported by the masses in effecting a basic transformation of the state. Separated from the struggle of the masses, the youth only lead themselves into spasms of anarchy, a situation easily taken advantage of by reactionary army officers and other kinds of palace revolutionists.

It is worthwhile to differentiate revolutionary youth from counter-revolutionary youth. If there were youth attracted to the swastika of Hitler's Jungen, there were also youth who joined partisan movements all over Europe, who fought fascism and triumphed in the end over the German war machine. If there are youth enlisted in the armed forces of the United States on missions of genocide in Vietnam, there are more American youth in the anti-imperialist, anti-war and anti-draft movement. There are also the rebellious black youth in the ghettos. The young hoodlums backstopped by the reactionary armies of Indonesia, South Korea and other client states of the US who go into rampages against progressives and democrats of their own countries, are counterpointed by the revolutionary youth who join the masses fighting against established system of exploitation and suppression.

We see the revolutionary courage and heroism of Vietnamese youth fighting American aggression in their country. The People's Liberation Armed Forces of South Vietnam are youthful faces.

The Filipino youth have had their own share of revolutionary struggles against the Spanish colonialists, against the American imperialists, against the Japanese fascists. A revolutionary civil war has once occurred within the living memory of many of today's youth; constantly threatening imperialists and landlords, it pins its hopes on the youth.

Youth is the best fighting age. This is not meant to exclude progressive adults from the ranks of revolutionaries: after all, no matter how old they may be, they are still young in spirit because of revolutionary experience and continuing revolutionary commitment.

Both old and young are subsumed by classes, drawn into the contention of classes and nations, with the young grasping earliest the new and progressive.

It is the youth in the tradition of the Philippine revolution, of Andres Bonifacio, Emilio Jacinto and Gregorio del Pilar we are most concerned with. They shed their blood on the battle field against foreign tyrants and their local minions. With the Philippines increasingly in crisis, we expect more youth to take the uncompromising road of revolt against social injustices. After a long lull in the countryside and in the cities, we can observe the stirrings of a resurgent national democratic movement in the womb of a misshapen semicolonial and semifeudal society. The youth of the city, especially students and young workers, are rising in dissent. Young peasants are goading their elders; the youth are astir in Cotabato, Negros, Quezon, Pampanga, in many places. The youth are the vanguard of national reawakening.

It is in this respect that Kabataang Makabayan, the national democratic youth organization with the most profoundly articulate program and the most widespread membership in the Philippines today, has called itself the Second Propaganda Movement, apart from the connotation and the denotation that it is striving to solve old problems. It is a movement that prepares public opinion for the advance and triumph of working people under the radiant banner of proletarian leadership. It seeks to arouse and mobilize the masses towards the achievement of a national democracy that is new and progressive within the context of the most radical advances made by mankind and the working class. It seeks to project the ideological and political principles that can provide scientific direction to social revolution.

With Kabataang Makabayan in the vanguard, the Filipino youth are striving for progress and social justice. They have demonstrated a militancy comparable to the youth of other lands and those in previous stages of our national history. They have manifested a profound understanding of basic problems and of the day's issues.

With Kabataang Makabayan in the vanguard, there have been demonstrations of such depth and magnitude never before witnessed, protesting iniquities in our social and political system. There have been demonstrations spearheaded by KM

on the murder of Filipinos in US military bases, the Parity Amendment and the Laurel-Langley Agreement, the Vietnam war, the Retail Trade Nationalization Law and many others.

The historic actions of October 23 and 24 of 1966 are still fresh in the minds of the youth; these exposed the Manila Summit and caught the US President and a big complement of Asian puppets together. There have been workers', students' and teachers' strikes participated in by Kabataang Makabayan. All the time the character of the bourgeois state is displayed before the unarmed protestants.

In schools all over the country, especially in the University of the Philippines, there is a growing ferment manifested often by student action. In the working class movement, the young workers are re-assuming leadership. In the countryside, the youth are more articulate and critical of the old problem of feudalism than the officials of the barrio council and community development projects of the reactionaries.

Alone, demonstrations, speeches and leaflets cannot bring about the fundamental change of basic governmental policies but they certainly arouse the masses and even goad certain sections of the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie to question the basic tenets of the neocolonial regime. They also discourage blatant abuses by the reactionaries.

Whatever its detractors say, the Kabataang Makabayan on the basis of present objective conditions has become a milestone in the long march of national democratic revolution. Is there any Philippine youth organization now, comparable in strength and achievement in the national democratic movement? The KM has made certain achievements that can no longer be disregarded by history. Prof. Teodoro A. Agoncillo has taken note of these in his History of the Filipino People. Its merits lie not only in its acts of democratic protest, in militating the people, but also in its more quiet acts of spreading the tenets of national democracy in urban and rural areas.

A whole range of challenges to the Filipino youth are contained in the national democratic program of action of the Kabataang Makabayan. This program defines the conditions and tasks of the Filipino youth. As we protest, we affirm the direction we are taking.

In the political field, we want to arouse and mobilize the Filipino youth as a powerful coordinate of the masses led by the working class in the great movement to realize the national democratic revolution. We are committed to assisting the development of a powerful mass movement and a working class leadership that can transform the character of the present state and rid ourselves of the malignant rule of the comprador bourgeoisie, the landlords and the corrupt government officials.

In the economic field, we seek national industrialization independent of the foreign monopolies on the basis of an agrarian revolution that liberates the peasants from feudal and semifeudal oppression. We envision a just and prosperous society that is made possible only by the most intense and most effective political struggles of workers and peasants. We do not seek crumbs from the well-laden table of the almighty few but we seek general economic conditions that will not foster class exploitation.

In the cultural field, we demand the national democratic reorientation of our educational system, mass media and other parts of the social superstructure. We reject the colonial-feudal and bourgeois-imperialist culture that restrain the advance of the exploited masses and all other progressive sectors of the population. At a time when the youth are corrupted by a backward and decadent culture, we urge the rising Filipino youth, a fresh force, to overthrow such regressive and anti-popular culture and make possible a new and progressive one responsive to the aspirations of the nation and the masses.

In the field of social welfare and mass work, we seek the improvement of the working and living conditions of the masses of workers, peasants, fishermen and all semi-proletariat. The youth must help them develop the political strength that can guarantee whatever economic gains have been made. They must take the mass line, that is, rouse them on the basis of their own concrete demands and rely on their massive efforts to contend with the exploiters. They must help heighten the political consciousness of the masses in the course of participating in their economic struggle.

In the field of national security, we demand the abolition of the country's dependence on foreign military bases and dictation. We base our concept of national security on the sovereign democratic powers of the masses. If the masses can succeed in freeing themselves from US imperialist control and from their local exploiters, it will be impossible for another foreign power to subject them to another successful aggression. The mythical possibility of another foreign aggression is no justification for the reality of a perpetuated aggression against the nation and the masses by US imperialism and local exploiting classes. Our well-entrenched enemy keeps saying our friends are our enemies in order to present himself as our friend.

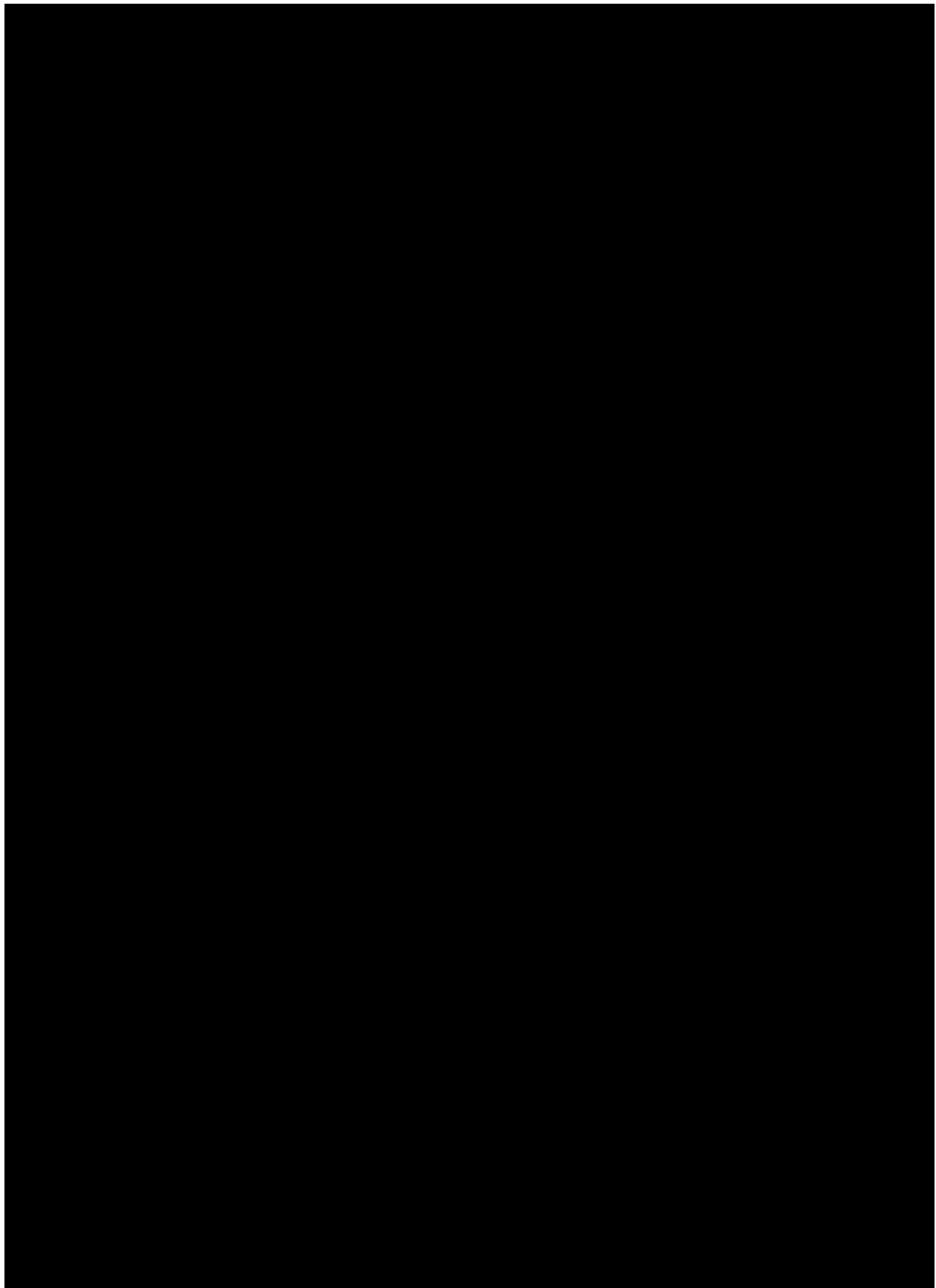
In the field of foreign policy, we seek an independent diplomacy and trade, a broadening of the present state of our foreign relations and a rejection of the stultifying "special relations" with the US government, US imperialism has so much control over our national life that the simpletons and deliberate liars in our midst keep spreading that we rally merely on foreign policy issues when the fact is that there are perfectly domestic issues even as a foreign power is the target of our opposition. That is because such a foreign power is well-entrenched in our politics, economy, culture and security system; this is all-round domination by the imperialists on the basis of the semifeudal debility of the country.

The tasks of the national democratic movement, the entire Filipino youth, and the Kabataang Makabayan are clear. In schools, farms, factories and communities, new cells of change are multiplying before the sweep of the

Second Propaganda Movement.

The unfulfilled aspirations of the nation and the masses throb in the hearts and minds of the young. This generation strives to recoup the failures of the past and girds for the triumphs of the future. As the progressive youth movement and the Kabataang Makabayan struggle for fundamental changes, they will be defamed by the overt and covert enemies of national democracy but they will triumph in the end.

Only through militant struggle can the best in youth shall emerge. Only through the struggle can become more evident the constant replenishment of the fighting forces by the ceaseless flow of new blood.



Message to Samahang Demokratiko ng Kabataan

Delivered at the First National Congress of Samahang Demokratiko ng Kabataan, ALEC Hall, University of the Philippines, Quezon City

January 30-31, 1971

I am happy to convey revolutionary greetings to Samahang Demokratiko ng Kabataan (SDK) on its First National Congress.

SDK in the national democratic struggle

Samahang Demokratiko ng Kabataan reaps today overwhelming applause for its achievements, including its sacrifices, in the struggle for national democracy. Everyone recognizes this militant youth organization to have won a place in the vanguard of this struggle.

This congress of activists sums up a set of achievements garnered by dint of hard work, relentless militance and genuine concern for the people's democratic interests. It also sets forth new fighting tasks fittingly under the great red banner of the national democratic cultural revolution of a new type.

It is exceedingly urgent for the youth to further awaken the broad masses of the people for fiercer struggles against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. Samahang Demokratiko ng Kabataan has splendidly and successfully performed propaganda work and now consolidates itself to perform it even more splendidly and successfully.

In this time of grave crisis, Samahang Demokratiko ng Kabataan stands out as a model of revolutionary militance and courage that all patriotic youth can emulate. It is neither cowed by repeated acts and threats of counter-revolutionary violence (including the formal declaration of martial law) nor deceived by the perverse counter-revolutionary lines of the Lava revisionist renegades and the clerico-fascist that to fight even more fiercely for the people's democratic interests is to become responsible for the evil deed of the enemy.

Samahang Demokratiko ng Kabataan has aptly chosen to hold its first national congress on January 30 and 31, days that recall events of profound significance—an unprecedentedly powerful mass action and the heroic martyrdom of fellow activists. This congress constitutes an act of revolutionary vengeance and therefore adds significance to these days that we commemorate. It prepares the way for a more determined revolutionary struggle against those who aggravate the daily violence of exploitation and oppression with violence on those who protest.

I am proud to have been closely associated with SDK activists who now persist in revolutionary struggle. I am proud of the intimacy and unity of Samahang Demokratiko ng Kabataan and Kabataang Makabayan. Together these fraternal organizations have successfully fanned the flames of the Philippine revolution.

Long live Samahang Demokratiko ng Kabataan!

Raise the great red banner of the national democratic cultural revolution!

Long live the Filipino youth!

Down with US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism!

Down with the oligarchs led by the Marcos fascist puppet clique!

Long live the Filipino people!

Message to League of Editors for a Democratic Society

Delivered at the First National Congress of League of Editors for a Democratic Society (LEADS), ALEC Hall, University of the Philippines, Quezon City, March 26-28, 1971

Campus journalism in the revolution

In commemorating the heroic struggle of January 26 and 30, 1970, it is important to recognize the role played by campus newspapers in calling on the student masses to rise for national democracy against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The mass actions of January 26 and 30 were in themselves clear expression of the national democratic aspirations of the people. The public speeches, teach-ins, protest classes, songs, chants, wall posters, leaflets, placards and even the deeds of physically resisting the fascist brutes were important means of disseminating the principles of the national democratic revolution. But never should we miss the profound and sustained propagation of the struggle for national democracy by campus newspapers before, during and after the events of January 26 and 30.

In what has unfolded as a cultural revolution or the Second Propaganda Movement, campus journalism can play a leading role in clarifying the basic issues of the struggle and in arousing and organizing great masses of students for

revolutionary struggle. The students can in turn relay the message of revolution to the broad masses of the people outside of campus walls throughout the country.

Newspapers edited and run by students have always contributed immensely to the advance of national democratic revolution throughout the world. Examine our national history and discover those newspapers which synthesized the problems and proposed revolutionary solutions of the time. Recall the *Kalayaan*, the revolutionary organ of the Katipunan. It was edited by the student revolutionary, Emilio Jacinto. In the new type of democratic revolution, the fighting spirit of this editor and student pervades the ranks of campus journalists.

To recognize the important role played by campus journalism in the making of January 26 and 30 and also in the making of other revolutionary events past and contemporary is to recognize the correctness and necessity of sharpening the pen as an important weapon in all forthcoming battles against reaction and in the entire process of revolution.

Tasks of LEADS

The League of Editors for a Democratic Society can be regarded as a consolidation of contemporary journalistic efforts in Philippine campuses against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. Its formation means the sharpening of a revolutionary weapon in the service of the people, especially the toiling masses of workers and peasants.

The league can help greatly in propagating the struggle for national democracy. It can combat the counter-revolutionary slander and distortions made by the reactionary press which is in fact partisan to the interests of the imperialists, big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists. There is no such thing as a

“free and impartial” newspaper in the life-and-death struggle between the forces of revolution and the forces of reaction. Publishers, advertisers and editors have definite policies. It is hypocrisy on the part of reactionaries to claim that they forego their own class interests and present correctly the side of revolutionaries.

Revolutionaries must have their own newspapers to voice out the national and class interests of the oppressed and exploited. Revolutionary students should firmly hold the campus newspapers and use them to uphold and defend the interests of progressive students and teachers and also those of the broad masses of the people.

If all campus editors join up and fight for revolutionary orientation, their newspapers can certainly become a formidable force in the making of public opinion for revolution. These can become even more powerful than the reactionary metropolitan press. The combined circulation of all student newspapers in high schools and colleges can beat the combined circulation of all metropolitan newspapers.

The circulation of Dawn or Advocate alone is far bigger than that of any such ultrareactionary big comprador newspapers as the Philippines Herald, Manila Daily Bulletin and Evening News per issue. I perceive that at the moment the combined circulation of campus newspapers under the leadership of the League of Editors for a Democratic Society surpasses the combined circulation per issue of the Manila Times and the Manila Chronicle.

The practice of the League of Editors for a Democratic Society in publishing pooled editorials and articles in campus newspapers is excellent. This is an effective method of promoting the struggle for national democracy. It can rapidly develop unity of ideology and political purpose. It can help build up the revolutionary role of the student masses and also the teachers in the struggle for national democracy.

We wish the League of Editors for a Democratic Society all success in its militant endeavor to push forward the struggle for national democracy. Together with the student masses and the teachers, the member-editors of the league should steadfastly fight for national freedom and democracy inside and outside of the campuses. The campus newspaper must be used as an important link among all students in the revolutionary movement.

Campus journalist, unite for the revolutionary cause!

Pierce the enemies of national democracy with your pens!

Long live the League of Editors for a Democratic Society!

Message to the Third National Congress

of Kabataang Makabayan

**Delivered at the Third National Congress of Kabataang Makabayan,
Abelardo Hall, University of the Philippines, Quezon City, December 12-13,
1971**

All out patriotic countrymen welcome with utmost enthusiasm the Third National Congress of Kabataang Makabayan. Since its founding on November 30, 1964, this militant organization of young men and women has consistently proven itself to be a staunch advocate and defender of the people's democratic interests in the course of great mass struggles.

Kabataang Makabayan and the revolution

In every single year of its existence, Kabataang Makabayan has unfailingly propelled itself into the revolutionary struggle for national democracy. It is admitted by everyone that it has contributed immensely and in a cumulative way to the rapid advance of the revolutionary cause. The people acclaim its work and victories. The people's enemies oppose it with all their might.

US imperialism and all its lackeys are worried to death by the fact that Kabataang Makabayan has served not only as a training school for many cadres but also as an active organized force in the revolutionary struggle for national democracy. The broad masses of the people, especially the workers and peasants, are exceedingly happy that a new generation has sprung up to invigorate the common struggle for national liberation and people's democracy.

The history of the Philippine revolution would not be complete without ample reference to the worthy role that Kabataang Makabayan has played. Cite any significant mass struggle during the last six years. Kabataang Makabayan is inevitably found in the forefront.

Kabataang Makabayan has in no small measure kept alive the flames of the Philippine revolution. Though the reactionaries plot day in and day out to intimidate and suppress it, the thousands of young men and women it has nurtured will persevere in fighting for the revolutionary cause that they have embraced so heroically. Every counter-revolutionary act of suppression that the enemy commits will only embolden them and convince them of the justness and timeliness of revolutionary struggle in all its forms.

The revolution has started

There are still some persons who say or threaten with an air of fashion, not with passion, that the revolution would start soon. The assumption is that it has not yet started. But the fact is clear that it has already started. The Cry of Pugad Lawin pales in comparison with the heroic armed struggle now raging in widening areas in the countryside. The protest movement breaking out in cities is starkly unprecedented in the entire national history in terms of significance and magnitude.

The problem on hand is no longer how to start a revolution. It is how to extend and intensify it. All the initial prerequisites for making revolution in the present world era have taken roots in our country. US imperialism and all its running dogs can no longer rule in the old way. The broad masses of the people are clamoring for revolutionary change. And there is now a proletarian revolutionary party determined with a people's army to lead the people, especially the toiling masses, in the most sanguinary combat with the enemy.

The Filipino youth have vigorously risen up. Their mass actions which are accelerating the awakening of the people are the earth-shaking thunder and lightning presaging greater storms to come. What has come to be known as the Second Propaganda Movement makes its antecedent — that of Rizal, Lopez Jaena, del Pilar and the Lunas — a mere dinner party of exiles. The contemporary cultural revolution has at so early a stage mobilized millions of people and youth and has for its backbone a revolutionary war unfolding in the countryside.

Such names as Sta. Brigida, Alcantara, Tausa, Catabay, Roldan, Mendoza and Sontillano surpass in significance the names of martyrs of the old democratic revolution. The incarceration of Nilo Tayag is richer in implications than the exile of Jose Rizal to Dapitan. If such an organization as Kabataang Makabayan were to be crushed by the enemy today or tomorrow, it shall have served a greater purpose than La Solidaridad, La Liga Filipina or even the Katipunan. The bearing of our contemporary heroes and organizations on the triumph of the new democratic revolution cannot be less than that of the old democratic revolution that has been appropriated by the big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists.

Counter-revolutionary violence only begets revolutionary violence. Thanks to the counter-revolutionary violence of the last decade, a great number of workers, peasants, intellectuals and other patriots' have taken to the field of revolutionary armed struggle. Thanks to the counter-revolutionary violence inflicted on the first quarter storm and on the second upsurge of 1970, a still greater number of

people have become more convinced of the necessity of revolutionary violence and are volunteering to go to the countryside where they have better chances of fighting back with revolutionary violence.

The youth of today are getting better education in the streets, in the vicinities of workshops and in the rural areas than they could ever get from the narrow and stifling classrooms of the ruling classes. The youth are learning from the people. Breaking out into a cultural revolution and embracing the oppressed masses, the youth of today are turning the whole country into one gigantic classroom. Mass protest actions are becoming more and more enormous in Manila and in the provinces. More and more young people are forming themselves into armed and unarmed propaganda teams to arouse and mobilize the people.

Revolutionary practice with the masses is today held as the optimum basis for knowledge. More revolutionary practice makes higher knowledge. This knowledge is superior to all the books of class knowledge forced upon students in the schools operated by the enemy. And mind you, there is a great treasury of revolutionary theoretical knowledge, that of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, that enlightens those who enroll in the university of revolutionary struggle. It is the highest knowledge so far attained by mankind and now impelling the whole world to revolution.

Heighten revolutionary practice

There is no moving back in the revolutionary march already started by the youth. So many student hero-martyrs have fallen. It would be cowardice to move back. As the blood debts of the enemy pile up, falling back in silence and capitulation is a crime. We can only draw inspiration from the sacrifice of our comrades and fight back even more fiercely. To do otherwise is only to tighten the bonds of captivity.

It is correct for the youth to keep on advancing. Every murder and every injury inflicted by the fascist puppet state on peaceful assemblies of protest tempers, strengthens and increases the number of people that will eventually punish the blood-sucking tyrants.

In a number of areas in the countryside, the power of US imperialism, landlordism and bureaucrat capitalism is steadily but surely being wiped out or reduced. Revolutionary bases are being created as both the refuge and the launching grounds for revolutionary action for all the people and for the youth who recognize the limitations, if not the futility, of seeking mere concessions or mere reforms from tyrants who extend one hand in a sham act of kindness but who poise, the other hand with utter brutality. These revolutionary bases are the embryo of a new democratic state.

The fascist puppet state has overtaxed the people not only in terms of blood and sweat but also in terms of credibility. The crisis today in the material basis of the present kind of society is exacerbated by the crisis in the superstructure. The constitutional convention called forth by the ruling classes is an attempt to put a fresh coat of paint on the state but it will bring to popular ridicule the sophistries of reactionary debate among delegates elected by minority votes.

The multitude of voices encircling the talking shop that is the convention hall will ring louder. The facts of oppression and exploitation will speak louder than the clever phrase of compromise bleated by the bourgeois parliamentarian. The facts of popular resistance will speak even louder. The silent majority so-called which in fact has long been silenced by the state will surely strike down the real prating minority of big compradors, landlords and big bureaucrats who control and manipulate the mass media.

The constitutional convention will have no difference from a typical act of renegotiation rigged up by the local traitors and their imperialist masters. A treaty of subservience and a statute of treason will still be held superior to any

constitutional assumption of national sovereignty and territorial integrity. The landlord will still hold the peasantry in peonage. The bureaucrat capitalists will still operate the government as their private enterprise. Make a class analysis of the present delegates to the constitutional convention and you cannot fail to measure the truth.

We have had enough of parliamentary compromises, treaty negotiations, bargaining agreements, raise representation and the like that only serve to rationalize the interests of the oppressors and exploiters beyond the will of the people. As the general crisis of imperialism worsens, acts of deception by the people's enemies are immediately nullified by the intensification of actual oppression and exploitation. US imperialism and its running dogs are foolishly trying to extort from the Filipino people what they cannot from other peoples without sanguinary struggle. The inevitable result is that the tide of the Philippine revolution is rising higher.

If the enemy has so well taught us how to impose class dictatorship, the power of his state, then let us fight back with a joint class dictatorship of the workers, peasants' intellectuals and all patriots among the propertied who refuse to be held in bondage by US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. Let us put up the revolutionary majority against the handful of reactionaries.

The trend of revolution is mightily flowing in the Philippines. It is an organic part of the main trend of revolution in the world today. The Filipino people are rising up in concert with all people of Southeast Asia against US imperialism, Japanese militarism, Soviet social-imperialism and all forms of local reaction. The Filipino people are immeasurably inspired by all the revolutionary struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and also by those in the other continents.

The Filipino people are fortunate to be so close to the iron bastion of socialism and world revolution, the several hundreds of millions of Chinese people. They are also so close to the three Indo-Chinese peoples fighting against US

imperialism and its running dogs in a heroic struggle for national freedom, democracy and salvation — a struggle parallel to that now transpiring in the Philippines.

US imperialism, the chief defender of world capitalism, is rapidly weakening. Though it still appears to be a huge monster, it no longer frightens the Filipino people and all other peoples. The people in every country have awakened to the fact that they become the real giant of progress through the process of revolution.

Long live Kabataang Makabayan!

Long live Philippine revolution!

Long live the Filipino youth!

Long live the Filipino people!

Resurgent Student Movement Sweeps Colleges, Universities

Ang Bayan, Vol. IX, No. 9, July 15, 1977

A storm of protest swept through several Metro Manila colleges and university in recent weeks in militant opposition to the oppressive tuition fee increases authorized by the Marcos fascist regime.

Starting with only a few scores of students at the University of the Philippines in Diliman, Quezon City, the protest movement soon gathered strength and spread to other schools, including the University of the East, Araneta Foundation, Adamson University and Trinity College.

In standing up for their rights, the aroused student masses thus linked arms with the workers, peasants and other oppressed classes and sectors in waging struggle against the fascist dictatorship.

Mass actions in the Metro Manila campuses took the form of signing of protest petitions, classroom-to-classroom campaigns, cultural presentations, marches and boycotts of classes. Parents united with their children in the struggle.

Fascist goons in plain clothes and in uniform were very much around, especially at UP, in an effort to stop the growing movement. Their presence instead fed the flames of protest and mobilized more and more students, their parents, and even teachers.

At the height of the protest movement at UP last June 30, indignant shouts of “Boycott! Boycott!” and “Makibaka, huwag matakot!” filled the halls of the College of Arts and Sciences as more than 8,000 students and faculty members staged a protest march and mass meeting.

A streamer bearing the slogan “Rechannel military funds to education!” was positioned at the center of the protesters. Target of the mass actions were the oppressive tuition fee hikes approved by UP officials led by the top Marcos agent in the state university, Onofre Corpuz. Without any consultations with the students, tuition fees were jacked up by as much as 500 percent in some colleges of the university. In other schools, it was the yearly 15 percent increase in fees approved by the regime that roused the ire of the studentry.

While the increases in the privately owned colleges and universities were granted by the Marcos regime on petition of the capitalists who run these institutions, at UP it was made in the guise of “democratizing” the state university.

But, as pointed out by the *Alyansa Laban sa Pagtaas ng Tuition Fee* (Alliance against Tuition Fee Increases) in its statement of June 24, the state holds the primary responsibility of educating its citizens, and should extend free education instead of unnecessarily burdening the students and their parents.

Then, exposing the real motive of the regime in increasing tuition fees at UP, the students said it meant to channel more public funds to beef up the parasitic

military apparatus, among other wasteful state undertakings.

The student protest started during the registration period in early June. The Alyansa emerged from the unity of several student organizations and put forth two main demands: roll back the tuition fees to their previous levels and refund those who had already paid the increased fees.

Petition papers were circulated and on June 10, a group of 120 students under the banner of the alliance demonstrated at the UP administration building, bearing streamers and distributing position papers. Troops of the PC Metrocom rushed to the scene but failed to intimidate the protesters.

By their persistence, the students won concessions from the UP administration. The registration period was extended and the PhP10 late registration fine was scrapped. Modest as this victory was, it showed the justness of the students' demand and fired them to prepare for even bigger struggles.

In the next few days, Corpuz and other university authorities frenziedly tried to explain the tuition fee hike. But they kept sidetracking the real essence of democratization—consultation with the students who, after all, are directly affected by the scheme, and representation in the UP board of regents through a democratically elected student council.

In the days and weeks that followed, students presented skits depicting the problems encountered by students and workers and their struggles.

The slogans became more militant: “Ibagsak ang batas militar!” (Down with martial law!) and “Marcos, Hitler, diktador, tuta!” (Marcos, Hitler, dictator,

running dog!)

Meantime, at UE where tuition fees had been hiked four times since martial law, students formed an Alyansa chapter despite the strict ban on student organizations in the campus. Within a few weeks, the Alyansa mobilized over 6,000 students in support of a petition for a rollback in their fees.

Students at the Adamson University formed the Komite Laban sa Pagtaas ng Tuition Fee. In a few days, the group was able to mobilize thousands of students against the tuition fee increase.

At Trinity College, military intervention was the regime's response to the rapidly intensifying struggle of the students. Metrocom troops descended on the campus and threatened to arrest anyone joining the protest movement. Undaunted, students and teachers formed a united front to launch bigger mass actions.

Troops of the Metrocom and agents of the PC Criminal Investigation Service also stormed the campus of the Araneta Foundation as the Alyansa ng Samahang Mag-aaral mobilized college and high school students and teachers alike. Students boycotted classes twice in protest. In the end, the university authorities backtracked and refunded the increase in fees.

Repressed since the imposition of martial law, the student masses are following the lead of militant workers who launched a strike movement in 1975-1976.

In the various campuses, students are activating the Kabataan Makabayan (KM), one of the vanguard youth mass organizations in the democratic cultural revolution that reached a high point in the First Quarter Storm of 1970.

The youth are full of vitality. The student movement is injecting fresh momentum to the rapid development of the people's democratic movement led by the working class.

By their vigorous and creative participation in the revolutionary mass movement, the students are ensuring the accomplishment of their objectives. In the country's factories, fields and schools, the youth are following the lead of the proletariat in laying the ground for the structures of their tomorrow.

200,000 Students in 10 Schools Rally to Resurgent Protest Movement

Ang Bayan, Vol. IX, No. 10, July 31, 1977

The resurgent student protest movement in Metro Manila has mobilized almost 200,000 students in 10 colleges and universities and was resolutely pressing the Marcos fascist regime to heed their just demands.

United under the banner of the Alyansa ng Mag-aaral Laban sa Pagtaas ng Tuition Fee (Students' Alliance against Tuition Fee Increases), the school youth served notice they would continue boycotting their classes for as long as the Marcos government vacillates on their demands.

In a meeting last July 28, 50 student representatives from the different schools assailed the regime's Department of Education and Culture and the school administrations for dilly-dallying on their demands. They also formulated a new set of demands, among them the following:

1. Remove all troops and spies of the reactionary Armed Forces of the Philippines from the school campuses.

2. Restore the student councils which are prohibited under martial law.

3. Freeze all tuition fee increases.

4. Roll back tuition fees to their previous levels and refund excess amounts collected by the schools.

5. Conduct a thorough investigation into the harassment and intimidation of students by school administrations.

6. Withdraw letters of school administrations threatening the expulsion of student leaders.

7. Stop the arrest and detention of students.

The Alyansa also demanded that the DEC stop authorizing tuition fee increases without prior consultations with the students concerned and their parents. It pointed out that while the regime had been freely granting every petition of the schools to jack up tuition fees, there had been no improvement in school facilities and the quality of education.

The presentation of the demands to the Marcos government followed mass walkouts of students at the University of the Philippines, Araneta University Foundation, University of the East, Adamson University, Trinity College, Philippine College of Commerce, University of Santo Tomas, Philippine Women's University, Feati University and Philippine College of Criminology.

The resurgent student movement sprang up during the school registration period early last month. At the start, there were only a few scores of student struggling against the arbitrary tuition fee hikes which were being imposed in the guise of “democratizing” the state university.

The ranks of the protesting UP students swelled to thousands as classes were scheduled to get under way. Parents and teachers also were mobilized when the Marcos fascist regime unleashed the PC Metrocom at UP’s Diliman campus.

The movement soon spread to the privately owned colleges and universities where the students protested the 15 percent increase in tuition fees which the Marcos regime had been authorizing yearly since the imposition of martial law in 1972.

The students found unity and strength in the Alyansa. They distributed resolutions and manifestos, held mass meetings and cultural presentations, and launched walkouts and boycotts.

The mass movement reached a high point in the last three weeks when almost 200,000 students launched simultaneous boycotts in the 10 colleges and universities.

The Marcos regime’s response to the students was measured brutality.

At UE and UST, security guards under the command of fascist AFP officers arrested and detained some protesting students and waited to see if this would

scare off the others.

This inflamed the student ranks further and mobilized many more to join the Alyansa. It also fired the students to demand not just a rollback of tuition fees but the removal of all AFP soldiers and spies from the campuses.

At press time, while awaiting the government's reply to their demands, the almost 200,000 students in the Alyansa were conducting mass work and further expanding and strengthening their ranks.

Keynote Address to the National Conference of the League of Filipino Students

May 26, 1983

I express to you my most heartfelt greetings and best wishes for the utmost success of your conference. I admire deeply your militant commitment to the struggle for national independence and democracy against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

I am confident that you will maintain and develop further your role as the vanguard of the student movement by promoting the national democratic line against the fascist dictatorship of the US-Marcos clique.

You are acting in the great tradition of students who cast their lot with the people, especially at crucial moments of Philippine history. You are the worthy descendants of revolutionary students like Emilio Jacinto and Gregorio del Pilar and the direct continuers of the unremitting democratic student movement since the 1960s. You are still carrying forward the national democratic cultural revolution which broke out in the First Quarter Storm of 1970.

A high sense of patriotism and unselfish courage certainly move you to face up to the fascist tyranny and to dare expose and oppose its wicked acts. You are assuming difficult tasks and facing tremendous odds and risks. But you know that the challenge is going to bring out the best in you in the service of the people.

You are fortunate to have the opportunity to serve the people under extremely trying conditions. The times are fraught with dangers comparable to those during the last decade of Spanish colonialism, the Filipino-American War and the Japanese occupation. But glory belongs to the heroes of the people. And this time the people are going to win victory and complete the national democratic struggle.

Yours is the urgent task to arouse, organize and mobilize your fellow students for the national democratic struggle. You are striving to lead the most potent force next only to the organized strength of the workers and peasants.

You can amplify the strength of the democratic movement among college students not only by reaching out to the students in all the colleges and universities but also by inspiring and assisting the high school students all over the country to take the path that you have taken. The democratic student movement would therefore develop in almost every town of the country.

At the college and high school levels, there are so many important issues—economic, political and cultural—that are crying out for action by students.

By economic issues, I mean the rising cost of education (tuition fees, books, other study materials, extracurricular fees, etc.) and cost of living (food, clothing, shelter, etc.). Even the public schools are now demanding intolerably high fees.

By political issues, I mean the suppression of the democratic rights of students through fascist rules and regulations and through the wanton use of the military, police and private security guards for coercive purposes against students,

especially when they rise up to assert their economic political demands.

By cultural issues, which are as well political, I mean the use of certain study programs, subjects, study materials and activities to poison the minds of students with pro-imperialist, fascist and other reactionary ideas.

You must demand the freezing, if not the lowering, of tuition fees and the prices of all study materials; the elimination of unnecessary extracurricular fees; more textbooks and reference books for common use in the library and better school facilities.

You must demand the freedom of thought, expression and self-organization; the establishment of student governments, a wide variety of student organizations and official and nonofficial student publications; and the end of the practice of the fascists and fascist-minded school administrators to use coercive and punitive measures against student protests.

You must demand the propagation of a national, scientific and mass education and culture and the discarding or recasting pro-imperialist fascist and other reactionary in all schools, public and private, including those run by religious organizations. You must demand an end to the use of the private and public school systems for anti-national, anti-people and anti-scientific or counterrevolutionary propaganda.

For education and culture to be national in orientation, the liberation, independence and self-reliance of the nation must be sought against the shackling imperialist and reactionary education and culture.

For education and culture to be scientific in orientation, the proletarian revolutionaries and the scientific and technical experts must unite to employ science and technology to achieve material progress; and the scientific spirit and method must pervade the sciences and the arts.

For culture to have a mass orientation, the interests of the basic masses—the workers, peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie—must be served. Those involved in cultural work and education, and culture itself must serve the interests of the broad masses of the people, especially the toiling masses.

The teachers and the nonteaching personnel in your schools have their own economic, political and cultural demands. You must go into a patriotic and progressive alliance with them. You can easily harmonize your interests with theirs against the reactionary stand of private and public school administrations.

School administrations usually argue that they cannot give in to the separate or joint demands of the students, teachers and non-teaching personnel because of high taxes (if private schools), low appropriations (if public schools), the inflationary costs of maintenance and/or expansion and the dictation of fascist authorities.

But of course, you base yourselves on the facts to be able to make just demands. And these facts would have to be the basis for the temporary or lasting resolution of the contradictions with the school administration.

You must further demand the representation of students (or parents of high school students), teachers and non-teaching personnel in the school administration so that all components of the school are well informed about the school situation and so that the best of relations can be developed within the school.

You must also persuade the school administration to ally itself with the students, teachers and non-teaching personnel on problems where the responsibility for what is wrong belongs to the fascist dictator and his imperialist master.

The basic problems of Philippine education cannot be thoroughly solved so long as fascist tyranny and the semicolonial and semifeudal conditions persist. It is necessary for the student masses and other components of the educational system to express themselves on national issues and join the people in the national effort to resolve them.

The largest bulk of the students at the college level come from petty bourgeois families. Under present conditions, the petty bourgeoisie is increasingly being pushed down to a life of want and misery. There is therefore a strong tendency of students to oppose the worsening political and economic conditions.

In these extremely critical times, the student masses easily find themselves in sympathy with the toiling masses of workers and peasants and they tend to heed the call for social revolution. As a matter of fact, an increasing number of students are abandoning their petty bourgeois aspirations and are uniting with the workers and the peasants.

A step that can be readily taken by students to remold their outlook and serve the people is to conduct social investigations into conditions of workers and peasants and assist them in taking the appropriate actions to assert their rights and improve their lot.

Student teams can go to their own towns or barrios of origin or choice, investigate the situation and do what they can to arouse, organize and mobilize

the people along the national democratic line. An increasing number of students have gone on to join the ranks of revolutionaries in the countryside.

The students have always been an important key to the rapid nationwide expansion of the national democratic movement. This was initiated by Kabataang Makabayan in the 1960s. That is why it has attained so much importance not only in the history of the student and youth movement but also in that of the entire people.

I believe that the democratic student movement is a good training school for cadres in the national democratic movement. So many revolutionaries in the Philippines and abroad were student activists at the beginning of their revolutionary involvement.

Before I close, I take this opportunity to thank you for the award of recognition that you have given me for the modest contribution that I together with so many other cadres have made to the development of the youth and student movement along the national democratic line. I am also grateful for the support that you have been giving to the campaign for my freedom together with other political prisoners.

I hope that this message will give you some inspiration in your conference as well as in the hard work following it.

Long live the League of Filipino Students!

Long live all Filipino students!

Carry forward the national democratic movement!

Long live the Philippine revolution!

Long live the Filipino people!

Message to the UP Student Council and UP Students in General

December 5, 1983

I wish to express my sincerest greetings and congratulations to the UP Student Council and UP students in general for observing human rights week this year with a series of meaningful activities. It is with a deep sense of gratitude that I do so, especially because I am a political prisoner. I am aware that one of the major demands that the student council and the students are making is the release of all political prisoners and the proclamation of general amnesty. This demand is, of course, linked to the comprehensive struggle for national liberation and democracy against the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique. The liberation of the entire nation and people from foreign domination is the best condition for the release of all political prisoners.

Even as the democratic forces must make immediate demands, such as for example the proclamation of general amnesty or an end to the practice of torture and summary execution or respect for due process, they must not lose sight of the strategic objectives of the long-term struggle. All democratic forces must press for the fundamental and higher demands even as they press for immediately realizable demands.

The end of the puppetry to US imperialism and the dismantling of the autocracy must be sought even as immediate demands are made for the restoration of the

writ of habeas corpus and the right to bail, the repeal of certain oppressive decrees, the release of all political prisoners, the cessation of barbaric campaigns and atrocities of the fascist military and so on.

The exceedingly favorable conditions are the fruit of resolute and relentless efforts by the revolutionary party of the proletariat, the people 's army and the united front of democratic forces have accumulated strength through the years.

It is gratifying to observe that the UP Student Council and UP students have maintained an outstanding role in the struggle for national democracy. I urge you to surpass all your previous efforts at uniting and militating the various campus organizations and the unorganized students of Diliman, in cooperating with the student councils and students of other campuses of the university system, in linking up with the student governments and the student masses in Metro Manila and the rest of the country and in conjoining with other people's organizations, such as those of workers, peasants, youth, women, teachers, other professionals and so on.

In keeping with In keeping with your observance of human rights week, I propose that the UPSC commission the compilation of the accounts of the struggle and sacrifices made by the UP students and alumni martyred by the fascists and/or have died for the revolutionary cause. The point is to stress the justness of the struggle and inspire the UP students to carry the struggle forward.

An album of UP martyrs that includes Ricardo Alcantara, Benigno Aquino, Jr., Ma. Lorena Barros, Ellecser Cortes, Bobby de la Paz, Juan Escandor, Enrique Voltaire Garcia II, Mel Glor, Claro Lansang, Antero Santos, Antonio and Crispin Tagamolila, Carlos Tayag, Emmanuel Yap and so many others can give honor to the university. It is a shame that the fascist dictator and others responsible for the tyranny and corruption in the land are officially considered the most outstanding alumni of the university. The fascist puppet dictatorship is wobbling towards its doom. The national democratic movement is forging ahead towards a bright

future.

Long live the UP Student Council!

Unite and fight for national liberation and democracy!

Down with the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique!

Long live the UP students!

Long live the Filipino people!

Intensify the Struggle for National Democracy and Consolidate the League of Filipino Students

December 7, 1983

I am profoundly pleased and greatly honored by your invitation to keynote the Fifth National Congress of the most politically conscious and most militant national student organization fighting for national liberation and democracy in the country today.

The League of Filipino Students has earned a significant place in the history of the Filipino student movement as well as in that of the Filipino people by devoting itself to the struggle for national democracy. I therefore salute and congratulate all of you, the present and past officers and members of LFS.

Your achievements have been won through hard work and selfless sacrifice. These are brilliant achievements precisely because they have been won against the tremendous odds posed by the present fascist puppet dictatorship which so far has been the most violent, most deceptive and worst outgrowth of the moribund semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system.

You have established a sound basis for the further growth and advance of the student movement along the national democratic line. You are carrying on the great patriotic tradition of the Filipino youth from the old to the new democratic stages of the Philippine revolution.

I am confident that you will continue to make greater contributions to the eventual victory of the people against the evil forces of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, all of which now have their concentrated expression in the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique.

Conditions for advancing the struggle are excellent

The conditions for advancing the struggle for national democracy are excellent. The political and economic crisis of the ruling system continues to worsen and deepen. The people suffer extreme oppression and exploitation. But they are rising resolutely and vigorously as never before and are successfully waging all forms of revolutionary struggle.

The fascist counterrevolution has failed to suppress the revolutionary armed struggle but has only served to push its nationwide expansion and intensification. US imperialism and its fascist puppet have instituted an open rule of terror and have wantonly violated the national and democratic rights of the people, plundered the country and sunk it into grave foreign indebtedness and bankruptcy. As a consequence, they are rapidly losing control over the resultant social unrest.

The party of the proletariat, the people's army and the broad united front of all patriotic and progressive forces have been growing in strength and winning victories at an accelerating rate and on a nationwide scale. Both the armed revolutionary movement and the legal democratic mass movement are on the

upsurge.

The stage of strategic defensive in the people's war is maturing and is about to pass on to the stage of strategic stalemate. Soon, the people's army will attain the capability to launch tactical offensives in the majority of Philippine municipalities and cities.

The party of the proletariat has brilliantly developed the basic alliance of the working class and the peasantry, won over such middle forces as the urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie, and taken advantage of the contradictions within the reactionary classes of the big compradors and landlords in order to isolate and destroy the US-Marcos combine.

US imperialism is alarmed by the rapid advance of the revolutionary mass movement in both urban and rural areas and is frantically seeking to stabilize the fascist puppet regime by ordering it to simultaneously make pretenses at democracy through petty concessions to its rival politicians within the reactionary classes and to escalate campaigns of terror against the people in the name of anticommunism and counterinsurgency.

The US is encouraging the Marcos fascist gang to frustrate the hopes of the legal opposition in the forthcoming local and presidential sham elections. Under the cover of counterinsurgency, preparations for electoral fraud and terrorism are under way to keep the Marcos monopoly of political power intact.

The US scheme is bound to fail. As the Marcos fascist clique continues to entrench itself in power and multiply its bloody crimes, the broad masses of the people have no recourse but to further expand and intensify the revolutionary armed struggle. The advance of the armed revolution will be hastened if Marcos or his surrogate is again foisted on the people beyond 1987.

Within the present social system, there is no solution in sight for the ever-worsening economic crisis. The measures for economic recovery being drummed up by the US and the fascists merely aggravate the deleterious effects of the anti-industrial, pseudodevelopment policy imposed by imperialist banks and multinational corporations.

There can be no economic recovery resulting from the further straining of the country's dependence on export-oriented agriculture; the shunning of industrialization and favoring of imported manufactures; begging for more foreign loans to cover deficits; repeated devaluation and depreciation of the currency; increase of the tax burden of the people; depressing of wages; obscuring of the need for land reform; and so on.

The US imperialists and the fascists know no limits to their bloodsucking operations. The Philippine economy has been laid prostrate. But they have become even more ruthless in despoiling it.

As the economic crisis worsens, the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie enthusiastically join the national democratic movement. They can see no solution to the crisis but the casting away of the semicolonial and semifeudal fetters and the realization of the national democratic program.

The persistence of fascist tyranny and the ceaseless deterioration of the economy fan the flames of the revolutionary armed struggle and spell the doom of the ruling system and the total victory of the people against their oppressors and their exploiters.

Intensify the struggle for national democracy

There is an acute need to intensify the struggle for national democracy in the face of the escalating oppression and exploitation of the people. The masses of students at the college and high school levels have a major role to play in the struggle.

In accordance with its particular character, the LFS must first of all arouse, organize and mobilize the student masses. It must also develop common understanding and cooperation with other constituents of the school, such as the teachers and non-academic personnel, as well as with the families of students.

Further on, students must link themselves with the entire people. After all, the basic problems of students cannot be solved in isolation from those of the entire people. The struggle for a national, scientific and mass culture cannot move forward outside of the people's comprehensive struggle for national democracy.

The LFS must raise the level of political consciousness and militancy among the student masses by taking up issues involving the national and democratic rights of the entire people.

At the moment, there are such urgent issues as the mis-orientation of subjects, study materials and entire programs or courses of study to pro-imperialist, fascist and other reactionary trends; military regimentation through the national service law; enemy surveillance, blacklisting and brutal repression of students; suppression of student governments and publications; and so on. All these must be taken up within the context of the national democratic struggle.

In taking up issues, the LFS must undertake mass protest actions, convocations, seminars, publications, cultural performances, exhibits and other means which involve the enlightenment and active participation of the student masses.

The LFS must be able to work closely with student governments and official student publications. It must engage in alliances and cooperative activities with all types of student organizations as well as other campus organizations; and must attract students who are not yet organized.

The greater the number of students that can be mobilized under the banner of the LFS in connection with campus issues, the greater the number of them ready to participate in off-campus mass actions dealing with issues pertaining to the toiling masses and the rest of the people.

However, there is no rigid rule regarding what issues to take up first. There is no rule saying that the students cannot immediately and directly act on national issues which ultimately affect them. There are many times when they must pour out into the streets in order to speak out and act on issues that seem not to involve them as students but which in fact involve them as these involve everyone of the people irrespective of class, sector or organization.

The students have certain advantages as far as the work of intensifying the struggle for national democracy is concerned. They have more time and opportunity than any other sector to study and articulate social problems and solutions because they are concentrated in schools. They can easily achieve common understanding and engage in mass actions on and off campus together with the rest of the people.

At the same time, the students can fan out to various neighborhoods, barrios, towns and provinces in order to spread the principles of the national democratic

revolution and engage in various types of activities guided by these principles.

Student activists have played a key role in promoting the national democratic movement on a nationwide scale. Many of them have so remolded their thinking and gone deep among the masses of workers and peasants that they have become cadres of the revolutionary party. For example, the most advanced elements of Kabataang Makabayan have gone on to become proletarian revolutionary cadres.

The students constitute a sector that has the facility to understand the basic problems of the present society. Most of them come from the petty bourgeoisie, now adversely affected by the social crisis and in danger of falling to the status of proletarians. As a consequence, they tend to join the revolutionary cause of the workers and peasants, swing the entire petty bourgeoisie to that cause and encourage the middle bourgeoisie to amplify its patriotic and progressive aspect.

Consolidate the League of Filipino Students

The LFS must consolidate its ranks ideologically, politically and organizationally. It is by consolidating itself that the LFS improves its position to intensify the struggle for national democracy.

This congress that you are holding now is a means of consolidation. You sum up, analyze and learn from your experience; and set forth new tasks for the growth and advance of your organization in the national democratic struggle. At every level, from the national down to the local chapter, you can likewise perform the same act of consolidation.

As regards ideological consolidation, the LFS must make sure through its

chapters that every member gets a basic education on the LFS declaration of principles, program of action and constitution; and on the national democratic program as it pertains to the student masses as well as to the entire people.

Old members should serve as instructors of new members in seminars. Every member should not only understand the basic principles of the national democratic movement but should learn to apply and articulate these principles in concrete circumstances.

All members who have taken the basic course on the student movement and the comprehensive national democratic movement must take higher or special courses organized either by the LFS or other national democratic organizations and alliances. All members, whether as individuals or in groups, should be further encouraged to read and study certain materials which can raise their grasp of revolutionary theory.

The capability of members to serve as seminar and as rally speakers must be developed. Special educational and cultural talents such as writing, acting, painting, singing, playing musical instruments, etc. must also be encouraged, developed and correctly oriented.

Members can be formed into teams for social investigation and mass work (including service and integration) in factories, urban and rural communities and professional groups. During extended vacations, study and training camps may also be organized all over the country. All these activities can deepen the commitment of LFS members to the struggle for national democracy and enable them to discover what best they can do to serve the people.

As regards political consolidation, there must be a periodic check up as well as assessment of the political work of every chapter, its officers and members.

Collective and individual responsibilities in political work must be assigned and results must be evaluated. The comprehensive national democratic line must be promoted among all students. Specific issues must be promptly taken up. The means and methods of mobilizing the student masses must be increased and improved on.

Every member must be required to bring with him a certain number of prospective recruits or sympathizers to mass activities in which LFS opts to participate and bring the largest possible number of students. Every member must strive to lead at least a squad of at least ten prospective recruits or sympathizers, especially in major mass actions.

The performance of officers and members assigned to do alliance work on and off campus must be checked up on a periodic and timely basis. The LFS must always see to it that its allies are increasing rather than decreasing. The success of alliance work must be confirmed by the increasing number of students and other people in mass mobilizations.

LFS must make an accounting of the number of spontaneous student participants in its mass activities. The reasons for the increase, stagnation or decrease in the number of such participants must be sought so that appropriate measures can be adopted. As regards organizational consolidation, all members must acquire basic organizational skills. Every member must fulfil the obligation of recruiting a certain minimum number of fellow students over a certain period; and must be encouraged to over-fulfil this obligation in accordance with ability.

Organizational consolidation should not be taken to mean the reduction of membership but the upgrading of the ability and capability of the organization and its members to expand the membership. All members must go through sessions or meetings stressing their recruitment tasks, rating their performance and learning correct methods of recruitment.

The LFS must develop a bigger number of devoted and capable leaders to be able to lead its existing chapters more effectively as well as to create new ones. More initiative must be taken to cover all colleges and universities and even high schools in the country.

A great number of leaders can be produced only if there is a greater number of chapters and members that never cease to raise the level of their consciousness and militancy along the national democratic line.

There is no absolute separation between consolidation and expansion. One is possible because of the other. When one is being stressed at one time, the other does not stop but even proceeds better than before. And there is a spiraling process of one causing the rise of the other.

I hope that in striving to consolidate, you will raise the ideological, political and organizational capabilities of all your members and you will expand the LFS, thereby making it a larger and stronger organization.

I wish you all the success in your congress and in the work that will follow. I am sure that you will be able to raise the revolutionary spirit and struggle of the student masses and that you will continue to play a major role in defeating the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique and bringing about the victory of the national democratic revolution.

Long live the League of Filipino Students!

Unite to overthrow the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique!

Carry forward the national democratic revolution!

Long live the Filipino students! Long live the Filipino people!

In Commemoration of the First Quarter Storm

Address to the League of Filipino Students

February 9, 1984

The national democratic forces and the spirit of the First Quarter Storm of 1970 have lived on and continued to grow.

So many activists generated by this storm have persevered in legal and underground struggle. Others have joined the armed struggle.

There is a continuity of the FQS of 1970 and the great mass movement that has emerged since August last year.

Not a few veteran activists of the FQS are at the core of the current mass movement. The experience gained in 1970 has been carried over to the present and developed further.

I venture to say that without the FQS, the present movement is not possible.

At the same time, I would say that the latter is distinct from the former. The current movement has occurred at a new and higher level of the revolutionary struggle.

The mass actions are far larger and involve more people from the toiling masses of workers and peasants as well as from the middle strata of Philippine society.

These mass actions are participated in by the broad masses of the people who have long been oppressed and exploited by a full-blown fascist dictatorship.

In 1970, the US-Marcos clique was still planning to put up a fascist dictatorship. Now, this despotic regime is on its downward course.

The people are today consciously taking care to launch protest actions which are peaceful in order to gain more and more participants and frustrate the provocations and violent schemes of the fascist dictatorship.

But more than ever, the people have revolutionary confidence because of the armed resistance that is far more developed than in 1970.

The fundamental tasks of the mass movement remain unchanged. These are reducible to one: unite and fight for national liberation and democracy.

The narrowest target against which the broadest range of popular forces are moving is the fascist dictatorship. But underlying the antifascist struggle are the constant anti-imperialist and antifeudal struggle.

The anti-imperialist struggle must be pursued because it is US imperialism that is behind the fascist dictatorship and dominates every major aspect of our national life.

The antifeudal struggle must be pursued because democracy in substance cannot be achieved without solving the land problem and mobilizing the peasant masses on this basis.

The correct and full revolutionary line is antifascist, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal but we must draw the widest support by developing the anti-fascist united front and allowing our allies to raise their consciousness and practice at their own pace.

The revolutionary forces must work fast to enlarge their organized strength because the spontaneous masses are being driven by the objective conditions to join protest actions as well as the armed resistance.

The worsening of the economic and political crisis of the ruling system is so rapid that all patriotic and progressive forces can aim for the total victory of the national democratic revolution within a relatively short period of time.

Long live the spirit of the First Quarter Storm of 1970!

Unite and fight for national liberation and democracy!

Down with the fascist puppet regime of the US-Marcos clique!

Long live the League of Filipino Students!

Long live the Filipino people!

Brief History of the Kabataang Makabayan

November 30, 1984

Introduction

As Kabataang Makabayan (the Patriotic Youth) celebrates the 20th anniversary of its founding, it is necessary and appropriate to issue a summation of its history and celebrate its achievements in the struggle to realize the just demands and aspirations of the Filipino youth and people for national liberation and democracy.

Kabataang Makabayan holds the high and great distinction of being the first Filipino youth organization with a clear, correct and comprehensive national democratic program for the youth. In all major spheres of activity—political, economic, cultural and external relations—Kabataang Makabayan has resolutely and militantly opposed US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The KM has consistently and effectively aroused, organized and mobilized an ever increasing number of youth for the national democratic struggle. United within it are worker, peasant and educated (students and professionals) youth.

The KM has always affirmed the class leadership of the proletariat in the new democratic revolution and has vowed to assist this class in its historic mission and in building the basic worker-peasant alliance and the broad united front of the Filipino people.

In an outstanding manner, KM has been responsible for the nationwide spread of revolutionary propaganda, the promotion of social investigation and mass work, the formation of revolutionary organizations through its chapters and the development of various forms of political action, especially mass protest marches and rallies on fundamental issues.

The KM has been a great training school for revolutionary leaders. So many young men and women who have been schooled and trained in it have assumed positions of responsibility in the revolutionary party of the proletariat, the people's army and the democratic mass organizations and the national united front.

I. The formation of Kabataang Makabayan

The KM was founded on November 30, 1964 at its first national congress in Manila at the national auditorium of the YMCA. The KM adopted the national democratic program and vowed to continue the unfinished Philippine revolution under the class leadership of the proletariat. Since then, the basic principles of the KM program have remained constant even as the specific and immediate tasks are adjusted according to changes in concrete conditions.

The new democratic revolution must be carried out in order to replace the semicolonial and semifeudal society which oppresses and exploits the Filipino

youth. Together with the rest of the Filipino people, especially the workers and peasants, the youth can accomplish the noble objective of fighting to create a new Philippines that is truly independent, democratic, just, prosperous and progressive.

There were only 84 charter members at the founding congress. They were convened by an organizing committee led by Jose Ma. Sison. The charter members came mostly from the ranks of college students and young workers. They were the cream student and young worker activists who had arisen from study groups and mass actions in the early 1960s.

The student members came mostly from the University of the Philippines and the Lyceum of the Philippines. They belonged to significant campus groups like the student government, student publication, the Student Cultural Association of UP (SCAUP) and others. There were also leaders of national student organizations.

The young worker members came from Lapiang Manggagawa (Worker's Association), particularly the trade unions affiliated with the National Association of Trade Unions. These members were leaders of trade unions and had experience in uniting with students in mass actions, especially the demonstration of October 2, 1964 on the grounds of Malacañang Palace against the puppetry of the Macapagal regime to US imperialism and the scheme to prolong the Parity Amendment and the Laurel-Langley Agreement.

The national council was elected with Jose Ma. Sison as national chairman. Sison had been engaged in developing student leaders for the national democratic movement since 1959 and had been in charge of education and youth affairs in Lapiang Manggagawa since 1962.

Soon after the founding congress, local KM chapters were established in colleges and universities in Manila-Rizal, Central Luzon, and Southern Luzon. Young teachers and professionals also started to join.

The KM became the main youth organization of Lapiang Manggagawa. More young trade unionists were enlisted. The initial young peasant members were recruited through KM student members and through peasant associations in Central Luzon.

To become a member, one had to study the national democratic program, with the KM handbook serving as the basic text. Study was conducted in groups of prospective initiators of local KM chapters in the school, factory or on the farm.

The KM's fame spread far and wide as it was most instrumental in the holding of the 20,000-strong demonstration against US imperialism before the US Embassy on January 25, 1965. This was the biggest anti-imperialist demonstration since the 1940s.

The demonstration was coordinated by KM and was carried out by a united front of worker, peasant, urban petty bourgeois and middle bourgeois organizations. There was an omnibus bill of particulars against US domination in the sphere of politics, military, economy, culture and foreign policy.

II. Nationwide growth of Kabataang Makabayan

The KM expanded nationwide, cutting across the patriotic and progressive classes, in various ways.

Student and worker members in the Manila-Rizal region were encouraged to make extended visits to their home provinces, conduct study groups and inspire the local youth—their relatives and friends—to form KM chapters.

There was always a drive to have representatives of as many provinces as possible in the 1965 and 1966 annual national conferences of the KM. The least that could be done to have regional and provincial representatives was to group KM members based in Manila-Rizal into their regions and provinces of origin.

But the quickest method for recruiting members of high quality from various provinces was through the national conferences of various national student organizations and other organizations which were sympathetic to the KM or whose leaders were members of KM.

Many of the leaders of such national student organizations as the CONDA, “Y” Club, the National Students League and the College Editors Guild were members of KM. Through them, more student leaders, campus journalists, and other student activists from all over the country came into contact with KM members and eventually joined them.

The national conferences of the KM as well as those of friendly student organizations become venues for promoting the national democratic line comprehensively and for discussing the burning issues of the day. The speakers and discussion leaders of the conferences of friendly organizations came mostly from the KM.

The trade unions and peasant associations also helped the KM to reach out to the youth in various parts of the country. Being the general secretary and then the

first vice chairman of the Socialist Party of the Philippines and a coordinator of the peasant associations (especially of the Malayang Samahan ng Magsasaka), the KM national chairman Jose Ma. Sison was in a position to facilitate the formation of KM chapters among workers and peasants.

The KM chapters of Central Luzon had the distinction of being the first to hold a regional conference of the KM at the Republic City Colleges in Angeles City in 1965. And those of Southern Luzon followed suit at the Batangas City auditorium in 1966.

On its Second National Congress in 1967, the KM elected a national council which carried representatives of all regions of the country. The national council reelected Jose Ma. Sison as national chairman.

In 1965 and 1966, KM frequently launched rallies against US imperialism and its reactionary local stooges on various issues, especially US economic domination, US military bases, Philippine involvement in the Vietnam war and so on.

The most prominent of these mass actions were those on October 23 and 24, 1966 against the Manila Summit of US President Lyndon B. Johnson and his Asian puppets. The KM and student organizations demonstrated against the US war of aggression in Vietnam and the involvement of Philippine troops in the same war.

The US-Marcos regime bloodily suppressed the October 24th demonstration and consequently conducted an unprecedentedly vicious campaign of anticommunist slander against the KM, its leaders and allies in the student movement.

The youth would not be cowed. They fought back and insisted on their democratic rights against state brutality. The KM and several major student governments agreed to launch the October 24th movement and formed the Nationalist Corps to spread the national democratic line and denounce the puppetry and brutality of the US-Marcos regime.

In the name of the October 24th movement, more student conferences and mass actions were launched. The strength and prestige of the KM rose as the enemy intensified its campaigns of vilification against the KM and its allied student organizations. All over the country the youth became even more interested in joining KM and forming local chapters.

Even students of the Philippine Military Academy and other military officers' training schools were joining KM. As early as 1966, the PMA junior and senior classes defied military officers and invited the KM national chairman to speak before them on the correct concept of national security.

In 1966, KM played the pivotal role, through its national chairman, in establishing the Movement for the Advancement of Nationalism, a broad united front of patriotic and progressive classes, sectors, organizations and individuals. He was the founding general secretary and Senator Lorenzo M. Tañada was the chairman of the MAN national council.

Under the auspices of MAN, the KM was able to promote the national democratic line and to launch mass actions against the US-Marcos regime until 1967 when the Lava pseudo-communists schemed and maneuvered to control MAN and derail it from its progressive course. However, the Lavaites failed to grab and destroy the KM and other revolutionary organizations.

In 1966 and 1967 student strikes against reactionary educational policies, rising

tuition fees and deterioration of school conditions broke out sporadically under the influence of KM. In 1968 and 1969, the strike movement spread and intensified throughout the country under the firm leadership of the KM. The article of the KM national chairman entitled “Student Power” placed the student strike movement within the context of the national democratic movement.

As early as 1966, student governments and other campus organizations under the influence of KM and in alliance with KM chapters created volunteer organizations and programs not only to propagate the general line of the national democratic revolution but also to conduct social investigation and mass work among the workers and peasants. From year to year, the number of students joining workers’ strikes, seeking to integrate themselves with the peasants and combining with the exploited people in mass actions were increasing.

The KM was able to initiate the formation of progressive trade unions and the transformation of old trade unions into progressive ones through the young workers who often predominated in factories. Eventually many trade unions inspired by the KM would form two major labor federations in the 1970s.

The KM coordinated with the Pagkakaisa ng mga Magbubukid sa Pilipinas to launch a 20,000-strong demonstration in Manila on April 11, 1969. The large peasant contingent came from Tarlac, then the area where the CPP and NPA were strongest. The KM served notice that it enjoyed the support not only of the MASAKA led by the late Felixberto S. Olalia but also of a new and larger peasant organization.

A great number of the most advanced activists of the KM would eventually join the CPP in 1968 onwards and the NPA in 1969 onwards. KM helped tremendously in the nationwide expansion of the revolutionary movement.

In his capacity as KM national chairman, Jose Ma. Sison had been in high demand as speaker and writer on the national democratic movement. In 1967, his work, *Struggle for National Democracy*, was published and this served to reinforce and deepen the knowledge of KM members on the national democratic movement.

In 1969 onward, the KM conducted the School for National Democracy and used *Struggle for National Democracy* as the basic study text in order to develop more cadres for the youth movement and the national democratic movement. Higher theoretical and political education on the national democratic revolution was also provided, with the “Basic Guide for the CPP Cadres and Members” as basic text.

Since 1969, KM was already in fact the youth league of the newly reestablished CPP. The youth organizations in the rural areas established by the CPP and NPA in principle came into the framework of KM.

III. The First Quarter Storm of 1970

As correctly pointed out earlier by the CPP, the ruling classes were no longer capable of ruling in the old way, the people wanted a revolutionary change of government and the revolutionary party of the proletariat was already in the process of strengthening itself.

In 1970, the political and economic crisis of the ruling system was extremely grave. The trend towards a fascist dictatorship became more and more clear as the US-Marcos regime unleashed increasingly brutal campaigns against the people in both urban and rural areas.

The First Quarter Storm of 1970 broke out when the military troops and police brutally assaulted the youth and the people demonstrating against the US-Marcos regime in front of Congress on January 25, 1970 and in front of Malacañang Palace on January 30, 1970.

For three months, the youth and the people of the Manila-Rizal region repeatedly conducted gigantic marches and rallies ranging in size from 50,000 to 100,000 direct participants, excluding the hundreds of thousands of people who openly expressed their support and extended food, money and other material assistance from the sidewalks and windows of their homes.

The unprecedentedly huge mass actions were sustained even as the US-Marcos regime repeatedly made threats of massacre and carried out savage attacks against the demonstrators, resulting in death and serious injury, especially when the demonstrators marched on to Malacañang Palace and US Embassy.

In the provinces, the youth and the people also launched large and widescale mass actions in order to make their own demands against the US-Marcos regime and in support of the rising youth and people of Manila-Rizal.

The FQS of 1970 would arise because KM had done a great deal of ideological, political and organizational work in the 1960s among the student, worker, peasant and professional youth against the all-round bankruptcy of the US-Marcos regime and the rising menace of fascist dictatorship. KM was the strongest youth organization at the core of the FQS in Manila-Rizal and the provinces.

Amidst the storm, KM initiated the formation of a broad united front—the Movement for a Democratic Philippines—against the US-Marcos regime. This united front included KM and its affiliates and so many organizations of the

working class, peasantry, urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie.

The MDP fought not only its frontal enemy, the US-Marcos clique, but also such disrupters of the mass movement as the Lava pseudo-communists, the clerico-reformists and others who attacked the KM and all revolutionaries more than they attacked the blatant enemy. Lumpen proletarian elements and anarchists were also elements to contend with in mass actions.

Subsequent to the FQS, KM exerted all efforts to consolidate and expand its ranks, maintain the high level of political consciousness and activity among the people and stimulate the rise of the revolutionary labor movement and the strike movement.

The school chapters, community chapters and affiliates of KM multiplied rapidly and their memberships rose. Various types of class and functional organizations arose to take up the national democratic struggle.

Aside from the KM, the other national democratic organizations in the forefront of the great mass struggles included the SDK (Samahang Demokratiko ng Kabataan), KKD (Kilusang Kabataan para sa Demokrasya), SPK (Samahan ng Progresibong Kabataan)-Molave, and MAKIBAKA (Makabayang Kilusan ng Bagong Kababaihan). Likewise, new national democratic organizations like KKKP (Kilusang Kristyano ng Kabataang Pilipino), STAND (Student Alliance for National Democracy), Althea, Samahang Radikal, and others sprang up.

More revolutionary trade unions were organized. Between 1970 and 1972, the unions and federations identified with the national democratic movement included the US Tobacco Labor Union, Northern Motors Workers' Union, Manila Cordage Labor Union, Katipunan ng mga Samahan ng Manggagawa (KASAMA) and Pambansang Samahan ng Makabayang Tsuper (PSMT). Unions

and Federations were also established to organize vendors, shopkeepers, salesladies and “despatsadoras.” Many of these semi-workers and petty traders were to be found in the markets, stores and bazaars along the streets of Quiapo-Carriedo-Avenida. (This too was the general area which marches or demonstrators frequented).

Likewise, the teachers and other professionals organized themselves. KAGUMA (Katipunan ng mga Gurong Makabayan) and SAGUPA (Samahan ng mga Guro sa Pamantasan) of UP were the prominent national democratic organizations of the teachers and other academic personnel. Other national democratic organizations of professionals and intellectuals included the PSIA (Progresibong Samahan sa Inerhiya at Agham), MS (Samahan ng Makabayang Syentipiko), SMN (Samahan ng Makabayang Nars), and PSP (Progresibong Samahan ng Propesyonal).

Cultural organizations also flourished to make streets their stage and walls their canvasses. The mainstay in the performing and visual arts were Panday Sining, Gintong Silahis, Kamanyang and Nagkakaisang Progresibong Artista-Arkitecto (NPA-A). From May 1, 1970 onwards, joint actions of the youth and labor were stressed. The military minions of the regime brutally attacked the workers in demonstrations and in picket lines.

Philippine Society and Revolution (PSR) first became available in mimeograph form and was serialized in the UP's Philippine Collegian in 1970. This book gave revolutionary guidance to the rising mass movement. In 1971, it would become available in printed book form and sold in several tens of thousands of copies by KM activists.

The KM launched relief campaigns for the victims of typhoons and floods in 1970, 1971 and 1972. Many activists from the ranks of the students and professionals became more dedicated to the national democratic movement in the process of relief work and dealing with the rural masses.

Following great victories in the mass movement, KM held its Third National Congress on November 30, 1970. As in 1967, the general secretariat continued to carry the main burden of national leadership and daily administration. This statement is needed to stress the fact that Nilo Tayag did not carry out his work as chairman.

As the youth recalled the martyrs of the FQS, their mass actions and those of the people rose in January 1971, despite the attempts of the regime and the clerico-reformists to make the youth quiescent and fearful of threats from the state.

In response to the scheme of the US-Marcos regime to jack up the prices of oil products and other commodities, the KM moved the students to support the strike of transport workers and condemn the regime and the US oil monopolies.

When the regime's troops brutally attacked the students of UP in Diliman, the students fought back, put up more barricades and proceeded to take over the entire university and proclaimed the Diliman Commune. The student rebels used the radio and printing facilities of the university to issue revolutionary propaganda.

Smarting from the heavy blows of the mass movement, the US-Marcos regime had the KM national officer Carlos B. del Rosario kidnapped and murdered in March 1971. Shortly after, Francisco C. Sison, brother of Jose Ma. Sison, and Francisco's driver, Elpidio Morales, were likewise kidnapped and murdered in May 1971. The clear objective in these crimes was to seek out and eliminate Jose Ma. Sison who was already being claimed by the regime to be chairman of the CPP.

In June 1971, long people's marches from Central Luzon and Southern Luzon were held to converge in Manila on June 12, 1971. This presented a new and higher level of development in the mass movement, which terrified the US-Marcos regime. The Lava pseudo-communists also brutally attacked the marchers while passing through Bulacan.

KM joined and supported local strikes and rallies of workers which increased during the year even as the regime bloodily suppressed the striking workers with truncheons and gunfire.

On August 21, 1971, the US-Marcos regime had the rally of the Liberal Party attacked with grenades, almost wiping out the entire national leadership of the Liberal Party. The regime falsely blamed the attack on the late Liberal Senator Benigno S. Aquino, Jr. and on the CPP.

This incident, together with subsequent bombing incidents perpetrated by special agents of the regime, was used as the pretext for the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus—the dress rehearsal for the 1972 coup d'état. The KM national headquarters and the Carlos B. del Rosario Center were raided, and KM officers and members in the premises were arbitrarily arrested and detained.

In response to the brutal campaign of the enemy, KM successfully sought to form a much broadened united front—the Movement of Concerned Citizens for Civil Liberties (MCCCL)—to fight for the restoration of the writ of habeas corpus and to stem the growing menace of fascism.

As a result of the extreme barbarism and mendacity of the US-Marcos regime, many of the clerico-reformists veered toward the national democratic line. The majority of the members of reformist organizations bolted these organizations and became national democrats. The moderate Khi Rho was transformed into a

national democratic organization, while Lakasdiwa became Lakasdiwang Rebolusyonaryo, to strongly express its revolutionary character.

Despite the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus and the incarceration of some activists, the KM and its allies were able to conduct mass actions against the US-Marcos regime. This kept up public condemnation of the bloody crimes of the regime and helped to cause the defeat of the Marcos clique in the elections of 1971 and the restoration of the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus.

The writ was restored, but the US-Marcos clique was merely pretending to end its scheme of grabbing absolute power. The writ suspension was merely a trial run. The reactionary clique in power had already secretly made “contingency plans” for a fascist coup d’etat.

KM continued to launch mass actions under or beyond the auspices of the MDP and MCCCL. A gigantic demonstration was held against the US war of aggression in Indochina on May 20, 1972. The last gigantic demonstration was made on August 20, 1972. In between, mass actions were conducted to denounce the scheme of the US-Marcos clique to manipulate the 1972 constitutional convention in order to perpetuate itself in power and aggravate the insoluble crisis of the ruling system.

The youth movement continued to flourish all over the country even as the US-Marcos clique concocted a “July-August Plan” and was planting bombs in various sites in Manila-Rizal to misrepresent and slander the CPP and NPA, in preparation for the Marcos coup d’etat.

IV. The underground Kabataang Makabayan

When the US-Marcos clique declared martial law and accomplished its coup d'état against the third puppet republic on September 22, 1972 (not September 21 per official version), the KM was the object of all-out fascist attack and had to go underground completely.

KM was not caught napping. It was sufficiently forewarned by kidnapping and obvious murder of the hero and martyr Charlie del Rosario, by the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus as well as other events. In fact, the core of KM's leadership had started to partially go underground in 1969 and to completely go underground in 1971 upon the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus.

The full-blown fascist dictatorship could not make wholesale arrests of KM officers and members, except in areas where the latter did not make ample preparations. On the whole, only a few could be arrested. The KM could continue to operate from the underground, with organs of leadership intact. Many KM members were unidentifiable to the enemy.

Thousands of KM officers and members all over the country wanted to join the armed resistance. There was an extreme lack of arms relative to the number of young men and women eager to become fighters of the NPA.

KM officers and members were systematically deployed all over the country and in the countryside. While some could be armed, many others were instructed to work in the urban underground and to participate in rural mass work even without arms.

The KM became a reliable reserve of young cadres for the NPA and for the formation of rural youth associations and other mass organizations. Acting on their own, some of the KM officers and members of Moro nationality joined the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF).

From the urban underground, KM functionaries directed the development of legal struggles as far as possible. Many KM cadres and members were reassigned to spheres of work outside of the youth movement. These spheres of work were either under the National Democratic Front (NDF) or the CPP.

KM maintained its national structure of organization under severe difficulties. It was in July 1974 that KM national functionaries were redeployed to various regions. It was during this period that the decision was made to temporarily dissolve the national structure of KM. Nevertheless, the KM chapters in different schools and localities were maintained, and these basic organizations managed to thrive under harsh condition.

A combination of factors compelled KM to dissolve the national leadership and intermediate organs. Among the principal factors were the tightly repressive conditions of fascist rule, the redeployment of KM cadres and members to other fields of work, the need to simplify the organizational structure in the light of dwindling members, the stress on building and expanding KM chapters at the grassroots and corollary to this, the attention given to the penetration and formation of legal organizations.

The leading comrades in Manila-Rizal took the lead in maintaining and revitalizing KM in the mid-1970s. The underground KM started to recruit members in considerable number while the urban mass movement began to perk up. It was a time when the legal struggles of the youth, labor and other urban poor were openly resurgent in certain areas.

The dissemination of programmatic documents also served to guide and push forward the revitalization of KM. Furthermore, the founding national chairman issued a statement on August 6, 1977 to mark the resurgence of KM on its own and through seemingly independent or disparate youth organizations of limited

scope.

The statement pointed to the gathering storm against the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique and anticipated the resurgence of the open youth movement. Moreover, it boldly predicted a powerful upheaval of the youth and student movement — together with the movement of workers, peasants and other people — which would surpass the mass actions of the FQS in 1970 in both magnitude and strength.

V. Conclusion

Though this paper's coverage is limited to a partial but very significant period of the history of KM, it still leads us to one clear conclusion. The KM has played a historic role in developing the youth movement and carrying forward the national democratic revolution.

Doubtlessly, the KM has consistently and effectively aroused, organized and mobilized an ever increasing number of youth for the national democratic struggle. In an outstanding manner, KM has been responsible for the nationwide spread of revolutionary propaganda, the promotion of social investigation and mass work, the formation of revolutionary organizations through KM chapters and the development of various forms of political actions, specially mass protest marches and rallies on fundamental issues.

The KM has been a great training school for revolutionary leaders. So many young men and women who have been schooled and trained in it have assume positions of responsibility in the revolutionary party of the proletariat, the people's army, the democratic mass organizations and the national united front.

From the KM and similar national democratic organizations emerged hundreds of martyrs who unselfishly served the people and offered their lives in pursuit of national liberation and democracy. We draw great inspiration from these patriots and heroes as we vow to continue and push forward the life-and-death struggle until victory is attained.

It is therefore a fitting moment to grasp the rich lessons and cherish the hard-fought gains in the course of KM's twenty years of relentless struggle.

KM will live on. It will make even greater victories as the broad masses of the people win greater victories in the great struggle for national freedom and democracy against the longstanding evils of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

We Honor Kabataang Makabayan

November 30, 1999

As we celebrate the 35th anniversary of Kabataang Makabayan, we honor all the men and women who as members of this youth organization have been trained to become revolutionaries and have contributed everything they can to the advance of the Filipino people's democratic revolution led by the working class.

We pay our highest respects to those who have been martyred in the course of the revolutionary struggle. The kidnapping, torture and murder of KM members by the US-Marcos regime started in 1971, in the specific case of Carlos B. del Rosario, even before the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus in 1971 and the declaration of martial rule in 1972, both of which made the KM officers and members the prime target of arbitrary arrests and illegal detention.

The victories and achievements of the revolutionary movement are well paid for by the arduous struggle and sacrifices of KM members and alumni, among others.

Since its founding, the KM has described itself as a comprehensive youth organization, to include young workers, young peasants, students and young professionals, a promoter of the class leadership of the proletariat in the revolution, an assistant of the working class and as a training school for militants

in the national democratic movement as well as proletarian revolutionaries.

The KM played an outstanding role in reviving the national-democratic movement in the 60s, developing activists on a nationwide scale and bringing the open mass struggles to a high level in the 1970-72 period.

To this day, the KM remains the best historical model of the legal comprehensive youth organization. We advise the youth of today to emulate the KM and learn lessons from it. At the same time, we urge the youth to surpass the achievements of the KM. All worthy predecessors wish their successors to achieve greater victories.

The Communist Party of the Philippines owes a lot to the KM in spreading the revolutionary message, in laying the ground for the nationwide expansion of the Party and in training mass activists and proletarian revolutionary cadres.

It was possible for the KM to go underground after the fall of the Marcos fascist dictatorship. But it chose to remain underground and an allied organization within the framework of the National Democratic Front.

It has become the Communist Youth League. As such, it continues to recruit and educate mass activists for the urban and rural underground, to develop them further into proletarian revolutionaries and deploy an increasing number of its members for service in the New People's Army and other important fields of activity.

We applaud and congratulate the Communist Youth League for continuing the great revolutionary tradition of the KM and for carrying forward its

achievements. The KM continues to live through the CYL.

We wish the CYL to win ever greater victories. The Communist Party of the Philippines and the new-democratic revolution of the people will always gain vitality and strength from the growth and advance of the CYL.

Long live Kabataang Makabayan!

Carry forward the new-democratic revolution!

Long live the Communist Youth League!

Uphold the Revolutionary Spirit of the First Quarter Storm of 1970!

Message To Anakbayan, January 25, 2002

I join you in celebrating the 32nd anniversary of the First Quarter Storm. As the successor of Kabataang Makabayan, Anakbayan has the honor and responsibility of being at the forefront of the celebration and of promoting the line of advance in the struggle for national liberation and democracy.

The US-Macapagal regime has grossly betrayed the people. It has proven itself to be another servile and self-aggrandizing instrument of US imperialism and the domestic exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords. It is not capable of doing anything but aggravating the socioeconomic crisis and the people's suffering. We therefore anticipate great opportunities for advancing the revolutionary mass movement in the year ahead.

The country will reel further from the dire consequences of the regime's subservience to the dictates of foreign monopoly interests and their multilateral agencies like the IMF, World Bank and WTO. It will be further subjected to impositions of the US that will allow its military forces to trample on Philippine sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Right now, US military forces are in the Philippines in violation of the principles

of Philippine national sovereignty and territorial integrity and the provision in the GRP constitution prohibiting foreign military bases, troops and facilities. The US has also violated the terms of the Visiting Forces Agreement by deploying combat troops and engaging in unilateral acts, including unilateral flights, exclusive training of US troops and destruction of the environment.

Do not harbor any illusion about the peace negotiations between the National Democratic Front of the Philippines and the Government of the Republic of the Philippines. On matters of security and peace negotiations, Ms. Macapagal is in the clutches of the US and a narrow circle of pro-US militarists headed by General Angelo Reyes. All of them wish to gloss over the root causes of the civil war and are vainly trying to push the NDFP towards a path of capitulation.

The world capitalist system is now in the throes of the worst recession since the Great Depression. In fact, there is already a global depression that exacts the worst toll on semicolonial and semifeudal countries like the Philippines.

The Macapagal regime cannot expect to overcome the crisis by begging for foreign direct investments and credit and for orders for raw materials and low value-added semimanufactures or by receiving US military troops and equipment to suppress the people's resistance.

The US itself is sinking into a deep recession. And the Bush regime cannot solve the problem but can only aggravate this by stepping up military production and whipping up war hysteria. The global economic crisis will continue to worsen and lead to graver political turmoil throughout the world.

The so-called global assault on terrorism, proclaimed by US imperialism—the biggest terrorist in the history of mankind—and echoed by its puppet Macapagal regime, is a pretext for further US military intervention and more wars of

aggression against the oppressed peoples and nations, as well as countries or governments that assert national independence.

All major contradictions are bound to intensify: between the imperialists on one hand and the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations on the other hand, between the imperialists and anti-imperialist governments, among the imperialist powers and the monopoly bourgeoisie and between the proletariat in imperialist countries.

The crisis of overproduction in all types of goods, including high-tech goods, and the resultant financial meltdowns are bringing to the surface all the political monsters that the imperialists keep in reserve for suppressing the resistance of the revolutionary proletariat and the people.

I urge Anakbayan to uphold the revolutionary legacy of the First Quarter Storm against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism and respond to the challenge of carrying forward the revolutionary struggle of the youth and the entire people.

Seize the initiative in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the youth against the antinational and antidemocratic policies of the US-Macapagal regime. Great struggles lie ahead.

Consolidate and expand your own forces. Only thus can you be well prepared for encouraging and participating in a broad united front for the purpose of isolating and defeating the enemy and thereby gaining more strength.

Let us recall that last year the youth comprised the main bulk of the masses

assembling at EDSA and marching to Malacanang palace in the successful effort to bring down the Estrada regime. Let us also recall what I pointed out last year: the many schools around the vicinity of the presidential palace make it easy for the youth to fight any ruling clique that is against our national and democratic rights and interests.

Any time that the need arises, rally the youth on the widest possible scale in their own schools, workplaces and communities before marching to converging points. Continue to develop tactics that will enable the youth, the toiling masses of workers and peasants, the urban poor, the women and other people to paralyze, encircle and topple the ruling reactionaries.

In the next one or two years, prepare yourselves and be alert for the moment that incites the youth to rise up in great numbers and fill the streets as in the First Quarter Storm. The inciting moment can arise from several probable breaking points, such as an abrupt tumble of the economy, widespread hunger, a big corruption scandal, a bloody attack on unarmed protesters, a massacre or any other grave violation of human rights perpetrated by US troops and/or Filipino puppet troops.

An outrageous incident is bound to arise because of the fragility and volatility of the crisis-stricken ruling system. It arises not only from the struggle between the people and the ruling reactionaries but also from the increasingly bitter struggle among the reactionaries. I am confident that you are alert to the favorable conditions for mass struggle and that you are resolutely and militantly developing your strength.

Long live the revolutionary spirit of the First Quarter Storm!

Long live Anakbayan and all Filipino youth!

Long live the Filipino people and the Philippine revolution!

Keynote Address to the 3rd National Congress of Anakbayan

October 22, 2004

Fellow activists, warm patriotic greetings to all of you!

I thank the National Executive Committee for inviting me to deliver this keynote address on the occasion of the 3rd National Congress of Anakbayan. I am happy to have the opportunity to present my views and suggestions.

I am in solidarity with you on the principles and policies of Anakbayan and the theme of your congress with its aim of continuing to strengthen and expand Anakbayan, fight the worsening crisis and persevere in the national democratic struggle of the people.

Worsening economic crisis

The ruling system is in a very grave economic and financial crisis. This is not simply a fiscal crisis involving a mounting budgetary deficit due to increases in government spending and shortfalls in tax collection. This is an economic and

financial crisis that cannot be solved by the Arroyo regime's plan to increase tax collection and decrease government spending.

Starkly visible to us is the reality of massive unemployment, dwindling incomes, rising prices of basic commodities, the plunging value of the peso and the inadequacy of social services. These are effects of the worsening crisis of the ruling domestic system of the big compradors and landlords and the world capitalist system.

Under so-called free market globalization, the foreign monopolies and their local puppets have intensified the exploitation of our country. The drop in the prices of our raw-material and semimanufacture exports and the increase in the payments for imported manufactures continues to accelerate. The trade deficit and foreign debt have rapidly increased.

The Arroyo regime is now imposing on the people even heavier taxes and bigger cutbacks on social services. The Filipino people will surely rise up and mass in the streets to fight the regime. The infighting among the reactionaries will surely intensify and further weaken the ruling system.

Intensifying political crisis

Due to the worsening social and economic crisis, the political crisis is also intensifying. The contradictions among factions of the bureaucrats and the military within the ruling classes is more violent than before. The recent elections have not resolved but have in fact intensified their conflicts. Those who have been cheated seethe in anger against the ruling faction. The broad masses are deeply disgusted over the cheating and violence in that election.

Within the ranks of the reactionaries, politicians reproach each other more stridently and more bitterly than before over corruption and wanton spending. But not one among them has pointed out that the root cause is exploitation by the imperialists (headed by the US) as well as by the local puppets.

As the worsening of the chronic crisis accelerates, opportunities abound for exposing the root of the crisis and for raising the level of consciousness and struggle of the masses. The desire of the Filipino people for complete independence, democracy, genuine land reform and national industrialization, social justice, scientific culture and peace will continue to reverberate.

The worsening crisis will surely impel the advance of the legal democratic mass movement of workers, peasants, women, youth, professionals and others. The possibility that the masses will rise up to topple the Arroyo regime will increase.

If the regime makes no basic or significant reforms but persists in deception about such reforms, the advance of the national democratic revolution through armed struggle will accelerate even more. Collaboration in demonizing the revolutionary forces and paralyzing the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations is becoming more intense between the US imperialists and their local puppets.

The Arroyo regime is scheming to use bloodier acts of violence in the name of anti-terrorism in a futile attempt to prevent an uprising by the Filipino masses. In this regard, many people are prepared to join the underground movement and the armed struggle.

To deflect the people's anger from itself, the present regime is drumbeating a change in form of government from presidential to parliamentary through a constitutional convention.

But the principal objective of this convention is to undercut civil and political rights, facilitate the imposition of martial law, abolish the principle of economic sovereignty, auction off our national patrimony, remove the few remaining national restrictions on foreign investments and allow the outright re-entry of US military bases and troops without the need for deception.

Political education, organization and mobilization

It is clear that due to the grave crisis, the ground is fertile for the growth and advance of the democratic mass movement. The objective conditions exist for expanding and strengthening Anakbayan. For this purpose, the firm resolve and militant action of Anakbayan cadres and activists are needed.

1. The Need for political education. In preparing and launching mass actions, propaganda and education on the burning issues of the day are necessary. Issues and tasks can be explained by means of manifestos, oral and written slogans, articles in publications and cultural presentations.

In this way, the consciousness of the youth participating in mass actions is raised. The content of its propaganda and agitation will attract them to Anakbayan. If Anakbayan cadres and members closely observe those who participate in the mass actions and meetings, they will be able to recognize who should be approached and invited to a short study on the Anakbayan Constitution and Program.

Those who have finished such short study can be sworn in as members. But explain that the study is only preliminary and invite them to undertake the basic mass course on the youth movement and on Philippine society and revolution.

Also explain to them that no amount of studying ever suffices when not complemented by work and mass action.

Lively studies should always be conducted on the current events and burning issues and on the progress and outcome of your work. Based on these studies, you can identify the most active, conscious and advanced activists. They should be urged to study the revolutionary role of the working class and to read revolutionary publications.

Among the ranks of the most advanced activists, we will get to know those who have the ability to speak, write and give study courses. This type of activists is important and decisive as team-mates or assistants of organizers. Their ability as organizers can also be developed.

2. Resolute organizing. Every member has the basic task to recruit from among his friends and acquaintances wherever he/she is—school, workplace, community or profession. Another basic task is to explain the Constitution and Program of Anakbayan to new recruits.

Leading committees and cadres also have the task of conducting organizational meetings under the organizer and instructor of the preliminary and short course. The organizer sees to it that recruits are assembled for conducting study courses. After the study, the organizer ensures that recruits are raised and sworn in as members. Where no branch exists, a branch can be formed and its officers elected within one day.

A branch consists of a minimum of three members and this can go up to a certain number. But a membership of less than 50 can be considered a minor branch and one with 50 or more, a major one. Your branches and groups should increase like cells which keep multiplying. This has several meanings.

When a cadre or member at a certain place has the opportunity to assemble some youth who wish to join Anakbayan, immediately call an organizing meeting for the organizer and the instructor to perform their tasks of swearing in members and forming a new branch.

When a branch expands beyond a certain level, it can be divided to form an additional branch. In this way, intensive organizing can be done in schools, offices, factories and communities.

You can form groups of Anakbayan among the youth in any institution and organization. In this way, Anakbayan can immediately have the bases and the means for conducting its work in organizing, education and others.

3. Mass mobilization. The mobilization of the youth is very important. Through campaigns of propaganda and mass actions, the line of the national democratic movement and the position on burning issues is propagated, the level of organized strength is shown, a large number of the spontaneous masses are swept along and other youth are attracted on a broader scale.

I salute Anakbayan for its campaign victories. You have led and participated in many protest actions on the burning issues of the youth and the rest of the classes, strata and sectors of society. Overthrowing the Estrada regime is one of your major victories. You led the mobilization of other organizations of the youth and the entire masses of the youth.

In the last elections, you helped Anak ng Bayan to become a major party in the party list. You have been able to expand your contacts and you can now use these in your everyday work. In fact, you could have won three seats in

Congress. This is indicated by several surveys and by careful estimates. But Anak ng Bayan was subjected to massive election fraud by the Arroyo regime and pinpointed for attack and cheating by the national security adviser, the military and their cohorts in Akbayan.

Through campaigns you are able to forge the cadres and members of Anakbayan. They are given tasks to perform. Many tasks are required in preparing and carrying out a mass action. Members are trained in attracting the youth, in alliance work and mobilization. In addition, there are many tasks to be done in solid organizing concurrent with political education.

In the coming days, months and years, the contradictions between the Filipino people and the Arroyo regime that is servile to US imperialism will intensify. Protest actions that are likely to lead to the collapse of this regime can grow bigger. In my estimate, there will be an increase in the number of those who go to the countryside to join the armed revolution because of the harsh actions of the regime.

I am confident that Anakbayan will propagate and carry out the national democratic line among the youth and the Filipino people. By means of various forms of struggle, the people will achieve national independence, democracy, social justice, development and peace.

Tasks and Prospects of the Filipino Youth

Delivered at the Youth Study Conference,

Philippine Christian University Auditorium, October 27, 2004

Dear fellow activists, first, let me thank the organizers for inviting me to speak at this study conference. I appreciate your organization of this conference and your use of my articles as study material.

I thank the earlier speakers for laying the ground for my topic and making my task easier. It is logical and appropriate that I speak on the tasks and prospects of the Filipino youth, after the presentation of the history of the Filipino youth movement and the current worsening crisis in the world and in the Philippines.

Introduction

The Filipino youth have always played a crucial role in the Filipino people's struggle for national liberation and democracy. They are in the forefront, whenever the national and social crisis becomes intolerably acute and the revolutionary mass movement surges. They are the spear head and cutting edge of the broad masses of the people.

The historical record shows that young men and women in their late teens, twenties and thirties predominate in the leadership and membership of the revolutionary army and other patriotic forces against Spanish colonialism, against US imperialism, against Japanese fascism and against the US and puppet regimes in the Philippines.

They are also predominant among the marchers and rallyists at the peaks of the legal democratic mass movement, such as the First Quarter Storm of 1970, the mass uprising that toppled the Marcos fascist dictatorship in 1986 and once again in a similar uprising that toppled the corrupt Estrada regime in 2001.

The armed revolutionary movement and the legal democratic movement can succeed only when they attract the young men and women in great numbers along the national democratic line and avail of their resoluteness, their fearless dedication, their militancy and their irrepressible vigor.

Right now, a severe crisis of the world capitalist system confronts the Filipino youth. The accelerated overconcentration of capital in the US under “free market” globalization has resulted in the current economic and financial crisis. This drives the foreign monopoly capitalists to intensify oppression and exploitation of the people. The US and other imperialist powers devise all kinds of measures to extract superprofits, to grab the natural and social wealth of the Filipino people and to keep the Philippines captive with growing trade deficits and mounting debt burden.

Worst of all, US imperialism practices grand-scale terrorism. This includes wars of aggression, the use of weapons of mass destruction for blackmail, military blockades and military intervention and the repression of the people in the US and abroad.

The US policy of global terrorism is related to the Bush policy of seeking to stimulate the US economy through military production and wars, to control of the sources and supply routes of oil and gas; and to expand US sources of cheap raw materials, markets, fields of investment and spheres of influence.

The semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system of big compradors and landlords is in an unprecedentedly grave crisis due to its internal weaknesses and the impositions of imperialism. Philippine raw material and semimanufacture exports are all in oversupply in the global market. Foreign manufactures and agricultural products from abroad are dumped on our country under the policy of “free market” globalization.

All forms of foreign and local borrowing have been abused and exhausted. The Macapagal-Arroyo regime itself is forced to admit that an economic and financial crisis besets the country. It offers as solution the imposition of a heavier tax burden and austerity measures on the common people in order to collect money to pay for debt service, provide spoils for the corrupt high bureaucrats and satisfy the military and police forces.

Unemployment is massive and the incomes of the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the middle social strata are pressed down. And yet the regime allows the rapid depreciation of the peso, increases the tax burden, cuts back on government spending for education, health and other social services and allows private monopolies in water, electricity, transport and other public utilities to charge exorbitant fees.

Because of its servility to US imperialism, the Macapagal-Arroyo regime can offer nothing to the Filipino people but further political and moral humiliation, social and economic hardship, bureaucratic corruption and repression. Both the US and the puppet regime collaborate in using the slogan of anti-terrorism in

order to continue their reign of unbridled greed and terror.

The tasks of the Filipino youth

To get your bearings, know what to do and find your way from one victory to another in this crisis-ridden world and country, you must first of all undertake political education along the general line of completing the Filipino people's struggle for national liberation and democracy against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

The minimum requirement is that you understand the national democratic program of action and the preamble in the constitution of the youth organization to which you belong, such as the comprehensive Anakbayan or the more specific League of Filipino Students. The basic line that you must grasp is the need of the Filipino people and youth to uphold and realize national sovereignty and the substance of democracy, especially for the working people—the peasants and the workers.

You can always widen and deepen your political education. You can have studies on Philippine society and revolution in a concentrated way in two or three days or in a weekly series of study meetings in your organizational unit. But the textbook or study manual that you use will always be limited by its conciseness and date of publication.

You must go beyond the textbook or study manual and try to read and study reference materials on Philippine history and circumstances done by patriotic and progressive authors. Not everyone of us can be so scholarly as to read so many books or write one. But we must be able to ask questions from more knowledgeable comrades, discuss with them and learn how to explain issues.

All of us must take seriously the social investigations we need to conduct in order to know the needs and demands of people in our line of work and thereby learn to organize the people.

We have enough Philippine reading materials to start with in studying the history, basic problems and national democratic struggle of the Filipino people. But as soon as possible you should try to comprehend modern imperialism. We must fight this scourge on humanity and extirpate it through the struggle for national liberation, democracy and socialism.

Further on, you need to study and learn how neocolonialism has co-opted national independence and how revisionism has betrayed socialism to be able to combat both evils. You cannot stand firm for the national democratic and socialist stages of the Philippine revolution if you cannot criticize and repudiate neocolonial cooptation and revisionist betrayal.

Those who wish to attain the highest level of anti-imperialist political education must undertake theoretical education in dialectical materialism, historical materialism, political economy of capitalism and socialism and revolutionary strategy and tactics through a review of the revolutionary struggle of the world proletariat. But of course, in your mass organization, it suffices that your mass membership grows rapidly on an adequate understanding of the national democratic line.

There is no point at all in having political education if you do not organize among the masses of Filipino youth. Having political education is not a form of conceit for merely proving yourselves above the ordinary. It is the guide for arousing, organizing and mobilizing the youth in ever increasing numbers.

I appreciate Anakbayan as a comprehensive youth organization pursuing the national democratic line of struggle in the tradition of Kabataang Makabayan. You must have members that come from the working class, the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeois ranks of students, professionals and businessmen. Anakbayan must have chapters in the schools, factories, urban poor communities, farms, offices, transport lines and elsewhere appropriate and possible.

The League of Filipino Students and other student organizations taking the national democratic line have been relatively small although very influential among the students. But I am glad to hear that the LFS is already meeting some success in increasing the number of its chapters and expanding its membership in colleges and departments. I am also happy to hear that LFS chapters are now being organized among high school students.

It is absolutely necessary to have solid youth organizations that keep on expanding. The bigger these organizations are, so many times bigger will be the unorganized masses that they would be able to draw for mass campaigns and mobilizations to protest against bad policies and practices and make demands for the benefit of the youth and the people.

You have witnessed how the organized youth numbering a few thousands were able to rally tens of thousands in the mass uprising to overthrow Estrada in 2001. If you wish to accomplish something even bigger, like overthrowing or changing the basic character of the ruling system, you need a bigger number of organized youth that can rally millions of the Filipino youth.

It is not enough for youth organizations to thrive and grow bigger. You must link up with the organizations of the workers, peasants, fishermen, urban poor, women, professionals and the religious. The youth are an important and effective factor in the struggle for national liberation and democracy. But they cannot win the struggle all by themselves.

At any rate, history has shown that the Filipino youth excel in legal protests and armed revolution. This was true in the time of the Philippine revolution of 1896 and this is still true currently in the new democratic revolution. The youth have the advantage of being receptive to revolutionary ideas, sensitive to injustices, energetic in the mass movement and ready to do what needs to be done not only for the benefit of the youth but also for the entire people.

Prospects of the Filipino youth

Together with the rest of the people under the leadership of the working class and with the peasantry as the main force, the Filipino youth can forge their own future through the revolutionary struggle for national liberation and democracy against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of the big comprador and landlords.

You must aim for the completion of the new democratic stage of the Philippine revolution. You must fight for the establishment of a people's democratic government in which power is held by the workers and peasants. You must participate in nationalizing the economy and in carrying out national industrialization and genuine land reform. You must contribute to the development of a national, scientific and mass culture. Consistent with national liberation, the Philippines must have an independent, development-oriented and peace-loving foreign policy.

Upon the basic completion of this stage through the seizure of political power, you can start socialist revolution and construction. The people's democratic government of the workers and peasants is the direct replacement of the anti-national and anti-democratic government of the big compradors and landlords servile to US imperialism. It is the gateway to socialism.

In considering the current strength and future of the revolutionary forces of the Filipino people, you must recognize that they have been able to defeat major types of opportunism and win victory in a rectification movement. They have been able to counter the imperialist ideological and political offensive following the disintegration of the revisionist regimes. They have been able to criticize and condemn revisionist betrayal and neocolonial cooptation. They stand resolutely and militantly against “free market” globalization and the global terrorist campaign of the US.

I am aware that an increasing number of young people have gone to the countryside in order to join the people’s army and work among the peasant masses. They participate in various lines of work within the people’s army, including educational and cultural work, production and military training and combat. They conduct social investigation and mass work. They help to build organs of political power and mass organizations and undertake land reform and other mass campaigns.

They take part in the wave upon wave advance of the armed revolution. They are currently building a new democratic system in various parts of the country. Thus, it is correct to say that a people’s democratic government now exists in the countryside even as the reactionary government is still operating from Manila and other cities. The people are preparing the ultimate nationwide victory of the revolution.

The revolution does not take solely the form of armed struggle even as this is the principal and decisive form of struggle for smashing the political power of the oppressors and establishing the new democratic power of the workers and peasants. The interplay of the armed and legal forms of struggle advances the revolutionary cause in an all-round way.

The daily legal mass struggles on basic long-running issues as well as on the burning issues of the day serve to educate and temper the broad masses of the people. The issues become clarified and the demands are raised. It is good if the actions of the patriotic and progressive legal forces result in pushing the reactionary state to adopt certain reforms. It is as well fine if the reactionaries move to frustrate the people's demands for basic reforms and in effect incite the people to wage armed revolution.

In representation of the revolutionary forces and the people, the National Democratic Front of the Philippines is engaged in peace negotiations with the Government of the Republic of the Philippines. This is a form of struggle in which the revolutionary forces can clarify the issues and proclaim the demands of the people even if it does not lead to any amount of basic reforms or to a truce and alliance of the GRP and NDFP against a common enemy.

Patriotic and progressive parties vie for elective positions in the reactionary government. But they can manage to get only a few seats because the cards are stacked against them. The reactionaries control the rules, the coercive apparatuses, the media, finance and other aspects of the electoral process. With further effort and popular support, the patriotic and progressive parties can gain more seats. But they will never get enough seats to enable them to change the ruling system because the ruling reactionaries are ever ready to react violently against any threat to their political power.

Violence comes not only from the local reactionaries but also from their US imperialist master, which is now on a rampage. The US is sabotaging the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations and is escalating its military intervention under the pretext of anti-terrorism. It intends to superimpose a war of aggression against the Filipino people on the current civil war between the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces.

So long as US imperialism continues to dominate the world and the Philippines,

the Filipino youth and the rest of the people have no choice but to prepare against the worst, like a US war of aggression. Only thus can we hope for the best, which is winning the new democratic stage and proceeding to the socialist stage of the Philippine revolution. So long as the imperialists and the local reactionaries continue to exploit and oppress them, the people have no choice but to persevere in revolutionary struggle for national liberation, democracy and socialism.

Advance in the Spirit of FQS 1970

Keynote Speech National Conference of Filipino Youth in Canada

November 25, 2005

Dear fellow activists and friends, I thank the Ugnayan ng Kabataang Pilipino sa Canada/Filipino-Canadian Youth Alliance for inviting me to deliver the keynote speech in this conference, which is the culmination of a campaign to remember and emulate the First Quarter Storm of 1970 and rally the Filipino students and youth to the call "Continue: Living the Storm".

I congratulate Ugnayan for undertaking the campaign and organizing this conference. I feel honored and privileged to speak before the delegates as well as the distinguished guests, whom I personally know and who participated in the FQS. We are all bound by a high sense of unity, as we celebrate the 35th anniversary of the FQS and the 10th anniversary of Ugnayan. May I also cite that Kabataang Makabayan (KM), which played a key role in the FQS, will have its 41st anniversary on November 30.

My participation in FQS of 1970

When the First Quarter Storm of 1970 broke out in Manila on January 26, 1970,

I had already gone underground and based myself in the countryside. But through radio and printed media reports and direct participants in the storm, I was able to monitor closely the preparations, conduct and direction of the mass actions. I analyzed and summed up every major mass action and, under the nom de guerre Amado Guerrero, issued a statement for the purpose of shedding light on the character, conduct and course of the mass movement.

The newly reestablished Communist Party of the Philippines had anticipated in 1968 that the combustible social conditions would soon generate a sustained upsurge like the FQS. But it could not say in advance when such a phenomenon would begin, proceed and end. The FQS began in front of the reactionary Congress when Marcos, in reaction to the throwing of a mock coffin in his direction by a group other than the KM, ordered the police to attack some 50,000 demonstrators, mostly student and youth.

Consequently, there was public outrage over the brutality of the police. A bigger number of youth and workers running into several tens of thousands mobilized for the militant rally on January 30, 1970. The military and police could not stop them from marching to the front of the presidential palace. And they fired at the demonstrators, killing a number of them. Upon the initiative of the KM, the Movement for a Democratic Philippines was quickly formed as an alliance against the US-Marcos regime.

Marcos tried to stem the momentum of the mass movement. He invited to the palace the leaders of the mass organizations and trade unions involved in the mass actions. He offered some "reforms" and some immediate concessions. At the same time he asked the mass leaders to stop the mass actions and threatened that should the mass protests continue he would not be able to stop the military from massacring the demonstrators. Some mass leaders agreed to recess the mass movement.

The FQS would not have taken full shape had Marcos succeeded in dissuading

the mass leaders from carrying out the mass protest slated for the first week of February. The general secretary of the KM came to me seeking for advice and reported what transpired in the palace. I said that if the meeting with Marcos succeeded in stopping the protest actions, the mass movement would be profoundly undermined for a long time. The solution was to go on with the next mass action but take pains to keep it peaceful. Thus, the FQS proceeded to take full shape.

It gained in Metro Manila ever bigger number of participants ranging from 50,000 to 100,000 per mass action, almost every week up to March 1970. It rapidly spread to scores of provincial cities and capitals. It increased in intensity on a nationwide scale even as the US-Marcos regime became more and more violent and disruptive of the mass actions.

Historical significance of FQS

The outbreak of the FQS of 1970 signified the clear beginning of the renewed struggle to end the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system of the big compradors and landlords servile to US imperialism. This system had been in chronic crisis but this time it entered the final stage of decomposition. The crisis became so deep and aggravated that it cried out for the people's democratic revolution through people's war.

The frontier areas for absorbing the sideward migration of the surplus rural population had become exhausted in the previous decade. Jobs available for the surplus labor from the countryside were scarce. There was no way to relieve the system of the rapidly worsening crisis. The imperialists, headed by the US, and the local exploiting classes concurred in preventing genuine land reform and national industrialization.

In its first term from 1965 to 1969, the Marcos regime had gone into heavy foreign borrowing under the auspices of the IMF and the World Bank for the purpose of going into an infrastructure program of building roads and bridges and setting up milling facilities for sugar, coconut and copper ore. These foreign-funded projects were graft ridden and were Marcos' source of the loot that he stashed away in foreign bank accounts as well as the till money that he used for electioneering in 1969.

By 1969 the rate of unemployment had become extremely high. The prices of basic goods and services soared. The repeated hikes in oil prices as well as Marcos' heavy spending for winning the elections stimulated inflation. Social unrest was widespread. The regime had a propensity to use state violence to intimidate and attack the toiling masses and even the legal critics and oppositionists from the middle social strata and the exploiting classes.

The Communist Party of the Philippines correctly described the situation by stating that the crisis of the ruling system had become so severe that the ruling classes could no longer rule in the old way, that the broad masses of the people were desirous of revolutionary change of government and that the time had come for the revolutionary party of the proletariat to arise and lead the people in an armed revolutionary movement.

The national democratic mass movement that had grown in the 1960s became the basis for the reestablishment of the CPP in 1968. The young activists that had abounded in the FQS came from the Kabataang Makabayan. They avidly studied Struggle for National Democracy in the late 1960s. And likewise they studied Philippine Society and Revolution as it came out in mimeographed form in 1969 and in printed form in 1970.

At least the leading activists were infused with a high level of patriotic and progressive consciousness. They were aware of the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society, the national democratic character of the current

stage of the Philippine revolution, the basic political, economic and cultural demands of the people, the class factors and class adversaries of the revolution and the tasks to be carried out in the current stage and in the future socialist stage of the revolution.

The FQS was a distinctive revolutionary phenomenon. It was the beginning of a sustained cultural revolution of the Filipino youth along the line of the national, scientific and democratic mass culture. The young activists conducted social investigation, engaged in study groups and created and presented their cultural works in streets, factory sites, farms, plazas and community centers. Manila was the focus of the unprecedentedly huge mass actions. But these rapidly spread to many provincial cities and capitals, where the youth held marches, rallies and cultural performances against those in power.

Continuing relevance of FQS

In 1970 the FQS became the occasion for arousing, organizing and mobilizing so many thousands of the youth. From their ranks came so many of the cadres and ardent members of the revolutionary party of the proletariat, the people's army and the mass organizations. To this day, the veterans of the FQS and their successors in the youth movement are loyal to the FQS as a revolutionary tradition. They carry forward the FQS as an ever growing living force.

The FQS has a continuing relevance to all of us Filipinos, whether in the Philippines or abroad. We recognize it as a response to the challenge posed by the ever-worsening chronic crisis of the ruling system. It continues to inspire us to fight for the national and democratic rights and interests of the Filipino people, to overthrow the incumbent oppressive and exploitative system and build a Philippines that is completely independent, democratic, socially just, progressive and peaceful.

The national democratic movement would have made bigger strides since 1970 if not for serious erroneous trends of the ultra-Left and Rightist varieties that ran in the 1980s. These had to be confronted and corrected through a rectification movement. This has been successful. Thus, the national democratic movement has resumed in its advance. Clearer than ever before is the general line of struggle for national liberation and democracy against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

By continuing to implement policies dictated by the imperialist powers and the multinational firms and banks, the post Marcos regimes of Aquino, Ramos, Estrada and Arroyo have deepened and aggravated the crisis of the ruling system. The Philippines is maintained as an underdeveloped country dependent on the export of raw materials and low value-added semimanufactures. It is ever afflicted by budgetary and trade deficits and mounting foreign and local public debt. These are incurred for the most counterproductive purposes, such as the repatriation of foreign capital, remittance of superprofits, bureaucratic corruption and military overspending.

The conditions of mass unemployment, low incomes, poverty and lack of socioeconomic development have forced more than 8 million or nearly 10 per cent of our compatriots to leave the Philippines, their families and friends, in order to earn a living abroad. They become cheap labor abroad. They are compelled to receive levels of compensation far lower than those for the host people. They do not have the rights of the host people. They are exposed to all kinds of racism and discrimination.

The foreign exchange remittances of Filipino migrant workers amount to more than US\$8 billion every year. This is a huge amount which ought to be mustered for the socioeconomic development of the Philippines. But the state and the exploiting classes simply appropriate this huge amount through the banking system to serve the most counter-productive purposes. No other Philippine export is more lucrative than the export of people, especially women. But the state wastes the income from this resource.

The mass exodus of people seeking employment abroad reveal the desperate social conditions in the Philippines. The country is now the top labor exporter in the entire world. Sixty-five per cent of Filipino migrant workers are women. They are exposed to all kinds of discrimination, disadvantages, risks and pressures. Their absence has disintegrative consequences to their families. But difficulties still abound even in the relatively few cases where other family members or the entire family are able to follow and reunite abroad.

Relevance of FQS to Filipino youth in Canada

Many Filipinos driven out of the Philippines by the crisis conditions have found their way into Canada. There are nearly half a million of them. They are concentrated in the major urban centers of Toronto, Vancouver, Winnipeg and Montreal. The majority of our compatriots in Canada are women. Their proportion is bound to increase as the Live-in Caregiver Program attracts more women, despite all its bad features.

The general conditions of the Filipino youth in Canada are directly linked to and are circumscribed by the forced migration and cheap-labor status of their parents and families. They face systemic racism and discrimination. They experience identity crisis in not being recognized as Canadians but not knowing their Filipino heritage.

They lack access to education. Sixty percent drop out from high schools because of alienation and racism in the school system. They are bothered by the problems of family separation and reunification. They are humiliated by racial profiling and prejudice in the justice system. The majority of them do not finish high school and become the new generation of cheap labor, limited to taking the bottom jobs.

The Filipino youth in Canada can grasp the relevance of FQS by becoming aware of the fact that the crisis conditions that brought about the FQS drove their parents out of the Philippines and delivered them to another set of crisis conditions in Canada. They must be conscious of the fact that monopoly capitalism is an ever exploitative and oppressive force that keeps on shifting the burden of crisis to the working people in the Philippines and Canada.

Imperialism has become more abominable than ever under the slogan of "free market" globalization as well as under the slogan of "war on terror". The rights of the working people and their hard-won social benefits are eroded or eliminated. The imperialist state delivers the resources to the monopoly bourgeoisie and embarks on state terrorism and wars of aggression in order to attack the people, the national liberation movements and countries assertive of independence.

The crisis of the world capitalist system is ever-worsening. The people are resisting imperialism and reaction and are fighting for a new and better world. The crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system is ever-worsening due to its own debility and imperialist plunder. The Filipino people are intensifying their resistance. They seek to overthrow not only the US-directed Arroyo regime but the entire ruling system. The Ugnayan and other Filipino alliances and organizations in Canada have joined and supported the Filipino people's struggle for national liberation and democracy.

In defining the relevance of the FQS, the Filipino youth in Canada must recall how the Filipino youth campaigned and fought for national and democratic rights and interests during the FQS. They must resolve to emulate the FQS and rise to a new and higher level of revolutionary consciousness and militancy in dealing with their problems in Canada. In this connection, it is fine that the Ugnayan has engaged in an educational campaign about the FQS in preparation for this current conference.

The Filipino youth in Canada must trace their roots in the Philippines, cherish their Filipino heritage and understand how the evil trio of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism drove their parents out of the Philippines. At the same time, they must understand what is exploiting and oppressing them in Canada and they must educate, organize and mobilize themselves to fight for the rights and welfare of the youth and the entire Filipino community in Canada.

It is of great significance and far-reaching consequence for the Filipino youth in Canada to link up with the youth in the motherland and engage in various forms of cooperation and mutual support for strengthening the struggle of the Filipino youth and people in the Philippines and Canada. They can learn from each other their respective histories, circumstances, needs, roles and tasks. They can share with each other their experience in educational, organizational and campaign work.

The Filipino youth in Canada can best imbibe the Filipino revolutionary spirit and sense of patriotism if they go to the Philippines and stay there for some time in order to live and work with their fellow youth and learn the conditions, needs, struggles and direction of the Filipino people. When they return to Canada, they would have a higher sense of dignity and purpose as Filipinos and they would be more animated than before in relating to and working with their compatriots among the Filipino youth and community in general.

I am aware and gratified that quite a number of the officers and members of Ugnayan have already been carrying out what I now urge you to do. They have gone to the Philippines in order to live, study and work with their fellow youth, learn from the toiling masses of workers and peasants and participate in their struggles. They come back to Canada with a more comprehensive and profound understanding of their national roots and their progressive sense of unity with the Filipino people back home and with the Filipino community in Canada. Renewing their links with the motherland has energized them to do mass work among the Filipino youth in Canada.

I hope that as a result of the present conference the Ugnayan can respond to the challenges and carry out the urgent tasks more effectively than ever before in order to further strengthen the Filipino youth movement in Canada along the line of the national democratic movement in the Philippines. At the same time, I urge you to always maintain and heighten your spirit of internationalism and cooperate with the Canadians of various nationalities in fighting for the common good of the people in Canada. I urge you to promote and strengthen the solidarity and mutual support between the people in Canada and the Philippines in the struggle for national and social liberation.

A Time of Crisis, a Time for Militancy

Message to the League of Filipino Students on its 31st Founding Anniversary

September 11, 2008

As one who has long been in solidarity with you, I wish to express most heartfelt greetings on the occasion of the 31st founding anniversary of the League of Filipino Students (LFS). I also wish to congratulate you for the achievements that you have made in the year past, adding to the accumulation of successes of the LFS since its foundation. I urge you to move forward and achieve greater victories.

Crisis at home and in the world

A semicolonial and semifeudal society such as that of the Philippines is chronically crisis-stricken because of the extreme exploitation and oppression wrought by foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. But the ceaseless crisis has plunged to a new depth of aggravation as a result of the utter bankruptcy of the policy of "neoliberal" globalization and the current wave of economic and financial crisis. This has spread from the US to the entire world, wreaking the most havoc in under-developed countries like the Philippines.

US imperialism has imposed on our people not only the policy of "neoliberal" globalization but also that of permanent and preemptive global war of terror under the pretext of combating terrorism. This is aimed at favoring monopoly capital and suppressing the people's resistance. It is directed mainly against the national liberation movements, anti-imperialist mass movements, progressive forces and leaders, and countries that assert national independence. The Filipino people are experiencing the brutality of state terrorism and US military intervention and are witnessing the US wars of aggression and the rise of fascism on a global scale.

The Arroyo puppet regime is accountable for treasonously carrying out imperialist orders and for escalating the exploitation and oppression of the Filipino people. It is culpable for the rising rate of unemployment, the loss of income for the working people, the soaring costs of basic necessities, the intolerable rise of study and living costs for students, and the deterioration of an already niggardly social services. It is culpable for the gross and systematic violations of human rights in both urban and rural areas. It has brutally victimized the working people and middle social strata.

LFS tradition of militancy

This is a time of grave crisis. It is a time for militancy. You are challenged to act in defense of the rights and interests of the student sector and inextricably those of the entire Filipino people against the oppressors and exploiters, chiefly represented by the US-directed Arroyo regime. You are called upon to move in accordance with your organization's founding principles and tradition of militant struggle along the general line of national liberation and democracy against the the three monsters that afflict our people.

The LFS was founded in 1977 when the Marcos fascist dictatorship was at the peak of its power. It was not all discouraged by the combination of state terrorism and the heavy flow of foreign loans for many graft-ridden

infrastructure projects. In exchange for US support, Marcos gave free reign to foreign investments and the US military bases. But despite cruel suppression of the student movement and other mass movements, the LFS was established precisely because of the need to wage militant struggle against the intolerable oppression and exploitation inflicted on the students and the broad masses of the people.

I was deeply pleased with the founding of LFS. This was a clear manifestation of the irrepressible desire of the students and the people to free themselves from the Marcos fascist dictatorship and the entire US-controlled ruling system of big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists. When I was under military detention from November 1977 onwards, I was always happy to hear news of the growth, statements and militant actions of the LFS. These were a major source of inspiration and confidence for me. They assured me that ultimately the people would overthrow the Marcos fascist dictatorship.

Key role of LFS in the youth movement

Again and again it has been proven in history that at every time of grave crisis students have stood up and stood out in response to the need for militant struggle and revolutionary action. We can recall the young students in the Propaganda Movement and the Revolution against Spanish colonialism and then against US imperialism, in the recurrent efforts to resume the unfinished Philippine revolution, in the patriotic war of resistance against the Japanese occupation, in the resumption of the Philippine revolution in our own time, in the successful overthrow of the Marcos fascist dictatorship and in the continuous mass struggles of the Filipino people against every puppet regime and the entire unjust social system.

The LFS can play a key role in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the student masses and in linking with the youth from the working class, peasantry, urban poor and the professions and in generating a powerful comprehensive youth

movement. Consequently, you can encourage and conjoin with the broad masses of the people in fighting the system of oppression and exploitation and isolating and defeating the Arroyo regime, which is now the chief marionette of US imperialism and the chief representative of the local exploiting classes.

The LFS has certain advantages in its field of mass work. The students have the ability to grasp patriotic and progressive ideas easily as soon as you can draw them to sessions of serious study. They can be convinced to join the LFS on the basis of the LFS constitution and program. They constitute that sector of society which is most ready to protest and make demands. They do not have as much fixed preoccupations as their elders. They have the flexibility to move around and draw their fellow students to a common cause. They can be motivated and militated. They have the intelligence and energy to act.

Tasks of the LFS

You can expect to win greater victories in the struggle to uphold, defend and advance the rights and interests of the student masses and those of the entire Filipino people only if you are clear about your tasks of arousing, organizing and mobilizing the student masses and you are determined to carry them out along the general line of people's struggle for national liberation and democracy against the Arroyo regime and the entire ruling system.

Educational task. The LFS must arouse the student masses along the general line of struggle for national liberation and democracy against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes. It must do so through agitational speeches on the burning issues in indoor and outdoor meetings as well as the big marches and rallies. It must issue written statements and articles and encourage discussions on the issues. It must use wall slogans, posters, murals, songs, dances, poems and other forms of cultural work. It must run schools of national democracy in chapters that exist and those to be established. The basic course must be simple, easy to learn and designed to be accomplished in a single weekend for every

batch of students. Copies of study materials and lists of references for the basic, intermediate and advanced courses must be made available not only for the purpose of formal study courses but also for the purpose of individual and collective reading and study within the chapters and other units of work.

Organizational task. The LFS must swear in as a member any applicant who accepts the LFS Constitution and Program and is willing to take the basic course of study and become active in the work of a chapter or any work unit of the LFS. LFS chapters must be established at various levels: university, college and department. They must likewise be established in high schools. High school students should not be underestimated. The LFS must open itself to all students who take a patriotic and progressive stand on issues. Solid mass organizing must be proven by the number of active chapters and their members. Only on the basis of these can the LFS build a strong organization at all levels: city or town, district, province, region and the entire country.

Task of mass mobilization. The LFS must use its organized strength to drum up the issues and to attract and mobilize the student masses. It must explain the issues in mass meetings, in classrooms and in school lobbies and corridors and call on the student masses to participate in carrying out the various aspects of a mass campaign. Moreover, it must seek and develop alliances with other student organizations, with the faculty members and with the non-academic employees in order to amplify and further strengthen its ability to mobilize the student masses. The mass campaigns must raise the patriotic and progressive consciousness of the students and must encourage more students to join the LFS and support the alliances of the LFS on the campus.

On ousting the Arroyo regime

For several years already, the LFS has been aiming to cause the ouster of the Arroyo regime. You can succeed by carrying out the aforesaid tasks. You have the accumulated experience and strength upon which to launch your efforts to mobilize the student masses. The LFS was in the forefront in putting away the barbed wire barricades on Mendiola and pressing on the gates of the presidential

palace during the ouster of Marcos in 1986. Once more the LFS spearheaded the tens of thousands of students that marched from EDSA to the presidential palace during the ouster of Estrada in 2001.

You can set as your objective in the National Capital Region the mobilization of the student masses to occupy the streets in the University Belt and choke the presidential palace. You can also set as your objective in the provinces the massing of students in front of provincial capitols, city halls and municipal halls to support the central action in Manila and to demonstrate the people's repudiation of the Arroyo regime throughout the country. The broad masses of the people will certainly join the student masses when they succeed in launching gigantic protest actions.

But whether you succeed or not in ousting Arroyo before 2010, you stand to gain strength by striving to do so. More struggles lie further ahead to advance the just cause of national liberation and democracy against the rotten and crisis-stricken ruling system. By its shameless puppetry, exploitativeness, corruption and brutality, the Arroyo regime has aggravated the rottenness and crisis of this system.

Despite expending great amounts of resources for the reactionary armed forces and the gross and systematic violations of human rights under Oplan Bantay Laya 1 and 2, the Arroyo regime has clearly failed to destroy or debilitate the legal democratic mass movement and the armed revolutionary movement. On the contrary, it has driven the Filipino people to raise their fighting will and capabilities to wage all forms of resistance against the unjust ruling system.

Under the current circumstances, the League of Filipino Students is required to raise to a new and higher level its resolve and militant efforts to arouse, organize and mobilize the student masses in universities, colleges, institutes and high schools against US imperialism and the worst of the reactionaries in power.

Remembering the First Quarter Storm

Inspirational Message to the Cultural Forum

January 31, 2009

I am deeply thankful that Bishop Felixberto Calang, Chairperson of INPEACE, has honored me with the invitation to give an inspirational message to the Cultural Forum entitled “Remembering the First Quarter Storm: Four Decades of the People’s Movement for National Liberation.”

I have great appreciation for the Initiatives for Peace in Mindanao, the Sisters’ Association in Mindanao, Kasimbayan and Bagong Alyansang Makabayan-Northern Mindanao for conjoining to organize this forum and to manifest the high and broad significance of the FQS to the entire Filipino people.

Your main speaker Bonifacio Ilagan is well chosen. He is one of the most distinguished leaders of the FQS and he has been outstanding in adhering to the revolutionary spirit and principles of the FQS, in promoting the FQS as a beacon to the continuing struggle of the people for national and social liberation and in developing the arts in the service of the people.

The FQS was an unprecedented event in Philippine history in terms of significance, scale, intensity and consequences. It was a crucial turning point in the people’s movement for national liberation and democracy. It confronted the drive of the Marcos regime to aggravate and deepen the oppression and

exploitation of the people by the evil triad of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The best and brightest sons and daughters of the nation participated in the FQS. The more the reactionary state unleashed violence against them, the more the masses of youth and people became resolute and militant in standing up and fighting for national and democratic rights.

The FQS was centered in Manila, the seat of reactionary power. But it spread the revolutionary message to the entire nation in an immediate and lasting way. In response to the escalation of violence by the Marcos regime, it urged the broad masses of the people to fight back with the call, “Makibaka, huwag matakot!” Against the rising trend of state terrorism or fascism, it raised the battlecry, “Digmang Bayan ang Sagot sa Batas Militar”.

The FQS generated a sustained popular movement upholding national independence and democratic rights, demanding national industrial development and genuine land reform, promoting a national, scientific and mass culture and espousing international solidarity of peoples against imperialism and all reaction and for justice, peace and development.

Many of those who directly participated in the FQS and those who were inspired by it became the most conscious and the most energetic militants in a wide array of patriotic and progressive formations, including the revolutionary party of the working class, the Christians for National Liberation, the progressive sections of institutions and the sectoral mass organizations and multisectoral alliances of the workers, peasants, youth, women, professionals and national minorities.

Since the occurrence of the FQS, all those who have been molded and inspired by it have been a significant driving force in the sustained resistance of the

people to the anti-national and anti-democratic policies of the Marcos regime and the 14-year reign of fascist terror, in the mass movement that eventually caused the overthrow of the Marcos fascist dictatorship and in the continuing opposition to the persistence of anti-national and anti-democratic policies under the post-Marcos regimes.

The memory and spirit of the FQS and its consequences in the people's struggle for national liberation and democracy continue to live on and grow in strength. But all of us must always consciously cherish the FQS in our hearts and minds, lest it be taken for granted and pass into oblivion. It is fine to celebrate the FQS in the entire year before and in the entire year after its 40th anniversary.

I call on the present mass activists, the church people, the lawyers, educators and other professionals to draw inspiration from the FQS. Let us emulate the FQS participants in their eagerness to learn the history and the basic problems of the Filipino people, in grasping the need to continue the Philippine revolution and carry out the new democratic revolution and in fighting courageously and tenaciously for the national and democratic rights and interests of the Filipino people.

We are confronted today by problems far worse than those during the time of Marcos. The semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society has persisted. The problems of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism have been aggravated and deepened by the US-instigated policy of "neoliberal" globalization, which has accelerated superprofit-taking, and the policy of "global war on terror," which has stirred up state terrorism, US military intervention and imperialist wars of aggression.

Now, an unprecedented global financial and economic crisis, generated from the US, has descended upon the frail preindustrial semifeudal economy of the Philippines. The broad masses of the people are suffering acutely from the depressed economic and social conditions and from the escalating campaigns of

state terrorism by the Arroyo puppet regime. We must draw from the FQS the fighting spirit, the principles and the methods of generating resistance in the national and provincial capitals and on a nationwide scale in both urban and rural areas.

Keep the Revolutionary Spirit Alive

Message of Solidarity to FQSM on its Third Congress

March 28, 2009

As founding chairperson of Kabataang Makabayan, which played a key role in the First Quarter Storm of 1970, as well as current chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS), I wish to convey the most militant greetings of solidarity to the officers and members of the First Quarter Storm Movement (FQSM) on the occasion of its Third Congress.

I congratulate you for having made significant educational, political and organizational advances from year to year since your founding congress. You have kept alive the revolutionary spirit, the principles and historic acts of the great mass of activists in the First Quarter Storm of 1970.

You have raised high the red banner of the Filipino people's struggle for national liberation and democracy against the triad evils of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. You have been outstanding in taking up long-standing issues as well as new ones. In this regard, you have done well in initiating projects and activities as well as in joining the concerted mass actions against the oppressors and exploiters of the people.

You have organized on a nationwide scale the activists and sympathizers who are proud to have contributed to the First Quarter Storm and who have remained loyal to the just revolutionary cause of the people. You have not only kept your mature ranks in the active service of the people but you have also conscientiously linked yourself with younger generations of activists in order to inspire, educate and militate them with the legacy of the First Quarter Storm and with your continuing example.

I have read the final drafts of the two important documents which are to be processed and approved by the Third Congress. The Orientation of the First Quarter Storm Movement is comprehensive and precise in giving the historical background, the rationale, the importance, role, components and methods of the FQSM. The Three-Year Program of the FQSM (2009-2012) clearly sets forth the main tasks and specific tasks to be carried out.

Having read these final drafts, I am confident that the Third Congress will be successful in paving the way for the First Quarter Storm Movement to reach a new and higher level of development in terms of patriotic and progressive consciousness, political effectiveness and organizational strength. Knowing the dedication and abilities of the officers and members, I am certain that the FQSM will become ever stronger in the years ahead in the course of struggle against the US-Arroyo regime and succeeding regimes of the same kind.

It is of great importance and urgent necessity that the First Quarter Storm Movement strengthen itself in an all-round way and raise the level of its cooperation with all patriotic and progressive forces in advancing the national democratic movement at this time when the crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system and that of the world capitalist system are worsening at a rapid rate and extreme depth unprecedented since the Great Depression. The crisis ensues from the super-exploitative character of monopoly capitalism and the unraveling of the policy of neoliberal globalization

At this time of severe crisis, the broad masses of the people undergo suffering more terrible than ever before because the imperialists and local reactionaries escalate oppression and exploitation. But the crisis goads the people to wage resistance, exposes the rottenness and internal contradictions of the ruling system and makes the ruling classes incapable of ruling in the old way. The conditions become more fertile than ever before for the patriotic and progressive forces of the people to grow in strength and advance on the road of revolutionary change.

Current Crisis Situation and Tasks

Among the Youth

Contribution to the 18th International Communist Seminar, Brussels

May 15-17, 2009

It is of constant decisive importance that a communist or workers' party and its youth organization arouse, organize and mobilize the broad masses of the youth in accordance with the general political line of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and the people in various countries.

By youth, we mean the young workers and other working people, the young of the middle social strata, the students of secondary, tertiary and graduate levels and the young professionals. Their age ranges from 12 to 35. In any society, they comprise the majority of the population. Of all age groups, they are the most energetic and the most receptive to progressive ideas.

There is always a need for communists to do educational, organizational and mobilization work among the youth because that is the way to maintain the vitality, increase the strength and ensure the continuity of the revolutionary mass movement and the revolutionary party of the proletariat.

In the face of the grave situation brought about by the worst global financial and economic crisis since the Great Depression, the need is greater and more acute than ever for arousing, organizing and mobilizing the youth. They are severely affected by the ever-worsening and deepening crisis. They are eager to join the mass actions in order to protest and make demands.

I. Current crisis situation

For more than three decades the monopoly bourgeoisie has escalated the exploitation and oppression of the proletariat and people of the world under the policy of neoliberal globalization. This policy propagates the myth and dogma of the free market. It gives free rein to the monopoly bourgeoisie in accelerating profit-taking from the working class and the oppressed peoples and nations and the accumulation and concentration of capital in the US and other imperialist countries.

Under the policy, the working class and government social spending are blamed for the tendency of monopoly capitalism to stagnate and have inflation. The imperialists in their own home grounds and abroad have pushed down the wage and income levels of the people, eroded hard-won social benefits and curtailed the democratic rights of the people. But pressing down the incomes of the working people results in dwindling market demand and causing the crisis of overproduction.

In a futile attempt to overcome the crisis of overproduction and the tendency of the profit rate to fall upon the expansion of capitalist production, the monopoly bourgeoisie has removed national restrictions to investment and trade and has denationalized the economies of underdeveloped countries. It has privatized public resources in order to enlarge private capital and facilitate profit-taking. It has removed regulations that protect public interest, labor, women, children and

the ecology.

On top of everything, it has deregulated debt financing and the creation of fictitious capital and financial bubbles in order to cover deficits and conjure the illusion of constant growth. But it is exactly in the stratosphere of monopoly finance capitalism where the system is broken. The worst financial crisis since the Great Depression has broken out and has cascaded and crashed into the real economy, causing reduced production and plant shutdowns; massive unemployment; loss of incomes and savings, disappearance of social benefits and pension funds, homelessness, lack of health protection and other forms of social catastrophe, especially for the working people and the youth.

The overwhelming majority of youth in the US and other imperialist countries are now in a dire situation. Those of school age suffer the deprivations and other adverse consequences that result from the loss of jobs by their parents. Those of working age, including those with vocational and professional training, are faced with the problems of no job opportunities at the outset, reduced pay for beginners or the constant danger of being laid off because of continued worsening and deepening of the crisis.

To be of working age and yet have no work or have some work but without adequate pay is a big disaster and means a miserable existence in an industrial capitalist country. The economic misery is compounded with a deep sense of injustice in view of the imperialist state's callous disregard for the interests of the working class and the youth and the bailouts given by the imperialist state to the monopoly bourgeoisie, especially the financial oligarchy, which is responsible for the crisis.

In industrial capitalist countries, the youth of foreign ancestry and those from migrant families suffer increased levels of national, ethnic, racial or religious discrimination from the state institutions, corporations and benighted groups of the majority population. The discrimination is manifested in public places, in

schools and in the work place. The monopoly bourgeoisie uses various forms of discrimination in order to deflect attention from the roots of the crisis and divide the ranks of the working class and the youth.

The youth in the underdeveloped countries have long suffered the worst of economic and social conditions in the world. The overwhelming major of their countries are dependent on raw material production for export and only a few have some manufactures and semimanufactures for export. They are chronically in deficit and in need of foreign credit.

They are now in a terrible situation as orders for their exports have drastically fallen and international credit has tightened. Even the so-called emerging markets, previously privileged with large orders of semimanufactures and heavy inflows of capital from the imperialist countries are now in serious trouble. The rate of unemployment is rapidly rising in agriculture, industry and the service sector. There is no social safety net for the old stock of unemployed as well as for the newly unemployed.

Under these conditions, the youth suffer more than ever before extreme conditions of deprivation, exploitation and oppression. The school population is decreasing. The reactionary states are in no position to expand the public school system and enable the children of workers and peasants to attend school. The impoverished families now wish their school age children to work and augment family income. But the jobs in both the formal and informal sectors of the economy have become scarce.

The youth in both industrial capitalist and underdeveloped countries are now under the heavy pressure of the global financial and economic crisis. They react to and reflect on the deteriorating conditions of their sector, their families and society in general. They strive to make the best possible out of a dire situation in order to study or work within the system. An increasing number of them question why there is a crisis that brings so much misery and suffering to the

people and consider how the social system can be improved through basic reforms or replaced with a better and just one through revolution. If systematically and properly approached by the communists, they welcome revolutionary ideas and are willing to become activists in the youth movement.

Some of the youth become juvenile delinquents or even criminals as they see no decent work opportunity, their parents lose their jobs and their families crack up under the strain of the crisis. As the crisis prolongs and worsens, such youth can increase in number and become the lumpen proletariat, with antisocial propensities and vulnerable to manipulation by the monopoly bourgeoisie and its political agents. But if the revolutionary movement of the youth advances fast enough, it can directly and indirectly prevent juvenile delinquency or criminality.

II. What to do among the youth

It is necessary to know the basic conditions of a country and the extent of the systemic crisis in order to carry out the general line of the revolutionary struggle of the broad masses of the people. To be most effective in work among the youth, it is necessary to do further social research and investigation among them in order to find out and learn from them what are their conditions, needs and demands, who among them can be developed as activists in the youth movement and what are the ways of arousing, organizing and mobilizing the youth.

Let us assume that the communist or workers' party recognizes the crucial importance of the youth movement and has young cadres for building the communist youth league and the youth movement as a mass movement. These young cadres should make contacts with their fellow youth in work places, communities, schools, club houses and other places where there are plenty of youth in order to hold meetings for making friends and doing social investigation. Such meetings may be attended by anywhere from five to twenty young people and may be facilitated by groups or individuals that priorly exist in the place.

The initial meetings are small because there are not yet many youth known in the place to be interested in the building of a progressive mass organization of youth and because there is an advantage in having ample time for everyone to participate in the discussion and learn from it. Consequent to raising the level of their political consciousness and recognizing the need for organizing the youth, the participants in the initial meetings can draw more youth to attend study meetings as well as general meetings on burning issues of the youth and the people.

The mass activists who are discovered and developed by the young communist cadres through social investigation, study meetings and mass actions must recognize the need to go beyond their initial small number and arouse the broad masses of the youth in their hundreds, then in their thousands and further on in bigger numbers. Mass actions of protest and demands must be undertaken as means of propaganda and agitation to arouse the youth in great numbers.

Before, during and after such mass actions, there are many forms of propaganda and education that must be done. These include publications, speeches, information or study meetings, wall slogans and posters, cultural performances and so on. Those who are most active in preparing, conducting and following up the mass actions must be encouraged to reach higher levels of consciousness and militancy through the systematic study of the society and revolution. They comprise the advanced section of the youth mass movement and the most advanced among them can be drawn to the young communist league or its equivalent and provided with Marxist-Leninist education.

There are two levels of organizing the youth. The basic level is the mass organization of the youth. For that purpose, there may be a comprehensive interclass youth organization and there may also be sectoral, issue-based and territorial youth organizations. The higher level is organizing the youth as a communist youth league or its equivalent. It draws membership mainly from the youth mass movement. The communist youth movement cannot grow without

the expansion of the youth mass movement in the arena of legal struggle.

The young communists and progressive youth activists must give the highest priority to organizing the youth of the working people, especially the workers in a developed capitalist country and the workers and peasants in an underdeveloped country. They should also exert all efforts to organize the students because these have the tendency to accept progressive ideas and act militantly. The young professionals and the intelligentsia must be organized so that they veer away from the exploiting class to the side of the working people.

In a reactionary political system, it is understandable that the communist youth league or its equivalent is underground. Even when it is possible for such league to exist legally in a reactionary political system, it must still be prudent to have a large part of it clandestine so that it cannot be totally destroyed under conditions of extreme repression. Of course, in a socialist society, the communist youth league exists and operates openly in training and developing its members to become full-fledged members of the ruling communist or workers' party.

The young communists and the activists of the progressive youth movement must appeal directly to the broad masses of youth and mobilize them in large numbers through campaigns on long-term as well as burning issues involving the rights and interests of the youth. But they must also engage in alliances with other youth organizations in order to augment the strength of the progressive youth and facilitate the mobilization of the youth in their millions on a nationwide scale.

By maintaining their initiative and independence, the communist and progressive youth organizations can avail of advantages in alliances and yet are not compromised to the extent that they veer away from their course of progressive reforms or social revolution. They must develop their own leadership and mass strength through the mass campaigns by reaching and inspiring the youth in great numbers, attracting them to join the progressive youth organizations and

generating ever greater mass mobilizations of the youth.

The youth have their rights and interests distinct from those of the broad masses of the people. But they must not separate themselves from the people in the common struggle for greater freedom, democracy, social justice, all-around development and world peace. The communist and progressive youth movement can grow in strength and advance only by uniting, cooperating and coordinating with the exploited and oppressed people who fight for national liberation, democracy and socialism against imperialism and all reaction.

Conclusion: prospects of the youth movement

The current grave socioeconomic and political crisis of the world capitalist system has been in the making for many decades, at least three if we use as point of reference the US-instigated policy of neoliberal globalization. This policy is totally bankrupt and has brought about the worst global financial and economic crisis since the Great Depression. It is wreaking havoc on the lives of the people throughout the world and yet the dogma of the free market or the neoliberal bias drives the imperialist powers to bail out the financial oligarchy at the continuing and increasing expense of the people.

The current grave crisis is still deepening and worsening and is likely to run for more than a decade. That is too long a time of suffering for the people. The youth and the people are impelled by the crisis to resist the exploiters and oppressors. There is ample time for the communist and progressive forces of the youth and the people to grow in strength and advance. The conditions of prolonged and deep-going crisis are ultimately favorable for the resurgence and advance of the revolutionary movements of the youth and the people.

Continue the Great Tradition of Progressive and Patriotic Youth

Message of Solidarity to the Alumni Association of KBPA

July 4, 2009

I hereby convey warmest greetings of solidarity to the officers and members of the University of the East Kapit-Bisig Party Alliance Alumni Association, Inc. (UEKBPAAAI) on the occasion of its 3rd General Assembly and Reunion.

I fervently hope that this occasion will achieve its purposes as set forth by the theme, "Further strengthen the UEKBPAAAI! Support the national democratic aspirations of the people! Uphold KBPA's principles and orientation!"

You belong to the great tradition and continuing movement of patriotic and progressive youth who fight for national liberation and democracy against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. It is a matter of honor and revolutionary commitment that you trace your awakening and activism to the Kapit-Bisig Party Alliance (KBPA).

I am aware that the KBPA has been the biggest alliance of students and student organizations in UE and has been in the forefront of the student mass movement since it was established in the early 1980s as a student political party when the student councils were reinstated.

The KBPA is imbued with the same orientation and character as SAMASA of the Polytechnic University of the Philippines and formerly of UP (which is now renamed as STAND-UP). It has played an outstanding role in struggles against the exploitative and oppressive ruling system and in putting forward national and democratic demands.

I appreciate highly the establishment of the University of the East Kapit-Bisig Party Alliance Alumni Association, Inc. (UEKBPAAAI) in July 2006 to reunite the former members of the KPBA in order to advance the national democratic movement in whichever profession or field of activity they are in and in order to act as support group for the KBPA and the movement in general.

More than ever before the Filipino people and the Filipino youth need your active participation in the national democratic movement. You must continue to raise higher your fighting consciousness and become more determined than ever before in contributing whatever you can to arouse, organize and mobilize the broad masses of the people for their own national and social liberation.

We are faced today with an unprecedentedly severe and still worsening economic and social crisis of the worst capitalist system as a consequence of the inherent laws of capitalism and the policy of “neoliberal globalization.” Even as the people of the world are already suffering from extreme and intolerable exploitation and oppression, the imperialist powers and the puppet regimes are shifting more and more the burden of crisis to the people and are unleashing state terrorism and wars of aggression.

The crisis of the world capitalist system and that of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system combine to inflict the worst forms of oppression and exploitation. The Arroyo regime knows no bounds for betraying the national sovereignty of the people, for serving the greed of imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords, for engaging in corruption and plunder and for violating human rights.

The regime keeps on aggravating the socioeconomic and political crisis of the ruling system and deserves to be ended by every possible means by the people. The current crisis conditions impose the worst forms of suffering on the people. At the same time, they drive the toiling masses of the people and the middle social strata to struggle for their just national and democratic rights and interests.

For your own sake and for our people, I urge you to contribute whatever you can to the advancement and ultimate victory of the national democratic movement.

Crisis of Imperialism, Impact on the Philippines and Challenge to the Filipino Student Youth

Message to the League of Filipino Students

September 11, 2009

It is always an honor and privilege for me to convey warmest greetings of solidarity to the national officers, general membership and all chapters of the League of Filipino Students (LFS) on the occasion of its founding anniversary today.

As requested, I am glad to update you briefly on the crisis of imperialism in the economic, political, military and cultural fields, assess the impact of such crisis on the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system in the Philippines and challenge the LFS and entire student youth to continue advancing the struggle for national democracy.

Crisis of imperialism

The current crisis of imperialism is as grave as the Great Depression of the 1930s and is on the way to becoming worse in its scope, depth and duration. It is

the result of an ever-worsening crisis of overproduction and the constant drive of the monopoly bourgeoisie to extract superprofits and over accumulate capital.

The economic and financial crisis is certain to deepen and worsen as the imperialist powers are driven to further exploit the working people and plunder the underdeveloped countries. Even as they continue to spout the slogan of "free market" globalization, the imperialist powers increasingly become protectionist and scramble for sources of cheap raw materials, captive markets, fields of investment and spheres of influence.

Political crisis and disorder are spreading and intensifying on a global scale. The imperialist powers headed by the US use the slogan of anti-terrorism in generating wars of aggression, state terrorism, fascism, chauvinism, racism, religious bigotry and other forms of barbarism. But the working class and the broad masses of the people are waging various forms of resistance against imperialism and reaction and for national liberation, democracy and socialism.

The US is the epicenter of the crisis of the world capitalist system and is overextended due to its plundering and aggressive character. It is in the process of losing its position as No. 1 imperialist power even as it remains the No. 1 enemy of the people of the world. The increase in the number of major capitalist powers due to the revisionist betrayal of socialism has led to what is termed as multipolarity, a euphemism for the intensifying inter-imperialist struggle for a redivision of the world.

The rise of new technology ought to improve socioeconomic conditions, expand the range of freedom and promote the cultural achievements of the people. But in the imperialist system, the new technology has led to increasingly severe crises of overproduction, to the further stifling of freedom for the working people, to the cultural degradation and mass deception, to unprecedented destructiveness of imperialist wars and to the ruination of peoples and the environment.

Impact on the Philippine ruling system

The semicolonial and semifeudal character of the Philippine ruling system has been deepened and aggravated by the US-instigated policy of "free market" globalization and by the series of economic and financial crises of the world capitalist system during the last three decades. The current crisis of imperialism is further deepening and aggravating the crisis of the domestic ruling system.

The Philippine economy is pre-industrial, agrarian and semifeudal in character. Under trade liberalization, it has lost sufficiency in rice and other types of food for domestic consumption because of dumping by other countries. It is dependent on the export of raw materials and reexport of low value-added semimanufactures. Constant trade and budgetary deficits have resulted in heavy foreign and domestic borrowings every year. Under current crisis conditions, the economy suffers from diminished foreign demand for its exports and reexports and from the tight global credit situation.

The Philippines is in a state of economic depression. Mass unemployment has become far worse than ever before. The low wages of workers are further being pressed down and so are the incomes of the middle social strata. Landlords are demanding higher rent from tenants. Prices of basic commodities are rising and so are the taxes and the service fees charged by the reactionary state. Social unrest is therefore building up and bursting out.

The Arroyo regime is hated by the people for its puppetry to imperialist interests, its unbridled corruption and its gross and systematic violation of human rights. It is extremely isolated and ripe for overthrow by the broad united front and the broad masses of the people. Fearful of losing power and facing demands for justice, it is exerting all efforts to weaken and suppress the broad legal opposition and the mass movement.

The struggle for power among the reactionary factions of the ruling classes of big compradors and landlords is more bitter and violent than ever before.

But the anti-Arroyo reactionary factions have for the moment a preference for the electoral method of choosing which clique is next in line to serve the imperialists and the local exploiting classes, to get the lion's share of the spoils of office and suppress the resistance of the people. At any rate, the basic problems of the people persist and continues to strain the ability of the ruling system to contain them.

The Arroyo regime has been daydreaming that Oplan Bantay Laya, backed up by US military intervention under the so-called Visiting Forces Agreement, can destroy or reduce the revolutionary forces of the people to inconsequentiality. Instead, the revolutionary forces of the people have been growing in strength and advancing. The US imperialists and the Arroyo regime seem to forget that not even the Marcos fascist dictatorship and the presence of US military bases could destroy the still limited strength of the armed revolutionary movement.

Challenge to the Filipino student youth

Today the Filipino student youth suffer fast deteriorating living and study conditions. They face bleak prospects with regard to prompt and proper employment even if they were to finish their courses of study. They are constrained by conditions which victimize their parents and themselves, especially if they come from the ranks of the working people and lower and middle social strata. Within the present ruling system, education is considered a commodity that is available only to those who can pay for it.

The private schools are dominant in the market, particularly at the secondary, vocational, tertiary and graduate levels. The public high schools and the state colleges and universities are charging ever higher tuition fees because the reactionary state does not appropriate enough public funds for education but appropriates the most funds for the servicing of the public debt, financing graft-ridden supply contracts and boosting the military, police and intelligence services.

The Filipino student youth are victimized not only by the rising costs of living and study but also by the content of education or miseducation to which they are subjected. They are systematically diverted from consciousness that is patriotic, scientific and people-oriented. Those who control the educational system, the mass media and other institutions seek to alienate them from the people's demand for national independence, democracy, social justice, development and international solidarity and peace against imperialism and all reaction.

The League of Filipino Students and the entire Filipino student youth are more than ever challenged to arouse, organize and mobilize themselves and join the rest of the Filipino people in continuing the struggle for national liberation and democracy against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. We urge you to exert all efforts at changing not only the US-directed Arroyo regime but the entire rotten ruling system.

Our struggle must break the chains of our economic, social, political and cultural captivity. We must uphold the national sovereignty of the Filipino people, empower the working people in a new type of democracy, develop the economy through national industrialization and land reform, promote a national, scientific and democratic type of culture and education and contribute to the building of a new and better world, free from imperialism and all reaction.

Carry Forward the Revolutionary Tradition of Kabataang Makabayan

**Brief Address to Kabataang Makabayan on its 45th Founding Anniversary,
November 30, 2009**

It is a great honor for me to have been the founding chairman of Kabataang Makabayan (Patriotic or People's Youth). And it is my pleasure to talk to you about KM on the occasion of its 45th founding anniversary.

The KM was founded on November 30, 1964, the birth anniversary of the great worker and founder of the Katipunan, Andres Bonifacio. Since the beginning, the KM has been dedicated to the just cause of continuing the revolutionary struggle of the Filipino youth and people for national liberation and democracy against foreign and feudal domination.

The Filipino people are proud for being the very first nation in Asia to fight and defeat a Western colonial power, specifically Spain. But unfortunately, a modern imperialist power, the United States, intervened and launched a war of aggression against the Filipino people to destroy the Philippine Republic and kill 1.5 million Filipinos in order to recolonize and occupy the Philippines. To this date, the US continues to dominate the Philippines through the local exploiting classes and their political agents.

The KM has inherited the rich revolutionary tradition of the Filipino people in fighting against Spanish colonialism for more than three centuries, in defending their national sovereignty against the US war of aggression, in resisting the colonial power of the US and the Japanese fascist invasion during World War II and in carrying out a people's war against the semicolonial and semifeudal system under the US and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

Since the beginning, Kabataang Makabayan has been determined to carry out a national democratic revolution under the class leadership of the working class in the global era of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution. This new type of national democratic revolution is meant to overcome the weaknesses and failures of the bourgeois leadership in the old democratic revolution of 1896.

The KM has assumed the task of assisting the working class in carrying out a new democratic revolution on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance, with the augmentation of further alliances with the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie against the big comprador-landlords and their foreign masters. Under certain circumstances, the united front is further broadened against the narrowed enemy force.

The KM is conscious of the fact that in Philippine history and current circumstances the Filipino youth have been in the forefront at every upsurge of the Philippine revolution. This is not surprising because the youth are receptive to revolutionary ideas, they tend to rebel against the reactionary system, they are energetic and are willing to contribute their time, effort and abilities to a just cause.

The KM did not drop from the sky. It emerged in response to the extreme reaction and rabid anti-communism that followed the defeat of the old people's army and the armed revolutionary movement of the people in the early 1950s. It arose from the concrete conditions of sharpening oppression and exploitation of

the Filipino youth and people from the early 1960s onwards.

The KM is a comprehensive youth organization of the students and the young workers, peasants and professionals. The student component of what would become the KM took shape in the late 1950s in the form of study circles on the Philippine revolution and Marxism-Leninism under the auspices of the Student Cultural Association of the University of the Philippines (SCAUP). The university study circles arose ahead of the youth contingents from the working class, peasantry and the professionals.

After a decade of intense reaction since 1950, the first protest mass action with an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal character occurred on March 15, 1961 upon the initiative of the SCAUP in a united front with other campus organizations. Five thousand students literally scuttled a hearing of the Committee on Anti-Filipino Activities of the reactionary congress conducting a witch-hunt against UP faculty members and student who had written anti-imperialist and anti-feudal articles.

As a result of the anti-CAFA mass action, I was removed from my teaching fellowship in the UP. But I gained time to do further revolutionary student organizing in several universities in a clandestine way and encouraged the formation of progressive student organizations on a national scale. I went to Djakarta to study the Indonesian language and observe the strong mass movement there during the first half of 1962. When I returned home in the second half of 1962, I joined the trade union movement and the Worker's Party. In both I was assigned to do research and education work.

As vice chairman for education of the Workers' Party, I organized seminars for trade unionists from several major labor federations and big independent unions. Then, I established the youth department of the Workers' Party. This would become the source of young workers for KM. I wrote articles on land reform and from early 1963 gave refresher courses to peasant leaders and veteran fighters of

the old people's army. They recommended their children and other young relatives to become members of the KM at the preparatory phase of its founding starting at the beginning of 1964.

The young professionals that had been the first to join the KM came from the ranks of teachers. Eventually, they came from the various professions because they had become progressive while they were still students. It is not surprising therefore that in the succeeding years the progressive mass movement would have activists from the ranks of health professionals, lawyers, scientists, engineers, artists, cultural workers and other professionals.

After its founding in 1964, the KM became a training school for activists in the national democratic movement for the purpose of arousing, organizing and mobilizing the youth in the schools, factories, farms, communities and offices. The schools for national democracy were instituted at various levels of the KM and in various spheres of work. The emphasis was on training young cadres for the trade union and peasant movement and students and young teachers for rapid nationwide expansion of the KM.

The KM became outstanding in mobilizing the youth in mass protest actions against the unequal treaties with the US in the economic and military fields, against new dictates by the US in every field, against the killing of Filipinos in US military bases, against the puppetry of the reactionary regime, against the big compradors and landlords, against oppressive and exploitative school authorities and against the US war of aggression in Vietnam and elsewhere.

The KM became the largest militant youth organization. Its members had a high level of political education and training for the advance of the national democratic movement. Thus it became a major part of the Workers' Party in 1964 and then its successor the Socialist Party of the Philippines (SPP) in 1966. It also became the major part of the Movement for the Advancement of Nationalism (MAN), a national united front formation in 1966. I became the

general secretary of SPP and MAN because of the well-rounded political and organizational strength of the KM.

At the core of Kabataang Makabayan were proletarian revolutionary cadres, who had become members of the Old Merger Party of the Communist and Socialist parties (OMPCSP) since 1962 and who from year to year became dissatisfied with the growing current of modern revisionism. From 1964 onwards, the proletarian revolutionaries increased and outnumbered the old members of the old merger party. They demanded a rectification movement to criticize the major errors and shortcomings of the old merger party since the 1930s.

The Lava revisionist renegades opposed the rectification movement and sought to expel the proletarian revolutionaries. The young proletarian revolutionaries and their senior comrades separated from the Lava revisionist renegades in April 1967, intensified the rectification movement and began preparations for the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought on December 26, 1968.

The newly reestablished CPP benefited from the nationwide scale and grassroots organizing of the KM among the workers and peasants, youth, women and professionals. The proletarian revolutionaries linked up with their counterparts in the old people's army, repudiated the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique and formed the New People's Army on March 29, 1969.

The KM became an even larger and more effective assistant of the working class and the CPP when the protest mass actions that had been intensifying since 1969 peaked in the First Quarter Storm of 1970. This involved the weekly mass actions of 50,000 to 100,000 people in Metro Manila and spread to many provincial cities and capitals. It provided thousands of KM recruits on a national scale and led to the strengthening of KM regional and provincial committees and KM chapters at the grassroots level.

But at that time, Marcos became ever more determined to impose a fascist dictatorship on the Filipino people. He engineered the Plaza Miranda bombing in order to suspend the writ of habeas corpus and start suppressing the KM and other progressive mass organizations on August 21, 1971. Subsequently, he declared martial law on September 21, 1972 to suppress the entire range of opposition.

Since 1971, when its national and regional offices were raided and some of its leaders were arrested, the KM had made a systematic retreat from the aboveground level of mass struggle. It organized the underground in Metro Manila and other cities in order to provide immediate safety for the known KM activists and to prepare for their systematic distribution to the guerrilla zones in the countryside and to underground work in other cities where they were not known to the enemy and could find support.

The KM played a key role in the Filipino people's struggle against the Marcos dictatorship. It was broadcaster of the revolutionary message and organizational seeds. It supplied cadres and mass activists for the expansion of all revolutionary forces, including the CPP, the NPA, the mass organizations, the organs of political power and the alliances. Wherever they went to perform their revolutionary duties, the KM cadres and activists were tempered further as revolutionaries and developed others to become revolutionaries.

Many KM cadres and activists became martyrs for the revolutionary cause but many more prevailed over tremendous odds and assumed higher responsibilities in the revolutionary movement. After the fall of the Marcos fascist dictatorship in 1986, the KM could have chosen to surface, pursue the legal forms of struggle and benefit from the prestige of having fought valiantly and effectively against the fascist dictatorship. But it decided to stay underground and perform the role of the Communist Youth League and be a key member of the National Democratic Front.

The Kabataang Makabayan continues to carry out the tasks of arousing, organizing and mobilizing the Filipino youth in line with the Filipino people's struggle for national liberation and democracy. It provides ideological, political and organizational training to the mass activists to become advanced and to the advanced mass activists to become proletarian revolutionaries and become full-fledged members of the CPP. It deploys the personnel with a high level of revolutionary consciousness, competence and militance to all kinds of work demanded by the revolutionary movement in the political, economic, military, cultural and other fields.

Thank you.

Significance of the First Quarter Storm of 1970

Statement in Celebration of its 40th Anniversary,

January 25, 2010

We are happy to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the First Quarter Storm of 1970. This was the series of protest mass actions, which began on January 25, 1970 and continued up to March of 1970. It is chronicled by Jose F. Lacaba's *Days of Disquiet and Nights of Rage* and commented upon by Amado Guerrero's *First Quarter Storm of 1970*.

At the beginning, ten thousand students, urban poor youth, workers and peasants massed in front of Congress in order to express themselves against the antinational and antidemocratic policies of the Marcos regime and against the excessive spending of public money to reelect Marcos as president.

Their peaceful demonstration was brutally attacked by the police with truncheon and gunfire upon the signal of Marcos himself after delivering his "state of the nation address". The demonstrators fought back for several hours with bare fists, wooden handles of placards and stones.

Undaunted by state brutality, the Kabataang Makabayan and other organizations of the youth and working people formed the Movement for a Democratic

Philippines (MDP). They conducted build-up rallies in communities, schools and factories and then launched people's marches from different points of Metro Manila in order to converge on the focal points of reactionary power.

Tens of thousands of people joined and converged on the presidential palace on January 30, 1970. Some of the demonstrators seized a fire truck and rammed it through the gates of the palace and others made bonfires with their torches. Marcos became even more angered and openly threatened the declaration of martial law in order to discourage further mass protests. But the proletarian revolutionaries and revolutionary core of the MDP stood fast on continuing them.

From week to week, the level of propaganda and agitation, organizational work and mass mobilization rose. Fifty thousand to 100,000 joined each of the marches and rallies, while other people lined the streets to cheer the marchers and give food and water to them. The columns of marchers converged on plazas near the presidential palace or the US embassy.

The First Quarter Storm of 1970 caught the attention of the people on a national and international scale. It inspired the youth and working people in the provincial capitals and cities to rise up and carry out protest actions against US imperialism and the local reactionaries and demand national liberation and democracy.

The First Quarter Storm of 1970 was the highest point of the legal democratic mass movement for national liberation and democracy before the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus in 1971 and the declaration of martial law in 1972. It put forward the patriotic and progressive demands of the people against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes.

It resounded with the fighting slogans, “Makibaka, Huwag Matakot!” “Digmang bayan ang sagot sa martial law!” It raised the fighting spirit of the broad masses of the people against the US-directed Marcos regime and against the repeated threats of the regime to declare martial law. It pushed the organized forces of the national democratic movement to accelerate their political and organizational work among the people.

The First Quarter Storm of 1970 was an unprecedented peak in the advance of the cultural revolution of the new democratic type, which called for a national, scientific and mass culture with the framework of the people's democratic revolution led by the working class. It was the product of a decade-long work of ideological and political work among the students and other youth and among the working people by the young proletarian revolutionaries.

It further generated and reinvigorated a new wave of study and mass work among the youth along the line of new democratic revolution. Schools for national democracy were organized and conducted at all offices of Kabataang Makabayan, on campuses, in the vicinity of factories, in communities and in all types of public places. Cultural works were created and presented to the youth and people in order to raise higher the level of their revolutionary consciousness and militancy.

The First Quarter Storm of 1970 resulted in the political education of great numbers of people and their recruitment into the Kabataang Makabayan and other types of mass organizations. On the basis of the rapidly growing mass movement, hundreds and then thousands of mass activists were educated and recruited to become members of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP).

Consequent to the First Quarter Storm of 1970, the Kabataang Makabayan became a stronger engine for developing mass activists among the students and intelligentsia and among the young workers and peasants on a nationwide scale, for building revolutionary trade unions and for sending the educated youth and

workers to the countryside for service in the New People's Army and in the rural communities.

The First Quarter Storm of 1970 was the key to the accelerated growth of legal mass organizations and such revolutionary forces as the CPP, NPA and the main components of what would become the National Democratic Front. When the Marcos regime imposed martial law and fascist dictatorship on the country, the revolutionary forces and people were more determined than ever to wage protracted people's war along the national democratic line.

We should never forget the First Quarter Storm of 1970 as a major node in the development of the new democratic revolution in the Philippines. The achievements of the Philippine revolution since 1970 would not have been possible without this storm. We owe to it the emergence and development of so many cadres and mass activists and the growth of the revolutionary forces on a nationwide scale.

We must celebrate the great significance and continuing relevance of this historic event. We must renew our resolve to carry forward the Filipino people's democratic revolution against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords. We must undertake certain activities to raise the level of revolutionary consciousness and fighting capabilities in the next three months and further on.

We must step up the study movement and cultural work along the line of the new democratic revolution. We must enlighten and arouse the people by using all media of information, education and artistic expression. We must recruit more people into the patriotic and progressive mass organizations, especially those of the workers, peasants, women and youth. We must mobilize a far greater number of people to engage in various forms of struggle against the US-Arroyo regime and the entire semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system.

We face today the worst crisis of the world capitalist system since the 1930s because of the US-instigated policies of “neoliberal” globalization and imperialist aggression and terrorism. The broad masses of the people suffer conditions of exploitation and oppression far worse than four decades ago. These intolerable conditions drive the people and the revolutionary forces to fight more resolutely and militantly for their national and democratic rights and interests.

Unforgettable Years as English Major

Contribution to the Bio-History Project in Celebration of the Centennial

of the English Department of the University of the Philippines

June 25, 2010

I had wished to take an undergraduate course in journalism as my preparation for going to the UP College of Law. Thus, I enrolled in the journalism and creative writing program of the English Department in June 1956. The following year the name of the program or the program itself seemed to have disappeared. I simply became an English major.

When I first arrived in UP Diliman, I was impressed by the Oblation and by the panorama of green framing the awesomely tall structures of concrete. I thought that the campus was conducive to study and poetic flights as well as physical exercise from building to building. I liked the wide spaces of Diliman even as I had to spend much of the time in enclosures, like the classrooms and the basement cafeteria of the College of Liberal Arts or the little green house between the pavilions of the biological and physical sciences.

The struggle between the liberals and the religio-sectarians

UP Diliman was interesting for being refreshingly different from the universities inserted in downtown Manila amidst the dusty cacophony of the motor traffic. It was even more interesting as a battleground of contending ideas. I came to the UP exactly when there was an intense struggle between the liberals and the religio-sectarians. Just before my enrollment as freshman, the pious UP president Dr. Vidal Tan inflamed the struggle by delivering a commencement address harping on Christian heritage as the core of academic responsibility.

The American Jesuit priest Fr. John Delaney, Catholic chaplain of the UP Diliman community, had launched a crusade together with the UP Student Catholic Action and the faculty-based Iota Eta Sigma to abolish the fraternities for being incorrigibly violent, to rid the university of atheists and communists, to install a department of religion and to replace Philosophy 1 (Symbolic Logic) with Mathematics 0 (Deductive Reasoning) as a General Education requirement.

On August 26, 1956, 154 professors and four administrators joined up to form the Society for the Advancement of Academic Freedom. They decried the recrudescence of religious intolerance and advocated the liberal principle of the separation of church and state. The logical positivist and agnostic Dr. Ricardo Pascual, head of the Philosophy Department, stood his ground against accusations that his department was promoting atheism and argued the need for inductive reasoning provided by symbolic logic.

The struggle between the liberals and the religio-sectarians raged in the campus electoral campaigns, in the student council, in the Philippine Collegian and in faculty meetings. The UPSCA was a powerhouse in campus politics as it sought to stigmatize the fraternities for hazing neophytes. In a counter-offensive to the religio-sectarians, the Philippine Collegian under the editorship of Jose Masakayan published a book on academic freedom.

The 1957 enactment of the Anti-Subversion Law, which had been pushed by the American Jesuit priest Arthur Weiss and the US embassy, tended to favor the religio-sectarians who Red-baited the liberals on the campus and who sniped at the Noli-Fili Law and Prof. Teodoro Agoncillo's Revolt of the Masses. But the Recto nationalist crusade had continued to impact on the most discerning UP faculty members and students since Recto delivered in 1951 his address against the mendicant foreign policy of the Philippine government. For inviting him to speak, Dr. Bienvenido Gonzales was removed by President Elpidio Quirino and replaced by the Catholic Church recommendee Dr. Vidal Tan.

The liberals in the UP could never forget the interference of Quirino, especially because UP president Dr. Vidal Tan was a church militant ever inspiring to the religio-sectarians on the UP campus. However, he resigned in 1957 after losing support within the Board of Regents. When Dr. Vicente Sinco assumed the presidency in 1958, he suspended the UPSCA-dominated Student Council for acts violative of the separation of church and state and for fomenting religious strife. He appointed progressive professors to become heads of faculty departments. He accorded professorial tenure to progressive lecturers. He launched the Colloquium Series on Nationalism.

When I was a college freshman, I took for granted that the English Department had a large number of faculty members and occupied a large space in front of the lobby of the College of Liberal Arts and that all students of whatever field of study had to take 12 units of English in four semesters. What impressed me most was the long line of nationally well-known writers, both conservative and progressive, who had belonged to the English Department as teachers or students. The writer alumni of the department included Carlos P. Romulo, Salvador Lopez and Jose Lansang. The best known creative writers who were then in the department were the novelist N. V. M. Gonzales, short story writers Francisco Arcellana and Rony V. Diaz, the poets Ricaredo Demetillo, Virginia Moreno and Alfonso Santos and the playwright Wilfredo Ma. Guerrero. The best known essayists who were either scholars or literary critics included Leopoldo Yabes, S. V. Epistola, Elmer Ordonez and students Epifanio San Juan, Petronilo Bn. Daroy and Benito Lim. The best known journalists who were professorial lecturers were the columnist I. P. Soliongco and editors Armando J. Malay and

Hernando Abaya.

I had excellent teachers. I would consider as best those who, irrespective of their philosophical or political viewpoints, had effective teaching skills. They had a mastery of their subject. They were systematic in presentation and articulate. They encouraged critical thinking and discussion between mentor and students. They included Maria Santos my teacher in English grammar and composition and my teachers in higher English Dr. Alberto Morales, Dolores Stephens Feria, Leopoldo Yabes, Concepcion Dadufalza, J. D. Constantino, Armando Malay, Alejandro Casambre, Nilda Joven, Ricaredo Demetillo and Francisco Arcellana.

The English Department was a base of the Iota Eta Sigma, the conservative Catholic faculty group. But there were also the teachers and students who belonged to the progressive liberal current. The department was a hotbed of controversies. I came to know about the contending groups of faculty members in the struggle between the liberals and the religio-sectarians. I also observed how the student Epifanio San Juan, who was well known for his exegesis of Jean Paul Sartre, got into trouble with the moral or prudish majority in the department, represented by J. D. Constantino, when he used a supposedly forbidden word in a poem.

My share of controversies

I had my share of controversies. The first one arose when, as president of the UP Journalism Club, I invited Fr. Hilario Lim in early 1959 to speak on the issue of Filipinizing the foreign-controlled religious orders and academic institutions. He had just been expelled by the Jesuit order for his advocacy of Filipinization. The club adviser Prof. Amando Malay and I thought that it would be informative, enlightening and beneficial for the UP academic community to listen to Fr. Lim. We were disappointed that upon the advice of Prof. Ricardo Pascual the Sinco administration refused to allow Fr. Lim to speak in the UP on the ground that he was a priest and that allowing him to speak would infringe on the principle of

the separation of the church and state. I criticized and protested the ban in the campus and national media. Fr. Lim himself picketed Quezon Hall for several weeks. After he left the priesthood, Prof. Teodoro A. Agoncillo took him as a faculty member in the Department of History.

It was in 1958 that I matured as a progressive liberal, differentiated myself from the conservative and pro-imperialist kind of liberal and began to study Marxism systematically. I gained access to Marxist books in the cellar of the UP Main library and in the private libraries of some professors. From my readings and observation of social reality, I came eventually to the conclusion that the unfinished Philippine revolution could be resumed under the leadership of the working class and on the basis of the worker-peasant-intelligentsia alliance in order to achieve national liberation and democracy against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

I finished in three years the four-year program for Bachelor of Arts in English by taking extra loads during regular terms and two summers. I was in a hurry to proceed to the College of Law until Julie de Lima and I decided to get married in 1959. In order to have a source of income to augment her salary as a librarian, I had to apply to the English Department for the NEC-AID scholarship grant and teaching fellowship, which required me to teach English and take the masteral course in English and Comparative Literature from 1959 to 1961.

Together with other graduate students as well as with undergraduate students in various colleges and departments, I formed the Student Cultural Association of the UP (SCAUP) and became its chairman in 1959. Our purpose was to confront the UP Student Catholic Action at the level of struggle between the liberal and the religio-sectarians, to have an alliance with the progressive liberals and to raise the level of struggle to one between the Left and the Right on a comprehensive range of social, economic, political and cultural issues, going beyond the issue of academic freedom and civil liberties.

We criticized and repudiated the official ideology of the state and the UP, which is the conservative and pro-imperialist type of liberalism that runs counter to the progressive liberalism and anti-colonialism of the old national democratic revolution of 1896. We were critical of the overwhelming influence of US cultural imperialism over Philippine society and the university. We appreciated Teodoro Agoncillo's writing of Philippine history from the viewpoint of the Filipino people and the scholarly works rediscovering and promoting the national democratic revolution. We heeded the call of Recto for a Second Propaganda Movement. We aimed to nurture the embryo of the revolutionary university within the counterrevolutionary university and to get rid of the cultural hegemony of US imperialism and the local reactionary classes.

We intended to raise the level of intellectual and political struggle within the UP by propagating among the students, faculty members and non-academic employees the line of national democratic revolution under the leadership of the working class and by undertaking group discussions in Marxism which had to be clandestine because of the Anti-Subversion Law. We gave priority to the recruitment of three distinct types of students: those who were leading other campus organizations, those who could write for the Philippine Collegian and those who had good marks and were thus qualified to run in campus elections.

The SCAUP went into action, arousing and mobilizing the students for mass protest in March 1961, when the congressional Committee on Anti-Filipino Activities (CAFA) subpoenaed UP professors for investigation regarding articles in UP publications which the CAFA considered communist and in violation of the Anti-Subversion Law. The articles were the "Peasant War in the Philippines: A study of the causes of social unrest in the Philippines—an analysis of the Philippine political economy" in the Philippine Social Science and Humanities Review in 1958, the editorial "The Tower of Babel" in the 1960 Philippinensian and my feature article "Requiem for Lumumba" (under the pen name Andres Gregorio) in the March 1, 1961 issue of the Philippine Collegian.

The SCAUP cooperated with the Inter-Fraternity and Sorority Conference

(IFSC), headed by the SCAUP member and English major Ferdinand Tinio, in convening the meeting of UP student leaders to discuss, decide and plan the protest rally against the CAFA anti-communist witch hunt and the Anti-Subversion Law. The student leaders signed the manifesto proposed by the SCAUP. The main slogan was the defense of academic freedom and civil liberties. The content of the articles at issue was anti-imperialist and anti-feudal. The Philippine Collegian supported the protest rally. It was held on March 14, 1961, with the participation of 5,000 students. Hundreds of them succeeded in entering the Congress hall and literally scuttled the CAFA hearings.

Outraged by the anti-communist witch hunt and inspired by the success of the anti-CAFA rally, the Philippine Collegian published editorials, columns and feature articles that did not only defend academic freedom and civil liberties but also propagated the ideas of the national democratic movement against imperialism and feudalism. The consecutive editorships of Reynato Puno, Leonardo Quisumbing, Luis V. Teodoro, Jr., Ferdinand Tinio and Rene Navarro in the early 1960s promoted the national democratic line. Teodoro and Tinio were from the English Department.

The editors were either members or friends of the SCAUP and welcomed the contributions from progressive writers, including those from SCAUP. The Philippine Collegian became a highly important medium for expressing the ideas of the national democratic movement not only in the UP but also beyond. Petronilo Bn. Daroy and I initiated and edited a series of little magazines to spread patriotic and progressive views on major issues. The magazines included Fugitive Review, Cogent and Diliman Observer in 1960 and 1961. Each was short-lived for lack of funds to pay for printing. It would only be in 1963 that the Progressive Review could come out as a relatively stable publication, lasting up to 1968.

In one more controversy, I engaged the the English Department head Dr. Dionisia Rola in a debate on the pages of the Philippine Collegian regarding the content of the English subject called Great Thoughts. I criticized the fact that the

study materials were predominantly texts of Catholic thinkers, like Cardinal Newman, G. K. Chesterton, Jacques Maritain, Hilaire Belloc and Etienne Gilson. I demanded that progressive writings, including those of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Mao and other Marxist thinkers and revolutionaries, should also be included in the syllabus for the subject.

As a result of the anti-CAFA rally, the English Department did not renew my teaching fellowship. The loss of my teaching fellowship at the English Department was a blessing in disguise for the national democratic movement. I gained time to do political work among students on the UP campus and on other campuses. Aroused by the anti-CAFA rally, students in other universities in downtown Manila became interested in the student movement in the UP. I initiated study circles among students in the Philippine College of Commerce, the University of the East, the Manuel L. Quezon University and the Lyceum University in 1961 and 1962. The SCAUP members and their fellow progressives in other universities joined the Kabataang Makabayan, which would play a key role in the nationwide spread of the new democratic movement.

Debt of gratitude to the English department and the UP

In my intellectual development, I owe an immeasurable debt of gratitude to my teachers in the English Department. They emphasized to me the importance of scientific outlook, scholarship, critical thinking and creativity. They encouraged me to read and study a wide range of creative works and literary criticism and to appreciate the writing style of various authors. I was comfortable with and inspired by teachers whose views were agreeable to me. But even in the case of teachers with whom I did not agree, I was challenged by their views and learned from the way they communicated these in writing and speech.

I had many teachers who assiduously followed the course outline and prodded the students to read beyond the textbook or even beyond the syllabus. I was

always free to choose the topic for the research paper required in a subject. I experienced a wide range of teaching styles: polished and learned, dramatic and persuasive, outline-conscious but anecdotal and funny or simple and humdrum in the classroom but demanding in the assignment of homework or library work. I prefer not to mention the teachers concerned because I might be accused of stereotyping them. They had more complex characters and were not reducible to my impressions. Nevertheless, I was fortunate not to have any authoritarian teacher (the so-called terror type) because I avoided them like the plague.

Whatever I learned in terms of content and style from my teachers in the English Department served me well when I myself became a teacher and when I plunged further into activism for the national democratic movement. In both preoccupations, I found most useful and effective the research, writing and speaking skills that I developed as an English major. From so many term papers and speaking exercises, I learned to compose my thoughts, introducing, building up and letting them march to the conclusion. And, of course, the best that I learned from the poetry reading assignments was to hone my own skill at writing poetry.

As a teaching fellow in the English Department from 1959 to 1961, my first assignment was to teach English grammar and composition and intensive English which involved putting students with deficiencies in English through drills in grammar and pronunciation. I certainly learned to be diligent, patient and adept at using time because teaching intensive English was grueling and time-consuming. This involved daily classroom exercises and frequent correction of written tests.

It took a lot of energy from me to the prejudice of my reading obligations in my masteral course, my extracurricular political and literary activities, and family responsibilities. To aggravate my situation, the UP vice president gave me speech writing assignments. Fortunately before I could rebel against my excessive work load, the head of the English department wrote a strongly worded memorandum to the UP vice president to advise him to stop giving me

additional work load. I learned quite early to work my way through the academic bureaucracy.

As regards my political activism, especially its critical and revolutionary content, I had drawn positive and negative lessons from my personal experience, social observations and education since childhood. But of course, it was while I was an undergraduate English major that I matured as a patriotic and progressive liberal and advanced further to being a Marxist revolutionary, due to extracurricular readings and activities and interactions with teachers and students in the English Department and other departments. All these were available to me within the latitude of what the English Department and the entire university proclaimed as liberal education.

I am always proud of having been an English major for the reasons that I have already presented. English has been a medium for my philosophical, political, artistic and emotional development. By force of circumstances, it is still the main official medium of university education and professional and bureaucrat transactions.

I find English as a medium of great service to the people on the domestic and international scale even as the national democratic movement, including me, has long demanded the adoption of the national language as the main medium and I have learned how to use it in writing and speaking.

Everyone understands that the English language, even as it was imposed by US imperialism, can be used by the national democratic movement in the same way that Jose Rizal and others in the Second Propaganda Movement as well as the leaders of the old democratic revolution used Spanish against Spanish colonialism and US imperialism.

The Incubation of Activism in the University of the Philippines

Bachelor of Arts in English, Class 1959

June 26, 2010

The waves of mass protest actions that followed the murder of Benigno Aquino in 1983 and culminated in the overthrow of the Marcos fascist dictatorship in 1986 would not have been possible without the incubation of student activists of the national democratic movement through the Student Cultural Association of the University of the Philippines (SCAUP), starting in 1959.

The student activists originating from the UP stirred up the masses of youth and working people to conduct concerted protest actions, shaking the entire country in the entire 1960s, from the demonstration of 5,000 UP student demonstrators that literally scuttled the anticommunist witch-hunt of the Committee on Anti-Filipino Activities (CAFA) in March 1961 to the First Quarter Storm of 1970 which rocked the National Capital Region with almost weekly marches and rallies of 50,000 to 100,000 people against the Marcos regime.

In my undergraduate years in UP from 1956 to 1959, there was already a certain amount of intellectual and political ferment. The controversies arose mainly

from the contradictions between the religio-sectarians and the liberal secularists. But it was often the rhetorical device of the latter to complain about the apathy of the students in order to arouse and range them against conservatism and the desire of the religio-sectarians to hark back to medieval and theocratic times.

The religio-sectarians of the UP Student Catholic Action (UPSCA) and Iota Eta Sigma were pleased with the UP presidency of the church militant Dr. Vidal Tan. They were riding high in campus politics by harping on some fatal cases of fraternity hazing in the recent past, justifying the need for more religion in the state university and running counter to the separation of church and state. They were opposed among others to the Noli-Fili law and Prof. Teodoro Agoncillo's Revolt of the Masses. Emboldened by the Anti-Subversion Law of 1957, they accused the logical positivist Prof. Ricardo Pascual of being a communist organizing communist cells.

The liberal secularists upheld the separation of church and state, the freedom of thought and belief and academic freedom. They had engaged in mass protests against the interference of the Philippine president in university affairs. After the resignation of Dr. Vidal Tan, who was known as a placeman of the dominant church, Dr. Vicente G. Sinco eventually became UP president and tilted the situation in favor of the liberal secularists by suspending the UP Student Council under the presidency of the UPSCA Fernando Laguna, by giving full professorial tenure to progressive lecturers like Hernando Abaya, Armando Malay and I.P. Soliongco and by launching the Colloquium on Nationalism.

In my personal case, I believe that I matured in 1958 as a progressive liberal under the influence of my liberal professors and as a result of reading the scholarly works on the Philippine revolution by Professors Teodoro Agoncillo and Cesar Adib Majul. I considered myself as a Jacobin rather than as a Girondist or a conservative Burkean liberal and I became strongly critical of the pro-imperialist conservative liberal that was bred in the UP by the unceasing overwhelming influence of the US. Within 1958, I became an exceedingly devoted student of Marxism by gaining access to the forbidden Marxist books in

the cellar of the UP Main library and borrowing books from the private collection of some friends.

Within the context of Marxism-Leninism and the world era of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution, I understood that the Philippine revolution needed to be resumed for the benefit of the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the middle social strata under the class leadership of the proletariat and no longer under the leadership of the bourgeoisie.

In this connection, I thought that the prevalent contradiction of the liberal secularists and religio-sectarians needed to be elevated to one between the Left and the Right not only on the issues of civil and political rights but on a comprehensive range of issues involving the contradiction between the US-dominated ruling system of big compradors and landlords and the national and democratic demands of the people.

Together with other students, both undergraduates and graduate, we formed in 1959 the Student Cultural Association of the UP. We adopted a two-level program of education for members. The national democratic program was openly promoted. The Marxist program was discreetly carried out. We recruited those students who were already leading other campus organizations, those who could write for the Philippine Collegian and could compete for the editorship and those who had academic marks of 2 or higher for the purpose of someday fielding them as candidates for the student council.

The first big opportunity of the SCAUP to organize a mass protest was in March 1961 in opposition to the congressional witch-hunt by the Committee on Anti-Filipino Activities against UP faculty members and students who were accused of writing or publishing Marxist materials in violation of the Ant-Subversion Law. These included the book-length "Peasant War in the Philippines" in the Philippine Social Science and Humanities Review, the editorial "Tower of Babel" in the Philippinensian yearbook of 1961 and "Requiem for Lumumba" in

the May 1, 1961 issue of the Philippine Collegian, written under my pen name Andres Gregorio.

The SCAUP membership was of high quality. It included the Philippine Collegian editor Reynato Puno, key members of fraternities and sororities and graduate students like Rey Punongbayan, Jaime C. Laya, Petronilo Daroy and myself who was the chairman. But the SCAUP was too small. It needed a broad front of leadership to call on the students to join the mass protest in Congress.

The Inter-Fraternity and Sorority Conference (IFSC), which was chaired by SCAUP officer and Alpha Phi Betan Ferdinand Tinio, assumed the responsibility of calling on the students to defend academic freedom and protest against the CAFA witch-hunt. Petronilo Bn Daroy, Heherson Alvarez and I signed the contract for the rent of 25 JD buses for the student ride from Diliman to Manila. We were able to muster 5,000 students in the first demonstration with an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal character since more than a decade ago.

From 1961 to 1964, the SCAUP took a key role in organizing pickets, strikes and rallies of varying sizes by UP students alone or in combination with students from other universities on such issues as national independence against unequal agreements with the US (especially Laurel-Langley Agreement and the Military Bases Agreement), land reform and national industrialization, workers' rights, civil and political liberties and solidarity with other peoples against US acts of aggression in various countries.

By the time that Kabataang Makabayan was formed as a comprehensive youth organization in 1964, a number of the activist alumni of the SCAUP had already moved into key positions in the Workers Party (Lapiang Manggagawa) and in workers, peasants and teachers organizations and were in a position to convene delegations of young workers, young peasants, students and young professions in order to found the KM. In UP Diliman, the SCAUP and the KM chapter co-existed, cooperated with each other and conjoined with still other organizations

in mass protest actions on and off the campus.

The student activists that originated from UP Diliman played an important role in propagating the line of struggle for national liberation and democracy against the US and the local exploiting classes, in building major national organizations taking such line and in promoting mass protest actions as the instrument of the people for realizing their national and democratic demands. From year to year the youth movement spread and intensified, leading to the First Quarter Storm of 1970 and further developing nationwide up to 1972 when the Marcos regime declared martial law and imposed a fascist dictatorship on the people.

The fascist regime suppressed the urban-based mass movement and caused the detention, torture and murder of the activists. But many thousands of the activists went underground in the urban areas as well join the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside. They were responsible for protest mass actions in urban areas from time to time from 1972 to 1983.

In the 1981-83 period, the urban-based mass organizations of workers, peasants and youth were already openly resurgent despite vicious reaction from the fascist regime against the trade union leaders. But consequent to the Aquino assassination, the regime was utterly isolated and dazed by the public outrage. The mass organizations of the national democratic movement became the core of sustained protest mass actions that ultimately led to the overthrow of the Marcos dictatorship in 1986.

Bring your Current Strength to a New and Higher Level

Message of Solidarity to the League of Filipino Students

September 11, 2010

I wish to convey warmest greetings of solidarity to the League of Filipino Students (LFS) on the occasion of its 33rd founding anniversary. This is a time to renew your resolve to strengthen the LFS organizationally and politically, respond to the challenges posed by the worsening crisis of the ruling system and the world capitalist system and make greater contributions to the advance of the people's struggle for national democracy.

I welcome your thematic call: Mangahas, Magpalakas! Pag-aralan ang lipunan, magpalawak at lumaban! (Dare, strengthen our ranks! Study society, expand and fight!) I appreciate your emphasis on the need to strengthen your organization by accelerating the expansion and consolidation of membership. In this regard, let me share with you the experiences of Kabataang Makabayan in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the student masses in various universities, colleges and high schools.

In arousing the student masses, we engaged in propaganda and agitation on the

basis of the KM Program of Action and the analysis of whichever concrete issue was raging. We issued and published manifestos or statements on the issue. We undertook meetings and build-up rallies on various campuses in order to discuss the issue and call on the students to participate in the forthcoming big mobilization of the masses.

In organizing the student masses, we urged the existing members of the KM to recruit rapidly more members from their classmates, friends and co-members in other campus organizations. Each KM member sought to brief and recruit at least five members within every three months. It was sufficient for an applicant or recruit to qualify and be sworn in as KM member by reading and accepting the KM Constitution and Program of Action.

The task of expansion was necessary before there could be any KM members to consolidate through political education higher than a basic understanding of the KM Constitution and Program of Action and through conscientious participation in the activities of the KM. All KM members were required to ventilate and spread the KM position on issues, recruit more members and call on the student masses to join the mass campaigns.

The more members the KM was able to recruit, the greater was its capability to engage in bigger mass actions of high significance. The more outstanding was the role of the KM in the mass campaigns and big rallies the more they attracted students to become KM members and build or strengthen their KM chapters. By the time that the KM had at least 10,000 members in 1969, it was ready to become the spearhead of the First Quarter Storm of 1970 in the National Capital Region and in many provincial cities. In mobilizing the student masses before and during the FQS, the KM typically used at least six major starting points in various parts of Metro Manila in order to rally the students and other youth and then march them to the central converging point, either in front of Congress, the US embassy or the presidential palace. Along the way the marchers called the attention of the people to the issue and urged them to join the march. Either the people joined the march or manifested their support by applauding the marchers

and giving them food and water.

The League of Filipino Students is a mass organization and is committed to developing the mass movement along the line of the people's struggle for national freedom and democracy. It must always measure its level of achievement by counting the extent of its informative and educational materials and the number of participants in protest meetings, the number of members it has newly recruited and accumulated and the number of student masses it has attracted to the mass actions of the campaign.

The LFS is the largest and most militant student organization of the national democratic movement. It has been outstanding in taking a patriotic and progressive position on issues, in building an organization on a nationwide scale and in holding mass actions on student issues and participating in multisectoral mass actions. The most prominent of these mass actions resulted in the overthrow of the Marcos fascist dictatorship and the Estrada regime and frustrated the schemes of Ramos and Arroyo to amend the 1987 constitution in order to prolong their rule.

The mass campaigns to arouse and mobilize the students and the rest of the people are supposed to make the students more ready to join the LFS and should have stimulated solid mass organizing through the rapid recruitment of LFS members. But obviously there have been shortcomings in this regard. LFS has not been able to bring about and sustain a high level of membership commensurate to its high prestige and responsive to the well-recognized need for more members to carry out the gigantic tasks of the student movement.

Attention must be paid to the task of solid mass organizing. This means recruiting new members rapidly in the process of expansion on the basis of the LFS Constitution and Program and subsequently consolidating them through further political education. You must trust and rely on your members by giving full play to their initiative in recruiting new members. Without solid mass

organizing at a rapid pace by the members themselves, the ability of a mass organization to hold large and significant mass actions is undermined and becomes diminished.

I hope that during your current anniversary celebration you can sum up your experience, take stock of your strengths, seek solutions to problems and lay down the tasks for bringing your current strength to a new and higher level within the next year and in the years ahead. I urge you to pay serious attention to making an organization plan to accelerate recruitment and establish new chapters. Of course, you must co-relate such plan to your education and campaign plans.

Long live the League of Filipino Students!

Long live the struggle for national democracy!

Long live the Filipino people!

**Oppose Commercialization
and the Imperialist Onslaught on Education
and the Future of the Youth**

Statement on the Occasion of International Students' Day

November 17, 2010

We, the International League of Peoples' Struggle, extend our fervent solidarity to the students and youth of the world as they raise the banner of struggle against the rapacious commercialization of education and against the vicious onslaught of imperialism and the depredations of the global capitalist crisis on the education rights, the living and study conditions and the future of the youth.

On this day November 17 declared as the International Students Day, we commemorate the valiant role of students and youth who fought alongside the people and made sacrifices against the Nazi invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1939 and against the scourge of fascism in various countries. The significance and relevance of this historic day inspire the students and youth to fight the parasitism, exploitativeness and violence of the imperialist powers and their reactionary agents, especially their attack on the education and the future of the youth.

We suffer today the worsening social conditions as a consequence of the global capitalist crisis and the misuse of public funds to bail out the big banks and corporations. The funneling of public money to the vultures who in the first place are responsible for the crisis has only served to aggravate and deepen this worst ever world capitalist crisis since the Great Depression. It has not revived production and employment and it has only worsened the living and working conditions of the people. Social unrest has therefore spread and intensified in both developed and underdeveloped countries.

The workers and people have risen up in millions to protest unemployment and the austerity measures undertaken against them by government, which in the first place enlarged public deficits and debt by giving bailout money and tax exemptions to corporations and the wealthy. The austerity measures involve huge cutbacks on social spending for education, health and pension.

Education budget cuts in various capitalist countries have been met with resounding protests, unifying the students and youth with the teachers, researchers and the working class and migrant communities. Recently the United Kingdom has been rocked by big protests due to the government's scheme to double and triple the tuition fees for tertiary education, from the existing level of £3,290 or US\$5,264. In Italy, state budget cuts to education and the so-called education reform reducing teaching and research time and local subsidies have resulted in protest rallies and marches.

In the United States, nationwide demonstrations have been held, such as those of March 4 and the October 7 National Day of Action to Defend Education, to demand the redirection of public money from bank bailouts, wars and the military towards education and other social services and against the sharp increases in tuition fees. In countries like France, Greece, Portugal, students and youth have poured out to the streets and joined the working class and people in the clamor against the obscenity of so-called "crisis mitigation measures" like bailouts for the banks and corporations and impoverishment of the workers and people on the other hand.

General strikes have been called as a collective statement of the workers, youth and people to defeat the anti-worker and anti-people policies prescribed by the IMF, WB and European Union through government imposition of cutbacks on wages and pension, social services, unjust taxes, increase in retirement age and other infringements on social rights and benefits.

The policy of neoliberal globalization and the current global economic crisis are further devastating the economic and social conditions in the underdeveloped countries in Asia-Pacific, Africa and Latin America. Liberalization of investments and trade, privatization of state assets and social services and deregulation of all previous restrictions on foreign monopoly capital have resulted in greater poverty, unemployment, government abandonment of social services and attacks on the hard-won rights of the people. Education like other social services is treated as a commodity, not as a basic need and a basic right.

In Sri Lanka and other South Asian countries, the students and youth are struggling against foreign incursions of the school curricula and of plans to invest in and profit from educational institutions. Particularly in Sri Lanka, protests have broken out in 20 state universities against a legislation to set up private universities in the country and to allow foreign educator-capitalists. The government has reacted violently by curtailing the democratic right to assembly. But the student masses have intensified their protests, uncowed by arrests and detention and suspension of student leaders.

In Bangladesh, tuition fee hikes in the University of Dhaka, Chittagong University and other state universities have resulted in student protests. Police forces have been deployed inside Chittagong University to quell the growing protest of students demanding the abolition of the tuition hike imposed since July 2010. Police have violently dispersed rallies, and subsequently raided student dormitories. The government detained student leaders and closed down the Chittagong University for almost two months until September 16.

In Southeast Asia, the student and youth movements have galvanized the people to act against the government's misallocation of its budget to the military and foreign debt servicing at the expense of social services, especially the cuts on state universities and colleges. In the Philippines, students and youth and their teachers are developing a nationwide strike due to the PhP1.1 billion slash on the operations budget of state universities and colleges. In Indonesia, students and youth groups are preparing for massive protests in 22 cities across Indonesia to protest increasing commercialization of education and the government allocation of only around 15 percent of the total budget requirement of state universities and colleges.

The United Nations has declared this year as the World Year of the Youth, supposedly in line with the so-called projected push for the realization of Millennium Development Goals. But such declaration amounts to mere gimmickry because it does not offer anything to realize a brighter future for the youth who continue to be victimized by the imperialist impositions of liberalization, privatization and deregulation. The imperialists continue to generate and shift the burden of crisis to the working people and the underdeveloped countries that they dominate.

Since the crisis plunged deepened in 2008, widespread protest actions against state budget cuts and privatization have also occurred in Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica, Puerto Rico, Chile, Benin, Nigeria, South Africa, Pakistan, India, New Zealand, Ireland, Germany, Spain and more. A great number of the youth are systematically prevented from getting education in order to maintain a huge reserve of cheap labor that the monopoly capitalists and governments use as a buffer to contain the clamor for higher wages, social services and benefits.

The current crisis is driving more and more youth, workers and people to unite and fight the oppressive measures that the imperialists and their reactionary allies impose on them. Resistance has taken various forms, including mass protests, walk-outs, and strikes. The students and youth involve themselves in

campaigns to defend their right to education and their future. They realize and increase their strength through unity of fighting consciousness and militant collective actions. And they link arms with the rest of the people, especially the working people whose rights are violated by the imperialists and their reactionary puppets.

A Book of Continuing Relevance

Message to the Cebu Forum on Philippine Society and Revolution

February 4, 2011

On behalf of the global leadership and entirety of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS), I wish to convey warmest greetings of solidarity to the League of Filipino Students (LFS) and the Nagkahiusang Kusog sa Estudyante (Strength of Students' United-NKE).

We join you in celebrating the anniversary of the publication of Philippine Society and Revolution, the First Quarter Storm of 1970 and the Nationalist Youth Week in the University of the Philippines Cebu College.

We welcome and support your thematic call "Ignite the flame of nationalism, learn to struggle and defend the rights of the youth and the people towards genuine freedom." Your theme is in consonance with the spirit of the First Quarter Storm.

We thank the LFS and Nagkahiusang Kusog sa Estudyante (NKE) for inviting us to participate in the forum entitled "Lipunan at Rebolusyong Pilipino: Revisiting the Past and Its Undying Struggle."

As the author with the nom de plume et de guerre of Amado Guerrero, I am honored and delighted that the forum seeks to elucidate the relevance of the book, *Philippine Society and Revolution* and its analysis of the current social conditions.

I am not in a position now to be one of the panelists via Skype because of previous commitments related to preparations for the resumption of formal talks in the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations. But I am glad that you give me the leeway to write to you a few thoughts.

The book is not only a historical document of great significance, having inspired and guided millions of youth and people in more than four decades of revolutionary struggle for national liberation and democracy against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

It is a book of continuing relevance because it sheds light on the persistent semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society. It unfolds the contending revolutionary and counterrevolutionary classes and forces. It continues to give revolutionary direction to the revolutionary forces and people that persevere in the new democratic revolution with a socialist perspective.

The semicolonial and semifeudal conditions have not only persisted but they have become far worse, deeper and graver. We continue to confront and fight an ever rotting ruling system of big compradors and landlords servile to the imperialist powers, chiefly the US.

The Marcos fascist dictatorship and the series of post-Marcos pseudo-democratic regimes have all proven to be fundamentally the same. They ride roughshod over

the people and they reek of the intolerable stink of puppetry, corruption, brutality and mendacity. They know no limits to exploiting and oppressing the Filipino people.

The new US-supported Aquino regime has not offered anything to satisfy the people's demands for national liberation and democracy. It has failed to fulfill even its promise of holding its predecessor Arroyo regime to account for gross and systematic corruption and human rights violations. It has released from prison 400 military prisoners but has so far refused to release some 349 political prisoners who have sacrificed and contributed greatly to the struggle against the Arroyo regime.

The Arroyo regime obviously relies on sheer gimmickry and on manipulation of the bourgeois mass media and the poll surveys to conjure the illusion of popularity. It continues to toe the US line of neoliberal globalization. This has brought about the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression, the worst forms of exploitation, a high rate of unemployment, soaring prices of basic commodities and the breakdown of social services.

The regime is carrying out Oplan Bayanihan under the US Counterinsurgency Guide and the US global policy of terror. The new oplan is a futile attempt at making state terrorism and US military intervention look acceptable and effective against the revolutionary forces and the people through palliatives and spy-war claims of good governance, delivery of services, economic development and security reform.

Nevertheless, through the peace negotiations between the reactionary government and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines, the revolutionary forces and people are challenging the Aquino regime to come to an alliance and truce in order to assert national independence, empower the people, carry out land reform and national industrialization, promote a patriotic, scientific and democratic culture and contribute to international solidarity and

peace. Let us see how the Aquino regime reacts to the call for patriotism and progress.

There is the continuing necessity and urgency for the broad masses of the people, especially the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the middle social strata, to unite and fight for national and social liberation against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes. We all hunger for genuine national independence, democracy, social justice, development and peace.

As the class leadership of the working classes prevails in the people's democratic revolution, the subsequent stage of socialist revolution becomes possible in order to make a radical rupture from all systematic forms of exploitation and oppression. Through revolutionary struggle, we take our destiny into our own hands and we can look forward to a bright future.

Role of the Youth and Tasks of Anakbayan in the National Democratic Struggle

Message to the 6th Congress of Anakbayan

(May 16-18, 2011)

May 15, 2011

I am delighted to express my solidarity with the leadership and membership of Anakbayan. In spirit, I am with you in your 6th Congress. I am confident that you will be able to achieve the important objectives of the congress.

Do your best in assessing the situation and experience, in forming resolutions, new policies and program, and in improving your national organization. The lessons you will learn from analyzing the 12-year experience of Anakbayan and improving the quality of the basic documents of the organization such as the Constitution, Orientation and Program is very important.

It is necessary to know the objective and subjective factors of the fast growth of Anakbayan from 1998 to 2001 and the decline in the membership up to this year.

Anakbayan and the youth alliance played a big role in ousting Estrada in 2001. It is also important to investigate why Arroyo remained in power for so a long time in spite of her rotting stench and the people's loathing for her.

I am glad that you are determined to overcome the hardships, to solve the problems, and to strengthen and advance the youth movement further. The theme of the congress is the precise response to the challenges of the time: "Advance the Upsurge: Rely on the revolutionary lessons and solid strength of the masses! Boldly expand and strengthen yourselves towards a new level of the national democratic struggle!"

I am thankful for the presentation by Kilusang Mayo Uno of the worsening crisis of global capitalism and for that of Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas of the crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal system in the Philippines. Thus, the general basis is clear for my discussion of the historic role of the Filipino youth, the current tasks, and prospects of the youth and the Filipino people.

Based on my knowledge of history and my own experience, the role of the youth in waging the revolution or advancing the patriotic and progressive mass movement is important and decisive. The youth are characterized by having vigor both in thought and action, the readiness to accept new and revolutionary ideas and ways, daring in the fight against the unjust system, bravery in taking part in the revolution, and the desire to create a bright future.

In the old democratic revolution, almost all the leaders and members of the Katipunan and the revolutionary government and army that it gave birth to are from the youth. In the new democratic revolution, Kabataang Makabayan was deliberately established as a comprehensive youth organization to link the students with their fellow youth in the toiling masses and other sectors and classes of the petty bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie.

From the very beginning, Kabataang Makabayan was inspired by the Katipunan and the old democratic revolution. But based on the conditions of modern imperialism and world proletarian revolution, KM considered itself as an assistant of the proletariat's revolutionary party in advancing the new democratic revolution in the Philippines.

KM quickly spread throughout the Philippines. Because the old party of the communist and socialist party merger strayed into revisionism, the communists within KM became part of establishing the new revolutionary party of the proletariat. The veteran party members who were loyal to Marxism-Leninism and Maoism joined them. A new party was quickly born which was national in scope and was rooted in the toiling masses because of the broadness and depth of KM's organization.

Many members of the Party and fighters of the New People's Army came from KM. During the period of the fascist dictatorship, KM acted underground and secretly in the cities and towns. The Party recognized KM as the League of Communist Youth. This increased its membership among students, workers, peasants, urban poor, professionals and other sectors of the petty bourgeois and middle bourgeois. The role of KM in advancing the underground and the legal mass movement was decisive in bringing down the fascist dictatorship.

The role of youth organizations that uphold the national democratic line such as Anakbayan is always important. Foreign monopoly capitalism, feudalism, and bureaucrat capitalism continue to exacerbate the exploitation and oppression of the Filipino youth and the people. The constant crisis of the ruling semicolonial and semifeudal system is ever-worsening, especially now that the world capitalist system is being shaken by a crisis comparable to the Great Depression.

Those from the toiling masses as well as those from the middle strata are now experiencing extreme hardship. Unemployment is widespread. Incomes are not increasing and their real value is constantly decreasing due to the rapid increase

in the prices of food, oil and other basic commodities that the masses need. Social services such as education, health, housing and others have been privatized and the extraction of profit from these is worsening. With regard to the remaining social services from the reactionary government, the fees being charged are high while the indirect taxes included in the prices of basic commodities are already high.

The Aquino regime continues and aggravates the bad policies and programs dictated by the imperialists led by the US. The economy is being opened up further to the foreign monopolies for the exploitation of the toiling masses, natural resources, and the extraction of superprofits. The landlords' exploitation of peasants and farm workers continues and is getting worse. The corruption of those in power in the reactionary state continues and is getting worse.

The grievances of the masses are widespread and resound everywhere. But the state responds to their cries with repression. In accordance with the orders of US imperialism, the Aquino regime is carrying out brutal and bloody campaigns of suppression against the patriotic and progressive forces of the Filipino youth and the people. Military, police and paramilitary violence is accompanied by pretense at peace negotiations, and military operations are being labeled as peace and development operations. There is more and more evidence that the US and the Aquino regime is aggravating the civil war in our country.

Do your best in attracting and enlightening the Filipino youth on the line of the national democratic revolution. Ignite their emotions and raise the level of their consciousness through different methods of agitation, propaganda and education. On every issue, you should immediately reach a large number of the youth through agitation and propaganda. You should widely circulate the pamphlet of the Constitution and Program and Q & A which help in the quick understanding of the contents, especially among the youth who do not have a high level of formal education.

Find out from the youth of various oppressed classes, strata and sectors about their conditions, grievances and needs. Thus, you can draw from them the correct slogans and ideas to be spread among them. Thus, Anakbayan chapters can more easily and more deeply take root among the youth. In your actions, confront the problems of the students while building a chapter in schools, the problems of young workers in factories, the problems of young peasants in the countryside, the problems of the urban poor youth in their communities, and the problems of young professionals among the ranks of the professionals.

Use the traditional methods of agitation, propaganda and education that will never disappear, such as speeches, writings, printed publications, flyers, wall slogans, posters, songs, poems, plays and cultural presentations. Also use modern methods from electronic technology, such as e-mail, websites, blogging, social media, videos, texting, twitter, etc. By these means, the work of agitation, propaganda and education should be far quicker than ever before.

During my youth, it was very hard to find revolutionary literature as it was banned by the American imperialists and the puppet reactionaries in accordance to the Anti-Subversion Act. Now, various kinds of material for studying the national democratic revolution and Marxism-Leninism-Maoism can be found on the internet. Revolutionary ideas should now spread quickly and it should be easier than before to inflame the passion and raise the consciousness of the Filipino youth and people.

Do your best in organizing the youth. It will be a waste if you do not recruit a big number of those who are reached by the agitation and propaganda and join in mass mobilizations. It is a basic task of each member to recruit new members in the daily course of mass work and in the occasional mass gatherings. Recruit from the ranks of students, workers, fisherfolk, urban poor, peasants, farm workers, professionals and the urban petty bourgeoisie. It is also possible to recruit members of Anakbayan from various types of organizations and from the members and volunteers of the electoral youth party.

Make recruitment, simple, systematic and fast. First, use the tried and tested combination of OD and ED, especially in places where there are still no chapters of Anakbayan. The OD cadre is responsible for holding the meeting for recruitment, accepting applications and the swearing-in of new members before the meeting ends. The ED cadre is responsible for explaining the most important points in the constitution and program of Anakbayan. Second, the existing chapter and the OD and ED cadres must take initiative in inviting applicants and holding a meeting every week or setting a part of the meeting for recruitment. Third, each member of Anakbayan can gather any number of applicants anytime and anywhere that s/he can reach as long as the clear process of recruitment is followed.

Any applicant can be sworn in as a member who has been enlightened and accepts the Constitution and Program of Anakbayan, is recommended by one member and examined by the officer in charge of recruitment, and is ready to go through the course on the youth and the national democratic movement. The understanding and acceptance of the Program and Constitution is enough for an applicant to be a member. Follow it up with the courses that take more than two whole days and give tasks according to the collective need and the personal ability of the member.

Remember that it is meaningful and is a big thing for the applicant and for Anakbayan for the applicant to take the oath and become a member. This is a recognition of the patriotic and progressive aspirations of the applicant. In this recognition, surely or most probably the applicant will strive further to raise the level of his/her consciousness and actions. Any applicant would lose interest if subjected to difficulties in becoming a member because of the absence or complexity of steps in recruitment or because of promises to be given long and many courses that are not promptly fulfilled. Do not use the word consolidation to stifle expansion. Expand to have people to consolidate, especially if the number of members is declining.

Every recruit needs to be enlisted in a chapter that is already existing or one that

is going to be immediately built. The chapter is the anchor and the basic collective of the members. In the beginning, it is enough to have three or five members to build a chapter in a certain place. If the membership reaches thirty, a new chapter can be built. The new members should be encouraged to recruit from their old and new acquaintances. It is the basic task of each member to recruit others.

Anakbayan should be made a wellspring of new cadres and members for various types of revolutionary formations and work. Before or after members of Anakbayan pass the maximum age limit, they should be prepared to become active in other suitable formations or work. In this connection, Anakbayan should emulate the Kabataang Makabayan in developing cadres and members for various formations and work. Those who were members of Anakbayan who exceed the maximum age limit should remain in the suitable progressive and patriotic formations.

The mobilization of the masses in centers and the streets is very important. Through these, important issues are fully exposed and the people's anger is expressed. If truly large and strong, the campaigns can result in substantial changes, even up to ousting leaders such as Marcos and Estrada. They strengthen the patriotic and progressive forces of the Filipino people. They open and widen the path towards bringing down the rotten ruling system in the future.

The strength of Kabataang Makabayan had a great leap because of the First Quarter Storm in 1971. The same goes for the strength of different organizations from the campaign to bring down the fascist dictatorship in 1983-86 and the strength of Anakbayan from the successful campaign to oust Estrada in 1999-2001. The Arroyo regime remained in power until 2010 because there were no big and militant mass actions on the streets. At any point then, there were no protest actions that reached 100,000 in spite of the strong propaganda against the regime and the intense anger of the masses. In such a situation, the membership of Anakbayan decreased and weakened.

Do your best in mobilizing the youth for collective actions on boiling issues that concern the youth and the Filipino people. You must mobilize the organized masses to reach and mobilize the bigger number of masses that are not yet organized or are under other organizations or institutions. Use the united front policy to reach and mobilize the youth who are not yet organized by Anakbayan.

Maintain the integrity, initiative and militancy of Anakbayan and other progressive forces. Use the broad united front to increase the mass participation, not only to carry out token protests nor to just tail after allies that do not bring any mass of people. Do not be content with rallies in Ayala Avenue, Makati, or any other particular places, but launch mass actions on many streets. Those in power become more arrogant and oppressive if the protest actions of the masses are not big, widespread and militant.

To increase participation in mobilizations, such as in marches and rallies, time should be allotted for preparations that include wide scale agitation and propaganda and local meetings and rallies. On the designated day of mobilization, agitation and propaganda should reach its peak and as much as possible, the primary and secondary columns of marching demonstrators should be increased to converge on the central meeting place.

In the activities to prepare and carry out mobilizations, those who turn out to be active should be recruited to Anakbayan in order to have a prompt, solid organizing in the midst of a broad campaign. Organizers should always carry with them the basic pamphlet (Constitution and Program) and application forms of Anakbayan to give out to those participating in the mass actions. After the mobilization, continue recruiting those who turn out to be active. The mobilization would be a waste if the masses who attend would just disappear like bubbles. There should be immediate solid outcomes through the recruitment of new members of Anakbayan.

Anakbayan can hope to make great and meaningful contributions to the advance

and triumph of the national democratic movement if the work is effective and fruitful in arousing, organizing and mobilizing hundreds of thousands and even millions of Filipino youth.

Like Kabataang Makabayan, in the course of struggle, Anakbayan can contribute many resolute activists or militants to strengthen and advance various types of organizations, work, and forms of struggle for national independence and democracy.

Long live Anakbayan!

Advance the National Democratic Movement!

Long live the Filipino youth and people!

Youth and Working People Rise Up against the Ruling System in the UK

August 14, 2011

Long pent-up social tensions exploded into four days of pitched and running battles between mainly young protesters and the police in London and other major English cities last week. The trigger was the racist killing of Mark Duggan, a black man and father of three, at the hands of the police in a “stop and search operation” in Tottenham in London on August 4.

As the uprisings progressed, adults of the working class and of all races joined the mostly young militants. Both young and adult unleashed their anger against the oppressive and exploitative ruling system. They denounced explicitly the gross inequality of income, widespread unemployment, discrimination, state brutality and the austerity measures. They targeted mainly the upscale chain stores catering to the upper class.

The mainstream media and bourgeois politicians of all stripes condemned the “violence” and misrepresented the mass uprising as nothing but the handiwork of juvenile gangs and criminals. In fact, the hundreds of people who have been arrested and detained during and after the protest actions come from a wide spectrum of working people and youth of various races.

Prime Minister David Cameron was quick to dismiss the charge that the protests were the result of his austerity measures and called for more repressive measures, including mass arrests, use of the army, use of water cannons and rubber bullets, extra dispersal and curfew powers and blocking access to social networking media supposedly during times of social unrest.

Cameron's austerity measures in response to the crisis of British capitalism have hit the working people, especially the youth, the hardest. Under Cameron's austerity measures, young people have seen their EMA (Educational Maintenance Allowance) college grant scrapped, costs for bus travel skyrocket and university fees raised to £9,000 on top of mass unemployment, scarcity of jobs, cutbacks on basic social services and rising prices of basic goods and services. Youth unemployment is at a record high, fanning fears that Britain's young people could become a "lost generation" who cannot find work for a long period of time. The total number of adults under 25 who are out of work is close to 1 million or 20.3% of employable youth. This is the highest level since 1992. In Liverpool for instance, one-third of children are in households with no one working. Mark Duggan's shooting drew so much anger because the police tried at first to cover up the real story. As with the shooting of Jean Charles de Menezes in 2005 and the death of Ian Tomlinson in 2009, the truth of what happened was initially suppressed. A peaceful protest vigil organized by the family and friends of Mark Duggan had marched to the police station on the evening of August 6 to ask for an explanation. The police refused to respond to the call for dialogue. Later at a stand-off between protesters and the police, a 16-year old girl was dragged, pounced upon and beaten up by 15 police officers. That is when the stone-throwing and car-burning started. The revolt spread quickly from Tottenham into other areas of London and further to such major cities as Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester, Nottingham and others. The issue of police brutality led to the widespread venting of popular anger on other basic social issues against the ruling system.

This is the biggest urban uprising in Britain for decades. It is bound to break out again and again so long as the crisis of the world capitalist system and inflicts terrible suffering on the broad masses of the people. The global crisis has become so grave that it has goaded the people to revolt not only in the

imperialist-dominated countries but also in the imperialist countries.

We in the International League of Peoples' Struggle express our solidarity with the working people and youth in the United Kingdom in their struggle for a truly democratic, just and more humane society. Life under the oppressive and exploitative rule of Capital is teaching the working people lessons in political economy as well as in what is to be done in relation to state and revolution.

The people are moved by their hardship and suffering to understand more deeply the fundamental problems of society, the real roots of poverty, unemployment, police brutality and corruption in high places and arrive at an understanding of the long-term solutions. They organize themselves and rise up in order to assert, defend and advance their rights against their oppressors and exploiters and seek to build a fundamentally new and better world.

Dare to Struggle, Dare to Win

Message to the League of Filipino Students

on its 18th National Congress

May 4, 2012

I convey warm greetings of patriotic solidarity with the League of Filipino Students on the occasion of its 18th National Congress. I salute your firm, militant and fruitful actions for the rights and welfare of students in the context of the Filipino people's national democratic revolution.

For a long time, the LFS has proven its character and role as a national and democratic force leading students. It played a prominent role in bringing down the puppet and fascist dictator Marcos. The LFS joined the KMU in laying siege in front of the dictator's palace on the day of his fall, simultaneous to the gathering of most of the various forces of BAYAN and its allies at EDSA.

The LFS brilliantly continued the struggle against the succeeding puppet and pseudo-democratic regimes. The LFS also played a prominent role in bringing down the Estrada regime and in criticizing and isolating the Arroyo regime. Today, the LFS is wisely and valiantly standing up to and fighting the Aquino

regime which continues and aggravates the exploitation and oppression of the students and the Filipino people.

The theme of your congress is correct and timely: Dare to struggle, dare to win! Live the spirit of serving the people, further expand and consolidate your ranks, intensify the people's anti-imperialist and national democratic struggle.

The Filipino people's destitution and sufferings intensify as the global crisis of capitalism and the local ruling system of big compradors and landlords continues to worsen. The conditions now are favorable for you to ignite the hearts and minds of the students and the Filipino people; organize and mobilize them to struggle against the imperialists and their puppets; and to advance on the path of the national democratic revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

1. To arouse, encourage and motivate high school and college students, we should excel in agitation and propaganda according to the general line of struggle for national liberation and democracy. We should denounce the malevolent forces that raise the cost of education, the cost of living, housing and healthcare, that lie and deceive the nation and threaten or use force to suppress democratic rights.

Agitation means the prompt dissemination of calls, especially in the form of slogans, about the burning issues, in the form of short speeches, pamphlets, pictures, posters, wall graffiti and other media that quickly reach the biggest number of people. Propaganda means statements, articles and other forms of work that explain policies which have been reached through research and studies and collective discussion and which could be printed in newspapers or be disseminated in the form of pamphlets and in stage and street performances or through radio, TV and internet outlets.

Good agitators and propagandists emerge as a result of political education on the national democratic line, including understanding the essential contents of the LFS Constitution and Program, timely LFS propaganda and study in courses on Philippine Society and Revolution and on the student sector. But it is not necessary to require the mass membership to study Marxism-Leninism-Maoism because the LFS is a mass organization and not a party of the revolutionary proletariat.

2. Establish chapters in universities, colleges, departments and high schools. Where it has yet no chapters, the LFS should have an organizer who ensures that there are initial recruits and has a buddy with him to explain the essential points in the LFS Constitution and Program. Recruits can immediately take their oath as members and they can also elect the leaders of the chapter.

To hasten the organization of LFS, the chapter members should always be reminded to recruit other students from among their friends, classmates or members of other organizations; to explain to their recruits the essential points of the LFS Constitution and Program, to report to the leadership of the chapters so that other members can be assigned the tasks of verification; and to bring the recruits to chapter meetings for the approval of their application.

There are a few ways to consolidate the chapter: prompt compliance with the set courses of study, increasing the membership and raising the capacity to expand, holding forums on important issues, cultural performances, formation of social investigation groups or teams and immersion in communities in the city and countryside and mobilizing its own ranks, allied organizations and the unorganized students for the campaign. Consolidation means raising the capability, not tightening itself. Expansion and consolidation can be done simultaneously.

3. In mobilizations, we carry the issues concerning the rights and the interests of the broad masses. This is in conjunction with the mobilization its our own ranks,

allies and the unorganized masses. In launching our campaigns, we should use methods that attract the broad masses. Our own numbers will always be smaller than the numbers of the broad masses. Therefore, we should always strive to have allies and personalities that can attract more masses.

We can ensure the success of our campaigns when we include in our plan widespread preparations with the objective of enhancing the attention and the interest of the masses whom we wish to mobilize. On the day or days of the mass action there should be means to attract the bystanders or those who hear our agitation and propaganda and the masses who are already active. Use different columns coming from various points to converge on the meeting place. But in the case of students in downtown Manila, they should also strive to occupy the streets leading to Malacañang.

The mobilizations of the masses should not be like bubbles which disappears as quickly as it expands. These should result by assiduous work in agitation and propaganda and in organizing. And this should result in the further strengthening of LFS. When the youth and students brought down the Estrada regime, I thought that the strengthening of LFS and the entire youth movement would continue. But the movement waned for a few years thus efforts to bring down Arroyo when she turned out to be rotten became difficult.

Arroyo could avoid being overthrown by the people. And the ruling system continues to rot. This is what gives students and the entire national democratic movement the opportunity and hope to overthrow not only one regime but the entire system. It is clear that the Aquino regime is a complete puppet of the imperialists, a representative of the exploiting classes, greedy and corrupt and prone to violating human rights. It is not only Noynoying on important issues but hyperactive in violating the national and democratic rights of the Filipino people.

The domestic ruling system is now in a worse state of crisis because of the fast intensification of the crisis of global capitalism. The neoliberal policy has failed

miserably, the entire world has been hit by depression and the imperialists and their puppets are now resorting to state terrorism and aggressive wars.

Necessarily, there is now widespread resistance by people all over the world against the imperialists and their puppets to defend their rights and to treat on the path towards a new world of full freedom, democracy, social justice, all-round development and international solidarity and peace.

Unite and Strengthen the Filipino Youth Movement in the USA

Video Message to the founding congress of Anakbayan-USA

May 18, 2012

We, the International League of Peoples' Struggle, wish to express militant greetings of solidarity to all the delegations in the Founding Congress of Anakbayan-USA and we congratulate the National Organizing Committee, all the Anakbayan chapters (in Seattle, Los Angeles, San Diego, Silicon Valley, New York, New Jersey and East Bay) and the LFS-San Francisco State University for successfully preparing and convening this congress.

We commend you for constituting yourselves as a nationwide mass organization in order to better coordinate your efforts at arousing, organizing, and mobilizing the Filipino youth in the USA, upholding, defending and promoting your rights here and supporting the Filipino youth and people in the motherland in their struggle for national liberation and democracy against the evil forces of foreign monopoly capitalism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The theme of your congress is highly important and urgent: "Makibaka [Struggle]! Huwag Matakot [Fear Not]! Unite and Strengthen the Filipino Youth

Movement in the US to Advance the Struggle for National Democracy in the Philippines!” We are confident that the congress brings you to a new and higher level of unity and strength in terms of political consciousness, organizational consolidation and readiness to undertake campaigns.

The crisis of the world capitalist system keeps on worsening. The imperialist powers headed by the US and their monopoly banks and firms continue to impose the neoliberal economic policy on the world. They are ruthlessly and relentlessly exploiting and oppressing the proletariat and people. They use state terrorism to suppress the people’s resistance and wage wars of aggression to overpower countries assertive of independence and to expand economic territory.

You who are at the center of global capitalism increasingly suffer the pangs of unemployment, homelessness, low incomes, rising costs of education and soaring prices of basic commodities, repression, racial discrimination, religious bigotry and the growing manifestations of fascism. Your fellow youth in the motherland suffer the rigors of global depression and the war of terror unleashed by the US far more than you do.

The Filipino youth in the US and in the Philippines suffer from the exploitation and oppression engendered by US imperialism. You have a common cause with them in fighting US imperialism and its reactionary agents and in aiming for a fundamentally new and better social system. Anakbayan-USA and Anakbayan-Philippines can share basic principles, responsibilities and duties even as the conditions in the USA and the Philippine are different.

You are bound by your Filipino identity and dignity to be ever respectful of and ever caring for the motherland. Like your brothers and sisters in the Philippines, you must be inspired by the Philippine revolution. Aware of the far worse social conditions of the Filipino youth in the Philippines, you must always seriously consider the ways by which you can support them in the continuing struggle for national liberation and democracy against US imperialism and the exploiting

classes of big compradors and landlords. You can support them programmatically and in so many concrete ways whether you stay in the US or go to the Philippines on certain missions.

It is highly meaningful and very appropriate that you are holding your congress in Chicago in close connection with the struggle against the G8 and NATO. These monsters are responsible for policies and acts against the people of the world. The G8 is the main instrument of the US for imposing the neoliberal policy on the people of the world. The NATO is the strongest military instrument of the US in carrying out wars of aggression.

We are confident that your congress can achieve its objectives: to elect the Anakbayan-USA National Executive Committee; to adopt your Constitution and By-Laws; to approve your General Program of Action; to present Anakbayan-USA History and Highlights (2002-2012); and to celebrate and strengthen your unity through discussions and decision-making, cultural performances, and oathtaking.

We are certain that your congress will strengthen your resolve and will instruct you to arouse the Filipino youth throughout the US, expand and consolidate Anakbayan-USA and mobilize an increasing number of Filipino youth along the line of anti-imperialist and democratic struggle and militant support for the struggle of the Filipino youth and people for national liberation and democracy in the Philippines.

You have both the traditional and hightech tools for arousing the Filipino youth in the US, meaning to say, for agitation, propaganda and education along the anti-imperialist and democratic line. You can avail of the internet and priorly existing Filipino organizations to determine where the Filipino youth are concentrated as students, workers, professionals and residents and to forward to them informative and educational materials via website or list serve. Subsequently, you can arrange the contacts and meetings to deepen common

understanding.

Ten years ago, Anakbayan first arose in Seattle. And you now have several local chapters. We presume that after the founding of the nationwide organization, Anakbayan-USA, you would be in a far better position than ever before to organize many more local chapters in a systematic and accelerated way. Your elected National Executive Committee can direct and oversee the work of expansion and consolidation. The secret of successful organizing is the application of the mass line. You can trust and rely on your organizers and the masses that they organize because the organization in the first place upholds, defends and promote their rights and interests.

You must undertake campaigns on burning issues. You mobilize not only your own ranks but also allies and the still unorganized mass of Filipino youth. Without mobilizing the masses, an organization is liable to stagnate, shrink and disappear. Campaigns to inform and educate the youth, to recruit them into Anakbayan-USA and to make protests and demands through indoor meetings, rallies and marches result in the further growth and strengthening of your organization.

We are confident that you will strengthen your Filipino bonds and practical cooperation with Anakbayan-Philippines and the entire Filipino youth and also our international solidarity and cooperation with the youth of various nationalities in the US. You can contribute significantly to the advance of the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle of the youth and people of the world only if you link up and cooperate resolutely and militantly with the other youth within your reach in the Philippines, the US and elsewhere.

Fight for Freedom, Justice and Peace

Message of Solidarity to Anakbayan-Melbourne

July 14, 2012

On behalf of the International Coordinating Committee of the International League of Peoples' Struggle, I express to you warmest greetings of solidarity on the occasion of the Founding Assembly of Anakbayan-Melbourne.

We congratulate you for forming the organization as the rallying point in Melbourne of the Filipino youth who are committed to the struggle of the entire Filipino youth and the entire Filipino people for national liberation and democracy against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes in the Philippines.

You are in a better position than before to stand up for your rights, undertake activities for your benefit and develop your solidarity with the Australian youth and people. You are setting the example for the Filipino youth in other cities and parts of Australia.

We are deeply pleased that at your founding assembly you declare your determination to fight for freedom, justice and peace. These are the reasons for

your organizational existence. These are the principles that must guide you. These are the purposes that you must pursue. These are the objectives you must strive to realize.

You must assert and exercise freedom in order to foster conditions beneficial to all and to promote further development in all respects— economic, social, political and cultural. You must uphold and fight for freedom against the oppressiveness of the bourgeois state, against any class that exploits another class and against the imperialist powers that dominate nations and peoples.

You must fight for justice against those who perpetuate and commit such injustices as curtailing and violating your basic rights and freedom, making you suffer oppression and exploitation and subjecting you to various kinds of inequality and discrimination, including national, ethnic, racial, gender and religious. The injustices can only grow worse if the victims do not resist collectively.

You must fight for a just peace. This is won only when the people struggle and succeed in liberating themselves from imperialist domination and from the exploiting classes like the comprador big bourgeoisie and landlord class in the Philippines. A just peace means fulfilling those basic demands embodied in the program for a people's democratic revolution.

We are confident that at your founding assembly you consider the conditions of the city and country where you are, relate yourselves to the youth in the Philippines and the rest of the youth in Australia and clarify the tasks by which you can arouse, organize and mobilize the Filipino youth. Your assembly should open the way to more work and further success in building Anakbayan-Melbourne.

We anticipate that your newly-founded organization will become an active part of the national chapter of the ILPS in Australia. We wish you the utmost success in your assembly and in the work to be done after the assembly.

Long live Anakbayan-Melbourne!

Stand for your rights and welfare in Australia!

Long live the Filipino youth and people!

Support the struggle for national liberation and democracy!

Celebrate the Youth

Marching Towards Emancipation

Message of Solidarity to Anakbayan-Toronto

on its Founding General Assembly

December 1, 2012

We, the International League of Peoples' Struggle, extend our warmest greetings of solidarity to the Filipino youth in Toronto who have come together as the Founding General Assembly of Anakbayan-Toronto. We salute you as a worthy chapter of Anakbayan, which is a comprehensive national democratic organization of the Filipino youth and a member-organization of the ILPS.

We congratulate your organizing committee and all the delegates for your success at convening the assembly after one and a half year of preparations. You have relied well on your previous experience of youth organizing and you have drawn from it the lessons regarding the importance of painstaking mass work and following the mass line, of being daring and militant in taking up the issues of the Filipino youth and people.

We appreciate that you have learned from previous anti-imperialist and democratic struggles and against attempts to derail the national democratic movement of Filipinos in Canada and that more than ever you are resolved to remain committed to this movement in the interest of the Filipino youth and people in Canada and in the motherland.

We are deeply pleased to know that you are inspired by the revolutionary youth in Philippine history, like Andres Bonifacio and others in the Katipunan, those who belonged to the Kabataang Makabayan, those who joined the revolutionary movement against the US-directed Marcos fascist dictatorship and, of course, those who have preceded you in Anakbayan.

We welcome your theme for the assembly; Magbunyi ang Kabataang Pilipino Patungo sa Malayang Bukas (Celebrating the Youth Marching Towards Emancipation). It is fine that you invoke the Filipino youth's continuing history and commitment to arouse, organize and mobilize the Filipino community to fight for their rights and welfare.

We join you in honoring the Filipino youth who have acted in unison to demand justice for young compatriots like Jeffrey Reodica, protested the ill effects of the Live-in Caretaker Program on the Filipino youth and their families and made the national democratic movement in the Philippines relevant to the Filipino youth in Canada.

Your assembly is an occasion for clarifying the historical background of your families and community, your current situation and the implications and consequences of the current grave crisis of the world capitalist system, for summing up your experiences and learning lessons from these and for setting forth the tasks to strengthen your organization and be of service to the Filipino youth and people in Canada and the Philippines.

Your assembly is a process of consolidating your ranks politically and organizationally. We are confident that consequently you will gain strength, you will expand your ranks and you will be able to act and speak effectively as a collective force. You will be in a better position to contribute to the anti-imperialist and democratic movement in your community, in the Philippines and in the world.

Love live Anakbayan-Toronto!

Long live the national democratic movement!

Long live Anakbayan and the Filipino people!

Fighting the Power of the Reactionary Puppet State

Message to the Forum of Anakbayan

January 20, 2013

I heartily thank Anakbayan, the well-known comprehensive national democratic organization of the Filipino youth. I am one with you in the objective of arousing, organizing and mobilizing the broad masses of the youth for their democratic rights and demands along the revolutionary tradition of Kabataang Makabayan.

I am aware of your strong organizational foundation. You have more than 20,000 members in your chapters in schools and urban poor communities, peasant communities and other places. On this basis, you can do a lot in fighting for the rights and welfare of the youth and the Filipino people.

Experience in fighting the state

It is appropriate that in the coming 20th of January you commemorate and study

the successful ouster of the US-Estrada regime in the so-called EDSA II in 2001. Anakbayan and other youth organizations played an important role in gathering the broad masses at Edsa and with 70,000 youth decisively charging the gates and surroundings of Malacañang to drive away Estrada from his palace.

In studying the capability of the youth in fighting the power of the reactionary puppet state, you must also remember the First Quarter Storm of 1970 that strengthened the Kabataang Makabayan [Patriotic Youth]. When Marcos imposed the fascist dictatorship on the country in 1972, there was already a strong youth organization throughout the islands that became the source of proletarian revolutionaries and Red fighters. Immediately and in the long-run, people's war was able to respond to martial law.

Because of the youth's engagement in different forms of struggle, the strength of the Filipino people grew to the extent that it was able to overthrow the Marcos fascist dictatorship in 1986. The broad masses flowed in huge numbers into Edsa. At the same time, Kilusang Mayo Uno [May First Movement] and the League of Filipino Students deployed a large number of workers and youth in front of and around Malacañang.

Extreme exploitation and oppression

We are again faced by a regime that is a complete traitor to the country: exploitative, corrupt, cruel and deceitful. The people wish to oust this despicable regime. In following the neoliberal economic policy imposed by the US, the US-Aquino regime has aggravated the feudal and semifeudal exploitation of the toiling masses and worsened their suffering. In accordance with Oplan Bayanihan, which is also imposed by the US, the regime has intensified suppression, cruelty and the widespread violation of human rights.

The lack of jobs, landlessness and decreased income have aggravated while the prices of basic goods and services have risen. The stench of corruption of the Aquino regime and its accomplices in congress, military and other government agencies has spread. The Aquino clique and its accomplices even steal from the foreign aid intended for the victims of supertyphoon Yolanda. Government officials say that there is very little money for education, health, housing and other social services but hundreds of billions are set aside for the military, bureaucratic corruption and debt payments.

The forum you are holding is appropriately entitled: "OUST" Discussion on the youth movement, oust movement and social change. It is time to exert all efforts to oust the US-Aquino regime. Such efforts will serve to strengthen the people to overthrow rotten ruling system in the long-run.

Method of ousting

We must keep in mind that Malacañang palace is surrounded by schools and students. Arouse, organize and mobilize the students here. They can occupy all

the roads leading to Malacañang. This is what happened during the First Quarter Storm of 1970, when Marcos was overthrown in 1986 and Estrada in 2001. This can be done again. Bring a bigger number of the masses from different directions when the roads have already been occupied by the students.

You can also bring in the columns of marchers from Bonifacio Monument-Calooan, Tondo-Binondo, QC Rotunda-Sampaloc, Sta. Ana-Pandacan, Makati, Pasay and other assembly points. This was done again and again by the Kabataang Makabayan and other organizations from 1969 to 1972. It can be done again today. If the Lakbayans from the provinces north and south of Manila can be added, many more can directly join the movement to oust.

You have the means to gather the masses to reach hundreds of thousands or even one or two million. Based on our experience, you only have to prepare tens of thousands to join the demonstration. When the participants reach a hundred thousand, the probability of ousting the king from his throne would arise. When the mass action reach this level, the ruling classes will start thinking of removing the king before the palace is assaulted.

What I mention today are possibilities based on past experience in building up mass actions. Of course, the general line of the struggle for national freedom and democracy is clear. You have to decide what are the effective slogans and tactics to arouse, organize and mobilize the youth and the people to the extent possible in order to oust the US-Aquino regime.

Long live Anakbayan and the Filipino youth!

Oust the US-Aquino regime!

Long live the Filipino people!

Kabataang Makabayan and its Relevance

Today

Message to the League of Filipino Students

and the Nagkahiusang Kusog sa Estudyante

January 29, 2013

Thank you for inviting me to speak on the Kabataang Makabayan and its relevance today for your forum on the theme, “Relevance of the Youth and Student Movement: Past to Present.” The forum is supposed to be a major event in the celebration of the Nationalist Youth Week with the theme, “Resurgence: Continuing the Tasks of the First Quarter Storm!”

The Kabataang Makabayan was founded in 1964 as a comprehensive organization of patriotic and progressive young men and women, ranging in age from 15 to 35, from the ranks of students, workers, peasants, professionals and other sectors. The KM mission was to continue the unfinished Philippine revolution against foreign and feudal domination and to support the working class as the leading class in the new democratic revolution. The KM vision extended to a socialist future.

The student component of the KM had originated from the Student Cultural Association of the University of the Philippines that was established in 1959 and had expanded through the nationwide spread of the national democratic movement among college and high school students since 1961. This was the year when 5,000 students flooded into the halls of the reactionary Congress and protested against the CAFA anti-communist witch hunt for the professors and students who had written anti-imperialist and antifeudal articles.

The most politically advanced student activists joined the Workers Party and the trade union movement and initiated revolutionary research, studies and anti-imperialist mass actions from 1962 onwards. They developed the component of young workers who would join the KM. Through the veteran revolutionary trade union leaders, they also became connected with veteran peasant leaders and began to encourage student activists to visit the countryside and learn from the peasant masses their needs and demands against the feudal and semifeudal conditions.

The component of young professionals consisted mainly of teachers. While they minded their own expansion, they served to encourage, develop and stabilize the patriotic and progressive student organizations and eventually the KM chapters. They also persuaded the professionals of various types to join or support the KM. These included lawyers, health professionals, scientists and technologists, journalists, writers and artists, government employees, small entrepreneurs and traders and the religious. The KM activists engaged in two levels of study. At one level, they studied the revolutionary theory and practice of the proletariat, which is Marxism-Leninism, and discussed how relevant and applicable this was to Philippine history and the semicolonial and semifeudal conditions. They studied Marxism-Leninism discreetly because of the Anti-Subversion Law. At another level, they studied openly the old type democratic revolution in the Philippine revolution and discussed how this could be continued as a new type of democratic revolution in the era of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution.

The KM was ideologically, politically and organizationally prepared to lead the Filipino youth, to be in the forefront of the people's movement for national independence and democracy and to assist the working class in fulfilling its leading role in the new democratic revolution. The KM strongly criticized the semicolonial and semifeudal conditions and advocated the completion of the struggle for national independence and democracy, national industrialization and land reform, a national, scientific and mass culture and independent foreign policy.

The KM took clear positions on major domestic and international issues that affected the Filipino people and involved their national sovereignty and democratic rights. The KM initiated and joined mass actions to uphold, defend and advance the rights and interests of the entire people, especially the toiling masses. The KM was in all major mass actions of the workers, peasants, students and youth, women and other people from 1964 to the early 1970s.

The KM was in the forefront of the First Quarter Storm of 1970 and in all succeeding mass actions. Thus, it was among those organizations targeted for destruction by the US-Marcos regime initially through the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus in 1971 and eventually through the proclamation of martial law in 1972. All known leaders and members of the KM were subject to arrest, torture, detention and even murder.

The KM was forced underground and continued to help the revolutionary party of the proletariat, the Communist Party of the Philippines, to expand nationwide and strike deep roots among the toiling masses. It became the Communist Youth League even as it retained its patriotic name in the underground. Many of the KM activists became cadres and members of the CPP, Red commanders and fighters of the New People's Army and organizers of the underground mass movement in both urban and rural areas.

The KM played a significant role in bringing about the downfall of the Marcos fascist dictatorship, no matter how hard the imperialists and reactionaries try to deny the fact. It has continued as a living revolutionary force. It has become an ever more powerful force because it has developed its own distinctive strength as a revolutionary youth organization and because it has contributed greatly to the development of other revolutionary forces.

Under the Marcos fascist dictatorship, the semicolonial and semifeudal conditions were aggravated and deepened. The overthrow of Marcos left intact the ruling system of big compradors and landlords servile to US imperialism. The unarmed uprising of the people in February 1986 was capable of removing from power a brutal and corrupt autocrat but could not bring down the entire exploitative ruling system. History has shown time and again that a revolution entails the smashing and dismantling of the military and bureaucratic machinery of the reactionary state.

The Marcos fascist dictatorship has been merely replaced by a series of sham democratic regimes of big compradors and landlords who are obedient to the dictates of US imperialism. Their false claim to democracy is based on periodic elections by which reactionary cliques of the same exploiting classes take turns at benefiting most from the exploitation and oppression of the people. The pseudo-democratic regimes have perpetuated and further aggravated the semicolonial and semifeudal conditions under the auspices of neocolonialism and neoliberalism. The need for a new democratic revolution is clear and urgent.

Certainly, the KM is relevant to the students and youth of today because of the persistence of semicolonial and semifeudal conditions and the ever pressing need to struggle for national liberation and democracy. The KM continues to exist as an underground revolutionary youth organization and continues to attract to its ranks the most resolute and most militant young activists. The record of the KM in legal youth activism from 1964 to 1972 is an excellent example for the legal student and youth activists of today to emulate. The brilliant character and achievements of KM have been defined by their program of struggle for national

independence and democracy.

This program remains valid and relevant today. The students and youth must fight for national independence and democracy against US imperialism and the local reactionaries. They must fight for national industrialization and land reform in order to develop the economy against foreign and feudal exploitation. They must fight for a national, scientific and mass culture against pro-imperialist, feudal and bourgeois elitist ideas and values. They must fight for an independent foreign policy that is for world peace and development and opposes imperialism, aggressive wars and all kinds of interferences.

ILPS Supports the Ad Hoc Committee and Cuny 6 and Condemns Petraeus and his Cohorts

October 15, 2013

We, the International League of Peoples' Struggle, firmly and vigorously support the just struggle waged by the students and faculty members, spearheaded by Ad Hoc Committee Against the Militarization of CUNY (constituted by Revolutionary Student Coordinating Committee, IGNITE, Internationalist Group, Sister Circle Collective, and others) against the hiring of the notorious war criminal General David Petraeus by the administration of the City University of New York (CUNY) as a professor of policy and on how best to wage war.

We extend special support to the CUNY 6 (Augustin Castro, Jose Disla, Denise Ford, Luis Henriquez, Angelica Hernandez and Rafael Pena) who were brutally attacked and arrested by the police in the course of a peaceful demonstration in front of the CUNY Macaulay Honors College last September 17th. They were arraigned on the same day. They continue to be persecuted as US authorities refuse to drop the trumped-up charges against them. They will be back in court on October 17.

The CUNY 6 were among the students and faculty members who exercised their right to assemble and speak. They chanted, "War Criminal Petraeus Out of CUNY Now!" They were against the teaching appointment of the former CIA chief and commanding general infamous for the brutal occupation of Iraq and

Afghanistan and for the malicious use of death squads and torture in both countries. They were also against the return of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) to CUNY campuses after having been driven out in 1971 by student anti-war activists.

We condemn the undeserved honors as adjunct professor being accorded by the CUNY administration to a stand-out war criminal. We repudiate the perverse reasoning of that administration that imposing such a brutal and callous character on the students of CUNY is an exercise of academic freedom and democracy. The CUNY administration is utterly condemnable for militarizing the campus in providing stringent security measures for the benefit of Petraeus, in allowing police intrusions into the campus and in promoting the return of the ROTC.

We admire the progressive and militant students of CUNY for carrying forward the tradition of heroic struggles of CUNY students for democracy and peace against imperialism and war. We recall when CUNY students were moved by the spirit of internationalism and united with the communities of color and low income around their schools in order to fight for and win open admissions and the creation of the Hostos Community College. The victory of the oppressed nationalities in winning democratic rights were bright examples of revolutionary struggle. In the spirit of anti-imperialist and democratic struggle, we praise highly the Ad Hoc Committee Against the Militarization of CUNY for uniting the students and faculty members to defend the university from militarization. It is correct for the Committee to intensify efforts to kick Petraeus out of CUNY and conduct an informative and educational campaign concerning the brutal record of this criminal and the vile imperialist interests that he represents.

We encourage you to continue organizing and conducting protests against the return of the ROTC to CUNY. We appreciate the Committee for being determined to expand to the campuses of all CUNY colleges and beyond in order to generate a far larger anti-imperialist and democratic mass movement that will shake the oppressive structure of US monopoly capitalist society to its core and

help bring about the rise of the exploited and oppressed masses on the road of social revolution and freedom from the scourge of imperialism and reaction.

The Current Situation and Prospects for the Youth Movement

Keynote Speech at the Youth Solidarity Festival, Bali, Indonesia

December 3, 2013

On behalf of the International League of Peoples' Struggle, I extend warmest greetings of solidarity to the organizers and participants of the Youth Solidarity Festival. It is fitting that your festival, a self-organized event of the People's Global Camp, has adopted the call "Youth unite, fight and claim our future" as your theme.

The youth in all regions are indeed rising up to stake their claims to the future, but only to find out that there are monsters to confront and battles to fight. The ILPS welcomes initiatives such as this youth festival, in which progressive youth movements of various nationalities reach out across the seas to strengthen their unity in the common cause of fighting for a bright future.

The global crises and their impacts on the youth

The whole world continues to undergo the worst crisis since the Great Depression of the 1930s. As the global depression prolongs and worsens, the monopoly bourgeoisie continues to accumulate and concentrate capital in its hands. The wealthy few pass on the burden of crisis to the people and aggravate the crisis of the entire economy. Thus underdevelopment of the third world countries, unemployment and poverty have worsened. Income gaps have further widened between the super-wealthy 1 percent and the impoverished 99 percent.

Since the latest economic and financial crisis shook the world in 2008, the people of all countries have suffered rising mass unemployment, the intensified exploitation of labor through cutbacks in wages and social benefits, and loss of livelihood and access to resources in the so-called informal economy. The living and working conditions of the people are getting worse in general. The youth are among the most vulnerable and hardest hit. Millions are dropping out of school and either find no jobs or take extremely underpaid jobs. Among their ranks, unemployment and underemployment rates are the highest, while income levels are among the lowest.

Liberalization of investment, trade and finance has further impoverished the already underdeveloped economies, and made the wealthiest nations and corporations even wealthier. More and more public assets are being privatized and businesses deregulated, making such key social services as education and health less accessible to people, especially to the youth. This is especially because the imperialist powers have stuck to the discredited neoliberal policies, including those being imposed by the WTO which we are now protesting.

The imperialist powers, despite their competition over spheres of influence, agree with each other in shifting the burden of crisis to the Third World countries and peoples. Thus, while North America and Europe are themselves mired in crisis, the situation is even worse among the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which are the victims of superexploitation, unequal trade, unfair debt, intensified plunder and environmental ruin.

In these Third World countries laid prostrate by both foreign and feudal monopolies, agrarian backwardness and rural poverty are driving millions of people to migrate to urban areas and overseas. The most vulnerable, especially the youth, end up taking domestic or contractual jobs that are hazardous and least compensated, or worse, end up living in the streets victimized by criminal syndicates and the police. Migrant workers are also susceptible to racial, ethnic, and sexist discrimination.

Neoliberal policies on social services, especially cutbacks on public education budgets and subsidies, combined with privatization and commercialization, violate the youth's basic right to education, the teachers' and workers' right to job security and education. In addition, imperialist-controlled institutions such as the World Bank increasingly tamper with the curricula and textbooks of national educational systems, attuning them to the labor, technical, and research demands of global capitalism and the transnational companies.

Faced with seething social crises and unrest, imperialist states take the lead in conducting neoliberal offensives in the field of culture and ideology. They distract the people's attention, especially of the youth, from the real capitalist roots of the crisis and try to rechannel social unrest into divisive conflicts among the ranks of the people by whipping up all sorts of regressive currents like chauvinism, racism, religious bigotry, fascism and warmongering.

Using their predominant control of the schools, churches, mass media and telecommunications monopolies, they attempt to dissipate people's anger and the youth's rebellion into safe arenas such as consumerism, narrow reformism, blind anarchism, illusionism and other currents that obscure the anti-imperialist and class struggle. When the people can no longer be deceived and rise up in organized mass struggle, they are met with the full force of the fascist state and its armed minions.

Conflicts are growing among imperialist powers over economic, political,

security (including espionage) and environmental issues, and over particular regional or local flash points. Imperialist states cut back on social spending but increase military spending, pampering the armed forces and defense industries as central to its military strategy of protecting and expanding its own global sphere of influence. The youth are targeted as military recruits to become cannon fodder for imperialist and mercenary armies or as wage workers in and around military and naval bases; and many of the youth end up to become economic or political refugees in their own countries or abroad.

The world's youth on the march

In the face of the crises and unrest and in defense of their interests, the people are fighting back throughout the world, both in the imperialist heartlands of North America and Europe and in Third World countries. On the frontlines of people's resistance are the youth in their millions. We in the ILPS welcome the enthusiasm and salute the heroism of the youth movement. Their voices and actions resonate in this Youth Solidarity Festival that you are now holding.

In the past five years, from North, Central and South America, to Europe, Africa, Asia and the Pacific, the youth of all nationalities have shown determination and audacity in launching school-based strikes, off-campus protests, progressive cultural events including "flash mobs" and lightning rallies, human barricades, camp-outs, and other types of mass actions in urban and rural areas to fight for the rights of youth and students, and to fight for general people's rights hand in hand with the rest of the people.

All over the world, the student youth have launched powerful waves of university uprisings and other student protests against the rising cost of higher education and budget cuts on public education. In 2011, students in at least five Latin American countries held a common day of mass action. In 2012 and continuing to this year, coordinated student strikes broke out in Chile, Quebec, United Kingdom, the US, Australia, India, the Philippines, and other countries.

Most of these were supported by the academic community, especially teachers. In many cases, they are linking arms with the rest of the oppressed sectors of society.

In the huge street marches, demonstrations and general strikes that have broken out especially in Europe, Latin America, and South Asia, the bulk of protestors are young workers, out-of-school youth, students, and rural and indigenous youth. In some countries where political uprisings have challenged unpopular regimes, youth protestors have shown heroism in confronting fascist security forces, manning barricades to protect communities from fascist attack, and engaging in open and secret propaganda actions to raise the people's morale.

These powerful waves of the youth movement are certain to advance further as the global crisis deepens. Extended student strikes that converge with the broader mass movement, such as occurred in Quebec, Chile and elsewhere in recent years, have shown that the youth and the people as a whole are increasingly ready to confront and reject the neoliberal agenda of imperialism. The youth movement throughout the world, through campus, community, and special-interest organizations at the local and national levels, can form networks and alliances at regional and global levels for more coordinated actions and for sharing strategies and campaigns to defend and promote their various economic, political and cultural rights as students, as workers and peasants, and as out-of-school youth.

ILPS Commission No. 8 has been set up to assist ILPS chapters and member-organizations in reaching out to other youth and student organizations and in mobilizing the broad masses of the youth to defend their rights and address their various concerns. Youth organizations of diverse persuasions can find ways to unite for joint activities to achieve common objectives.

The youth movements, in their specific national contexts, must establish and strengthen alliances and convergences with the various basic sectors such as the

worker and peasant masses, with the women's movement and with indigenous peoples, to form a formidable united front against imperialism and the worst local oppressors. In the process, the youth can maximize their potential in the various arena of activism, from organizing and political action to cultural and creative work, from socioeconomic empowerment to international solidarity.

The future belongs to you, the youth of the world. Unite in the common cause of anti-imperialism, democracy, social justice, development and international solidarity. Fight against the imperialists and the reactionaries. Create a fundamentally new and better world. I wish the participants of the Youth Solidarity Festival greater victories in forthcoming struggles.

On the Ouster of the US-Aquino Regime

January 20, 2014

I wholeheartedly greet Anakbayan, the well-known comprehensive national democratic organization of Filipino youth. I agree with your goal of arousing, organizing and mobilizing the broad masses of youth for their democratic rights and demands according to the revolutionary tradition and line of Kabataang Makabayan (Patriotic Youth). I know of your strong organizational foundation. You have a membership of more than 20,000 in your branches in schools, urban poor communities, communities of peasants, and in other areas. On this basis you can contribute greatly to the advance of the mass movement fighting for the rights and welfare of the Filipino youth and masses.

Experience in the struggle against the state

It is necessary for you to commemorate and study the victorious ouster of the US-Estrada regime in what is called EDSA II 2001 this January 20. Anakbayan and other youth organizations played an important role in gathering the broad masses in EDSA and in the decisive surge of 70,000 youth at the gate and surroundings of Malacanang to drive Estrada off his palace.

In studying the capability of the youth in struggle against the power of the reactionary puppet state, you must bear in mind the First Quarter Storm of 1970 that strengthened Kabataang Makabayan. When Marcos imposed fascist

dictatorship on the country in 1972, a strong youth organization already existed in the whole archipelago, from which came proletarian revolutionaries and Red fighters. Immediately and eventually answered martial law with people's war.

Due to the activities of the youth in various forms of struggle, the Filipino people's strength became capable of overthrowing the Marcos fascist dictatorship in 1986. Huge numbers of the broad masses surged into EDSA. At the same time, the Kilusang Mayo Uno and the League of Filipino Students also deployed large numbers of workers and youth in front and around Malacañang.

Extreme exploitation and oppression

Once again, we face an extremely treacherous, exploitative, corrupt, cruel and mendacious regime. The people are determined this extremely to overthrow this extremely disgusting regime. By following the US-imposed neoliberal economic policies, the US-Aquino regime has aggravated the feudal and semifeudal exploitation of the toiling masses and intensified their suffering. By following also the US-imposed Oplan Bayanihan, the regime has intensified suppression, cruelty and widespread human rights violation.

Unemployment, landlessness and falling income are worsening while the prices of basic commodities and services are rising. The Aquino regime and its cohorts in congress, the military and other government agencies reek of corruption. It even steals from the foreign assistance slated for the victims of super typhoon Yolanda. Government officials claim that there are no funds or lack of funds available for education, health, housing and other social services while hundreds of billions of pesos are appropriated for the military, for corruption and for debt payments.

Conducting a forum entitled, "OUST: Discussions on the youth movement, the

ouster movement and social renewal” is timely. The time has come to do everything to oust the US-Aquino regime. All efforts to oust this regime strengthen the people for the eventual overthrow the rotten ruling system.

Methods for ousting

We must grasp the fact that Malacañang Palace is surrounded by schools and students. Arouse, organize and mobilize the students there. They are more than capable of occupying all roads leading to Malacañang. This happened in the First Storm of 1970 and when Marcos was ousted in 1986 and Estrada in 2001. It can be done again. Larger numbers of the masses will join them from different directions once students have occupied the streets.

Columns of marchers from the Bonifacio Monument-Caloocan, Tondo-Binondo, Quezon City Rotunda-Sampaloc, Sta. Ana-Pandacan, Makati, Pasay and other assembly points should be brought to the vicinity of Malacañang. These were repeatedly carried out by the Kabataang Makabayan and other organizations in 1969 until 1972. These can be done again today. If we add Lakbayans coming from the provinces north and south of Manila, more and more people would be directly participating in the ouster movement.

Methods available to you

You have the methods for gathering the masses to reach hundreds of thousands and even one or two million. Based on our experience, the tens of thousands of participants are only preparations for demonstrations. Once the participants reach hundreds of thousands, the possibility of ousting the king from his throne arises. When mass actions reach this level, the ruling classes begin to think of replacing the king before the palace is attacked.

What I say today are possibilities derived from past experiences in enlarging mass actions. The general line of struggle for national liberation and democracy is always clear. It is for you to decide what the effective slogans and tactics are for to arousing, organizing and mobilizing the youth and the people to be able to reach the level and stage of overthrowing the US-Aquino regime.

Long live Anakbayan and the Filipino youth!

Oust the US-Aquino regime!

Long live the Filipino people!

Message to the Forum “KM@50: To Struggle Is Just”

February 12, 2014

It is appropriate that you recall the KM in connection with the current celebration of the First Quarter Storm of 1970 and the Diliman Commune of 1971. In these events, the KM and other youth organizations brought to an unprecedented high point the patriotic and progressive youth movement that had developed in the entire 1960s.

I am asked to talk about how we founded the Kabataang Makabayan on November 30, 1964 and what was the socioeconomic and political context that necessitated the radicalism and militancy of the Filipino students and youth. Let me say right away that the KM arose from the student youth organizing since 1959 in resistance to the chronic crisis conditions of a semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system.

We organized the Student Cultural Association of the University of the Philippines (SCAUP) in 1959 in order to side with the bourgeois liberals against the attempts of the dominant church to transgress the separation of church and state and violate the academic freedom of the state university. But we had the higher purpose of bringing the level of debate and struggle to one between the people and the forces of national liberation and democracy on the one hand and those status quo forces of pro-imperialism and reaction on the other side.

We were not afraid of the prevalent anti-communist atmosphere and the Anti-Subversion Law that had been promulgated in 1957. When the congressional Committee on Anti-Filipino Activities (CAFA) engaged in an anti-communist witch-hunt in 1960-61, the SCAUP was intellectually and politically prepared to engage in united front with most of the campus organizations and to launch in 1961 a big demonstration of 5,000 students that literally scuttled the CAFA. The objective was to defend academic freedom and also to promote the national democratic line against imperialism and local reaction.

The anti-CAFA mass action was a signal event in breaching the dominance of anti-communist reaction and coincided with the worsening social crisis. On the basis of our anti-CAFA experience, we proceeded to encourage the students in the downtown colleges and universities to form associations similar to SCAUP, which had an open level of national democratic studies and a discreet level of Marxist-Leninist studies. Soon enough, after the SCAUP developed partners in other schools, it became possible to organize national student conferences taking the national democratic line from 1962 onward.

Together with other student activists, we joined the trade union movement through the Lapiang Manggagawa (Workers' Party) and certain labor federations in the latter half of 1962. We focused on research and education work and came into close relations with young workers whom we would subsequently recruit to become members of Kabataang Makabayan. We also came into contact with peasant organizations and recruited the young peasants to become KM members. We had easy access to the young teachers and other young professionals.

Thus, in 1964 we were able to organize the Kabataang Makabayan as a comprehensive patriotic and progressive youth organization of students and young workers, peasants and professionals. The delegates to the founding Congress of the KM on November 30, 1964 at the auditorium of the YMCA came from student organizations in the University of the Philippines, Lyceum of the Philippines, Philippine College of Commerce, MLQ University, University

of the East and so on, from the trade unions of the National Association of Trade Unions and from peasant associations in Central Luzon and Southern Tagalog.

The KM was attractive to the youth because it had a national democratic program and became well-known for its militant mass protest actions. It engaged in alliances with the organizations of workers, peasants, women, professionals and other sectors. The KM described itself as the assistant of the working class and as the training school for cadres. Just like the SCAUP, the KM openly conducted national democratic studies and discreetly Marxist-Leninist studies. It was resolute and vigorous in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the youth on a national scale. The more the Marcos regime threatened the KM and tried to suppress its mass actions, the more the youth wanted to join the KM.

You must keep in mind that the gigantic mass actions in the First Quarter Storm of 1970 and the Diliman Commune of 1971 were the products of resolute and militant struggles since the 1960s. The earlier high points in mass mobilization included the Omnibus rally against unequal treaties with the US in 1965, the nationwide student strikes from 1967 onwards, the peasant rally in 1969 and the protests against the US war of aggression in Vietnam. As the Marcos regime exposed its evil scheme to impose fascist dictatorship on them, the youth and the broad masses of the people intensified their efforts to build their organized strength and launch mass actions.

The revolutionary theoretical, political and practical training of the KM activists was of such a high quality that many of them became cadres and members of the Communist Party of the Philippines, which was re-established in 1968 under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. The KM facilitated the nationwide expansion of the CPP. When Marcos suspended the writ of habeas corpus in 1971 and proclaimed martial law in 1972, KM members joined the revolutionary underground and the New People's Army in accordance with the line that people's war is the answer to martial law.

The KM made important contributions to the revolutionary struggle against the Marcos fascist dictatorship and was one of the major forces weakening and isolating the reign of terror and greed until the Marcos ruling clique was overthrown in 1986. The KM did not surface anymore as a legal organization after the fall of Marcos. Since then, it has become the Communist Youth League even as it has retained its original name. It continues its role as the training school of the revolutionary youth in order to develop them as full-fledged communists. We can say that more than ever the KM is playing a major role in the people's democratic revolution through people's war.

All kinds of preparations must be made in order to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the founding of the KM in a big and meaningful way. They must include campaigns and activities, with definite goals to achieve in promoting theoretical studies, political education, organizational expansion, mass mobilization and cultural work, especially in the various art forms. I welcome the campaign to oust the Aquino regime. This is a good preparation for the golden anniversary of the KM. Whether the campaign can oust the regime or not before 2016, it can serve to strengthen the national democratic movement of the youth and entire people.

Through mass struggles, we build the revolutionary strength to overthrow the ruling system and achieve national liberation and democracy.

KM@50: Continuing the Advocacy

for Genuine Agrarian Reform

February 21, 2014

I am glad that this year, NNARA-Youth is leading the campaign “KM@50: Continuing the Advocacy for Genuine Agrarian Reform” in recognition of Kabataang Makabayan’s stand on the issue of agrarian reform.

It is but fitting for NNARA-Youth to lead the campaign since it is a mass organization of youth and students that is in solidarity with the peasantry’s call for genuine land reform.

NNARA-Youth has the capability of undertaking various activities that would project the peasants’ struggle to the biggest number of youth and students and eventually draw them into this struggle. The campaign also presents an opportunity to expand the NNARA-Youth’s membership and strengthen the organization.

It is an honor for me to participate in the launching of the first series of activities that feature simultaneous propaganda actions and programs at UP Diliman, UP

Manila and PUP. A discussion on KM's history and its stand on genuine agrarian reform is a fitting climax of the activities.

Since the beginning, KM's constitution and program have identified the working class as the vanguard class and the peasantry as the main force in undertaking the people's democratic revolution against the ruling system of big compradors and landlords controlled by US imperialism.

The main content of the democratic revolution is the implementation of agrarian revolution which is the peasantry's foremost need. This is the means through which they can achieve socioeconomic and political liberation. The Filipino people can only attain national freedom and progress if the peasantry is liberated through genuine agrarian reform simultaneous to national industrialization.

Since the beginning, the peasant youth have been a big, important and decisive part of Kabataang Makabayan. During KM's establishment, links were established through peasant associations in Central Luzon and Southern Tagalog. Thus, it became easy for the urban-based youth to go to the countryside to integrate with the peasantry, including the youth through social investigation and mass work to arouse, organize and mobilize them for their rights and interests.

Macapagal's Agricultural Land Reform Code that promised to dismantle the old tenancy system was enacted at about the same time KM was founded. The law was full of loopholes enabling hacenderos to evade the eradication of the tenancy system and landlordism. In terms of rhetoric, Macapagal's agrarian reform looked better than the previous land reform programs from Quezon to Garcia where haciendas were bought and sold at high prices or where the landless were simply encouraged to establish homesteads in the still existing frontiers.

In the second half of the 1960s, the Marcos regime became more brutal in the face of the intensifying crisis of the ruling system and against the protest actions of the youth and the people. KM tightened its links with the peasantry and prepared against Marcos' scheme of becoming a fascist dictator. Many KM activists became cadres and members of the Communist Party of the Philippines. In November 1969, thousands of KM members and 15,000 peasants converged in front of Congress.

When Marcos imposed a fascist dictatorship nationwide, KM's membership grew in the countryside. They joined the Party and the people's army. They helped implement genuine land reform as an integral part of people's war, in relation to armed struggle and mass work. They belied and assailed the Marcos regime's renewed pretensions at land reform.

As before, only rice and corn lands were covered by land reform. Marcos' Code of Agrarian Reform was even more pretentious than Macapagal's. A formula was laid down ostensibly to establish the price of rice or corn lands and make the payment of amortization by peasants easier. In fact, the government was in cahoots with landlords in making valuations against the peasantry's interest.

Also, because of the high retention limit for hacienderos, the latter were able to transfer portions of vast tracts of land to their children and other relatives. Another loophole was to remove lands from the rice and corn category. Corporations could be created for the export of agricultural products and officially convert land to commercial or residential use.

After the Filipino people overthrew the fascist dictatorship, the haciendera Cory Aquino also made a pretense at agrarian reform. The Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program (CARP) of 1988 retained the loopholes in the law to enable landlords to evade land reform, as before. Aquino committed worse deceptions against landless peasants. The 1987 constitution made just compensation for landlords a principle in accordance with market prices.

Aquino created brazen loopholes for Hacienda Luisita and other haciendas—the stock distribution option. Corporations were employed to raise the value of stocks held by landlord families, enabling them to retain control of the haciendas and distribute small shares of stock to the peasants so the latter would remain farm workers doing the bidding of haciendero families. The Aquino-Cojuangco clan's corruption was exposed when it committed fraud and used violence against the farm workers. Up to now, this family continues to employ various tactics to swindle and coerce the peasants.

Until its lapse in 2009, CARP not only failed to resolve but even aggravated the peasantry's problem of landlessness and their feudal and semifeudal exploitation. The Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas and the peasant masses called for genuine land reform. But the reactionary regime and the landlord congress repudiated the Genuine Agrarian Reform Bill (GARB). Instead, CARP's effectivity was extended until 2014 using the name CARP-Extension with Reforms (CARPER).

As much as possible, the enactment of GARB should be advanced. But if such legal efforts fail, do not wallow in hopelessness. No matter what obstacles the reactionary powers put up, you and the broad masses of the people must intensify your campaigns to arouse, organize and mobilize until the ruling system is defeated and the people's democratic revolution achieves victory. Those of you who are in the legal movement for genuine agrarian reform know that even as the reactionary state of big compradors and landlords thwarts and prevents genuine land reform, revolutionary action for genuine agrarian reform advances in the countryside.

Once urban-based youth activists advocating genuine agrarian reform grow in number, they can follow the example of the cadres and members of Kabataang Makabayan who went to the countryside and conducted social investigation and mass work and eventually joined the revolutionary Party and the people's army to implement agrarian revolution to the fullest, from its minimum to its

maximum level.

The cadres and activists of Kabataang Makabayan in the countryside await you. They want to be assisted in implementing the minimum program, which includes the reduction of land rent, the eradication of usury, the raising of farm workers' wages, raising the prices of agricultural products and improving agricultural production, among others—up to the implementation of the maximum program, which includes the confiscation of land from hacienderos and the free distribution of land to the peasants.

It is fine that even while you are in the university, you already have an understanding of the problems of the peasantry and the solutions that should be applied. Go to the countryside to learn further from the peasantry about their conditions, problems and needs. You can temporarily stay in the countryside to begin your study. You can also continuously and permanently work in the countryside.

As long as you have strong links with the countryside, you will not be afraid of joining the struggles in the urban areas. I say this in relation to planned protest actions against the puppetry, exploitativeness, corruption, brutality and mendacity of the Aquino regime. Dare to oust this despicable regime. Be courageous in resistance because whatever brutality this regime perpetrates, you now have an iron bastion in the countryside, among the peasants and farm workers waging revolution.

Fight and Defeat US Imperialism's Monstrous Cacique Puppet Regime

Message to Kilometer 64 Poetry Collective

March 11, 2014

I extend my solidarity to all of you patriotic authors and poets brought together by Kilometer 64. I am glad that you have gathered to celebrate the 11th anniversary of our association that was begun on March 14, 2003.

You already have a wealth of experience and should celebrate your successes. Your creative work, publications and presentations of patriotic poems are praiseworthy. You are renowned for your diligent propagation of significant poems in schools, streets, bars, picket lines and urban poor communities.

As the founding chairman of Kabataang Makabayan, I consider it a matter of great pride for the KM membership to have inspired the patriotic spirit and militant actions of Kilometer 64. With KM's 50th anniversary fast approaching, let us prepare its celebration this November 30.

It is well that Kilometer 64 continues and further invigorates the propagation of

the culture of patriotism and draw lessons from the revolutionary history of the Filipino nation. Our prominent icons are the patriotic poets Andres Bonfacio and Amado V. Hernandez.

So long as our motherland suffers from semifeudal and semicolonial status, it remains our task to write and deliver poems as weapons in the struggle for national liberation and democracy against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

Let us participate in all actions to arouse, organize and mobilize all of the oppressed and exploited classes and sectors of our nation. Let us engage in struggle whatever the danger, difficulties and sacrifice. The enemy is brutal and avaricious and we must exhaust all means to win the people's struggle.

Our constant inspiration is the brilliant role played by Kabataang Makabayan in advancing the democratic revolution before the fascist dictatorship was imposed, while it repressed and wrought havoc on the people and after it was defeated. We are now again being challenged to fight and defeat the monstrous regime of the cacique Aquino that is dementedly servile to US imperialism. Our current struggle is part of advancing along the path towards complete national liberation and democracy.

To end this message, I would like to recite my poem, "The Master Puppeteer and the Puppets"

In neocolonial times, the master puppeteer

Lends grandeur to the puppets and places them

On stage, the mass media and various gatherings.

To create the illusion of democracy, he arranges

Electoral contests like the colorful cockpits

In many a town fiesta for a few months.

But most important to the master puppeteer

Is to choose the puppet politicians most eager to serve

In collaboration with the US and local exploiters,

And make the exploited and oppressed believe

That they have freely chosen from the best possible.

But the revolutionary movement arose

To arouse, organize and mobilize the masses

To confront the oppressors and exploiters,

To seize power in the localities wave upon wave

And attain the strength to liberate the nation

Mainly the workers and peasants.

The Filipino people hate the master puppeteer

For changing the puppet leaders to oppress them.

They reject Marcos' brazen despotism

As well as the bogus democratic successors

Who take turns in oppressing the people

And serve the foreign and local exploiters.

Carry Out your Tasks in Advancing the Youth Movement

Keynote to the 7th National Congress of Anakbayan

May 10, 2014

Militant revolutionary greetings to all my fellow activists in Anakbayan and all your guests! It is my great honor and joy that you have invited me to keynote your 7th National Congress. Anakbayan is well-known throughout the country as the most consolidated and militant comprehensive national democratic organization of the Filipino youth in the arena of the legal mass struggle. You have gathered the patriotic and progressive youth from the exploited and oppressed classes and sectors: workers, peasants, students, low-income professionals, women and minorities in your organization.

It is remarkable that your membership has reached more than 20,000 since its founding in November 1998. You have truly imbibed the noble spirit of the Katipunan and the 1896 Revolution and like the Kabataang Makabayan you follow the line of the new democratic revolution. You have aptly convened in your 7th Congress the youth leaders from the different regions, provinces and chapters inside and outside the country to sum up your experience, assess your strengths and weaknesses, formulate the next 2-year program and elect your National Council and National Executive Committee. It is important that you unite in understanding your situation, current status and capabilities in your

efforts to greatly strengthen your ranks, in carrying out your tasks and in advancing the youth movement and that of the Filipino people along the line of new democratic revolution. You must be good at arousing, organizing and mobilizing the youth.

We are in the midst of an ever-worsening crisis of the global capitalist system and the local ruling system of big compradors and landlords and the intensifying exploitation and oppression of the broad masses of the youth and Filipino people.

The depravity and servility to US imperialism of the Aquino regime, which represents the exploiting classes, knows no bounds. In the whole country today, the Aquino regime has no equal in its puppetry, exploitativeness, corruption, cruelty and deceit.

The regime has shamelessly sold out our national sovereignty and patrimony. It has allowed foreign corporations to own up to 100 percent of our land and businesses. Through the so-called Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement it has allowed the US to setup military bases and store weapons inside Philippine territory. Through the deceitful use of English terms, it is making the stay of US bases and troops permanent and virtually turning the whole Philippines into their aircraft carrier.

Let us exert all efforts to expose and oppose the worst policies and actions of the Aquino regime in order to isolate and oust it from power. The reason and opportunity to oust the regime is present. In case Aquino is able to complete his term, you will still become strong in the process of struggle and become even stronger in the continuing to struggle against the next evil regime that will follow and against the entire ruling system.

Long live Anakbayan!

Fight for the rights of the youth and Filipino people!

Long live the Filipino youth!

Fight for the victory of the national democratic revolution!

Long live the Filipino people!

The Historic Role and Contributions of Kabataang Makabayan

Essay on Celebrating Its 50th Founding Anniversary

November 30, 2014

In view of the fact that I was founding chairman of Kabataang Makabayan (KM) in 1964 and led it until I was forced to go underground in 1968, I am overjoyed and greatly honored to be able to join in the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the KM. These celebrations encompass and give meaning to all the struggles, sacrifices and victories of the KM in the service of the Filipino youth and the entire Filipino people.

Continuing the revolutionary tradition of the Filipino people

We wanted to found the KM on the revolutionary tradition of the Filipino people. Thus, we deliberately founded the KM on the 101st birth anniversary of Andres Bonifacio on November 30, 1964. We wanted to honor him for organizing the Katipunan and leading the proclamation of the national liberation of the Filipino people against Spanish colonialism.

We drew our inspiration from him as the revolutionary father of the Filipino nation and wholeheartedly pledged to follow the revolutionary tradition of the Katipunan and continue the unfinished Philippine revolution by completing the struggle for national freedom and democracy against foreign and local domination. We knew fully well that US imperialism frustrated the Philippine revolution by unleashing a war of aggression against the Filipino people, turned the Philippines into its colony by massacring hundreds of thousands of Filipinos and training its puppets for semicolonial rule.

We understood that the Philippines had already entered the era of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution. The working class had now become a significant force in Philippine society as the most productive and progressive force. The Communist Party had emerged as the advanced detachment of the working class to lead the struggle of the Filipino people against foreign and local domination. It heroically fought the fascist Japanese occupation and later the reconquest of the Philippines by US imperialism. The KM founders were fully aware of the logical connection of the old democratic revolution led by the liberal bourgeoisie against old-style Spanish colonialism and feudalism and the new democratic revolution led by the working class against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism in the semicolonial and semifeudal situation of the Philippines in the era of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution. From the very start, we aspired to advance the people's democratic revolution in order to pave the way for the subsequent socialist revolution.

The patriotic and progressive role and the tasks of KM

The KM served as the patriotic and progressive vanguard of the Filipino youth. It was designed to be the comprehensive organization of the youth from the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the petty bourgeoisie. It offered itself as assistant to the working class, the leading class in the new democratic revolution. It endeavored to be the training center for activists in the legal democratic movement and the future cadres of the revolution.

The founding Congress of the KM formulated the Constitution and Program of Action along the general line of the people's struggle for national and social liberation. The KM demanded complete national freedom, democratic rights, power to the working class, genuine land reform and national industrialization, social justice, nationalist, scientific and mass culture and an independent foreign policy for the unity of all peoples and nations, peace and development against imperialism and reaction.

The founders of the KM included proletarian revolutionaries and participants of mass actions from 1959 onwards. They originated from the student movement, labor movement, peasant movement and intellectual circles. They gained an understanding of the new democratic revolution because of previous study sessions conducted on the history and circumstances of the Filipino people and the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism. They were convinced that the victory of the new democratic revolution would pave the way for a better and prosperous future for the Filipino people through socialism.

Advancing the mass movement and molding proletarian revolutionaries

The KM advanced the national democratic mass movement in the 1960s. It aroused, organized and mobilized students in high school and college, young teachers and other professionals, the youth in the Lapiang Manggagawa (Workers Party) and unions, and the youth in the peasant associations. We organized chapters in schools, factories, urban poor communities and peasant communities.

We conducted study sessions on the general line of new democratic revolution and on current issues. We invited the most enthusiastic and advanced activists in studies on the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism. We were determined to advance the mass movement by arousing, organizing and mobilizing the youth along the line of the national democratic struggle. Simultaneously, we were determined to mold proletarian revolutionaries from among the mass activists.

This is in accordance with the role of KM as support of the working class and its revolutionary party.

We issued statements and launched dramatic protest mass actions on events and issues concerning national sovereignty, democratic rights and the social conditions of the Filipino people and youth. We confronted US imperialism and the ruling system of big compradors and landlords on domestic issues. We also expressed unity with the oppressed peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the people in the imperialist countries.

KM became the most prominent organization denouncing and calling for the scrapping of unequal treaties with the US such as the US-RP Military Assistance Agreement, Military Bases Agreement, Mutual Defense Pact, Quirino-Foster Agreement and Laurel-Langley Agreement. We denounced the puppet government for its subservience to US imperialism and its betrayal of the sovereign rights and interests of the Filipino people.

We exposed and opposed the comprador-landlord nature of the reactionary government. We demanded the improvement of wages and working conditions of the workers, genuine land reform for the benefit of the landless peasants and the promotion of national industrialization, expansion of the public education system in all levels and better study and living conditions of students. We denounced the worsening unemployment, the collapse of wages, excessive price increases of ordinary goods and services and the lack or absence of basic social services. We vigorously denounced the US and its imperialist allies in their military intervention and aggression and supported the struggles of the peoples victimized by them. We fought against the Project Malaysia of the US and UK, the US-directed massacre of the Indonesian people, the all-out war of aggression against the Vietnamese and Indochinese people and the US intervention and aggression against the Cuban and Korean people and other peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Building alliances with other patriotic and progressive forces

In order to expand the KM in particular places, regions and the whole country, KM relied mainly on its own strength and was reinforced by alliances with certain classes and sectors and on a multisectoralmultisectoral basis. It was able to recruit workers and form branches among them in solidarity work with labor federations. The peasant associations took charge of arranging immersion programs of KM in the countryside. KM built alliances with campus and national organizations of student associations and those of teachers and other professionals.

Even before the founding of KM, some of the founders had already begun to work in the labor movement and in the Lapiang Manggagawa in 1962. They engaged in research and education work, in organizing unions and supporting strikes. That is why they had close links with the workers and were able to recruit members from among them who would found the KM. Because of their fine work, the founding chairman of KM became the vice-chairman of Lapiang Manggagawa [Workers Association] and general secretary of the Socialist Party.

The founders of KM also started to establish close links with the peasant cadres and peasant youth in Central Luzon and Southern Tagalog in 1963. The would-be KM chairman gave courses to veteran peasant cadres and their children so that they could review their past revolutionary studies. Because of his close ties with the peasants, peasant youth were recruited as founding members of the KM in 1964.

In 1966, the KM chairman became the general secretary of the anti-imperialist united front organization Movement for the Advancement of Nationalism (MAN) on the basis of the strength of Kabataang Makabayan and its close ties with the workers and peasant movements and the student movement and progressive circles among intellectuals.

A number of big anti-imperialist mass actions were carried out under the leadership of MAN.

Confronting the intensifying oppression and exploitation

Year after year, the chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system intensified under the Marcos regime. The broad masses of the people suffered under such intensified oppression and exploitation. Unemployment was widespread and prices of basic goods and services skyrocketed. The peasants bore the excessive burden of land-grabbing and increasing land rent. The students were burdened with the growing cost of education and living expenses.

The Marcos regime reacted even more violently to the mass protests on domestic issues. Marcos immediately agreed when the US asked the Philippines to be involved in the US war of aggression in Vietnam and he unleashed the military and the police against the youth led by the KM that protested against the Manila Summit in 1966 where President Lyndon Johnson of the US met with leaders of countries that were its surrogates and puppets in the Asia-Pacific region. In response, KM intensified its deployment of urban mass activists for mass work in the countryside to prepare for people's war.

KM expanded nationwide. It recruited student leaders from among the national organizations of students and from the upsurge of student strikes. Members were recruited and chapters were formed in all the regions and in many provinces including those of the Moro in Mindanao and the BIBAK provinces of the Cordillera. It gave special attention to the national minorities because they remained the most exploited and oppressed and because they had fought against foreign domination. It gave political education and training to those who later became the leaders of the revolutionary movement among the Moro and Igorot people.

Political education, propaganda and cultural work

In organizing its chapters, KM always had an OD-ED group. The OD cadre made sure that organizational meetings were coordinated with those who must be organized and the chapter was formed through the election of the officers. The ED cadre made sure that there was sufficient understanding on the part of new recruits on the general line of the new democratic revolution, on the important points of the KM Constitution and the Program of Action and on burning issues of the day.

For political education, the KM handbook of principal documents served as the basic instrument in recruiting members and forming chapters. This was supplemented by the publication of the KM Chairman's book *Struggle for National Democracy* in 1967. This was further supplemented by the *Philippine Society and Revolution* of Amado Guerrero in 1969. Each book was enthusiastically read and studied by the membership of KM.

Every time KM was established in a city, province and region and its central organs were formed, KM made sure that there was a corps of KM cadres who had studied the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism.

In launching mass actions, preparatory meetings and rallies were held in the localities. Manifestos were written and distributed. Agitation was done in the streets. Speakers who were good at agitation were prepared. The Department of Education and Propaganda of KM trained writers and speakers for this purpose.

In order to make mass actions interesting and attractive, cultural numbers were presented on the streets and on makeshift stages. For this purpose, the Cultural

Department of KM encouraged the formation of cultural groups and the development of performers in the different art forms.

The proletarian revolutionaries against the Lava revisionists

A significant number of KM mass activists joined the old Communist and Socialist merger Party as in the case of the KM chairman who had earlier joined the party in 1962. They formed the biggest and most conscious section of the party. They studied the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, criticized and rejected modern revisionism centered in the Soviet Union, supported the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China and promoted in the Philippines the general line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war.

The young proletarian revolutionaries who founded the KM got their revolutionary education on the history of the Philippines and the burning issues under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism since 1959 independent of the old merger party. This party had in fact already disintegrated since 1957 when the general secretary declared the liquidationist "single-file" policy. He only gave a cursory look at the growing youth movement when the anti-CAFA rally occurred in 1961 and never even offered to give any kind of guidance.

When one of the Lava's sons, who was detached from the mass movement and a fulltime employee in the reactionary government, usurped the authority of the executive committee and secretariat of the old party, the proletarian revolutionaries inside the KM and the veteran cadres in the labor movement and peasant movement agreed to launch the Rectification Movement in 1966 and form a Provisional Political Bureau in 1967. They criticized and rejected the long history of Lavaite opportunism and prepared for the re-establishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines in 1968.

Upsurge of the mass movement

The re-establishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines on December 26, 1968 and the formation of the New People's Army were made public. This served as an inspiration to the mass movement in the national urban center and nationwide in 1969. Workers strikes broke out against the oppressive and exploitative owners of factories. Student protest rallies and strikes continued to spread like wildfire against the Marcos regime and against the ultrareactionary authorities in schools. A huge number of peasants from Central Luzon stormed into Manila to demand genuine land reform in 1969.

The First Quarter Storm of 1970 was ignited and further inflamed by the violent repression of the protest rallies and marches. The youth, workers and the people as a whole assembled in different parts of Metro Manila. The growing ranks of the marchers converged in Manila and rallied in front of Congress, the presidential palace and the US embassy. Some 50,000-100,000 participated in the weekly mass actions. They shouted "Makibaka, huwag matakot! Digmang bayan ang sagot sa Martial Law! (Dare to struggle, have no fear! People's war is the answer to Martial Law!)"

The Diliman Commune emerged in the University of the Philippines in the early part of 1971. It was sparked by the increase in gasoline prices that triggered an increase in the cost of education and living expenses. The Marcos regime ordered the military and police to invade the campus. But the students and teachers fought back by setting up barricades and occupying university buildings and surrounding areas. Mass protest actions were held by the youth, workers and peasants nationwide for the most part of that year.

Preparation and imposition of fascist dictatorship by Marcos

After winning the presidential elections in 1969 through fraud and terrorism and wasteful spending of public funds, Marcos showed signs of planning to perpetuate himself in power. He prattled on the line that the Philippines was a social volcano and extraordinary measures were needed. He plotted and egged on his political minions and the clerico-fascists to call for an overhaul of the Philippine constitution of 1935 in order to remove the maximum limit of two 4-year terms of the president and achieve his ambition to become a fascist dictator.

He is the brain behind the grenade throwing at the “miting de avance” of the opposition Liberal Party in Plaza Miranda in 1971. Only hours after the incident, he was already blaming it on the Communist Party of the Philippines and his chief political rival, Sen. Benigno Aquino Jr. and suspended the writ of habeas corpus. He ordered raids on the offices of Kabataang Makabayan throughout the country and other national democratic mass organizations and the arrest of their leaders. The suspension of the writ of habeas corpus was the dress rehearsal for the fascist declaration of fascist martial law in 1972.

Due to the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus and the raids and arrests targeting the national democratic movement, KM speeded up the deployment of its most exposed and “wanted” leaders to the urban underground and to the countryside. It maintained openly the Bonifacio Center and other offices in the cities but limited the exposure of the KM officials who were on the “wanted” list of the military or those most vulnerable to arrest. Due to the mass protests initiated by the Movement of Concerned Citizens for Civil Liberties, Marcos pretended to lift the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus. However, KM made preparations for the expected proclamation of martial law, which Marcos formally did on September 21, 1972.

Even before 1972, KM had already deployed Party members who were in KM and advanced mass activists to join the New People’s Army or in mass work in the countryside to prepare local areas for developing guerrilla zones. But when martial law was declared an even far greater number of KM members joined the New People’s Army and did mass work in the countryside. When KM was

forced to go underground, it placed itself under the supervision of the Preparatory Commission of the National Democratic Front. It played an important part in the process of setting up the National Democratic Front which started to disseminate the 10-Point NDF Guide on April 24, 1973.

KM's contributions to the people's war and the united front

The Communist Party of the Philippines owes the KM a debt of gratitude for its nationwide expansion and its close links with the masses. In the 14 years of the Marcos fascist dictatorship, KM officers and members became cadres and members of the Communist Party of the Philippines. They held responsible positions in the leading organs and staffs of the CPP. They became commanders and political officers of the New People's Army. They organized the different forms of revolutionary mass movements for the workers, peasants, youth, women, teachers, health workers, cultural activists and others. They participated in the formation and operation of organs of political power.

The officers and members of KM came from the toiling masses of workers and peasants, from the middle strata of society and various sectors. They were in a position to help establish the united front in the different territorial levels and different areas of social activity. They were the forces that united the youth from the different patriotic and progressive classes and sectors. KM has been one of the outstanding entities within the National Democratic Front.

Leaders of the Moro National Liberation Front including Nur Misuari received their political education and training when they were leaders and members of KM. KM tirelessly encouraged the oppressed national minorities to assert and exercise their right to national self-determination. That is why the Moro people and Lumad in Mindanao, the Igorot people and other tribes in the mountains and the Aeta took the revolutionary path.

Overthrow of the fascist dictatorship

KM was a significant force in the 14-year struggle against the Marcos fascist dictatorship from the beginning to the end. In the whole Philippines, officers and members of KM participated in the people's war to fight the fascist regime and the entire ruling system. They were in the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army, in the underground mass organizations and organs of political power in the countryside.

They maintained and developed underground networks in the cities. They operated through activists who were unknown to the enemy in open organizations and institutions. They suddenly appeared and disappeared in lightning rallies, distributing leaflets, painting slogans on walls and paste posters in public places. They conducted surveillance on the enemy and provided the necessary intelligence to the armed city partisans.

They were present in all the efforts to revive the urban mass movement when the fascist regime appeared to have silenced the people in the 1970s and early part of the 1980s. They were involved in the open rebuilding of the patriotic and progressive labor unions, student organizations and various types of mass organizations. They were in antifascist alliances. After the Aquino assassination, they were among the most determined and militant activists in the growing mass movement that brought down the dictatorship.

In so many ways, they made big contributions in advancing the revolutionary struggle for national and social liberation. They worked hard and made sacrifices in the cities and in the countryside. A large percentage of those who were kidnapped, tortured and killed by the fascist Marcos regime came from the KM or received their political education and experience from KM.

Persevering in the underground movement and the long view

After the overthrow of the Marcos fascist dictatorship, KM decided on persisting in the underground as a major part of the National Democratic Front. From the start of the struggle against the fascist regime, KM had already served as the Communist Youth League. This has been the commitment made by KM since its founding 50 years ago to serve as support to the working class which is the vanguard of the people's democratic revolution and to be the center for training the youth for the revolution.

I covered the tasks and accomplishments of KM from its foundation up to the overthrow of Marcos in 1986. The current leadership of Kabataang Makabayan is in the best position to review its history, especially from 1986 to the present in order to sum up and assess its record, lay down the tasks and methods of work to make great strides and look forward to bigger accomplishments in the future.

A lot more work, sacrifices and militant struggles are needed to achieve the basic completion of the people's democratic revolution through the overthrow of the ruling system of the big compradors and landlords under US command. We can only proceed to the socialist stage of the Philippine revolution after the proletariat and people have seized political power and established the people's democratic state system. From there, we can start planning and carrying out the socialist revolution and construction.

But because we already have a clear socialist perspective even now, we look up to the leadership of the working class as the most progressive and productive force in completing the people's democratic revolution and in waging the socialist revolution.

It possesses the revolutionary theory and practical experience to confront, fight and defeat the big bourgeoisie. It also possesses the theory of continuing revolution and the initial experience in consolidating socialism, fighting modern revisionism and preventing the restoration of capitalism.

KM is responsible for the revolutionary education and training of the youth. In order to uphold the socialist perspective, it should propagate the study of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It encompasses the fundamental teachings of Marx and Engels in the period of Marxism, the additional teachings of Lenin, Stalin and Mao in relation to the victory of the proletarian revolution and establishment of socialist society in the period of Marxism-Leninism and the initial attempt of Mao to consolidate socialism, fight modern revisionism and prevent the restoration of capitalism in the period of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

The protracted and worsening crisis of global capitalism that is characterized by the boundless greed of the monopoly bourgeoisie and the financial oligarchy under neoliberalism and intensifying state terrorism and wars of aggression urges us to persevere more determinedly and militantly to complete the people's democratic revolution and proceed to the socialist revolution.

Message of Solidarity to NNARA-Youth

on its 20th Anniversary

September 19, 2015

We, the International League of Peoples' Struggle, express our warmest greetings of solidarity to the National Network of Agrarian Reform Advocates–Youth (NNARA–Youth) as it celebrates its 20th founding anniversary.

We highly appreciate that you are making a meaningful and purposeful celebration by holding a National Council Assembly with the theme, “BIGWAS: Dalawang Dekada ng Pakikibaka para sa Tunay na Reporma sa Lupa at Pagbasag sa Pyudalismo” [Strike, Two Decades of Struggle for Genuine Land Reform and for Breaking Feudalism] and undertaking a series of workshops on speakers training, theater work, propaganda writing and social media guides.

We congratulate you for all your achievements since your founding in 1995 by a group of students from the Development Studies program of the University of the Philippines (UP) Manila. Your chapters are now in UP Diliman, UP Los Baños, Polytechnic University of the Philippines, and in other schools, universities and communities in Isabela, Cagayan, Negros, Davao and the CARAGA region.

NNARA–Youth has become the most outstanding mass organization of peasant youth and students who support the struggle of the landless farmers for land, economic and political rights, and progressive economic development. You have been successful in your efforts to educate, organize, and mobilize the youth, in the rural and urban areas, to integrate and march with the peasants for pro-people policy making, in people-centered production and political campaigns, and to spread a nationalist, scientific, and mass-oriented culture.

We commend you for maintaining a multifaceted approach in engaging the youth in your advocacy by conducting direct organizing through integration programs, education and research programs, carrying out campaign and advocacy programs and maximizing all possible ways and means to lead the youth in treading the path to advocacy for genuine land reform and all the rights and welfare of the peasants. You have used well all available channels of information and education, including the traditional and latest devices of communications.

We are confident that your National Council Assembly will be able to assess and evaluate your accumulated and recent experiences, recognize your achievements as basis for further advance and overcome shortcomings, learn lessons from both positive and negative experiences and set forth the tasks for further strengthening your organization and making greater contributions to the advancement of the peasant struggle for land within the framework of the national democratic movement.

The main content of the struggle for democracy in the Philippines is the fulfilment of the peasant demand for land. It is through genuine land reform that the peasant majority of the people are liberated economically, socially, politically and culturally. Land reform must be carried out in conjunction with national industrialization to establish and strengthen the basis for agricultural cooperatives and mechanization of agriculture and preclude retrogressions to feudal and semifeudal forms of exploitation.

The Filipino peasant masses have been victimized for so long by bogus land reform programs of reactionary regimes. The high valuation of the land and the lack of support for production and the proper sale of products have always predetermined the failure of reactionary land reform programs. From one reactionary regime to another, the peasant masses fall prey to all forms of land reconsolidation by landlords, corrupt government officials, agri-corporations and swarms of merchant-usurers.

The US-Aquino regime continues to escalate the exploitation and oppression of the people under the neoliberal economic policy and the national military campaign Oplan Bayanihan. The peasant masses suffer most from the lack of national industrialization and land reform and from the dumping of foreign surplus agricultural products on the people. The growing number of peasant youth are being forced to take low-income odd jobs in farms and in urban slums. The regime has no answer to the growing poverty, unemployment and social unrest in the countryside but to launch brutal campaigns of military suppression.

The growing number of toiling masses, without land to till and without industrial jobs, and the dependence of the Philippine economy on foreign debt, portfolio investments, import-based consumption, raw material exports, unstable semi-manufactures, call centers, upscale private construction and the export of a big part of the labor force are manifestations of a disintegrating semicolonial and semifeudal system and are increasingly favorable conditions for waging revolution.

We stand united with the NNARA-Youth in understanding and acting on the demands of the Filipino people for national independence, democracy, social justice, real economic development, a patriotic, scientific, progressive and pro-people culture and international solidarity with all the peoples and forces of the world that are fighting for national liberation, democracy and socialism against imperialism and reaction.

**Arouse, Organize and Mobilize
the broadest Number of Youth
for National Democracy and Socialism**

Message to the League of Filipino Student on its 19th National Congress

October 3, 2015

We of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) extend our warmest greetings and solidarity to the national leadership, chapters and members of the League of Filipino Students and all delegates and guests on its 19th National Congress.

We salute you in maintaining LFS as the most solid, most militant and strongest national democratic mass organization of high school and college students as well as young teachers. We are proud of the LFS as a member-organization of the ILPS.

It was a great honor for me to have been part of the planning and daring establishment of the open LFS in 1977 and the revitalization of the underground Kabataang Makabayan in the face of Marcos' brutal and bloody fascist dictatorship. The LFS was organized as an alliance of students against tuition fee

hikes and violations of democratic rights.

While in prison, it brought me great pleasure to have been told that the LFS had openly expressed its adherence to the national democratic line and program in its 3rd National Congress in 1982. I was also told about the reports of LFS' successful efforts to arouse, organize and mobilize the broadest number of youth for national democracy and socialism.

We in the ILPS have great hopes that you will have a successful National Congress. You have correctly laid down for this congress the theme "Continue the patriotic tradition of the Filipino youth! Advance the people's national democratic struggle!"

It is of utmost importance to be always conscious that the Filipino youth constitute the biggest and most vibrant part of all past revolutionary struggles from the time of Andres Bonifacio and Emilio Jacinto. Any movement will weaken and subside if it fails to enlist a big number of the youth into the struggle.

There is no other way to advance the national democratic struggle except through arousing, organizing and mobilizing more youth from the ranks of students and the toiling masses. It is always necessary and decisive to have huge numbers of the militant youth in the mass movement. We are sure that your National Congress will be able to fulfill your objectives of assessing and evaluating, and setting the policies, plans and programs of the LFS and electing national officers with the capability and decisiveness to advance the patriotic and progressive student movement at the high school and college levels.

It is fine that you will be holding discussions on the national and international situations, on neoliberal education, and on the anti- imperialist writings of the

ILPS chair. Thus, you will have a clear context for conducting your political work. You should also hold training activities for the LFS' various tasks. You must grasp the methods of fulfilling your tasks.

We in the International League of Peoples' Struggle have high hopes that your Congress will result in more vigorous, militant and fruitful student actions in the coming years. Your organization plays a major and decisive role in the advance of your sector and the people's national democratic movement as a whole.

Long live the League of Filipino Students!

Advance the student movement along the national democratic line!

Long live the Philippine revolution and the Filipino people!

Confront the Global Economic and Political Crisis Respond to the Need for Revolutionary Change

Message of Solidarity to the 2nd National Congress of Anakbayan-USA

January 16, 2016

We, the International League of Peoples' Struggle, wish to convey our warmest greetings of solidarity to our beloved member-organization Anakbayan-USA on the occasion of its 2nd National Congress.

We congratulate you for having established eleven chapters in cities across the US. We appreciate your determination to boldly expand and consolidate your membership. We hope that you will accomplish your objective under the General Program of Action that you will promulgate and the new National Executive Committee that you shall elect.

We are confident that you will succeed in the next three years to campaign for defending and saving the schools and communities of the Lumad against militarization, repression, mining, logging and plantations and for upholding the human right to education in the US against the onerous student debt, the rising costs of education and other attacks under the neoliberal policy.

We encourage you to develop stronger solidarity relations with non-Filipino youth and communities in the US along the anti-imperialist and democratic line. You must confront the same increasingly oppressive and exploitative conditions

in the US and in the world. Such conditions have resulted from the unjust character of US monopoly capitalism, its ever-worsening crisis and its relentless drive for plunder and aggression.

We welcome the theme of your congress, “Upsurge! Unite the Youth to Fight for Our Liberation!” In this connection, we try to shed light on the global economic and political crisis and urge you to confront the crisis and respond to the need for revolutionary change in the US, in the Philippines and elsewhere in the world.

The US is the chief instigator and enforcer of the neoliberal economic policy. This policy of unbridled greed pushes down wage incomes, gives tax cuts to the monopoly firms, cuts back public funding for social services and benefits, liberalizes trade and investments, privatizes state assets and does away with regulations that protect labor, women, children, the entire society and the environment.

The result is the more frequent recurrence and rapid worsening of the crisis of overproduction. The monopoly bourgeoisie tries to override the crisis and increase its profits by generating financial bubbles which inevitably burst and aggravate both economic and financial crises. There is yet no real and lasting recovery from the economic plunge and global depression that started in 2008.

The imperialist powers individually try to pass the burden of crisis to the people in their respective countries and collectively to the people of the underdeveloped countries through austerity measures, international usury, higher taxes, faster extraction of natural resources and higher rates of profits. The US has led the imperialist powers in war production and unleashing wars of aggression and proxy wars in order to directly profit from war production as well as to impose hegemony on other countries.

But the crisis of global capitalism has become so grave that contradictions among the imperialist powers have become pronounced. They are increasingly engaged in a struggle for a redivision of the world in terms of economic territory and spheres of geopolitical influence.

The US, the EU and Japan still control the traditional summits (G-7 and OECD), multilateral agencies (IMF, World Bank and WTO) and military alliances (NATO and bilateral security alliances). But Russia and China have formed their alliances like the BRICS and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization.

Because of its own imperialist arrogance, its rapacity and high propensity for aggression, the US has undermined its own position in the world and is on a strategic decline faster than ever before. It has financialized the US economy to the extent of having grave difficulties in reviving manufacturing and employment. It has spent trillions of dollars on bank bailouts and on wars of aggression.

It is a matter of justice to themselves that the American people of various nationalities rise up against the imperialist oppressors and the exploiters. Anakbayan-USA must be united with the rest of the American people in fighting against the rise of state terrorism, white supremacist racism, religious bigotry and other reactionary currents that multiply the harshness of economic exploitation, unemployment and poverty.

Anakbayan-USA must also stand in solidarity with the Filipino people in the motherland and do whatever is possible and necessary to support their struggle. The Filipino people and overseas Filipinos anywhere in the world must be united with all the peoples fighting against US imperialism and all reaction in order to achieve greater freedom, democracy, social justice, all-round development, international solidarity and peace.

Prospects under the Duterte Administration and Tasks of the Filipino Youth

June 10, 2016

I thank Anakbayan, League of Filipino Students, Student Christian Movement of the Philippines, Panday Sining-KARATULA, National Union of Students of the Philippines, College Editors Guild of the Philippines, and Kabataan Partylist for inviting me to speak before this All Leaders Forum on the GPH-NDFP Peace Talks.

I propose to state each of the twelve points in the Program of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines and discuss the prospects under the Duterte administration and the tasks of the Filipino youth. I shall elaborate on the first four points to ensure a common understanding of our national and democratic framework and then I shall proceed with the subsequent points at a quicker pace.

First point: Unite the people for the overthrow of the semicolonial and semifeudal system through a people's war and for the completion of the national democratic revolution.

On the basis of his previous pronouncements, Duterte can easily agree to a radical or substantial change of the semicolonial and semifeudal system but not

to the overthrow of the system through a people's war. He is unique for declaring himself as the first Left president of the Philippines and a socialist but not a communist. He also says that he is against armed struggle and in that sense he is for peace negotiations with the NDFP and is willing to cooperate in realizing basic reforms or major changes.

Having been my student in his university days and a member of Kabataang Makabayan and having been associated with BAYAN, he understands what are the forces that make the semicolonial and semifeudal conditions and he is against the dominance of the US and other foreign powers, feudal exploitation and bureaucratic corruption. He has however declared opposition to armed struggle. The question therefore arises whether the national democratic revolution can be completed in the absence of a people's war.

He can argue that as president and commander-in-chief of the reactionary armed forces, police and auxiliary forces he has the armed strength to guarantee the reforms that the people demand against imperialism and the oligarchy. But examples in history abound of well-meaning leaders or heads of state succumbing to neocolonial and neoliberal economic and financial manipulation, subjected to coup d'état by their own armed forces and/or impeachment by Congress once they cross the line set by the US and oligarchs.

If he agrees on basic social, economic and political reforms with the NDFP, he must also agree to arousing, organizing and mobilizing the people in support of a government of national unity, peace and development. There must be provisions for developing all means for satisfying the demands of the people, especially the toiling masses, and for resisting effectively the use of deception and violence by the imperialist and oligarchic enemies of the people.

The manner by which President Duterte has been elected, the current composition of his government and his own pronouncements show that there is still a long way to negotiate comprehensive agreements on social, economic and

political reforms that are satisfactory to the people. An interim ceasefire is possible to generate goodwill and a favorable atmosphere for the release of more than 500 political prisoners and for the acceleration of peace negotiations. But revolutionary vigilance is necessary for defending the patriotic and progressive forces as well as for a Duterte presidency that may come under threats from the US and local reactionaries.

Having said the foregoing, I urge the Filipino youth to continue all their efforts to unite the people for the overthrow of the semicolonial and semifeudal system through a people's war and for the completion of the national democratic revolution. This task is validated by the lack of any final peace agreement that is satisfactory to the people. Even when and if there is already such agreement, the contracting parties and the people must still be ready to uphold, defend and advance the basic reforms agreed upon.

Any truce and alliance with the Duterte presidency should be justifiable in terms of serving the national and democratic rights and interests of the Filipino people. So long as such presidency is moving ahead along this line, any of its self-contradiction, imperfection or inadequacy by acts of commission and omission may be the subject of critical analysis and constructive proposal. The patriotic and progressive forces maintain their independence and initiative. A balance of unity and struggle must be maintained, with the latter always standing on just and reasonable grounds, with the objective of improving or strengthening the alliance.

Second point: Establish a people's democratic republic and a democratic coalition government.

In the peace negotiations with the Duterte government, what is in sight is not a people's democratic republic under the leadership of the working class and the Communist Party on the basis mainly of the worker-peasant alliance. To have that kind of republic, you have to overthrow the exploiting classes of big

compradors and landlords through the people's war. But the kind of republic now possible is one in which inside and outside the government the participation of the Communist Party of the Philippines is no longer banned but encouraged.

What is in sight is a kind of coalition government that involves the participation of the Communist Party amidst other patriotic and progressive forces. It is a government of national unity, peace and development. It is a framework within which all the patriotic and progressive forces can grow in strength because a common ground of basic reforms resulting from successful peace negotiations has been laid. And the Communist Party can prove that it best serves the people with its program of action and concrete deeds in this regard.

President Duterte must be credited for having offered the possibility of a coalition government long before winning elections. And in the process of forming his cabinet, he has generously offered to the Communist Party four cabinet posts concerned with labor, agrarian reform, social welfare and the environment. The CPP and NDFP have thanked the President for making the offer and have proposed that legal progressives can take the positions while the known revolutionary leaders must first focus on the progress of the peace process. The progressives are in the minority in Duterte's cabinet. But Duterte's actions before and after the elections have thus far been encouraging to the patriotic mass movement. The task of the Filipino youth is to help develop and avail of a democratic coalition government in order to advance towards the goal of developing a people's democratic republic. They must support the patriotic and progressive initiatives and measures undertaken in an alliance with an otherwise fully reactionary government. They should continue to help in strengthening the mass movement in the cities and countryside and the organs of political power in the countryside to serve as the strong foundation for a developing coalition government.

Third point: Build the people's revolutionary army and the people's defense system.

President Duterte has said time and again that he is against armed struggle and that he is for the existence of only one army in the Philippines. This proposition must undergo the test of what is immediately possible, which is an interim ceasefire in place, and further negotiations on the end of hostilities and redistribution of the armed forces of both sides. There are many possibilities to consider in dealing with two opposing armies that cease to fight each other.

No genuine armed revolutionary movement has ever accepted capitulation and outright dismantling while the opposite remains intact and growing. Truce and alliance are the most realizable. Revolutionary armed units can become guards of the environment and the industries under conditions of peace and development. Integration of armed forces is permissible as in the experience of the Chinese revolution. Mutual demobilization is also possible if armed units have become redundant due to the existence of peace. The armed personnel of both sides can then opt to take industrial jobs or go back to agriculture and partake of the benefits of genuine land reform.

Certainly a lot of savings can be made for development and social services if there is a just and lasting peace. But if the social, economic and political reforms are serious and deepgoing enough, the US and the local reactionary forces are likely to wage armed counterrevolution, be it a coup d'etat or civil war or even an outright war of aggression by US imperialism. Because of such a high probability, there must be provisions for effective people's resistance.

The Filipino youth must support truce and alliance for the purpose of achieving national unity, peace and development and must always be alert and ready to fight armed counterrevolution or foreign aggression or intervention. At the first sign of a serious and imminent threat of violence against the Filipino people, the Filipino youth must rise up to join in their defense. They can do so only if they do not cease to build their mass movement and train for the defense of the people.

Fourth point: Uphold and promote the people's democratic rights.

The entire Filipino people must uphold and promote their democratic rights: political, civil, economic, social and cultural rights against those who oppress and exploit them. The fundamental rights of the people are spelled out in the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution and the Guide for Establishing the People's Government. The NDFP has also succeeded with the Manila government in making a Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law and has used the International Bill of Rights and the Geneva Conventions as the point of reference.

President Duterte's avowed focus on the crusade against crime and civil violence and his sense of urgency in implementing his reform platform have the effect of highlighting issues of human rights, especially civil and political rights. His reform platform has aroused and mobilized millions of people in spontaneous ways to support his electoral campaign and initial policies. This has gigantic potential for mass organizing in a progressive direction or otherwise.

The Filipino youth must be conscious of the fact that they constitute the largest part of the people, they are the most open to fundamental social change and they are the most resolute and militant in demanding and pursuing such change. They must persevere in the struggle to assert, defend and advance the people's democratic rights.

Fifth point: Terminate all unequal relations with the United States and other foreign entities.

The recent statement of President Duterte not to be dependent on the US for national security is welcome. After the Permanent Court of Arbitration decides in favor of the Philippines in its maritime dispute with China, China will have

less reason to encroach on the Exclusive Economic Zone and the Extended Continental Shelf of the Philippines and the Philippines will be more confident in further developing relations with China and in scrapping the unequal executive agreements with the US, like the Visiting Forces Agreement and the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement.

The Filipino people must uphold their national sovereignty and independence and the territorial integrity of their country. They must continue to demand the termination of all treaties, agreements and arrangements that involve unequal relations with other countries in the economic, financial, political and military spheres. The Filipino youth must use their intelligence to end the reactionary tradition and practice of subservience to the imperialist powers. These have perpetuated the conditions of high unemployment, underdevelopment and widespread poverty.

Sixth point: Implement genuine agrarian reform, promote agricultural cooperation, raise rural production and employment through the modernization of agriculture and rural industrialization and ensure agricultural sustainability.

It is fine that President Duterte has appointed the long-time peasant leader Rafael Mariano as the Secretary of Agrarian Reform. The Aquino regime has allowed the bogus Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program-Enhanced Reform to lapse two years ago. More than 80 percent of the supposed land reform beneficiaries have failed to amortize the land allotted to them. Land is always reaccumulated by a few in the wake of the fake reform program. Ka Paeng now has responsibility to push a new land reform law to effectively redistribute land to the tillers.

The Filipino people, the peasants themselves and the entire Filipino youth must push for the adoption and implementation of a genuine land reform program that involves the free distribution of land to the tillers, agricultural cooperation, increased production and employment through rural industrialization. Genuine

land reform is the way to the economic, social and political liberation of the landless tillers. It is the main content of the democratic revolution. It is the necessary complement to national industrialization, assuring the people of food self-sufficiency and industries of major raw materials and enlarged domestic market.

Seventh point: Break the combined dominance of the US and other imperialists, big compradors and landlords over the economy. Carry out national industrialization and build an independent and self-reliant economy.

The combination of the imperialist powers headed by the US and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords have kept the people severely exploited and impoverished, the economy underdeveloped and the environment ravaged. It is necessary to carry out national industrialization and build an independent and self-reliant economy.

President Duterte has at certain times declared the need for a steel industry and national industrialization and the processing of the mineral ores taken away from the country. At other times he promises to create business islands and increase the special economic zones for foreign companies. So far he has appointed to key economic positions in his cabinet exponents of the neoliberal economic policy. But we look forward to engaging the Duterte government in peace negotiations and in due course persuade it to adopt the policy of national industrialization firmly and vigorously.

The Filipino people and youth must support the plan of the NDFP to have raw materials provided by agriculture and mineral ores provided by the extractive industries processed in our country in order to advance national industrialization and employ the millions of people who are unemployed and/or who go abroad for work. We can combine state and private Filipino resources to build industries. We can acquire investments and technology from a wide range of countries to avoid being dominated by one, two or three imperialist powers.

Eighth point: Adopt a comprehensive and progressive social policy.

It is fine that President Duterte has appointed Judy Taguiwalo as the secretary of social welfare and development. We have someone to rely on for providing timely distribution of relief goods and rehabilitation funds and other resources to cope with social and natural disasters. But the way to uplift the people is to develop the economy through national industrialization and land reform. These provide expanding employment and better means of livelihood along major lines of production and in medium and small enterprises.

The Filipino people and youth must support the plan for economic development and create and ensure democratic conditions to spread the benefits of a growing economy to the people. The people must exercise their democratic rights to demand better work and living conditions, increased social benefits and more and better social services.

Ninth point: Promote a national, scientific and pro-people culture.

President Duterte has emphasized the importance and necessity of expanding education as a way for uplifting the children and the youth and ensuring the steady progress of the people. He has announced his intention to rechannel resources to free public education and public health from bureaucratic corruption and from so many useless and yet costly projects and programs. He has expressed criticism of K-12 and has appointed a progressive person as secretary of education.

Even as more resources are intended to benefit education, the Filipino people and youth must demand a national, scientific and pro-people culture. We must

promote a patriotic type of cultural and educational system that is proud of our national heritage and mindful of the current needs of the nation. We must free ourselves from feudal and medieval biases. We must use science and technology to hasten economic development. We must ensure that education and culture serve the needs and demands of the people, especially the toiling masses of workers and peasants.

Tenth point: Uphold the rights to self-determination and democracy of the Moro people, Cordillera peoples and other national minorities or indigenous peoples.

The Duterte government proposes to replace the current unitary state with a federal state. It believes that federalism is the way to assure the Moro people of regional autonomy and a fair share of the wealth that comes from their own region. Objectors argue that federalism would enhance and embolden centrifugal forces. Whatever is the form of government, the Filipino people and youth must uphold the rights to self-determination and democracy of the Moro people, the Cordillera peoples and other national minorities or indigenous peoples.

Eleventh point: Advance the revolutionary emancipation of women in all spheres.

While mayor of Davao City, Duterte has recognized and appreciated the role of women in public life, has created facilities for women and children in need and has demonstrated his abhorrence of violence to women. What remains to be seen is what more he can do to uphold gender equality and help realize the high potential of women who have long been suppressed by patriarchy. The Filipino people and youth must advance further the emancipation women in all spheres of social endeavor. There is no sphere where they cannot excel like the menfolk if they are recognized equally and enjoy equal opportunities.

Twelfth point: Adopt an active, independent and peaceful foreign policy.

President Duterte has demonstrated in a number of instances his patriotic position regarding the unjust acts and impositions of foreign powers and has in mind the immediate and long-term interests of the Filipino people. The Philippines must have an active, independent and peaceful foreign policy.

The Filipino people and youth must demand the adoption and implementation of such policy. We can carry forward such a policy by upholding our national sovereignty and dignity, practicing self-reliance in all fields of social endeavor (economic, political and cultural) and aiming for solidarity and cooperation for peace and development against imperialism and all reaction.

Celebrate 85 Years of Patriotic and Democratic Campus Press: Challenge the New Regime to Uphold the People's Democratic Interests

Message to the College Editors Guild of the Philippines

August 3, 2016

As an alumnus of the College Editors Guild of the Philippines, I wish to express warmest greetings of solidarity to all the delegates of the 76th National Student Press Convention and the 38th Biennial Student Press Congress. I join you in celebrating the 85 years of patriotic and democratic campus press and in challenging the new regime to uphold the people's democratic interests.

Since its founding on July 25, 1931, the CEGP has excellently and fruitfully promoted independent and responsible campus journalism through upholding the people's democratic interests. It has grown as a national alliance and embraces more than 750 tertiary student publications with formations stretched in more than 81 provinces and cities.

I applaud the Guild as the national center for the advancement of campus press freedom and responsible campus journalism. In the current celebration of all the struggles and achievements, I urge you to renew the commitment to the patriotic and democratic orientation and uphold the rights, interests and welfare of the

youth and the people.

It is appropriate that you search annually for the top tertiary student student publications in the three principal categories of the tabloid, magazine, and broadsheet as well as in the secondary categories of the Literary Folio, Alternative Form, and Website. I congratulate in advance the recipients of Gawad Ernesto Rodriguez Jr., in honor of the CEGP founder.

I am glad that you continue to give the Gawad Marcelo H. del Pilar, the highest possible citation for CEGP alumni. I have always proud to have received this award and honored among such eminent awardees as National Artist for Literature Bienvenido Lumbera, Elmer Ordoñez, Isagani Yambot, Rep. Satur Ocampo, Beng Hernandez, Dean Armando Malay, Jose Burgos, Prof. Judy Taguiwalo, Gelacio Guillermo and others who have contributed their knowledge, talents and skills in the making of Philippine history.

I am glad that you are undertaking the 12th Gawad Benjaline Hernandez in honor of martyred CEGP Vice President for Mindanao Benjaline “Beng” Hernandez. She made the supreme sacrifice in upholding, defending and promoting human rights. This award is highly significant for inspiring the campus joiurnalists, the youth and people to fight for human rights against the continuing gross and systematic human rights violations by the coercive apparatuses of the state.

I wish the National Student Press Convention to achieve the utmost success this year as the national education festival of the CEGP. I appreciate highly the basic, intermediate and advanced courses of journalism and arts that you offer. I commend you for your sociopolitical education. Campus journalists have a major role in propagating the ideas and values of national independence, democracy, social justice, real economic development, cultural progress and solidarity of peoples.

I am sure that your gathering will continue to uphold the basic principles of the CEGP which is to educate its members to practice the standards of journalism and to determine the content of student publications. You have the benefit of learning the newest trend in journalism from respected media practitioners and journalists and receiving socio-political education from social scientists and political personalities on the standard issues of the day.

I am confident that you will achieve the objectives of developing the journalistic and writing skills of the Filipino youth and raising the level of their social and political awareness. You must take advantage of the array of journalism training workshops and forum discussions on contemporary social issues. You have the opportunity to learn much by sharing ideas and experiences with one another and educating yourselves on responsible journalism and writing.

It is correct that in this year's NSPC the CEGP focuses on various issues the Filipino youth and people are facing today, such as imperialist dominance and intervention in national policies and affairs, rampant graft and corruption in the government, and the worsening social, political and economic conditions as the crises of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system of big compradors and landlords worsen.

You must raise the awareness of campus journalists on the current circumstances of Philippine society and promote a comprehensive and deeper understanding of the basic problems of oppression and exploitation and possible solutions which the people and the patriotic and progressive forces can carry out.

You must view the new regime critically and analyze its policies and actions. You must challenge it to prove whether it is for the people, especially the oppressed and exploited, or for the interests of US imperialism and the local oligarchy of big compradors and landlords. You can support what is supportable

and oppose what is harmful to the people. You must persevere in the struggle for genuine press freedom and social transformation. You must stand up for the people and encourage the patriotic and progressive forces.

I congratulate the outgoing officers of the CEGP for their successful and fruitful tenure. And in advance I congratulate the incoming officers and wish them the best. I am confident the Student Press Congress, as the highest policy making body of CEGP, shall elect the new National President and Vice Presidents for Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao from so many committed, competent and diligent campus journalists.

I am confident that the CEGP will continue to develop further as the bulwark of the most informed, enlightening and articulate young activists who are dedicated to the cause of national and social liberation of the Filipino people. Thank you.

Patriotic Education Must Have a National, Scientific and Mass Character

Keynote Speech for the National Conference on Patriotic Education

October 14, 2016

It is my honor and pleasure to be invited by you to give a keynote speech for the National Conference on Patriotic Education in Social Science, Science and Technology, Filipino, Literature, Politics, Culture, Economy, Music, Media and other areas.

I thank the organizers of the conference: the Department of Filipinology of the Polytechnic University of the Philippines (PUP), Alliance of Concerned Teachers–Philippines (ACT-Philippines), Alliance of Defenders of the Filipino Language (TANGGOL WIKA), National Association of Linguistics and Philippine Literature (PSLLF), and Alliance of Defenders of History (TANGGOL KASAYSAYAN).

You have a comprehensive and profound interest in patriotic education. The conference program lays down the wide range of topics, high knowledge and rich experience of the keynote speakers coming from the different disciplines. I extend my greetings to them and to the 1,000 participants consisting of teachers, professors, employees in the education sector, and the education students from

various parts of the country who are participating in the conference and who will share their knowledge.

We are confident of the success of your conference that aims to lay down the basis for an alternative program of education that is nationalist, scientific and for the masses.

How can education have a patriotic character? It recognizes, respects and promotes the history of the revolutionary struggle of the Filipino people. National consciousness was formed and spread as a result of the oppression and exploitation of Spanish colonialism.

In more than three centuries, the colonial and feudal system, was imposed on the nation. This was because there was yet no national consciousness and the Spanish colonialists were able to centralize the administration of the separate communities in the various islands.

National consciousness was formed and spread when oppression worsened and the struggles intensified in the last three decades of the 19th century. But even before this, there were more than 200 local and sporadic struggles. This showed that the people could no longer accept the domination of the foreign oppressors. Subsequently, the Filipino people asserted their national sovereignty and independence and democratic aspirations which were taken up by the Katipunan and the Philippine revolution on a nationwide scale.

The national and democratic consciousness of the Filipino people developed even further in the process of waging struggle against different forms of oppression. We won the victory against Spanish colonialism. But US imperialism intervened and we entered into a more bloody struggle. The US imperialists used extreme violence and deception. They prevailed and imposed a

colonial and semifeudal system on the Philippines. Next came the invasion by the Japanese fascists during World War II. We defeated them but we were reconquered by the American imperialists.

Before World War II, the rise in national consciousness was signaled by the establishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines in 1930. Under the guidance of Marxist-Leninist theory, the Filipino workers learned how capitalism turned into monopoly capitalism or imperialism, how plunder continued against the oppressed classes in the entire world, and recognized the need to fight it through a new democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat. The era of imperialism and proletarian revolution had transcended the old democratic revolution under the leadership of the liberal bourgeoisie.

When the US granted nominal independence in 1946, the Philippines became a semicolonial and semifeudal country. Since then US domination has persisted due to the unequal treaties, agreements and arrangements in the economy, politics, security, education and culture. What is most corrosive to our national consciousness is the excessive domination and influence of US imperialism in our society. We can overcome imperialist domination if we constantly remind ourselves about our revolutionary tradition and proclaim the current tasks of the new democratic revolution.

Our national consciousness is strengthened if we cherish our national language and literary heritage, arts and culture, and respect our local and indigenous languages, literature, arts and culture. If we do not respect our own culture, it results in the worship of foreign culture and the disregard of our national dignity and rights. We must respect our own culture and not be burdened by a colonial mentality. We must have mutual respect for our own culture and for the culture of nations with whom we relate. We must be open to learning from the cultural achievements of other nations. But we always strive to learn the lessons that serve the country's needs and promote its well-being.

How can education be scientific? The scientific viewpoint and method must be used in confronting issues in the social and natural sciences. In the study of Philippine society, we must study the internal contradictions in the form of the contradictions between the exploiting and exploited classes and their relation to the foreign forces that are most responsible for the backwardness or progress of society. In solving social problems, we must study how to use science and technology to develop the country.

We must leave behind us the period in which religion and superstition are used by the reactionaries to block ideas and policies that serve to develop the country. We underwent the period of colonialism and feudalism under the Spaniards. They set up a theocratic system which merged colonial administration with the Catholic church. In the democratic revolution of 1896, the Malolos Constitution of 1899 effected the separation of state and church and significantly reduced the obscurantism that opposed science and sowed confusion in the secular affairs of the people. The friars and religious corporations lost their power but the patriotic clergy were able to take part in the revolution.

But the imperialists and their local cohorts continue to use obscurantism even if they say that they are for democracy and science. During their colonial rule, the US imperialists said that the Philippines would not develop unless the Filipinos were first taught about self-rule. When nominal independence was granted to the Philippines, the US cited anti-communism and defense of free enterprise to further promote a colonial mentality and worship of the US as the supposed savior of the Philippines against what it considered as the new evils in the new democratic revolution and socialism or in any effort to cut free from the clutches of imperialism.

In the development of social science, the world and the Philippines have now come to an understanding regarding scientific socialism as the alternative to capitalism that constantly breeds crisis and war. The working class is the principal factor in the building of socialism. This has been proven in a number of countries. And in the Philippines, the revolutionary party of the working class is

still trying to overthrow the state of the big compradors and landlords and replace it with a people's democratic state in order to complete the bourgeois democratic reforms and enter the stage of socialism.

In our efforts to achieve economic development under the new democratic revolution or under the united front of proletarian revolutionaries and the national bourgeoisie, we cannot but make use of science and technology to carry out national industrialization and genuine land reform that leads to cooperatives and mechanization. The Philippines is blessed because it has almost all the natural wealth needed for industrialization and many Filipino scientists, engineers, technologists and skilled workers in the different branches of industry. If we need additional help from outside the country, we can get help through solidarity with other peoples and from the normal course of trade among nations.

How can education be for the masses? Education must be used to serve the Filipino people especially the toiling masses of workers and peasants. Education must be used to stop exploitation and oppression. Whatever knowledge and skill learned by the educated in school must be used to serve the toiling masses. The professionals and educated must understand that the toiling masses are the creators of what sustains the life of society and the surplus product that sustains those who are engaged in politics and culture.

Education must not be used to take advantage of those who have little or no formal education. It is wrong for parents to teach their children to study well in order to climb up the social ladder and not fall to the position of the toiling masses. This patronizing attitude is easily imbibed because when one reaches high school and college or the university the cost of education rises so that you have to belong to at least the middle strata of society to pursue your studies.

The system of public education must be expanded at all levels and school fees must not be required from the children of workers and peasants in order to enter school. For the adults from the toiling masses, there must also be a program of

education in the community halls and through the mass media. Their education will be effective if it gives them meaningful information about the situation of the country and the world, values their role in the development of society and is related to their productive activity.

Because the country bears the cost of education of students in the public schools, service to the people would be instilled in their consciousness. They would find it deplorable to seek work outside the country just because there is a scarcity of jobs inside the country. They would prefer to work in their own country to serve their people and not be separated from family and friends. Thus, the best kind of education for the masses is one that inspires them to engage in revolution and to change the conditions inside the country that breed enslavement or force the educated to leave the country.

The best kind of education for the masses is one that follows the program of the people's democratic revolution under the leadership of the working class. In carrying out this revolution, all the professions, knowledge and skills can be utilized to serve the country. Upon the victory of this revolution, these can be used even more effectively for the country. Opportunities for the education of the toiling masses would also be expanded.

Long live the advocates of patriotic education!

Advance the national, scientific and mass education!

Long live the Filipino people and the Philippine revolution!

Message to Sulong Kabataan Conference 2016 and to the Founding of Anakbayan Canada

November 16, 2016

We in the International League of Peoples' Struggle express our warmest greetings of solidarity to the organizers and delegates of the Sulong Kabataan Conference 2016. We are deeply pleased that this conference will culminate in the founding of Anakbayan Canada.

We deem it necessary and appropriate that on this occasion we consider the role of the youth in the ever-worsening crisis of the world capitalist system. Since the financial meltdown of 2008, there has been a general condition of economic stagnation and deepening recession or in fact depression while indebtedness at the levels of the state, corporations and household is rising rapidly and US-instigated imperialist wars of aggression continue to flare up.

The youth are put in a dire situation by the crisis situation. They are victimized by the lessening opportunities for employment, the absence of job security and worsening of wage and living conditions. The deterioration of economic and social conditions is accompanied and abetted by the suppression of democratic rights. The current and succeeding generations of youth will carry the burden of high debts. When a country is drawn to a war a consequence of the crisis, it is the youth who are called upon by states to die and fight for oppressive and exploitative policies that the monopoly bourgeoisie impose on the people.

The crisis in Canada and the world will continue to become worse because the political leaders and moguls of monopoly capitalism continue to impose the neoliberal economic policy on the people for the purpose of extracting superprofits and are using state terrorism and aggressive wars to maintain the system of greed and gross inequality. Before the crisis in Canada worsens, the Filipino youth of Canada must rouse themselves, organize and stand up to fight the crisis of capitalism and expose and oppose the imperialist policies being imposed on them. It is not enough to react to and resist the monstrosities of monopoly capitalist system. It is imperative to aim for socialism as the best possible system for the working people of Canada and for all of mankind. It is also necessary to act in concert with all peoples fighting for national and social liberation against imperialism and all reaction.

As a matter of course, the Filipino youth in Canada must arouse, organize and mobilize themselves as a distinct force and be ever ready to initiate or join the broadest possible progressive alliances with other forces of various nationalities as the concrete circumstances of Canada and the struggle require. But you must also be ever concerned with the struggle of the Filipino youth and people in the Philippines and extend to them the support and assistance that they need and that you are capable of providing. After the founding of Anakbayan, I am sure that more than ever before you will have an effective instrument for sending delegations and missions of Filipino-Canadian youth to the Philippines so as to establish the strongest possible working relations with the Filipino youth in the Philippines.

The continuing dire social conditions in the Philippines and the continuing revolutionary struggle of the Filipino people against US imperialism and the local oligarchy explain why you and your families have come to work in Canada and to stay away from the far worse conditions of oppression and exploitation in a homeland that is an underdeveloped and impoverished neocolony. Whatever leeway that you might have gained, you are in a position to help the revolutionary struggle of the Filipino youth and people.

Long live the Filipino youth!

Advance the revolution in Canada and the Philippines !

Long live the Filipino people!

Advance the Youth and Student's Movement and the Indonesian People's Struggle

Message of Solidarity to the National Students Front (FMN)

on its 5th Congress

March 9, 2017

On behalf of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS), I extend militant greetings of solidarity to the leadership and entire membership of the National Students Front (FMN) on the occasion of its 5th Congress. I wish your Congress great success in strengthening the FMN into a formidable force for change in Indonesian society.

The FMN has been a long-time member of ILPS. It is at the forefront of the people's struggles in Indonesia along the anti-imperialist and democratic line. It is a key member of ILPS-Indonesia together with other progressive mass organizations like AGRA for peasants and GSBI for workers.

Your struggles are part of the world-wide struggle against imperialism and all reaction. Your victories contribute to the weakening of imperialism and reaction

and to the advance of the struggle of all the exploited and oppressed peoples for a new and better world.

Your Congress will take stock of your past achievements and also of your mistakes and shortcomings. This is necessary for you to be able to sum up your work, build on your achievements, rectify errors and shortcomings and advance with confidence and determination.

The role of students and other educated youth is very important in any movement fighting for the national and democratic interests of the people. The youth and students are open to new ideas. When motivated by the democratic and anti-imperialist line, they become a powerful force for social change. They serve as instruments for spreading scientific and progressive ideas to others and serve as catalysts for other sectors to join the struggle for social change.

It is necessary for the youth and students movement to join the struggle of the basic masses of workers and peasants as well as other sectors of the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie in a country that is semicolonial and semifeudal like Indonesia. In such a society, the workers, peasants and petty-bourgeoisie constitute the vast majority of the people that are desirous of achieving genuine independence and democracy.

In advancing the struggle for national independence and democracy, you have to take into account developments in the international situation and how they affect the domestic situation in Indonesia.

US imperialism, the number one imperialist power, is conspicuously in decline. It continues to suffer from a grave economic and political crisis. It has suffered defeat after defeat in its costly military interventions in the Middle East and Africa. An imperialist power in decline can become more bellicose and

aggressive as it vainly clings to its hegemonic position.

Europe has not been able to decisively solve its economic problems and is confronted with growing social tensions as a result of its involvement in the US-led wars of aggression and plunder in the Middle East and Africa.

A new economic, political and security bloc led by Russia and China has emerged to challenge the global hegemony of the US-led western imperialist bloc. The intensification of the struggle between the big powers can open up opportunities for advancing the anti-imperialist and democratic struggles of the peoples of the world.

As for the domestic situation in Indonesia, you are in a better position to analyze the social, economic and political developments and their impact and relevance to the people's struggle in your county.

Again, we congratulate you for your past achievements and wish you more victories in the years ahead in advancing not only the youth and students movement but the over-all movement of the Indonesian people for national independence and democracy.

Long live FMN!

Advance the Indonesian people's struggle for genuine independence and democracy!

Long live international solidarity!

Strengthen the League of Filipino Students, Fight and Defeat the US-Duterte Regime

Message on the 40th Anniversary

of the League of Filipino Students

September 11, 2017

I am honored and glad to convey ardent greetings and solidarity to the League of Filipino Students (LFS) on its 40th anniversary. Let us celebrate the hardships, sacrifices and victories of LFS in order to become the most significant anti-imperialist and democratic organization of student youth in our country. Thank you for the invitation to clarify the situation and tasks of the LFS and the student youth and participate in your program of activities from September 11-16. In all these, I am with you in spirit.

It is appropriate that you open your celebration with a mobilization in front of the US embassy on September 11, and in the evening, with cultural presentations together with the national minorities in the Lakbayan 2017; and the gathering of alumni to share their experiences and lessons. It is important that on September 12, you will launch the propaganda workshops and issues on the K-12 program and the training on writing, public speaking and visual propaganda.

I expect your National Council on September 13-14 to be successful; that it will be able to sum up experiences, review the situation and set the tasks. It is timely to give attention to RCEP-ASEAN. Certainly, Balikwas: History of Lessons of Patriotic Movement of the Youth on September 15 will be entertaining and raising consciousness.

I am certain that the big mobilization of the entire LFS membership at the US embassy to intensify the campaign against US imperialism and foreign domination in our country will also be successful. The maximum number of members from the National Capital Region and surrounding provinces must participate and join the delegations of provinces from afar.

The purpose of the celebration is not merely to reflect on the long tradition of militant and collective action but to renew determination and to continue strengthening the student youth movement for the national democratic rights of the Filipino people against the intensifying fascist character and actions of the US-Duterte regime.

By his vulgar and gross words and actions, Duterte has exposed that he is a liar and has no intention to change the semicolonial and semifeudal society. His objective can be discerned from the neoliberal Philippine Development Plan 2017-22 and his plan to spend a gigantic amount on the military and police in order to suppress the legal democratic movement and the armed revolutionary movement.

Duterte is merely one of the traditional political puppet of US imperialism and representative of his fellow oligarch-big comprador, landlord and bureaucrat capitalists. He wants to maintain an economy that is dependent on the export of raw materials and cheap labor, import of foreign manufactures, foreign loans, and foreign investments; and to increase taxes and prices of goods to further

extort from the working masses and increase the profit of imperialists and reactionaries.

Duterte is excessively dependent on the use of arms and fakery. He launched a “war against drugs” to show his iron fist and capability for mass killing in order to terrorize the people. The truth has been exposed that the “war against drugs” has two objectives: (1) the monopolize the illegal drug business for himself and his son and their conspirators in illegal drugs and (2) to make the AFP and PNP as their private armies for the imposition of a fascist dictatorship in the Philippines.

At the bidding of US imperialism and the advice of General Lorenzana, Duterte deliberately sabotaged the peace talks to use the “war against drugs” and Oplan Peace in his plan to suppress the legal national democratic movement and the people’s democratic revolution. He did not fulfill the promise to amnesty and release of all political prisoners and he wants the revolutionary forces to surrender under the guise of a long-term ceasefire that would negate the needed social, economic and political reforms.

It is fortunate that before your 40th anniversary, the US-Duterte regime has completely exposed itself as a monster that wantonly kill the toiling masses, including innocent youth who are focused on studying or earning a living due to poverty. Thus, you in LFS are alerted and prepared to fight the regime.

You must better yourselves in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses in millions of student youth. Carry out clear and easy to understand propaganda and education against the regime. Multiply your LFS chapters and members. Mobilize the student youth to isolate, fight and overthrow the US-Duterte regime.

Establish a broad united front of student youth organizations and include this in a wider front of all classes and social sectors that want to overthrow the regime and uphold national sovereignty, democracy, economic development, national culture and genuinely independent foreign relations.

To hasten the collapse of the detestable regime, anti-Duterte reactionaries can be allowed to join the broadest united front to speed up the break up of the military and withdrawal of support of the military and the bureaucracy from the brutal and corrupt Duterte regime.

There are instances that the LFS has proven that it can perform a decisive role in ousting the president. The LFS and KMU were the main forces that amassed in front of the Malacañang Palace in 1986, which forced the US imperialist to use helicopters in rescuing and evacuating Marcos. Likewise in 2001, the LFS and other student organizations besieged Malacañang Palace from EDSA to drive off Estrada from the palace.

You know the truth and the responsibilities for your sector and the Filipino people. You are at the peak of strength and enthusiasm. Your well being today and in the future is in your hands. Do everything to further strengthen LFS, the masses of students and the Filipino people to advance and win the struggle for national democracy!

Long live the League of Filipino Students!

Strengthen LFS and oust the US-Duterte regime!

Long live the student youth and the Filipino people!

Notice to the Public

January 22, 2018

In my recent interview with the Philippine Daily Inquirer, I never used the word “riot” and did not call on the student youth to engage in riots but to engage in protest mass actions. During the First Quarter Storm of 1970, which should now be remembered, it was the police and military that disrupted the mass rallies and accused the rallyists of rioting at certain times.

Below are my exact words in my interview with Delfin T. Mallari of the PDI:

“The anti-Duterte movement can sustain the growing rage against Duterte and his regime. The student youth of today can and should launch huge mass marches and rallies in the National Capital Region and in the provinces, like during the First Quarter Storm of 1970.

They should begin now to celebrate, emulate and honor the militancy of the student youth who rose up in January 1970. With the signal act of the student youth, the rest of the people will participate in the mass movement: the workers, the peasants, women, youth of other sectors, cultural workers, professionals and religious.

All patriotic and progressive classes and sectors can take their respective initiatives and undertake mass campaigns and mobilizations against the Duterte regime. The rising prices of basic goods and services are already outraging and enraging the broad masses of the people. Even the unorganized masses are now predisposed to act in unison with the mass organizations.”

Opening Speech at the Launch of Jose Ma. Sison People's Academy

February 9, 2018

Dear fellow activists, first of all, I wish to congratulate all the youth organizations of the national democratic movement, spearheaded by Anakbayan, for standing up against the US-directed Duterte regime and for arousing, organizing and mobilizing the youth for resolute and militant struggle to oust this regime of terror and greed and prevent it from reimposing a fascist dictatorship on the Filipino people.

You are playing a signal role in calling on the broad masses of the youth as well as the broad masses of the people to unite and fight not only the current brutal and corrupt regime but the entire oppressive and exploitative semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system under US imperialism and the oligarchy of big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists now represented chiefly by the puppet Duterte.

I am elated and highly honored that in the course of the current struggle for national liberation and democracy against the US-Duterte regime and the ruling system you have decided to launch the Jose Ma. Sison People's Academy as an educational institution and movement to propagate my works on the national democratic revolution and to enlighten and inspire the youth and the people to continue this still unfinished revolution at a higher level allowed by the era of

modern imperialism and proletarian revolution and by the perspective of socialist revolution.

You are truly the brilliant continuers of Kabataang Makabayan by asking me to discuss the significance of the ideological, political and cultural education of the mass movement. In mass work, the first requisite and task is to arouse the youth. Arousal assumes the ideological education of cadres and their ability to do propaganda and agitation.

You must recall the teaching of Lenin that without theory there can be no revolutionary movement. Theory gives us the breadth and depth for understanding the stages and laws of motion in social history. You must also recall that I have learned from Recto the need for a Second Propaganda Movement and I have advocated it, developing it further as the new democratic cultural revolution.

Your initiative in launching the Jose Ma. Sison People's Academy is impelled by the thought and desire to have revolutionary theoretical and political education as the anchor and consolidator of the mass movement. It is reminiscent of the establishment and multiplication of Schools for National Democracy during the First Quarter Storm of 1970. The main texts of study at the time was the book *Struggle for National Democracy and Philippine Society and Revolution*. Now, we have more texts for reading and study.

More importantly the national democratic movement of the youth and the people has gained a tremendous amount of revolutionary experience from the founding of Kabataang Makabayan in 1964 or the First Quarter Storm of 1970. We have to pay full attention and give due consideration to the people's democratic revolution which is under the leadership of the working class and has a socialist perspective and is being carried out through a protracted people's war which can now be accelerated on a nationwide scale if conservatism is overcome.

I appreciate that my written works are valued as sources of knowledge based on theoretical study and tested in revolutionary practice. These works refer to those of the great thinkers and revolutionaries of the world proletarian revolution and to those of Filipino patriots since the old democratic revolution of 1896. I have always sought to integrate the relevant and applicable revolutionary theory with the history and current conditions of the Filipino people. In the same manner, I have also analyzed the ever developing international context of the Philippine revolution.

The work of collecting and publishing my writings chronologically in book form is in an advanced stage. Selections of writings under thematic titles of varying scales are also being prepared for publication in book form. All these writings can be preserved and disseminated in printed and digital form and made available to cadres and mass activists at the grassroots through chapters of youth organizations, online platforms, public libraries and private collections. In this regard, the Jose Ma. Sison People's Academy can cooperate with the following: www.josemariasison.org, the Stichting International Network for Philippine Studies and Aklat ng Bayan.

You are today confronted and challenged by a world capitalist system whose crisis is worsening at an unprecedentedly accelerated rate. This crisis is bringing about extreme suffering among the people of the world in terms of oppression and exploitation. It is sharpening inter-imperialist contradictions and resulting in more catastrophic imperialist plunder and wars of aggression.

It is bringing about strong ultrareactionary currents of chauvinism, racism and fascism in imperialist countries even before the revolutionary forces of the proletariat and people can resurge fully from the disastrous and deleterious consequences of the revisionist betrayal of socialism and the rampage of neoliberal economic policy and neoconservative wars of aggression.

At the same time in the Philippines, you are confronted and challenged by the domestic semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system whose crisis is worsening at an unprecedentedly accelerated rate. The crisis is inflicting extreme suffering on the Filipino people in terms of ever escalating oppression and oppression as a result of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism.

The situation has become so bad and terrible that it has brought forth the Duterte ruling clique that has launched an all-out war policy against the revolutionary forces, the legal democratic forces and the broad masses of the people. Under Oplan Kapayapaan, together with Oplan Tokhang, the Duterte clique is carrying out campaigns of mass murder and mass deception within the interventionist context of Operation: Pacific Eagle-Philippines of US imperialism.

The Duterte ruling clique is now on the path of establishing a fascist dictatorship under the pretext of changing the 1987 Constitution and adopting a pseudo-federal system of government under a presidential dictator with unlimited centralized powers. lording over pseudo-federal states or regional governments run by big compradors and landlords, corrupt dynasties and warlords.

The fascist dictatorship is bound to fail because the broad masses of the people hate the use of mass intimidation and violence to ram it through and because it cannot be sustained by increased taxation on consumer good and services and soaring prices of these and by the use of foreign loans at high interest rates to conjure the illusion of progress through overpriced infrastructure projects.

The establishment of the People's Academy is timely. The crises that confront and challenge you cause severe difficulties, hardships and sacrifices. But the struggle will bring to the revolutionary cause large masses of the people. To be effective, the cadres and activists of the youth movement must have the theoretical or ideological education to comprehend the workings and crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system. You need the scientific

wisdom of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao and the revolutionary leaders of today to inspire and guide your struggle.

You need the political education to understand the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society and the national and democratic character of the Philippine revolution under the leadership of the working class, the motive forces of the revolution, the class adversaries of the revolution, the stages of the revolution, the strategic line of protracted people's war and the socialist perspective. In the new democratic revolution that needs to be carried out, you must adhere to and contribute to the realization of a cultural education that is patriotic, scientific and pro-people. For the purpose, you must have definite courses of education and promote artistic creation and cultural performances.

Solidarity Message to the First International Rural Youth Assembly

March 31, 2018

In the name of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS), I extend my warmest greetings of solidarity to the First International Rural Youth Assembly carrying the fighting slogan: "Rural Youth Rise" in Jakarta, Indonesia on March 31–April 2, 2018.

I congratulate the Youth for Food Sovereignty for organizing this First International Rural Youth Assembly to highlight the struggles of the rural youth in semicolonial and semifeudal countries in their particular situation as rural youth and the close link of their struggles with the over-all struggle of their people for national freedom and democracy. In the semicolonial and semifeudal countries of Asia, Latin America and Africa, the rural youth comprise the majority of the rural labor force and a big part of the country's population

They suffer from landlessness and underdevelopment and from exploitation by big foreign agro-corporations and the local compradors and landlords together with the rest of the peasantry and rural population. They are forced to work in the farms together with their peasant parents at a very early age. Child labor is not uncommon. They are deprived of any decent elementary education that is often in a very bad state due to the criminal neglect of the local reactionary government.

Ever pervasive landlessness is relentlessly made worse by land grabbing, driven by the competition of monopoly capitalists and local reactionaries to control natural resources at the expense of small food producers and the food sovereignty of poor countries. This is accompanied by rising militarism and violent repression of rural communities.

The dire conditions in the countryside force many of the rural youth to seek work in the cities where they suffer even worse conditions as part of the semi-proletariat doing odd-jobs to scrape a living. The luckier ones are able to go abroad where they must contend with low wages, discrimination and racist abuse.

The roots of the problems faced by the rural youth lie in the semicolonial and semifeudal conditions of their countries dominated by the imperialists and the local ruling classes of compradors and landlords that keep their countries in a perpetual state of economic underdevelopment and backwardness. Thus, the long-term solution to the problems of the rural youth cannot but be linked with the struggle of their people for national freedom, democracy, social justice and progress.

It is highly laudable that you are holding this assembly with delegates from rural youth movements in different countries to exchange views on the issues affecting the rural youth—such as food sovereignty, genuine land reform, national industrialization, share experiences in their struggles, develop various skills for educating, organizing and mobilizing the rural youth, and forming a network for mutual cooperation and support in connection with various campaigns and struggles.

Message to the All-YS Unification: Oust the Despicable US-Duterte Regime

August 8, 2018

It is an honor and pleasure for me to be with you in this teleconference. I stand in solidarity with you as you now hold your All-YS Unification. I salute and congratulate all of you for the major participation of youth and student mass organizations in the United People's SONA.

This was attended by 40,000 people in Quezon City and by hundreds of thousands in various parts of the country. It is a historic event of far-reaching significance. It signals a major advance of the people's movement to oust the US-Duterte regime in line with the national and democratic demands of the Filipino people against the reign of terror and greed.

The broad united front of legal patriotic and democratic forces that formed and carried out the United People's SONA told the truth last July 23 about the dire conditions, the needs and demands of the people. In sharp contrast, Duterte delivered a SONA calculated to obfuscate the national situation and avoid the issues involving his responsibility. Let me mention and describe these issues.

1. The so-called war on drugs has failed to solve the problem of illegal drugs as

Duterte himself has become the supreme drug lord over Peter Lim and his own close kins Paolo Duterte (son) and Mans Carpio (son-in-law) whose links to drug smuggling have been exposed. He has incited the police officers to commit the crime of mass murder with impunity directed against the poor drug suspects and the people in poor communities.

2. Emboldened by his incitation, guarantees of impunity and rewards for mass murder, the police officers have taken the lead in engaging in various types of crime, including murder-for-hire, extortion, robbery, kidnap-for-ransom and violent dispersal of workers strikes. There is a general state of lawlessness generated by Duterte himself and his so-called law enforcers.

3. In the countryside, in the course of Oplan Kapayapaan, military officers evict the people, especially the indigenous people and poor peasants from their homes and land, loot the abandoned houses and get special pay from the corporations and magnates interested in expanding their mining, logging and plantation operations.

4. Duterte was elected mainly through his alliance with the biggest Luzon-based plunderers, such as the Marcoses, Arroyos, Estradas and the like. He is now taking full advantage of his position to take the lion's share in bureaucratic corruption. He also collaborates with his corrupt allies in making new corrupt deals and misappropriation of public funds.

5. Duterte has exposed his lack of interest in developing the economy through national industrialization and land reform and in solving the problems of underdevelopment, mass poverty, high unemployment rates, contractualization, low incomes and rising prices of basic goods and services. He has relied on economic advisers who take the neoliberal line of subservience to foreign monopoly capitalism.

6. He has deliberately raised the tax burden by giving tax cuts to corporations and the wealthy and imposing excise taxes on basic goods and services, thus causing their soaring prices and victimizing the broad masses of the people. We can expect the problem of inflation to worsen as the TRAIN moves from one phase to another.

7. The increase of tax burden on the back of the people is meant to support the higher expenditures for the military and police for suppressing and oppressing the people, feed bureaucratic corruption, guarantee profit remittances of foreign companies and debt service for foreign creditors and cover the widening trade and budgetary deficits.

8. Duterte's claim of an independent foreign policy is false. He has kept the unequal treaties, agreements and arrangements that allow the US to continue as the most dominant foreign power over the Philippines. Thus, we still speak of Duterte as a US puppet even as he offers himself as a servant to one more imperialist power China in the hope of getting loans even at high interest rates for overpriced infrastructure projects from which he can draw bribes in the style of Marcos.

9. In his over-eagerness to get Chinese loans for his infrastructure building program, Duterte has treasonously and stupidly laid aside the sovereign rights of the Philippines over the exclusive economic zone and extended continental shelf in West Philippine Sea. He has practically abandoned the final judgment of the Permanent Court of Arbitration in The Hague in favor of the Philippines against China.

10. Duterte's Oplan Tokhang, Oplan Double Barrel, Oplan Kapayapaan, Oplan Tambay, martial law in Mindanao, the destruction of Marawi City, amendments of the Anti-terrorism law for the worse, terrorist listing of the CPP, NPA and 600 individuals and the filing of false charges of common crimes in his so-called legal offensive against revolutionary suspects are intended to intimidate and

silence all critics, the opposition and the entire people.

11. Duterte has maliciously terminated the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations in order to avoid negotiating comprehensive agreements on social, economic and political reforms, pursue an all-out war against the people and the revolutionary forces and scapegoat the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army for the purpose of declaring emergency rule or martial law nationwide.

12. Duterte boasts of the watered-down Bangsamoro Organic Law (BOL) as the effective pacifier of the entire Bangsamoro. But in fact, it is a generator of further Moro armed resistance. The Moro National Liberation Front is angry that the OIC-endorsed peace agreement has been put aside. And the BIFF takes the position that the BOL does not respond sufficiently to the demands of the people.

13. The plans of mass murder and intimidation, the termination of the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations, the anti-terrorist scare and the adoption of BOL are all meant to aggravate armed conflict and justify the proclamation of emergency rule or martial law in order to establish a fascist dictatorship under the pretext of charter change to federalism.

14. Duterte-type federalism is not aimed at decentralizing or devolving power and resources to the regions. But it is meant to concentrate executive, legislative and judicial powers in the hands of Duterte as authoritarian ruler or fascist dictator. He intends to place the various regions under the rule of dynasties and warlords of his choice and to have the license to sell out the national patrimony and natural resources of the Filipino people to various imperialist powers.

15. In his SONA 2018, Duterte failed to acknowledge and heed the demands of the broad masses of the people as articulated by the United People's SONA. He

did not care to apologize for the insults that he has uttered against the workers, peasants, indigenous people, women, youth, the Christians and religious leaders, and other people. He expressed no remorse for the crimes he has committed in escalating the oppression and exploitation of the people and in trying to realize his scheme of fascist dictatorship.

By discussing all the foregoing, I have somehow given you a picture of the national situation within which you operate and perform your tasks in strengthening yourselves and in serving the people. In view of the ever-worsening crimes of the US-Duterte regime, you must be more resolved and more militant than ever before in condemning, fighting and striving to oust this despicable regime of unbridled terror and greed.

I hope that the All-YS unification would reap great success in strengthening your organizations and memberships politically and organizationally. The general line of struggle is clear as the PADEPA clarifies so well. It is to realize national freedom and democratic rights of the people against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

You must arouse, organize and mobilize the youth and students in coordination with the workers, peasants, the indigenous people, women, teachers, and other professionals and all other patriotic and progressive sectors.

You must carry forward the urgent struggle to oust the US-Duterte regime and in the process strengthen the forces for discarding the ruling system of big compradors, landlords and corrupt bureaucrats servile to US imperialism and for building a new system that is patriotic, democratic socially just and progressive in every sense.

Long live All-YS Unification!

Long live Anakbayan!

Long live all Filipino youth!

Long live the Filipino people!

Unite, Take a Stand and Win against the Duterte Tyranny

Message of Solidarity to the League of Filipino Students

on its 41st Anniversary

September 11, 2018

As founding chairman of Kabataang Makabayan and Chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggle, I wish to convey warmest greetings of solidarity to the national leadership, chapters and general membership of the League of Filipino Students (LFS) on its 41st founding anniversary.

I congratulate you for your accumulated and recent achievements in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the Filipino students throughout the Philippines in order to advance the struggle for national democracy against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords. You are now called upon to fight and oust a cruel and corrupt regime that is aggravating the political and economic crisis of the ruling system and is inflicting intolerable suffering on the people.

I welcome and agree with the theme of your month-long celebration, Magkaisa, Manindigan, Magtagumpay: Kabataan, magkaisa't manindigan laban sa diktadura! Isulong ang pambansa-demokratikong rebolusyon hanggang sa tagumpay. You must exert greater efforts to struggle against the escalating oppression and exploitation of the student masses and the people under the tyranny of Duterte.

We are confronted with a monster that must be ousted from power as soon as possible. This monster is engaged in mass murder with impunity with its mad scheme to establish a fascist dictatorship under the guise of effecting charter change to federalism. The people are suffering now from the soaring prices of basic goods and services because of the unbridled greed of the foreign monopolies, the big compradors, landlords and corrupt bureaucrats headed by Duterte.

You must participate in the broad united front and mass movement to bring millions of people to the streets on a nationwide scale in order to unite the people and cause the ouster of the tyrannical Duterte regime. The ouster of one more despicable ruler from the exploiting classes serves to weaken the entire ruling system and strengthen the revolutionary movement and its government based in the countryside.

I wish you to win greater victories in all your efforts to uphold, defend and promote the rights and welfare of the student masses and to advance the national and democratic rights and interests of the entire Filipino people so that they can enjoy a better life as soon as possible and look forward to a socialist future!

Long live the League of Filipino Students!

Long live the student masses!

Long live the Filipino people!

Historic Significance and Continuing Relevance of the First Quarter Storm of 1970

Delivered at the Inaugural Forum in Countdown to the 50th Anniversary

of the First Quarter Storm of 1970

September 19, 2018

I am elated, honored and grateful that the FQS Movement and the FQS@50 network and coordinating committee have invited me to deliver a paper for this inaugural forum of the Forum Series on the First Quarter Storm of 1970.

I appreciate that the forum series is a major part of the line up of events and projects meant to celebrate FQS' 50th anniversary from now until the first quarter of 2020. It is clear that these events and projects are in consonance with the historic significance and continuing relevance of the FQS of 1970 to the ongoing revolutionary struggle of the Filipino people for national liberation and democracy as well as its distinct character as a cultural revolution.

I have been asked to present an overview of the FQS of 1970, which can serve as framework for succeeding forums until 2020. I therefore propose to discuss the

long chain of events that led to the occurrence of the FQS of 1970, its distinctly great historic significance and finally its far reaching consequences and continuing relevance.

I. FQS as the culmination of previous events

The FQS of 1970 could arise only because it was moved by the tradition and spirit of the Philippine revolution and the urgent desire to continue the Filipino people's struggle for national liberation and democracy and was preceded by a chain of mass actions in the 1960s that started on March 15, 1961 when 5000 students broke into Congress and literally scuttled the anticommunist hearings being conducted to witch-hunt the authors and publishers of anti-imperialist and anti-feudal articles that had appeared in official publications of the University of the Philippines.

This first significant mass action of the 1960s, which was national democratic in character, was organized by the Student Cultural Association of the University of the Philippines (SCAUP) in alliance with the Philippine Collegian and the Inter Fraternity and Sorority Council (IFSC). Immediately after the mass action, leaders of SCAUP proceeded to form study circles in a number of downtown Manila universities. The SCAUP actively advocated the Second Propaganda Movement which was previously proposed by the anti-imperialist Claro Mayo Recto.

The next significant mass action was in 1962 when a combination of 500 workers from Lapiang Manggagawa and students from several universities broke into the grounds of the presidential palace to denounce the continuance of the Laurel-Langley Agreement, demand its abrogation and demand from the Macapagal regime for the transparency of the secret talks to extend the agreement. The presidential guards pushed the demonstrators out of the grounds using butts of rifles with fixed bayonets.

This protest action was followed by smaller mass actions on political and economic issues against US imperialism and the Macapagal regime while organizational work was relentlessly carried out to form student chapters for a prospective Kabataang Makabayan in Metro Manila, Central Luzon and Southern Luzon to generate seminars and forums among students and workers and establish connections with the peasant masses in the regions of Central and Southern Luzon.

The Kabataang Makabayan was established as a comprehensive youth organization of students and young workers, peasants and professionals on November 30, 1964. By 1965 it became possible to assemble 25,000 people in front of the presidential palace in an omnibus rally against US economic, political, military and cultural domination of the Philippines and against the puppetry of the Macapagal regime. The KM cooperated with the Lapiang Manggagawa, the labor federations, and the peasant association Masaka.

The general line pursued was to carry forward the struggle for national liberation and democracy against the evils of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The leadership of the working class and its basic alliance with the peasantry were affirmed. The youth were urged to carry out the Second Propaganda Movement and a cultural revolution along the line of struggle for national democracy.

The patriotic and progressive organizations that surged forward paid attention not only to national issues but also to international issues, especially the US war of aggression against the Vietnamese people. They opposed the sending of the Philippine Civic Action Group as an interventionist military force to Vietnam. Thus they assembled 5000 students and workers against US President Johnson when he came to Manila in October 1966 to proclaim Marcos as his right-hand man in Asia, hold a summit and garner the support of US allies in Southeast Asia.

After the violent dispersal of the said mass action by the police and military, Kabataang Makabayan launched the October 24th Movement and fielded teams to carry out mass work in urban poor communities and among the workers and peasants. Most conspicuously, it expanded rapidly among students nationwide. Thus in the years from 1966 onwards the KM succeeded in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the students against oppressive school owners and administrators, denouncing the pro-imperialist and reactionary system of education and demanding a national, scientific and mass culture.

The KM expanded nationwide rapidly through seminars and forums on nationalism that it alone organized and also through close cooperation with national student organizations and student governments. It vigorously undertook an integration with its urban poor, workers and peasants, which involved social investigation, discussion of current events and issues and cultural performances by KM teams for mass work.

It was during the period from 1966 to 1968 that KM played a key role in the establishment and operation of the Movement for the Advancement of Nationalism and KM-based proletarian revolutionaries carried out the process of rectifying major errors in the old merger party of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the Socialist Party of the Philippines and calling for the re-establishment of the CPP.

KM provided the nationwide network of cadres and mass activists who were already schooled and trained along the line of the new- democratic revolution for the re-establishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines on December 26, 1968 under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

The newly re-established CPP founded the New People's Army and launched the

people's war. Workers and student strikes spread in 1968-69. As many as 15,000 peasants came mainly from Tarlac to demand genuine land reform from Congress in November 1969. The youth and the rest of the people were outraged by the massacres of peasants in Tarlac and the excessive use of public funds for the re-election of Marcos as president. They were inspired by the re-establishment of the CPP and the founding of the NPA.

KM reconciled with Samahang Demokratiko ng Kabataan (SDK) along the line of new democratic revolution in November 1969. The visit of US vice president Agnew to Manila on December 29, 1969 provoked a protest demonstration against US imperialism and underscored the brutal disruptive acts of the US-AID trained police and the obsequious puppetry of the Marcos regime. On January 1970, the CPP's Ang Bayan came out with the editorial, 'Marcos is a Fascist Puppet of US imperialism'. This was a clarion call for resistance to the US-Marcos regime.

II. The great historic significance of FQS

It can be said that the FQS of 1970 was the product and culmination of the mass movement of the 1960s. It was inspired by the continuing growth in strength and advance of the legal democratic forces of all patriotic and progressive classes and sectors and by the resurgence of the people's democratic revolution and revolutionary armed struggle led by the CPP.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China, the Vietnamese struggle against the US war of aggression, the revolutionary struggles of the third world peoples, the anti-war movement in the US and the youth uprisings in Paris and elsewhere had an influence on the youth movement in the Philippines.

Southeast Asia was the center of the global revolutionary storm with its eye in

Vietnam and the rest of Indochina.

Nevertheless, the KM-led youth who spearheaded the series of mass actions that constituted the FQS of 1970 were well-rooted in the history and circumstances of the Philippines as having become a semicolonial and semifeudal country and as being in need of a national democratic revolution of a new type in the world era of imperialism and proletarian revolution

The main slogans of the FQS were: Overthrow US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, Struggle for national democracy, Fight, be fearless, People's war is the answer to martial law. These slogans were directly carried over from the mass movement of the 1960s.

The youth that participated in the FQS of 1970 were highly conscious of pursuing the general line of people's democratic revolution. They were determined to promote this line through study and social investigation, integration with the toiling masses of workers and peasants, cultural creativity and performances and mass actions to arouse, organize and mobilize the people.

In addition to Struggle for National Democracy, the youth had the Philippine Society and Revolution for their political education in Schools for National Democracy. The KM Cultural Bureau and teams were active in educational and cultural work among the youth. They cooperated with comradely organizations in the formation and development of educators, prop-agit speakers and the creative writers, visual artists and stage performers of cultural groups.

The KM's Panday Sining, SDK's Gintong Silahis and Samahang Kamanyang of the Philippine College of Commerce became models for mass organizations and chapters in organizing cultural groups for enlightening and enlivening mass work and mass protests. They created art and literature in the service of the

people and the revolution. Previously in the latter half of the 1960s, cultural groups were formed by the KM and other organizations in connection with chapter organizing, mass integration and mass protests.

The FQS of 1970 consisted of seven mass protest actions from January 26, 1970 to March 17, 1970. They were larger in size and scale than the mass actions of the 1960s. Not only were the direct participants in marches and rallies but also people along the roadside, looking out of windows and offering food and water to the columns of marchers coming from several assembly points in Metro Manila.

When the fascist forces viciously and brutally attacked the January 26 and 30 mass actions, residents and shop owners in the area readily opened their doors and gave sanctuary to the demonstrators. After the bloody suppression of the January 26 demonstration, the mass actions of students under KM leadership spread to the provinces throughout the length and breadth of the archipelago.

January 26, 1970 demonstration against the US-Marcos regime at the SONA in Congress

The National Union of Students of the Philippines (NUSP) led by Edgar Jopson was able to get the permit to rally in front of Congress on the occasion of the State of the Nation Address (SONA) of President Marcos on January 26, 1970. It demanded a nonpartisan constitutional convention. The NUSP demonstrators were at least 10,000.

Kabataang Makabayan brought a contingent of mostly students and workers to the rally site, bringing the total number of demonstrators to around 50,000. KM raised the issues of US imperialism, feudalism and fascism. It accused Marcos of puppetry to US imperialism, setting up a fascist dictatorship, corruption and

aggravating the inflation and economic crisis with his 1969 electoral overspending of public funds for his reelection.

When Marcos stepped out of Congress to the driveway, a group of demonstrators flung at him a paper mache crocodile to express the people's hatred for the rapacity of the bureaucrat capitalists like Marcos and a black cardboard coffin marked Freedom and Democracy to condemn his oppressive rule. The presidential security detail and the Manila police began to attack the unarmed demonstrators with gunfire and truncheons and injuring hundreds of students. The demonstrators defended themselves and fought back for several hours with placard handles and stones while chanting Makibaka, huwag matakot!

January 30, 1970 marches to Congress and then to Malacañang

The entire nation was outraged by the brutality of the attack on the students on January 26. The students declared a one-week strike and in only four days they were able to mobilize more than 100,000, mostly students from universities and high schools, together with workers and urban poor. They marched from several assembly points and converged in front of Congress on January 30 to denounce fascism and state brutality. In the provinces, students held sympathy rallies.

After the rally in front of Congress ended, the demonstrators marched to the presidential palace. The presidential guards started the violence by throwing stones at the demonstrators, whereupon the students threw back the stones. Then, some demonstrators seized a firetruck being used to hose them down and drove it through the palace gate. The palace guards began firing bullets and tear-gas canisters at the demonstrators who retreated in several directions in Quiapo and Sampaloc, formed themselves into groups and came back fighting with improvised weapons like stones, sticks, pillboxes and Molotov cocktails.

The Mendiola bridge became the center of the see-saw fighting. The palace guards eventually killed four young demonstrators: Ricardo Alcantara from the University of the Philippines; Fernando Catabay from Manuel L. Quezon University; Feliciano Roldan from the Far Eastern University; and Bernardo Tausa from Mapa High School. Thousands were wounded and they filled up six hospitals in Manila.

February 12 rally at Plaza Miranda

The organized forces of the national democratic movement consolidated themselves through the Movement for a Democratic Philippines. They prepared a huge rally of at least 50,000 people at Plaza Miranda on February 12. According to the plan, the people were to march from several assembly points. Consolidation was needed in order to counter disruptive propaganda and acts of the Marcos regime, the clerico-fascists and the revisionist renegades.

Marcos tried to prevent the rally by inviting some MDP leaders to the palace, pretending to plead with them that he would not be able to control the military and by offering them a list of 13 concessions. The MDP leaders in attendance agreed to call off the rally. Upon my advice the KM leaders insisted that the rally had to be carried out because otherwise the momentum of the mass movement would stop. However, all efforts would have to be made to keep the rally peaceful. Thus, the MDP and its forces proceeded to hold the rally.

The rally became a huge outdoor study session on US imperialism, feudalism and fascism and the need to struggle for national liberation and democracy. The rally organizers made it a point to enlarge mass participation and ensure that the police and military provocateurs would be kept at bay. Had the rally been called off according to the wishes of Marcos, it would have stalled and prevented the FQS from taking full shape.

February 18 the people's congress and assault on the US embassy

A people's congress of 5000 people was held at Plaza Miranda on February 18. Then the main bulk of the rallyists marched to the US embassy to carry out an assault on the embassy in order to demonstrate the people's anger at US imperialism and hold it responsible for the oppression and exploitation of the people, especially fascist acts of the Marcos regime. They were able to break their way through the outer and inner gates of the embassy. They used rocks and pillboxes to put the embassy lobby in disarray before the police could arrive.

February 26 The Second People's Congress

The Movement for a Democratic Philippines called for a rally at Plaza Miranda on February 26. The application for a rally permit was refused. But the demonstrators went ahead with the rally and converged at Plaza Miranda and held the Second People's Congress. When the Manila Police and the Philippine Constabulary attacked the demonstrators, they proceeded to the Sunken Gardens in order to reassemble.

After the speeches, they proceeded further on to the US embassy. They threw stones at the embassy and resisted the police. Further on, they marched to Mendiola to re-enact the people's resistance on January 30. The police retaliated by invading the Philippine College of Commerce where they beat up teachers and students and looted the offices.

March 3 the people's march

The MDP called for a People's March on March 3. The demonstrators included students, urban poor youth and linked up with the city-wide strike of jeepney drivers. They marched from several assembly points and converged to hold rallies in Plaza Moriones in Tondo, Plaza Lawton and in front of the US embassy. At the US embassy the police were aggressive and caught the Lyceum of the Philippines student Enrique Sta. Brigida whom they tortured to death. Amado V. Hernandez wrote a poem in his honor as martyr, "Enrique Sta. Brigida: Paghahatid sa Imortalidad".

March 17 second people's march

The MDP called for a Second People's March on March 17. It focused on the issue of poverty. Fittingly, the march proceeded from one urban poor community to another for one whole day. A People's Tribunal was convened at Plaza Moriones to try and sentence the people's enemies, from the level of the US imperialists to that of puppets like Marcos and his military and police cohorts. After the Tribunal adjourned in the evening, the rallyists marched in the direction of the US embassy where a big police force was awaiting them. But the rallyists then proceeded to Mendiola to make bonfires on the streets.

FQS consequences and continuing relevance

The FQS raised the fighting morale of the Filipino youth and people against the US-Marcos regime and its obvious scheme to declare martial law and establish a fascist dictatorship. The gunfire and truncheon blows from the police and military convinced the unarmed youth and the people that there was no better way for them to fight the regime and the entire ruling system than to engage in people's war. Thus, the call for people's war to answer the threat of martial law reverberated.

At the same time, the youth and the people were conscious that it was necessary to carry on the legal democratic mass movement for as long as it was possible in order to broadcast the people's grievances and demands. It was a process of political education and cultural revolution to raise the people's revolutionary consciousness. After the FQS, there were more vigorous efforts to arouse, organize and to mobilize the youth and the people in Metro Manila and the provinces, especially for mass actions on domestic and international issues, particularly the US war of aggression on the Vietnamese people.

In February 1971, students, faculty members, non-academic personnel and campus residents took over the University of the Philippines and declared the Diliman Commune. They renamed the buildings after the principal CPP and NPA leaders by way of defiance against the US-Marcos regime. They set up barricades and fought to prevent the police and military from occupying the campus.

Their ranks were reinforced by students, workers and activists from other schools, factories and communities in Metro Manila. The UP radio station continuously broadcast propaganda against the US-Marcos regime, including replays of Marcos' salacious moments with Dovie Beams on audio tape. Material, financial and moral support poured in not only from Metro Manila but also from far-flung provinces.

After the Diliman Commune, huge May 1 rallies of workers and the youth and demonstrations against the US war of aggression against Vietnam were held in Metro Manila and in provincial cities in 1971 and 1972. Not even the Plaza Miranda bombing and suspension of the writ of habeas corpus by Marcos on August 21, 1971 and the subsequent arrest of KM leaders could discourage the mass movement. The Movement of Concerned Citizens for Civil Liberties was formed to defend civil liberties, demand the lifting of the writ suspension and prevent martial law.

In 1971, the major cultural groups, like Panday Sining and Gintong Silahis, originally launched by their respective mother organizations increased their autonomy and flourished even while KM and SDK chapters had their own cultural groups and performances. During and after the FQS, they were able to create excellent works of literature and art. They recited and performed the poems of Amado V. Hernandez most prominently.

Creative writers and visual artists contributed prolifically to the cultural revolution during and after the FQS. While I was underground, I had the honor of addressing messages to the visual artists who formed the Nagkakaisang Artista-Arkitecto (NPA-A) and the creative writers who formed Panulat para sa Kaunlaran ng Sambayanan (PAKSA) in 1971. The members of these organizations would produce excellent works that reflected the revolutionary tradition and current demands of the oppressed and exploited people and ensured the primacy of revolutionary literature and art in the cultural life of the nation.

The mass activists in Metro Manila and elsewhere in the country understood that they must continue to conduct the legal mass protest actions to broadcast the demands of the people and to tie down the enemy forces. But those mass activists already tagged by the military as communist suspects and listed for arrest were prepared to be absorbed by the urban underground before they could be integrated into the people's army and in rural mass work.

Especially because martial law had already been anticipated since 1970, the mass organizations under the Party leadership started to develop underground personnel and facilities. Teams of workers and educated youth were formed to participate in politico-military training and join the people's army and the peasants in the countryside. They either joined existing NPA units in certain regions or to start NPA units in new areas.

By the time Marcos declared the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus on August 21, 1971, the national democratic mass movement had already gained

experience in building the underground, redeploying cadres and mass activists to the countryside and waging open and legal campaigns for civil liberties and human rights under the repressive conditions.

When Marcos proclaimed martial law on September 21 1972, several legal mass organizations had to go underground in order to avoid fascist attacks and imprisonment of its officers and members. A large number of them had to go underground or go to their own provinces to devise their own ways of ensuring safety and continuing the struggle against the fascist regime.

As a result of the FQS, the membership of the CPP and the mass organizations rapidly increased from 1970 to 1974. On April 24, 1973, the underground organizations founded the National Democratic Front and issued its 10 point guidelines. From 1972 to 1974, the Party cadres and mass activists who had been forced underground were distributed to various regions, together with Party cadres trained in people's war in Isabela.

It was of decisive importance in the rapid advance of the new democratic revolution that the highly educated cadres and mass activists from the ranks of youth and workers, who had participated in the FQS of 1970 and subsequent mass protests, were integrated in the people's army and rural mass work. They became political officers and unit commanders of the people's army. They also assumed responsibilities and tasks in mass organizing, mass education, production, health, cultural work, self-defense and other functions in the countryside.

Despite the conditions of martial law, Party cadres who were trained and tempered by the mass movement of the 1960s and the FQS of 1970 were able to launch mass actions, including lightning rallies and lightning cultural performances in city centers and during well-attended public events, camping at urban centers by victims of forced evictions by the military, student strikes in certain schools and workers strikes starting at La Tondeña in Manila on October

24, 1975 and spreading to 300 work places nationwide up to 1976. Student leaders demanded the restoration of student governments from 1976 onward.

Underground publications against the fascist regime flourished. Cultural performances were carried out in the open. But the regime arrested the authors and performers. Most important of all, the revolutionary forces and the people involved in people's war for national liberation and democracy gained strength and advanced. They included the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army, the National Democratic Front, mass organizations and organs of political power. The workers and educated youth from the urban areas conjoined very well with the peasant masses.

The fascist dictator Marcos became unwittingly the best recruiter of the revolutionaries by escalating the oppression and exploitation of the people. When Marcos pretended to lift martial law in 1981, new mass organizations of the workers, peasants, women, youth, teachers, artists and other professionals and human rights advocates rose above-ground in line with the struggle for national liberation and democracy mostly by those who had participated in the FQS. Such organizations rapidly grew in strength as the Marcos fascist regime became more discredited and isolated as a result of the aggravation of the socioeconomic and political crisis from 1979 onward.

In the course of the struggle against the US-supported fascist dictatorship, many of the political and cultural activists of the FQS made sacrifices, including separation from their families, illegal arrest or forced disappearance, detention, torture and death. They paid the highest price for developing and advancing the revolutionary movement. To this day and in the future, they inspire the fighting spirit and strengthening of the revolutionary movement.

When Marcos made the mistake of having Benigno Aquino assassinated on August 21, 1983, the hard core of the of the mass movement for justice, democracy and end of martial rule consisted of the national democratic

organizations led by veterans of the FQS. The experience and lessons learned from the FQS were applied. It was as if the FQS of 1970 came to life again on a far bigger and wider scale.

A series of mass actions were carried out fluctuating between 50,000 to 500,000 and ultimately leading to the two million at EDSA, 100,000 around the palace and mass actions of varying sizes all over the Philippines when Marcos fell from power on February 25, 1986, was helicoptered out of the palace and planed out of Philippines by the US Air Force.

A broad united front spearheaded by BAYAN had to be formed in order to draw millions of people to join the mass uprising and persuade the military and police to withdraw support from Marcos. In representation of the entire national democratic movement, the Alliance of Concerned Teachers (ACT) and the Concerned Artists of the Philippines (CAP) were the first to link up with the aggrieved Aquino family. Thus, the Justice for Aquino, Justice for All (JAJA), then the Coalition for the Restoration of Democracy (CORD) and further on the Nationalist Alliance for Justice, Freedom and Democracy were formed.

The same policy and tactics of the broad united front once more spearheaded by BAYAN would also be applied in the ouster of Estrada from the presidency in January 2001 because of his scandalous crime of plunder. The Anakbayan and the League of Filipino Students (LFS) combined with Kilusang Mayo Uno and Kadamay as well as other organizations of the middle and right sections of the political spectrum against the ultra-Right.

The broad united front involves the basic alliance of the toiling masses of workers and peasants, the progressive alliance with the urban petty bourgeoisie, the patriotic alliance with the middle bourgeoisie and temporary alliance with the less reactionary forces in order to isolate and overthrow the enemy which is the most reactionary force.

Continuing relevance of the FQS to the present

We are once more confronted by a US puppet regime whose leader Duterte idolizes the dictator Marcos and is scheming to establish a fascist dictatorship in ways similar to those of Marcos. He has tried in vain to popularize himself as a strongman by waging a phony war on drugs using methods of mass murder and mass intimidation at the expense of urban poor suspects and communities.

He now seeks to scapegoat both the armed revolutionary movement and the legal democratic mass movement as enemies of the state, use methods of mass murder and mass intimidation against them in order to declare a state of emergency and martial law nationwide. For this evil purpose, he has terminated the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations and has designated revolutionary forces as "terrorist".

Like Marcos, Duterte uses charter change, this time for a shift from the unitary to the federal form of government as a pretext for obtaining and concentrating executive, legislative and judicial powers in his hands during a period of transition and after the establishment of the federal form of government, with the regions ruled by dynasties and warlords of his choice.

It is fine that the revolutionary forces as well as the legal democratic forces of the people have come to the conclusion since July 2017 that the Duterte regime is tyrannical, corrupt and hell-bent on establishing a fascist dictatorship after a full year of observing and testing it through the peace negotiations, whether or not it would release all political prisoners and whether Duterte could prove to be truly Left and socialist as he proclaimed himself at the start of his presidency.

Once more a broad united front, like the Movement Against Tyranny, is

developing to defend the people's national and democratic rights and bring out the people in hundreds of thousands and even millions to demand the tyrant's ouster and persuade his own military and police to withdraw support from him. The People's United SONA against Duterte's SONA on July 23, 2018 is a signal event, a harbinger of bigger mass actions for the ouster or resignation of Duterte.

While the broad united front and the legal mass movement spearheaded by BAYAN and the Movement Against Tyranny are developing, the armed revolutionary movement intensifies its struggle, gains strength and guarantees to the people that in the long run the revolution can contribute not only to the isolation and ouster of the US-Duterte regime but also to the debilitation and overthrow of the entire ruling system and effect fundamental transformation for national liberation, democracy, development, social justice, cultural progress and international solidarity.

Integrate and Work with the Peasant Masses to Struggle against the Duterte Tyranny

Message to Fourth Congress of NNARA-Youth

November 24, 2018

We, the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS), convey our warmest greetings of solidarity to the National Network of Agrarian Reform Advocates (NNARA-Youth) on the occasion of its 4th Congress. We commend NNARA-Youth as the most outstanding organization of educated youth dedicated to serving the peasant masses.

You hold your Congress amid the advancing and expanding movement of the youth, peasants and the entire people against the worsening conditions of oppression and exploitation of the tyrannical US-Duterte regime. It is appropriate and timely that your theme is: Integrate, Struggle! Youth, Tighten Your Solidarity with the Peasants!

We salute you for all your accumulated achievements and for your determination and courage to advance further by standing with the peasants and struggling against a regime that has already killed 170 peasants in order to sow terror among the peasants struggling for land reform. This regime is threatening to

murder more peasants under Oplan Kapayapaan by demonstrating in Oplan Tokhang that it can kill thousands extrajudicially.

The reactionary armed forces are occupying rural communities and taking over civilian structures like barangay halls, schools and clinics. An increasing number of peasants are being forced to surrender as “rebels” or “terrorists” and are being listed for further punitive actions, including extrajudicial killings.

Peasant and national minority communities are being bombed, with the bombing and destruction of Marawi City serving as prime example of the enemy’s malevolence towards the people. Thousands have been forced to leave their homes and land. The peasants who are carrying out bungkalan or collective farming have been targeted.

The Sagay Massacre of 9 peasants is the most recent of the 13 well-documented massacres of peasants. It is inevitable in the massacres of peasants that young peasants are being killed like Joselito Pasaporte, Obillo Bay-ao, the seven Lumad peasants in the Patikul and the two farm workers in the Sagay Massacre.

Most of the human rights violations are being committed in Mindanao where martial law is formally imposed even as de facto martial law is imposed on the other parts of the country and is being used to violate the rights of the peasant masses. We can expect more barbarities from the Duterte regime if and when it proceeds to declare martial law nationwide and impose a blatant fascist dictatorship on the people.

Instead of amnestying and releasing all political prisoners as Duterte promised to the NDFP on May 16, 2016, he has increased the number of political prisoners to more than 500. He threatens to arrest more people by inventing the “Red October” plot and other imaginary plots in connection with his scheme to crack

down on legal mass activists, declare martial law nationwide, control the results of the May 2019 elections and carry out charter change to bogus federalism as cover for a full-blown fascist dictatorship.

While mass murders and flagrant violations of the people's rights are being committed, the economy is fast deteriorating because of excise taxes having been wantonly increased, causing prices of basic goods and services to soar at the expense of the people who are already afflicted by mass poverty, unemployment and low income.

The regime has increased the tax revenues and cut back social services in order to pour out public funds for military and police personnel, equipment and operations and for overpriced infrastructure projects that feed the corruption of favored executive officials and members of Congress.

The food crisis has seriously worsened. The Duterte regime has allowed the rice cartel to control the purchase of local rice and the smuggling of rice, manipulate the price of rice to raise profits and in effect undermine and destroy local production at the expense of the peasant masses and the rest of the people. The ceaseless increase in the price of oil is also generating the price inflation of all basic commodities.

Food production is prejudiced by the allocation of more land to the infrastructure projects, commercial operations, real estate speculation, logging, plantations for export crops and for mining. Millions of peasant and national minorities are evicted for these purposes.

The Free Tertiary Education Act is a trick to favor the private universities while public appropriations for public universities are limited. At the same time, millions of students who have finished K-12 cannot find jobs despite the promise

that they would be immediately employable after the addition of two more years to their stay in school.

In the early months of his rule, Duterte boasted of carrying out an independent foreign policy. It turns out that he retains all the treaties, agreements and arrangements that make the US economically, politically and militarily dominant over the Philippines and wants China as an additional imperialist master in order to secure high interest loans for overpriced infrastructure projects in exchange for the sovereign rights of the Filipino people over the oil, gas and other natural resources under the West Philippine Sea.

The US still controls the indoctrination, training, intelligence gathering and arms supply to the puppet armed forces and police. The Trump regime has given to the Duterte regime access to US weaponry under Oplan Pacific Eagle-Philippines in order to circumvent US congressional oversight and restrictions for countries violating human rights.

The broad masses of the people hate the Duterte regime for its treasonous, brutal, corrupt and exploitative character. They are therefore strengthening their resistance. The peasant masses are the principal base for the legal democratic movement as well as for the revolutionary armed resistance. When aroused, organized and mobilized, they are a gigantic force for overthrowing not only the Duterte regime but the entire ruling system.

In the urban areas, a broad united front of patriotic and progressive forces is fighting the Duterte tyranny and its scheme of fascist dictatorship through martial law and charter change for federalism. The youth and students are in the forefront of these mass actions to protest the escalation of oppression and exploitation and to demand national and social liberation.

It is urgent for the student youth to integrate with the peasant masses and other toilers. You can learn from them their needs, demands and aspirations. Thus you cease to be misled by theories and concepts that support imperialism and the ruling system and you can carry out your mass work effectively. We commend you for taking the road of integration and struggle for national freedom and democracy among the peasant masses.

We wish you the utmost success in conducting your Congress to consolidate the unity and preparedness of NNARA-Youth to deepen their direct participation in the peasant struggle and further expand the support for the peasantry.

We are confident that you will fulfill your objectives in this Congress: to strengthen the unity of your chapters in the investigation of the current situation of the country and respond to the challenges to the organized and the wider ranks of the youth and the Filipino people, to serve and learn from the experience of the different chapters in fulfilling the tasks and confronting problems and to plan with daring the 3-year plan, draw up concrete resolutions and elect a competent and militant national executive committee.

Long live NNARA-Youth!

Integrate and work with the peasant masses!

Long live the peasant masses!

Forward with the bungkalan movement and the cause of land reform!

Long live the Filipino people!

More victories in the struggle for national and social liberation!

Carry Forward the Red Flag of the Katipunan and Kabataang Makabayan

Message on the 54th KM Anniversary

November 30, 2018

As Kabataang Makabayan (KM) Founding Chairman, I am happy that our dear organization has reached its 54th founding anniversary. Let us thank all the revolutionary martyrs and heroes, and all the early and current membership that strengthened and continue to strengthen our organization as a major weapon of the new democratic revolution of the Filipino people.

The new democratic revolution is a continuation of the revolution started by the Katipunan under the leadership of Andres Bonifacio. The KM has a decisive role in the continuation of the revolution since 1964. It was established as a comprehensive youth organization from the ranks of the workers, peasants, students, teachers and other professionals.

KM presented itself as the assistant of the working class as the leading class in the Philippine revolution in the world era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. It became the school and training ground for a lot of cadres and mass activists. Here they learned the principles, methods and line for carrying out and

advancing the Philippine revolution.

KM achievements were thoroughgoing, decisive and numerous in advancing the mass movement throughout the country. The mass protests against the Marcos regime and the ruling system of big compradors and bureaucrat capitalists grew ever larger before the end of the 1960s. They culminated in the First Quarter Storm of 1970, in the Diliman Commune and other huge mass protest actions until Marcos imposed martial law and fascist dictatorship throughout the country.

The KM was forced to operate underground from the time of the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus in 1971. Its members were very much prepared to join the armed revolution early in 1968, when the Party was established. Many KM cadres became the founding members of the Communist Party of the Philippines and pursued the line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war.

The Party immediately covered the entire country because of the KM nationwide scope. As part of the armed struggle, the KM took the role of the Communist Youth League, for training and preparing the youth to become proletarian revolutionaries. Until today, it continues to achieve victories as the assistant of the revolutionary party of the working class.

Now, we confront a treacherous, brutal corrupt, greedy and deceptive regime, which is a new phase in the rule of US puppets and the reactionary classes in a semicolonial and semifeudal system. Because of its bad experience in the struggle against the Marcos fascist dictatorship, and the successive pseudo democratic regimes, KM has a strong resolve and deep experience to fight and overthrow the Duterte regime and the entire ruling system.

No Oplan has frightened the KM. Although the Duterte regime postures as strong and fierce, it is weak and craven in the face of the growing democratic movement in the cities and of the people's war entrenched in the countryside. All of Duterte's pretensions and false promises have been exposed as false.

Duterte promised to stop the illegal drug trade. Tens of thousands among the poor tagged as drug users and pushers are killed. It turns out that Duterte is the supreme lord of drug lords and his cohorts are his compadre Peter Lim and his own son Paolo in a growing and expanding drug trade.

Duterte promised to stop corruption in government. But it turns out that he is in cahoots with the biggest plunderers, such as the families Marcos, Arroyo, Estrada, Enrile and others. The presidential office today is the mastermind in corruption, especially in government infrastructure and supply contracts and in the use of the intelligence and discretionary funds for Oplan Tokhang and Oplan Kapayapaan.

Duterte intentionally crushed Marawi City and destroyed the homes and livelihood of hundreds of thousands of Maranaws to show off so as to intimidate the people and assert that what is correct as wrong: martial law throughout Mindanao and throughout the country.

Now, de facto martial law exists throughout the country and may even be formally proclaimed nationwide for the purpose of having a free rein to cheat in the 2019 elections and accomplish chacha for fake federalism in order to establish a fascist dictatorship dominated by his handpicked regional warlords and political dynasties.

The economy has not changed under Duterte. It remains pre-industrial, agrarian and semifeudal. The majority of the people are impoverished, unemployment is

rampant and the income of those with employment is insufficient. The prices of basic goods and services are soaring due to direct taxes imposed on these. Ordinary people are the ones paying high taxes instead of the corporations and the wealthy.

The government is bankrupt and it will further go bankrupt as the taxes collected are poured for the benefit of corrupt officials, and the military and police. Taxes paid by the people end up in easily corruptible infrastructure and other projects or operations, and in paying for growing government foreign debt.

Since Duterte became president, he has been waging an all-out war, and this continue even when ceasefire had been agreed upon in the peace negotiations. The use of military and police violence on the workers, peasants, national minorities, women, youth legal activists and human rights defenders is ceaseless.

The NPA has not lost a single battle front. And NPA tactical offensives in Mindanao, Visayas and Luzon are increasing. All the revolutionary forces are growing in strength. The truth is out that the Duterte regime is not capable of suppressing the revolutionary movement.

The national democratic movement and the broad united front against Duterte are fast advancing. Should these be able to launch mass protests running into hundreds of thousands or millions in the major cities, the patriotic and democratic military and police officers could withdraw support from Duterte and he would fall like Marcos in 1986 and Estrada in 2001.

More and bigger crimes would be perpetrated by the Duterte regime while it remains. It is the duty of all honorable Filipinos to participate in bringing down a treacherous, cruel, corrupt and fraudulent regime. It is through struggle that people can achieve a better and brighter future of freedom, democracy, justice

and progress.

Long live Kabataang Makabayan!

Down with the US-Duterte regime!

Advance the national democratic revolution!

Long live the Filipino people!

Intensify and Advance the Revolution

Message to the Southern Mindanao Region Kabataang Makabayan

November 30, 2018

Red salute to you all! Revolutionary greetings of solidarity to you all on the 54th anniversary of our beloved organization. This is a day for celebration of revolutionary heroes from Andres Bonifacio, of the establishment of Kabataang Makabayan (KM) and Oftheif Victories in continuing the Philippine revolution for national and social liberation of the Filipino people.

KM has a shining record in your region, SMR, ang continuing activities and advance of our organization. The youth of Davao City had joined KM early on and established chapters. The growth of their protest actions against Marcos and the reactionary policies of school administrations were outstanding.

The role of KM members was important in many schools and some workers' unions and peasant associations when the First Quarter Storm burst in 1970 in Manila and other parts of the Philippines. When the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army began expansion in Mindanao in 1972, KM cadres and members were the first to join and dare to fight the Marcos fascist dictatorship.

KM became the school and trainor for revolutionaries in SMR and they spread out to other regions in Mindanao. In KM, they studied the principles, policies and line of action to realize and advance the Philippine revolution. You are the

ones who can relate the course of the people's democratic revolution through protracted peoples war in your region.

I can only mention the outstanding stages of the struggle in SMR. Revolutionary advances in your region went through twists and turns. Many have been martyred among the first seeds of the armed struggle in the years 1972-73. But come 1975, the people's war in SMR and throughout Mindanao made big advances.

The people's war there grew and advanced continuously and became the most outstanding field of struggle until 1985. But because of the wrong line drawn from 1981, which won initial temporary victories with the formation of the first five companies but after exceeding this number, big setbacks and abhorrent events happened due to the formation of companies that did not have the corresponding or that lacked strong mass base; and thus became vulnerable to enemy operations.

When the errors were rectified, the revolutionary forces in SMR and the whole of Mindanao regained their outstanding status in the people's democratic revolution. Generally, the correct balance was achieved between tactical offensives in the armed struggle and mass work to ensure sufficient mass support.

For a long time, the revolutionary movement in SMR and the whole of Mindanao was successful. But you are now the primary target of Oplan Kapayapaan as you were of earlier Oplans under Arroyo and Aquino. Even as you come from the same region, the ungrateful monster Duterte now wants to wipe out the revolutionary forces and masses.

The entire KM and the Filipino people are confident that you are entirely

capable of overcoming the oligarch and bureaucrat capitalist Duterte and his dynasty. Duterte's all-out war has been running for three years but until now not a single guerrilla front has been destroyed throughout Mindanao, despite conditions of martial law.

Duterte dumped 75 out of 98 AFP maneuver battalions in 44 battalions, especially in Eastern Mindanao and some focus areas, and 31 in the Bangsamoro areas. But these forces have been frustrated due to the SMR and Mindanao comrades who are experienced, skilful, and courageous in guerrilla warfare.

The enemy forces misconstrue that when NPA forces withdraw or avoid a superior military force, they have won and cannot imagine that the forces of the people's army relocates so as to launch counter-offensives in a nearby of distant enemy force. While an enemy force is deployed and exposed, it is seen as a target for increasing counter-offensives by the people's army forces.

Martial law is a real tiger to those it can abuse, kidnap and kill at the tactical level. And it out to be combated by the human rights defenders, broad united front and the Filipino people. If it were possible, the NDFP is ready to resume peace talks to stop the de facto fascist dictatorship, abide by CARHRIHL and agree on the reforms necessary for a just and lasting peace.

But Duterte refuses peace talks. As it is, marital law is a paper tiger at the strategic level due to the intense hatred of the broad masses over the rampant violations of human rights. The enemy military forces are fragmented not only because of the offensives but also to control large areas and conduct checkpoints to intimidate and extort from the people. There are also specious campaigns for "peace and development" and ceremonies of fake surrenders.

I will not linger except to relay my high confidence that you can defeat martial

law and Duterte's armed minions. With this message is also my message and that of the whole KM as a national organization. Please read and disseminate this.

Stated here is the national context of your regional struggle, the objective conditions and the subjective factor for revolutionary forces to win the people's democratic revolution against the US-Duterte regime and the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system.

In ending, I wish to focus on the point that KM is the Communist Youth League, the active assistant and reserve force of the CPP and the NPA. KM should grow. It is the most important mass organization from which the cadres and Red fighters are sourced. All victorious revolutionary movement have youth in the majority.

Long live Kabataang Makabayan-SMR!

Long live Kabataang Makabayan nationwide!

Overthrow the US-Duterte regime!

Intensify and advance the national democratic revolution!

Long live the Filipino people!

On Student Activism

Interview by Dempsey Reyes

August 21, 2019

1. What do you think has been the difference between student activism in the past and present?

JMS: The struggle for national independence and democracy against Spanish colonialism emerged because of the student activism of Jose Rizal, Emilio Jacinto and many others in the late 19th century. The new democratic revolution for the national and social liberation of the Filipino people is a resumption of the unfinished Philippine revolution started by Andres Bonifacio. It has been sustained with the major and vital participation of student activists from the 20th to the 21st century. We, the student activists of the late 1950s and the 1960s, were conscious of continuing the struggle for national liberation and democracy and overcoming the anti-democratic crackdown by the US and its Filipino puppets in the early 1950s on the patriotic and progressive forces in the Philippines. The current student activists are similar to their predecessors in being patriotic and progressive. The differences from the past arise from their being able to take advantage of the revolutionary legacy bequeathed to them and from being confronted by new challenges from foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

2. In the past, has there been red-tagging already among student activist groups?

JMS: Yes, certainly. Immediately after we established the Student Cultural Association of the University of the Philippines (SCAUP) in 1959, we were soon assailed by the anti-communist witch hunt instigated by the National Intelligence Coordinating Agency (NICA).

We the student activists then were not cowed or silenced by the red-tagging and anti-communist tirade, which invoked the 1957 Anti-Subversion Law. But we became more inspired to fight back and to assert and exercise our democratic rights. We stood for the national and democratic rights of the student masses and the Filipino people. The Committee on Anti-Filipino Activities (CAFA) headed by Rep. Leonardo Perez tried to witch-hunt, frighten and silence the progressive faculty members and students of the UP as a result of their progressive publications. I was one of those targeted for organizing the SCAUP and for writing "Requiem for Lumumba" in praise of the Congolese leader and in condemnation of the CIA which instigated his murder. The anti-communist witch-hunt by the CAFA failed to intimidate us but it merely succeeded in rousing the students and faculty members to rise up in protest. The SCAUP organized a broad alliance of campus organizations in order to uphold and defend academic freedom. Thus, we were able to mobilize 5000 students to rally in front of Congress on March 15, 1961. A major part of the demonstrators poured into the hearing hall of the CAFA and literally scuttled its hearings.

3. Would you say that despite all that has been happening now with the red-tagging and conduct of probe on NPA recruitment supposedly because of student activism, do you think student activism will be impacted?

JMS: Student activism will not be silenced or die because of the current red-tagging and anti-communist witch-hunt by all branches of government under the Duterte tyrannical rule and its Executive Order No. 70. It is ludicrous that student activists are being persecuted merely because of the ultrareactionary fear

that they are being recruited to the NPA.

The student activists and student masses are defying the attempts to intimidate and suppress them and intensifying their efforts to inform and educate themselves on social ills and issues, organizing themselves and mobilizing themselves. The campaign to persecute and deprive them of their democratic rights is driving them to fight back.

It is not student activism that is the cause of many students and other people joining the NPA. The cause of the rising of the broad legal democratic movement as well as the armed revolution is the persistence of the rotten semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system and the aggravation of basic social problems by the tyrannical, traitorous, murderous, plundering and swindling regime of Duterte.

4. For you, should student activism continue?

JMS: Of course, student activism should continue. In the first place, it is unstoppable and is needed by the students themselves and the entire Filipino people. The student activists and the student masses must struggle for better conditions and a brighter future by opposing the rotten ruling system dominated by imperialism and ruled by the brutal and corrupt politicians of the big compradors and landlords.

It is not the fault of student activism that there are oppressive and exploitative conditions that they must criticize, repudiate and overcome. It is the escalating conditions of oppression and exploitation that are driving more students activists to join the armed revolution. Thus, the tyrannical Duterte regime is now known as the best recruiter of the NPA.

On Red Tagging of Youth Activists

Interview by Michael Beltran, September 9, 2019

1. As the founder of KM in 1964, why would you say that the Duterte government is giving particular attention to red-tagging youth activists in universities? What can you say about allegations from the likes of Senator Bato de la Rosa that youth groups are tearing families apart?

JMS: The Duterte government is under advice by US psywar experts and their pro-US partners in the Philippine puppet military to use red-tagging or the communist scare against youth activists in the universities in order to intimidate all students and discourage them from participating in the national democratic movement against US imperialism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

Duterte fears the student youth for being critical of his regime, being receptive to revolutionary ideas and having the energy, militancy and daring to engage in mass actions (as in the overthrow of Marcos and Estrada) or to even join the armed revolutionary movement. He also believes that during the 1950s the anti-communist campaign was effective in silencing the youth.

He and his US and Filipino national security advisors do not realize that the anti-communist campaign and the Anti-Subversion Law pushed and challenged us students from 1958 onwards to engage in the study of Marxism-Leninism and

the Philippine revolution, form the SCAUP, act to stop the anti-communist witch hunt by the CAFA in 1961, build the KM from 1964 onwards and finally to join in the founding of the CPP and NPA in 1968 and 1969.

It is the forces of semicolonial and semifeudal exploitation and oppression and the mass murderers in authority like Senator Bato de la Rosa that break up families by killing people with impunity on mere suspicion of being drug addicts and pusher or being connected to the CPP and NPA. Red-tagging, mass intimidation and killings are meant to intimidate the people of all classes and sectors and force them to accept the imposition of fascist dictatorship on the entire nation.

2. Would you say that this red-tagging has been present since the martial law years and under subsequent Presidents? Or other attacks against youth groups?

JMS: Red-tagging has been done in the Philippines since before World War II. Bolshevik was the cussword against the leaders of the working class, who went to the Soviet Union or joined the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands (CPPI). When the Cold War started in 1948, red-tagging or communist baiting was used not only against avowed communists but also those critical of or opposed to US imperialism, the big compradors, landlords and corrupt politicians.

Red-baiting and anti-communism was carried on in conjunction with the campaign to destroy the old merger party of CP-SP and the HMB, and even after their defeat in 1952 to make sure that they would not resurge; and to fight the national democratic movement that arose in the 1960s and the emergence and rise of the CPP, NPA and other revolutionary forces since the late 1960s. But Duterte wants to surpass his anticommunist predecessors with the use of Executive Order 70. Please see the most comprehensive critique of this: <https://kodao.org/eo-70-whole-of-nation-approach-will-escalate-and-prolong-armedconflict-not-end-it/>

In all campaigns and instances of Red-baiting, US imperialism, the local reactionary classes and their political agents try to deceive, intimidate and draw the youth away from the struggle for national liberation and democracy, which they misrepresent as communism and unwittingly praise the communists for being patriots and progressives unlike them. They are mortally afraid that major reforms and revolution, if not discredited and stopped, would arise to deprive them of their power and privileges.

3. Would you say universities represent an important ideological battleground and how do you think this can take shape in the struggle against Duterte's tyranny?

JMS: Of course, the universities are an important ideological battleground. Even without any campaign of rabid anti-communism to dominate the universities in the Philippines, anti-communist, conservative liberal and all sorts of subjectivist ideas are in fact dominant in the curricula and in the study materials. But the adherents of Marxism-Leninism and the new democratic revolution have increased cumulatively since the 1960 because their ideas expose the realities of oppression and exploitation and express the demands of the people, especially the toiling masses of workers and peasants.

The rabid ant-communists who are ultra-reactionaries wish to exterminate the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and new democratic revolution even by violating academic freedom and all democratic rights. Such ideas will bring about the national and social liberation of the people. But the imperialists, the local exploiters and their political agents want to suppress these ideas out of the fear that they inspire the people to fight for national liberation and democracy through the agency of the educated youth who have taken either the road of social activism or the road of people's war.

In times such as now, when the Duterte regime is red-baiting, threatening, trying to shame and even killing patriotic and progressive youth activists, more and more of them are joining the armed revolution in order to secure themselves from fascist attacks but also to be able to fight back and bring down the Duterte tyranny ultimately. Thus, unwittingly Duterte has become the chief recruiter of the CPP and NPA. The broad masses of the people are motivated to fight back, precisely because of the rule of terror and greed.

Message to the ILPS Commission on the Rights of Youth to Education and Employment

October 15, 2019

I am deeply pleased and highly privileged to greet the Commission on the Rights of Youth for Education and Employment of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) on the launching of its quarterly newsletter for sharing reports and articles about the work of the commission in various regions and for facilitating discussions about issues that affect the youth.

I congratulate the commission and the editorial staff for publishing the inaugural edition. I commend the excellent choice of topics and the writing style in the articles. I am confident that you will maintain a high standard of publication so that the newsletter can progress as a means of information, education and consensus for the youth's common courses of action.

Let me point out that for the newsletter to be interesting to the youth and students it must uphold, defend and promote their rights to education and employment. But such sectoral interest is inseparable from the anti-imperialist and democratic line of struggle pursued by the entire ILPS, including the other commissions and all territorial organs and organizations.

Your newsletter must heighten and sharpen the awareness among the youth and students about the constant rottenness and worsening crisis of imperialism, especially due to the neoliberal policy regime and ceaseless wars of aggression unleashed by the US and other imperialist powers.

The youth and students suffer from what the rest of the people suffer, such as widespread poverty and hunger, increasing exploitation in the workplace, unemployment and underemployment, racial and gender discrimination, environmental degradation, repressive measures of state terrorism, displacement, mass forced migration, trafficking, and deportations.

You must fight for all the democratic rights of the youth and students in the civil, political, social, economic and cultural fields. You must strive to overcome and defeat the imperialist system and the domestic ruling systems in order to achieve fundamentally new and better social conditions.

You must promote a system of studies towards a cultural revolution that is anti-imperialist, scientific and pro-people. Even now, the youth and students are awakening and rising up to fight for their rights and interests. And they are also joining up with the toiling masses of the people in order to resist the imperialist and other anti-democratic forces.

The newsletter can contribute to further arouse, and organize and mobilize the youth and students and to put them in unity, cooperation and coordination with all sectors of society in the common struggle against imperialism and all reaction. All the oppressed and exploited classes and sectors must unite and rise together in order to realize a new and better world of greater freedom, democracy, social justice, all-round development and international solidarity.

Negros Youth, Pursue and Intensify the Struggle

for National Liberation, Democracy and Social Justice

November 30, 2019

I welcome the special issue of Ang Paghimakas (CPP Negros Newsletter, which is addressed to the youth of Negros, on the highly significant day of November 30, the birth anniversary of Andres Bonifacio who in his youth led the Katipunan and the Philippine revolution.

This is a day annually celebrated in honor of the great hero Andres Bonifacio and all other national heroes of the Filipino people. It is also the day when Kabataang Makabayan was founded in 1964, with the determination to continue the Philippine revolution and accomplish the aims of national and social liberation.

It is timely and appropriate that Ang Paghimakas publish the special issue in order to underscore the crucial role of the youth in the national democratic movement of the people and to inspire them to resist the escalating conditions of oppression and exploitation under the traitorous, tyrannical, genocidal, plundering and swindling Duterte regime.

This regime manifests the utter rottenness of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system, dominated by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. It is a retrogression to the Marcos fascist dictatorship after a series of pseudo-democratic regimes. The monstrosity of de facto martial law and de facto fascist dictatorship has unfolded in Negros with the most brazen attacks on the people and the youth and it is meant to preserve the rule of big compradors, big landlords and corrupt government officials.

The joint operations of the reactionary and police have included massacres of workers and peasants and other people, the assassination of pro-people professionals and social activists, the raids on the offices of legal organizations of workers, women, youth and other people, the illegal arrest and detention of social activists on trumped up charges and with the use of planted evidence, red-tagging, fake surrenders, fake encounters, fake community support programs and so many other forms of military psywar for the purpose of mass intimidation and deception.

The Negros youth themselves are sharply aware of the worsening crisis and the rampage of the forces of state terrorism, fascism, puppetry and corruption. It is therefore just and necessary for Ang Paghimakas to call upon the youth to rise up, engage in all possible forms of resistance in the urban and rural areas and act in concert with the rest of the people to remove the evil Duterte regime from power.

The people rely on the youth as the most receptive to the call for revolutionary change and as the most energetic and most ready to engage in all forms of revolutionary struggle for full national independence, democracy, social justice, economic development through national industrialization and land reform, patriotic and progressive culture and international solidarity against imperialism and all reaction.

Long live the Negros youth!

Long live Paghimakas!

Long live the people of Negros!

Long live the Filipino people!

Fight and Oust The US-Duterte Dictatorship

Message to 3rd National Congress of Anakbayan-USA

November 30, 2019

As Founding Chairman of Kabataang Makabayan and consistent supporter of the Filipino youth movement for national liberation and democracy, I convey to Anakbayan-USA my warmest greetings of solidarity on the occasion of your 3rd National Congress on Bonifacio Day. I share with you the joy of celebrating the crucial role of the youth and student sector in advancing the revolutionary struggle for national and social liberation.

I join you on this meaningful day in recognizing and honoring all those who have dedicated their lives to building the national democratic movement and thus serving the Filipino people. I admire and salute you for emulating previous revolutionary generations and for continuing to arouse, organize and mobilize the masses for revolutionary struggle and aim for the total victory of the Philippine revolution.

In the meantime you must be guided by the theme of your congress: “Laban Kabataan! Fight against Fascism and Dictatorship! Organize the People to Oust the US-Duterte Regime!” To achieve what the theme calls for is an important and necessary step in advancing the revolutionary cause.

It is a noble task for the Filipino youth to fight and oust a regime that is treasonous, tyrannical, murderous, corrupt and mendacious and seeks to impose on the Filipino people a fascist dictatorship that is servile to US imperialism and to ruling classes of big compradors and landlords.

In the Philippines, the US is still the most dominant imperialist force in economic, political and military terms in accordance with existing treaties, agreements and arrangement. The Duterte regime has been assuring the US of its puppetry by promising in the name of anti-communism to destroy the people's revolutionary movement and in the name of neoliberalism to make charter change that allows foreign corporations 100 percent ownership of land, natural resources, public utilities and all other types of other businesses.

The Duterte regime is increasingly collaborating with Chinese imperialism for the purpose of obtaining bribes from the high interest Chinese loans and overpriced infrastructure projects. At the same time, the Duterte crime family is benefiting from private deals with Chinese criminal syndicates in the smuggling and distribution of illegal drugs and other goods in the Philippines. Duterte is so greedy that he is not satisfied with taking cuts from business contracts and state loans and stealing the people's money from appropriations for pork barrel, military purchases, intelligence and other sham accounts in the strategic oplans.

Even as you are Filipino youth in the USA, you are in a position to make significant contributions to the Filipino people's national democratic movement in the motherland. You can extend moral and political support to the movement by your declarations and actions as an association and by engaging in information campaigns and making appeals for support from the American and other people in the USA and on the global scale. You have the advantage of being beyond the easy reach of the tyranny and terrorism being unleashed by the Duterte regime in our motherland.

You can raise the political capabilities, professional and technical skills and material resources and somehow transmit these to the patriotic and progressive forces in the Philippines through assignees and volunteers from your ranks, through relatives living in the Philippines and through Filipino and foreign friends travelling to the Philippines. People abroad who are moved by the spirit of solidarity will find countless ways of realizing and extending concrete support for the just revolutionary cause of the Filipino youth and people.

To be more effective in contributing to the Philippine revolution, Anakbayan-USA must increase its membership and political strength among the Filipino youth and students in various cities and other localities where Filipinos are to be found in institutions, work places and communities. You are correct in equipping your chapters with the abilities and tools to arouse, organize and mobilize the Filipino youth and students. On the basis of your current strength, you must persevere in raising further your educational, political and organizational strength to a new and higher level.

You must have schools for national democracy, publications and social media teams and train speakers, writers, cultural activists and others who excel at imparting ideas and values to others. You must have effective organizers who are happy with recruiting new members and who are good at explaining the general political line, aims and purposes on their own or with the help of articulate team mates and publications. You must have periodic and timely counts of the participants and results of your educational and organizational work.

You must undertake mass campaigns among the Filipinos and foreign friends along the line of anti-imperialist and democratic struggle for the purpose of further solid organizing by Anakbayan-USA and other Filipino organizations as well solidarity formations among foreign friends who are encouraged to visit the Philippines and interact with the masses. If you wish to obtain support for the Filipino people, you must also be willing to support the revolutionary struggles of the American and other peoples.

You are being challenged to raise your revolutionary consciousness, to get organized and act in concert with others through meetings and protest mass actions in response to the crying needs and demands of the peoples who are now being subjected to higher levels of oppression and exploitation because of the ever-worsening crisis of the world capitalist system and the reactionary ruling systems in various countries. All of us must be moved by the spirit of international solidarity and struggle against imperialism and all forms of reaction in order to attain national independence, democracy, social and environmental justice, all-round development, cultural progress and world peace.

Long live Anakbayan-USA!

Fight and oust US-Duterte regime!

Advance the national democratic revolution!

Bring the Philippine revolution to victory!

Long live the Filipino people!

**Celebrate the First Quarter Storm of 1970,
Honor and Emulate
the Heroic Activist Youth**

January 26, 2020

Beloved fellow activists, once more I wish to express warmest greetings of solidarity to the First Quarter Storm Movement and my congratulations for the successful preparations directed by the FQS@50 Coordinating Committee for the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the FQS of 1970 from January to March this year.

I am happy and gratified to have participated in the preparations from the beginning in 2018 by presenting at the maiden forum of the Forum Series on the FQS of 1970 an overview of this event as framework for succeeding forums until 2020. I discussed the chain of events in the 1960s that led to the FQS of 1970, its distinctly great historic significance, its far-reaching consequences and continuing relevance.

By way of further contributing to the celebration of FQS, I have also proposed to the International Network for Philippine Studies the republication of the book, *First Quarter Storm of 1970*. This can be read as a partner to the eye witness and insightful reports in Jose Lacaba's book, *Days of Disquiet and Nights of Rage*.

It carries the evaluative articles of Amado Guerrero, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines and editor of *Ang Bayan*, on the series of mass protests by students, teachers, other professionals, workers and other urban poor who rose up and asserted the general line and popular strength of the national democratic movement and rocked the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system from base to rafters.

The Significance of FQS of 1970

The FQS of 1970 broke out in the revolutionary spirit of continuing the unfinished Philippine revolution and confronted the three evil forces that oppressed and exploited the Filipino people: US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism then chiefly represented by the Marcos regime.

The gigantic mass protests in FQS of 1970 were unprecedented in scale and intensity. They were the culmination of the long series of smaller mass protests launched by the youth from 1961 onward and carried out even more militantly and more widely since 1964 under the leadership of the comprehensive youth organization, *Kabataang Makabayan*.

Marcos had just won his reelection by spending a colossal amount of public money in the 1969 presidential elections and was widely denounced for the resultant soaring of the prices of basic commodities. Reacting to protest mass actions in December 1969, he threatened to declare martial by way of intimidating the opposition and the people.

But he would concur with the reformists, including the clerico-fascists who called themselves social-democrats, that charter change was necessary to prevent

the social volcano from erupting. He had the ulterior motive of imposing a fascist dictatorship on the people by initially using transitory provisions of a new constitution.

On January 26, 1970 in front of Congress, 10,000 student demonstrators came from the Catholic schools under a reformist leadership. The bigger KM contingent, consisting of students and workers, joined them. Marcos made the mistake of ordering the attack on the demonstrators after a cardboard coffin was thrown at him by a small group headed by the radio broadcaster Roger Arienda.

The police brutality inflicted casualties on the student demonstrators. But it served to ignite the series of mass protests, which ranged in size from 50,000 to 150,000, from January to March 1970 in the National Capital Region. These spread to other universities, colleges and high schools on a nationwide scale.

As a result of its previous work in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the youth in the sixties, the KM was able to spearhead the FQS of 1970 as it grew and developed. At the same time, the Movement for a Democratic Philippines (MDP) sought to build a broad united front to oppose the US-Marcos regime.

The FQS gave birth to so many youth activists and so many youth groups. The organizers and speakers of the main political organizations and cultural groups played a key role in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the youth. They generated thousands of young activists who advanced the national democratic movement in schools, urban communities, factories and farms.

The FQS became a cultural revolution, as Propaganda and Education (Prop-ED) teams, schools for national democracy and cultural groups of creative writers and artists proliferated and became active. Revolutionary literature flourished. The marches and rallies were always enlivened by artistic murals and

performances.

Many of those who joined Kabataang Makabayan (KM-Patriotic Youth), the Samahan ng Demokratikong Kabataan (SDK/Association of Democratic Youth) and various cultural groups in the course of the FQS eventually became proletarian revolutionaries and joined the Communist Party of the Philippines. They were determined to carry out the people's democratic revolution through people's war in response to Marcos' threat and preparations for fascist dictatorship. By the time that Marcos suspended the writ of habeas corpus on August 21, 1971 and then proclaimed martial law on September 22, 1972, there was already a large corps of educated youth and workers determined to wage the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war. All the time that the Marcos fascist regime enjoyed the support of US imperialism, the conservative opposition was reduced to making legal protests and lobbying for the US to change its policy of supporting Marcos. The CPP led the people's resistance by waging armed struggle in the countryside and carrying out workers' strikes and lightning mass protests in urban areas.

The CPP was energized by activists from the FQS on a nationwide scale. They did revolutionary mass work among the workers, peasants, indigenous people, youth, women, professionals and other people in order to wage all forms of struggle, especially people's war, against the fascist puppet regime.

Despite the grave risks of capture, torture, prolonged detention or death, the veterans of the FQS contributed greatly to the development of the armed revolutionary movement and the building of underground and aboveground organizations and networks for people's resistance.

The aggravation of the chronic crisis of the ruling system by the Marcos regime and the rise of the armed revolutionary movement ultimately persuaded US imperialism to consider the regime as more of a liability than an asset and thus started to junk him from the time that Marcos made the mistake of having

Benigno S. Aquino assassinated on August 21, 1983 and unwittingly igniting the gigantic mass protest actions from 1983 to his downfall on February 25, 1986.

The activists generated by the FQS of 1970 were at the forefront of the mass protest actions from 1983 onward, which ranged in size from 50,000 to several hundreds of thousands. They constantly waged all forms of struggle against the Marcos regime until 1986 when two to three million people rose up on EDSA and the contingent of more than one thousand people directly encircled the presidential palace and compelled the fascist dictator to give up power and flee to Hawaii in a US helicopter.

Continuing Relevance of FQS of 1970

Since the fall of the Marcos fascist dictatorship, many veterans of the FQS have continued to contribute to the Filipino people's struggle for national and social liberation in various capacities in the legal democratic movement or in the field of revolutionary armed struggle.

In the course of this protracted struggle, FQS veterans have paid for their achievements in serving the people by working hard, going against tremendous odds and making sacrifices in terms of martyrdom and deprivations.

They are leaving to the current generation and succeeding generations a great legacy that must be cherished as a source of inspiration and as a lasting relevant guide to patriotic and revolutionary activism. To this day, the FQS of 1970 remains relevant to the continuing struggle for full national independence, democracy, social justice and all-round development against the persistent semicolonial and semifeudal conditions.

The FQS of 1970 is a fountain of knowledge and collective experience about the socioeconomic and political conditions of Philippine society, the general line of people's democratic revolution, the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary struggle and the mass line and slogans that can arouse, organize and mobilize the people.

We can learn from the FQS of 1970 how to prepare for gigantic mass protests, how to use indoor and outdoor rallies on campuses and communities, how to do propaganda and agitation, how to make artistic works to serve the mass actions and how to assemble at different points in a city and then march to the converging point.

It is our noble and urgent task to celebrate the First Quarter Storm of 1970 and to honor and emulate those who participated in this revolutionary storm by carrying out mobilizations, forums and other gatherings.

Today the best way to fulfil our task is to call on the broad masses of the people to rise up against the tyrannical, treasonous, murderous, corrupt and mendacious Duterte regime and realize the intensification of mass protests and other forms of struggle in order to hasten the end of this malignant regime.

We are confronted today by a regime which idolizes Marcos and which is quite similar to the Marcos fascist regime in being a puppet of US imperialism and chief representative of the local exploiting classes. It would be a sterile way of celebrating the FQS of 1970 if we do not pay attention to the need for mass protests against the Duterte regime.

It should be easier now to carry out mass mobilization against the regime because the legal democratic forces are now far stronger than they were in 1970 and have become far more experienced in waging mass struggles.

The chronic crisis of the ruling system has been aggravated by extreme oppression and exploitation under the combined policies of neoliberalism and fascism. These conditions are exceedingly favorable for strengthening and advancing the national democratic movement through mass struggles.

In view of the gross crimes of the Duterte regime against the people, it is necessary and possible to realize a broad united front to arouse, organize and mobilize the people in their millions against the common enemy.

Rely mainly on the basic forces of workers and peasants, win over the middle forces of the urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie and take advantage of the splits among the reactionaries in order to isolate and destroy the power of the enemy regime.

It is high time for the Filipino youth and people to rise up against a terrorist and plundering regime that has terminated the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations in order to wage all-out war against the broad masses of the people and their revolutionary forces as well as the legal democratic forces.

It slanders the people's democratic revolution as terrorism, labels activists as communist terrorists, extends the murderous methods of Oplan Tokhang to the brutal suppression of political opponents and critics and uses the slogan of anti-communism in order to militarize and make fascist the entire reactionary government and society.

Without a strong mass protest movement, the Duterte regime will continue to carry out its scheme of imposing fascist dictatorship on the people through charter change. In fact, the regime has continued to impose a state of national

emergency on the people since September 4, 2016.

The Filipino youth and people of today must cry out as in the FQS of 1970: Makibaka, huwag matakot! Digmang Bayan ang sagot sa Martial Law! Their organized forces are far stronger than ever before and the desire of the people for revolutionary change is far stronger than ever before.

The escalating oppression and exploitation under the policy regimes of neoliberalism and fascism are inflicting intolerable suffering and are driving the people of the Philippines and the world to wage all forms of resistance against imperialism and all reaction.

The crisis of the Philippine ruling system coincides with the crisis of the world capitalist system. Conditions are exceedingly favorable for the Filipino people to advance their struggle for national and social liberation and contribute significantly to the global resurgence of the anti-imperialist, democratic and socialist forces of the people.

Long live the revolutionary spirit of the First Quarter Storm of 1970!

Down with imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism!

Long live the memory of martyrs and heroes of the FQS of 1970!

Long live the FQS veterans and their successors!

Makibaka, huwag matakot! Digmang bayan ang sagot sa martial law!

Continue the national democratic movement!

Long live the Filipino people!

Continuing Tasks of the Filipino Youth Under the Inspiration of the FQS of 1970

February 6, 2020

Dear fellow activists, I wish to express warmest greetings of solidarity to all who are participating in this forum to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the First Quarter Storm of 1970, including the sponsoring organizations, the UP Mindanao University Student Council and All-UP Academic Employees Union-Mindanao Chapter, and the distinguished speakers, Prof. Lualhati Milan Abreu, Khyle Caballero of Gabriela Youth-SMR, and Jayvie Cabajes of Kabataan Partylist.

I salute all of you for holding this forum. I feel honored and pleased to be a part of it. It is a meaningful way of celebrating the FQS of 1970 and drawing inspiration from its historic significance and continuing relevance.

The FQS started on January 26, 1970 and spread nationwide. It roused to action the youth in many provincial capitals and cities, including Davao City. The battlecries of the national democratic movement resounded here: Makibaka, huwag matakot! Ibagsak ang imperyalismo, pyudalismo at burukrata kapitalismo! Digmang bayan ang sagot sa batas militar! (Struggle, fear not! Down with imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism! People's war is the answer to martial law!)

I think that the significance and relevance of the FQS are well covered by Prof. Abreu who is tasked to speak on the history of the FQS and subsequent struggles, by Ms. Caballero on the current attacks on student rights and welfare and Mr. Cabajes on the role and situation of the Filipino. However, I join them in trying to answer the questions posed by the organizers:

1. What were the tasks that the youth performed during the FQS and how relevant are these tasks to the current time, especially among the youth in Mindanao?

The basic tasks of the youth during the FQS were to arouse, organize and mobilize themselves to demand and struggle for full national independence and real democracy against US imperialism; feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. Because the basic problems of the Filipino people persist, the Filipino youth of today must continue to perform the tasks of realizing and enabling the national democratic movement to change the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system.

The tyrant that now rules the Philippines comes from Davao City but acts against the interests of the toiling masses of workers, peasants and indigenous people of Mindanao and the entire Philippines. He is trying in vain to destroy the revolutionary movement of the people in order to deliver the land and natural resources of Mindanao to foreign and local exploiters. He serves the interests of both US and Chinese imperialists. As chief oligarch, he collaborates with his fellow oligarchs and uses his political power to amass his ill-gotten wealth at a rapid rate like Marcos did.

2. Why is it important for the youth to continue taking the road of struggle, both armed and parliamentary?

It is important that the Filipino youth, including the students and the young

workers, peasants, indigenous people, professionals and social activists, continue the people's struggle for national and social liberation because the basic problems of the people persist and are aggravated by a traitorous, tyrannical, genocidal, corrupt and deceptive regime that is reminiscent of the Marcos regime which worships and emulates.

The importance of the various forms of struggle against the current regime and the ruling system is well emphasized to the youth and people of Mindanao by the escalating conditions of exploitation and oppression under a de facto fascist dictatorship by virtue of Proclamation No. 55 and Executive Order No. 70 and by the actual heroic resistance of the youth and people, be it in the form of legal democratic struggles or armed revolution. I understand that the repressive measures being unleashed by the regime are goading the youth to join the people's war.

3. What is the challenge to the new generation of the Filipino youth?

The imperialist powers, the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords and their political and military agents claim that the Filipino youth have lost interest in the national democratic movement. And yet those who express patriotic and progressive views are subjected to red-baiting, threats to life, limb and liberty and brutal acts of military suppression, including extrajudicial killings in the name of anti-communism, anti-terrorism or anti-drugs.

The challenge to the youth is to fight the evil forces that impose the reign of fascist terror and neoliberal greed on the Filipino nation. You must repudiate all the vicious attempts of those in power to suppress the national democratic movement and you must be resolute and militant in fighting for full national independence, democracy, social justice, all-round development and a just peace.

I hope that you can draw from this forum further inspiration to continue the struggle for a new and better Mindanao and Philippines.

Long live the memory of the First Quarter Storm of 1970!

Long live the patriotic and progressive youth of Mindanao!

Continue the struggle for national liberation and democracy!

Long live the Filipino youth!

Long live the Filipino people!

Relevance of the First Quarter Storm of 1970 to the Global Anti-Fascist and Anti-Imperialist Struggle

February 15, 2020

Dear comrades and friends, I am grateful to the organizers for inviting me to speak in this gathering to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the First Quarter Storm of 1970. I am glad that you are launching the second edition of the book which chronicles and evaluate the heroic mass actions from January 25 to March 16, 1970, that you are featuring distinguished reviewers of the book and that you are letting some veterans of the FQS share their experiences and views with us today.

I am pleased with my assignment to speak on the relevance of the First Quarter Storm of 1970 to the global anti-fascist and anti-imperialist struggle. In all previous speeches about this historic event, I have focused mainly on its significance and relevance within the context of the Filipino people's struggle for national and social liberation. Now, I have the opportunity to focus on the relevance and connections of the FQS of 1970 and the Filipino people's revolutionary struggle to the global anti-imperialist and democratic struggle.

I wish to discuss the issues and struggle against fascism and imperialism that

connected the FQS of 1970 in its own time and now in the 21st century to the global struggle against fascism and imperialism. Ultimately, I shall discuss the mass line and methods of struggle that can be learned from the FQS in order to further strengthen the national democratic movement and enable it to contribute more to the global struggle against fascism and imperialism.

1. Connections with the global struggle in 1970

The FQS of 1970 arose from the history and circumstances of the Filipino people. It resounded the need for continuing the Philippine revolution, which had been started by the Katipunan led by Andres Bonifacio. This revolution had won against Spanish colonialism but was subsequently interrupted by the US imperialist conquest of the Philippines, by the US colonial regime and then by the nominal grant of independence in the establishment of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system.

The activists of the FQS of 1970 understood that the basic problems of the Filipino people were imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. Thus, they aroused, organized and mobilized the youth to respond to the need of the people for a national democratic revolution of the new type to confront and overcome the domestic semicolonial and semifeudal conditions dominated by US imperialism and the local exploiting classes in the era of modern imperialism and world proletarian revolution.

The recent reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines on December 26, 1968 under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought proclaimed the program for a people's democratic revolution. This concurred with the national democratic line of the Kabataang Makabayan, which spearheaded the youth mass movement since 1964. The implementation of the CPP program through protracted people's war was in response to the fascistic acts and threat of fascist dictatorship by Marcos under US instigation.

It was inevitable that the FQS had connections with the global struggle against fascism and imperialism in 1970. US imperialism was the common enemy of the Filipino people and the people of the world. Emerging as the No. 1 imperialist power after World War II, it controlled the colonies and semicolonies that persisted in Asia outside of the countries that had adopted people's democracy and socialism.

The activists of the FQS of 1970 studied how the Chinese people won the revolution against fascism and imperialism, how they established socialism and how they waged cultural revolution to combat modern revisionism, prevent capitalist restoration and consolidate socialism. They admired the Korean people for putting US imperialism to a stalemate and upholding national independence and socialism. They applauded the revolutionary victory of the Cuban people against the tyrannical regime and US imperialism.

They supported the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. They condemned US imperialism and the Suharto military fascist dictatorship for suppressing the revolutionary movement of the Indonesian people. They supported vigorously the revolutionary armed struggle of the Vietnamese people and the rest of the Indochinese people against US imperialism and the local fascist puppets.

At the time of the FQS of 1970, the revolutionary storm in the world was in Southeast Asia and the eye of that storm was in Vietnam. The Vietnamese people were rapidly advancing in their struggle for national liberation. The Filipino youth and the youth of the world were inspired by the heroic revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese people and were moved to engage militantly in mass protest actions against the US war of aggression.

2. Connections with the global struggle now

As we celebrate the 50th anniversary of the FQS, the Filipino people are suffering grievously the US imperialist imposition of the neoliberal policy of unbridled greed and the state terrorism unleashed by the de facto fascist dictatorship of Duterte. The semicolonial and semifeudal system is in severe crisis and once more like during the fascist dictatorship it cannot rule in the old way. The people are desirous of revolutionary change.

The Kabataang Makabayan and other mass organizations that gained experience and strength from the FQS of 1970 have assisted in the propagation of the national democratic movement and the nationwide expansion of the revolutionary forces. The CPP as the revolutionary party of the proletariat is stronger than ever. It leads tens of thousands of cadres and members, thousands of Red fighters in the New People's Army, hundreds of thousands of people in revolutionary mass organizations and millions of people in local organs of political power that constitute the provisional revolutionary government.

As the leading class, the proletariat relies mainly on its basic alliance with the peasantry, wins over the middle social strata and takes advantage of the splits among the reactionaries in order to isolate and destroy the power of the treasonous, tyrannical and corrupt Duterte regime. The legal democratic forces and the revolutionary forces of the Filipino people have developed extensive relations of international solidarity with their counterparts along the line of anti-imperialist and democratic struggle in all continents and in most countries.

As in the Philippines today, the people of the world suffer grievously from the neoliberal policy of imperialist plunder, state terrorism, fascism, gender discrimination, oppression of indigenous people, environmental destruction and wars of aggression. Thus, since last year, there have been militant mass protest

actions of unprecedented scale and intensity all over the world. These are a manifestation of how serious the contradictions in the world capitalist system have become. They are a signal that we are in transition to the global resurgence of anti-imperialist struggles and proletarian-socialist revolution.

In both developed and underdeveloped countries, the proletariat and people have been ruthlessly subjected to the imperialist policy of neoliberal globalization and to the laws and practices of state terrorism. The contradictions between labor and capital are sharpening in the imperialist countries. Those between the imperialist powers and the oppressed peoples and nations are intensifying more than ever because they suffer the main brunt of imperialist oppression and exploitation. We see therefore the upsurge of mass protests by the proletariat and people in all continents.

In certain countries, there are governments and people, like those of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Cuba, Vietnam, Venezuela and Syria, which uphold national independence and the socialist cause and they stand up against imperialist economic sanctions, military blockade and even acts of aggression. In other countries, like the Philippines, India, Kurdistan, Turkey, Palestine, Peru and Colombia, the proletariat and people are waging revolutionary armed struggle for national and social liberation.

The contradictions between the traditional imperialist powers headed by the US and the new imperialist powers like China and Russia are intensifying. Formerly the main partners in neoliberal globalization, the US and China are now the main contenders in the inter-imperialist struggle for a re-division of the world. In Southeast Asia, the US and its traditional allies still have overall dominance. China's economic challenge to them is encumbered by its extraterritorial claim over 90 per cent of the South China Sea in violation of the UN Convention of the Law of the Sea.

3. Lessons from FQS for the current struggle in the Philippines

The current forces of the national democratic movement have a lot of indispensable lessons to learn from the FQS of 1970 in terms of revolutionary principles, policies and methods of mass struggle.

As a matter of principle, it is just for the Filipino people to wage all forms of struggle against oppression and exploitation by the imperialists and local reactionary classes. The people's democratic revolution must be carried out. The national democratic forces must employ the mass line in order to arouse, organize and mobilize the people.

Today we are confronted by a regime that is traitorous, tyrannical, genocidal, corrupt and extremely deceptive. It seeks to destroy the revolutionary movement of the people with the use of state terrorism and psywar in the name of anti-communism and by militarizing and making fascist the reactionary government and entire society under Executive Order No. 70. It obscures the reality of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism as the root cause of underdevelopment, widespread unemployment, mass poverty and civil war.

Instead, it blames the ideology of communism and the revolutionary forces of the people as the cause of all problems in the Philippines in order to unleash state terrorism, preserve the ruling system and further aggravate the oppression and exploitation of the people. To confront and fight the reign of terror and greed, the people and their revolutionary forces need to assert the justness of the revolutionary struggle and the sovereign right of the people to rise against an unjust ruling system.

Duterte the demagogue sometimes claims to be for independent foreign policy and against the oligarchy. But in fact, he is the chief puppet of US imperialism by pledging to it the destruction of the revolutionary movement and the removal of constitutional restrictions on foreign investments, while he collects

commissions from contracts with China and lords over drug smuggling by Chinese criminal syndicates. He is the chief oligarch and has his own coterie of oligarchs against other groups of big comprador-landlords and corrupt politicians who are out of the ruling clique.

As the revolutionary activists of today persevere in propagating the general line of people's democratic revolution and waging all forms of revolutionary struggle, the Duterte regime and all other reactionaries serving imperialism and the local exploiting classes are exposed and opposed effectively. Today the forces of the national democratic movement are far larger, more widespread and stronger than in 1970 and are far more capable of fighting and winning against the Duterte tyranny and the entire ruling system.

But there are plenty of lessons to review and relearn from the FQS of 1970 as well as to overcome new factors favorable to the Duterte regime in order to accelerate its ouster. We must employ the mass line effectively in order to arouse, organize and mobilize the people. We must have many assembly points from which the people march to converge on the presidential palace and the provincial offices of his regional and provincial agents. Between the gigantic rallies, we must have outdoor and indoor activities in schools, communities, factories and farms to prepare for the next gigantic rally.

We must be able to counter what has been the monopoly of the regime over the propaganda agencies of the government, opinion poll survey firms, the troll armies and so-called influencers and the paid TV and radio broadcasters. We must be able to expose and oppose strongly the crimes of the Duterte regime as well as those who glorify the tyrant and who ridicule, slander and threaten his critics and opponents. Factual and truthful exposure of the anti-people policies and crimes of the Duterte regime definitely makes effective the informative and educational campaigns that the mass activists and the people can wage.

4. Enable the Philippine revolution to contribute more to the global struggle

In the last 50 years, we have seen how the anti-imperialist struggles and the world proletarian-socialist revolution have been afflicted by serious setbacks since the Dengist counter-revolutionary coup against the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in 1976 and the subsequent rapid restoration of capitalism in China. After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, US imperialism became the sole superpower and its propagandists boasted that the cause of socialism was dead and history could not go further than capitalism and liberal democracy.

But despite such dismal developments, the Filipino people and their revolutionary forces have persevered in the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war and have strengthened themselves through revolutionary struggle. They have stood out as the torch bearer of the anti-imperialist struggle and the world proletarian-socialist revolution. They have demonstrated that the revolutionary movement can preserve itself and grow in the favorite neocolonial base of US imperialism in Southeast Asia.

The revolutionary prestige of the Filipino people has shone ever more brilliantly as the strategic campaign to destroy the people's war in the Philippines has failed from one regime to another and as the strategic decline of US imperialism has accelerated and become conspicuous as a result of the US wasting its resources in endless wars to replace the influence of Soviet social-imperialism in a number of countries and also as a result of the frequent recurrence and worsening economic and financial crisis of the US and the world capitalist system.

Reminiscent of the crisis of overproduction taking the form of stagflation in the mid-1970s, when US capitalism was hemmed in by the full reconstruction and increased production of capitalist countries that had been ruined by World War II, the economic rise of China has aggravated the crisis of overproduction in the US and the world capitalist system. Since the 2008 global financial crash, the US strategic decline has accelerated conspicuously. In 2015 even the Chinese economy started to falter and to lose steam.

All basic contradictions in the world have worsened and sharpened. They include those contradictions between labor and capital in imperialist countries and worldwide, those between the imperialist powers and the oppressed nations, those between the imperialist powers (especially the US) and governments that uphold national independence and the socialist cause and those among the imperialist powers themselves. They have resulted in aggravating the oppression and exploitation of the people and in driving the people to rise up in mass protest and rebellion.

The new democratic revolution of the Filipino people can take advantage of the rising mass struggles of the people of the world against US imperialism and fascism in imperialist and non-imperialist countries. These struggles can further dissipate the already overextended attention and resources of US imperialism, while the legal forces of the national democratic movement and the broad united front of anti-fascist forces can concentrate on denouncing, debilitating and defeating the Duterte regime and the armed revolutionary movement advances.

By benefiting from the upsurge of the anti-imperialist struggles and the proletarian-socialist movements, the Philippine revolution can strengthen itself and contribute more to the resurgence and advance of the anti-imperialist struggle and the world proletarian-socialist revolution. The best result that can be obtained from the upsurge of urban mass protests in the underdeveloped and pre-industrial countries is to train and temper cadres and mass activists for redeployment in the countryside in order to wage a protracted people's war.

Such was the result of the First Quarter Storm of 1970 which expanded and strengthened the mass organizations nationwide for various forms of struggle, especially the main form of struggle to address the central task of the revolution, which is to overthrow the counterrevolutionary state and win total victory of the revolution. Once more the Filipino people are confronted by a Marcos-type tyrannical regime that goads them to wage armed revolution.

Long live the revolutionary spirit of the First Quarter Storm of 1970!

Long live the Filipino people and the Philippine revolution!

Long live proletarian internationalism and the solidarity of all peoples!

Questions for the Special Mass Course on the Youth Movement

July 19, 2020

1. What are the characteristics of the youth sector and how important is their role in the progress of society?

JMS: The young men and women from the age of 15 to 30 years are officially categorized as the youth. They comprise more than 40 percent of the Philippine population. In the past, the Kabataang Makabayan extended the age of youth to 35 years and in that regard the youth were more than 50 percent of the population. The youth belong to various classes, corresponding to the structure of social classes in the Philippines. Most of them belong to the working class and peasantry comprising more than 90 percent of the population. Some six to eight percent belong to the urban petty bourgeoisie and other middle social strata.

The youth are characterized by vigor and readiness to learn new ideas and skills. It is the stage of life in which people try to get education and training or are already in the process of working for the benefit of their families and their country, unless they suffer from the double affliction of being poor and without steady employment. In the face of an oppressive and exploitative ruling system, many of them are receptive to revolutionary ideas and efforts to organize and mobilize them for revolutionary change. The extent and level of patriotic and

progressive consciousness and militancy of the youth decide the future of the entire people.

2. In what ways are the youth being oppressed and exploited under the semifeudal and semicolonial society?

JMS: The overwhelming majority of the youth are subject to the oppression and exploitation of the working class and peasantry to which they belong. The youth of the urban petty bourgeoisie are also vulnerable to the worsening crisis of the ruling system. Most of them face difficulties due to the rising costs of education and living and are in danger of falling to the ranks of the toiling masses because they cannot finish their college courses and even if they graduate from these, they cannot get employment that is commensurate to their education and training.

Only 21 percent of the youth are enrolled in high school, colleges at tertiary level and vocational schools. Some 22 percent are young peasants, 21 percent are not mostly odd jobbers and only a few are registered as five-month contractuels in the so-called service sector in the urban areas, only four percent are working students and 36 percent are unemployed and out of school. The big number of unemployed and underemployed youth shows how dismal are their living conditions and how the people are deprived of their productive capacity by the rotten ruling system.

3. How accessible is education for the youth?

JMS: According to the latest report that I have read, the number of youth in school decreases from one level of formal education to a higher one. The drop-out rate in primary school is 33 percent, in secondary school 30 percent and in college 73 percent. Of 100 children, 67 finish primary school, 45 finish

secondary school and only seven are able to finish college.

Access to education is limited due to the yearly reduction of the budgetary allocation for the public school system and state colleges and universities in favor of military overspending and bureaucratic corruption. Schools are not being built in the poverty-stricken remote areas. Where communities, churches and NGOs set up schools, these are either occupied by military troops or destroyed on suspicion of having been built by communists.

The teaching and non-teaching personnel in public schools are underpaid and the school facilities deteriorate but are neither being improved nor expanded. The government programs for scholarships and student loans serve only 1.82 percent of the student population. Tuition fees and the cost of living for students keep on rising in both private and public schools and are unaffordable to the overwhelming majority of the youth. Poverty is the primary factor why students drop out of school. Even in public schools, the poverty-stricken families cannot afford to pay for the costs of school supplies, uniforms and school projects.

4. What kind of educational system does the Filipino youth get and what is its effect on them?

JMS: The children who finish only four years of primary school or less eventually lose literacy and suffer from retrogressive illiteracy. At all levels of education, the curriculum and textbooks do not promote a national orientation that is critical of colonialism and imperialism and that is assertive of national sovereignty, protective of the national patrimony, proud of the national cultural heritage and mindful of learning from peoples and countries to serve national needs.

The scientific orientation is either stunted by medieval or feudal obscurantism,

especially in the schools of the dominant churches or distorted to serve imperialist domination, to glorify the despotic rule of Duterte and the class rule of the local exploiting classes in secular schools. Scientific education is not being used to serve the people and the economic, social, political and cultural development of the people. Thus, the youth are deprived of a national, scientific and pro-people type of education. They have to learn this from the national democratic movement.

5. Do you think our youth can freely practice their democratic and political rights? If not, what are the ways the state use to repress these rights, specifically towards the youth?

JMS: So long as the ruling system in the Philippines is dominated by US imperialism and run by the local exploiting classes of big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists, the youth like the people cannot freely practice and enjoy full national independence and democratic rights, without vigilance against the use of the reactionary state to suppress these rights. The ruling system always tries to control the youth and people through the exploitative relations in the mode of production, through the violent use of the state instruments of coercion and through the use of education and the mass media for the purpose of deception.

The worst situation is when there is an open rule of terror like the Marcos fascist dictatorship or the tyrannical Duterte regime which has adopted a law of state terrorism. But when there are regimes that pretend to be liberal-democratic, there may be some relatively wider space for the exercise of democratic rights than under regimes of open terror. But still the instruments of class violence continue to surveil and slander the patriotic and democratic forces of the people and unleash plans and campaigns of military suppression against the revolutionary forces of the people.

6. I think by now we understand that the ruling class has a massive control of the

material base as well as the superstructure of our society. What kind of culture have they developed and what kind of effect does this have to our youth?

JMS: The kind of culture that is developed and propagated by the ruling system is anti-national, anti-scientific and anti-people. Colonial mentality and pro-imperialist ideas are being generated all the time in the educational and cultural system. It is not only feudal religious obscurantism but also the narrow interest of the big bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes that is being perpetuated against the understanding and application of science for the benefit of the people. The imperialists and reactionaries favor a culture that is emphatically anti-people and that uses state power and science against the people.

7. In what way do imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism become related to the problems of the youth?

JMS: Imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism are the basic problems that afflict Philippine society and the entire people, including the youth. The national and class oppression and exploitation suffered by the working class and peasantry, which compose the overwhelming majority of the people, are also suffered by the youth of exploited classes. The difficulties of the middle social strata are likewise shared by the youth belonging to these social strata.

8. Tito, as Jose Rizal said, the Youth is the Hope of the Future. What is the solution to the problems that are being faced by the youth?

JMS: Rizal and other educated reformers like Marcelo H. del Pilar and Graciano Lopez Jaena carried out the Propaganda Movement to confront the colonial and feudal problems of the Filipino people and youth, sought to solve these problems through liberal democratic reforms and hoped to realize a bright future for the youth.

Under current circumstances in the Philippines, the Filipino youth also try to develop the national democratic movement and use legal forms of struggle to advance the cause of national independence and democracy. But because the reactionary state is used by the exploiting classes to suppress them, the youth activists recognize the need to wage the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war.

Right now, like Marcos, Duterte is again engaged in an open rule of terror and is compelling the youth to carry out underground revolutionary work and to prepare for armed revolution and mass work in the countryside. As taught by the great revolutionary thinkers and leaders, from Marx to Mao, the way to change the oppressive and exploitative ruling system is to overthrow it with an armed revolution by the people.

9. Historically, what roles have the youth played in the Philippine revolution?

JMS: The Filipino youth have a great tradition in spearheading the Philippine revolution. In the old democratic revolution of 1896, Andres Bonifacio and Emilio Jacinto were young members of the working class and the intelligentsia. They were motivated by liberal democratic ideas and were determined to end the colonial and feudal rule of Spain over the Philippines and the Filipino people.

Likewise, those who initiated the resumption of the new democratic revolution by re-establishing the Communist Party of the Philippines in 1968 and founding the New People's Army in 1969 were young men and women from the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie. They were guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and were determined to carry out the new democratic and socialist stages of the Philippine revolution under the class leadership of the proletariat.

10. What is the role of the youth in the revolution in our present time? In what way can we help in the struggle in the city and most especially in the countryside?

JMS: The role of the youth is to raise the level of their revolutionary consciousness, organize themselves and mobilize themselves for various forms of struggle in order to advance the people's just cause of realizing full national independence, democracy, social justice, economic development through genuine land reform and the attainment of a national, scientific and pro-people culture.

The youth can start belonging to the main youth organization and other forms of organization that are characterized by youth participation. When they join the revolutionary party of the proletariat, the scope of responsibility for the young cadres expands in terms of so many types of organizations to lead and types of work to carry out. Work that is directly related to the armed revolution is of course done in the underground in the urban areas and in the countryside where there is more space for maneuver to build the revolutionary forces like the Communist Party, the New People's Army, the mass organizations and the organs of political power.

11. One of the significant revolutionary youth organizations in history and at present is the Kabataang Makabayan or KM. Can you give us more information about the organization such as what is it about, what do they do, and what are their tasks in politics, military, culture, and economy?

JMS: The Kabataang Makabayan was founded as a comprehensive organization of young people from the working class, peasantry and urban petty bourgeoisie and from various social sectors and professions. It characterized itself as the assistant of the working class in playing its role as the leading class in carrying

out the Philippine revolution. It adopted the general program of struggling for full national independence and democracy.

It was inspired by the revolutionary example of Andres Bonifacio and the Katipunan. And it was determined to learn lessons from all previous revolutionary struggles of the Filipino people and of other peoples, especially those that won victory in people's democratic revolution and socialist revolution. It encouraged the study of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in conjunction with the new democratic and socialist stages of the Philippine revolution.

The Kabataang Makabayan vowed to launch a Second Propaganda Movement and to arouse, organize and mobilize the youth nationwide among the workers, peasants, student youth, indigenous peoples, women and all professionals. With only a few scores of charter members when it was founded in 1964, it reached a membership of 15,000 (aside from the memberships of trade unions and various other mass organizations it was responsible for organizing) before it was forced to go underground in 1971 when Marcos declared the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus and ordered the arrest of KM leaders and raids on the offices of the KM nationwide.

In connection with the re-establishment of the CPP in 1968 and founding of the NPA in 1969, the KM provided the initial young cadres for these revolutionary forces. After the First Quarter Storm of 1970, it was able to provide hundreds of young cadres and mass activists for integration with the NPA and mass work in the countryside. When and after Marcos declared the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus in 1971 and martial law in 1972, thousands of young activists in danger of arrest volunteered to join the NPA and do mass work in the countryside nationwide.

Duterte is reminiscent of Marcos unwittingly strengthening the armed revolution by compelling great numbers of young activists to join the armed revolution. Fascist monsters make people's war necessary and inevitable. History has shown

that the more brutal they become the more young people they drive to join the armed revolution. Thus, in effect the counter-revolutionaries become the best recruiters, the best suppliers and best transport officers of the people's army.

Tsikahan with Tito Jo:

COVID-19 and its Impact on Youth Education

August 26, 2020

1. Tito Jo, in most countries, September marks the commencement of the new academic year—Philippine academic calendar is a little different, though. Before we start with this week’s topic of Tsikahan, can you tell us about your life as a student and university professor in the Philippines? I’m sure the young generation is eager to know how university life was like for you?

JMS: I entered the University of the Philippines as freshman in 1956. I rushed through the 4-year AB Course and finished it in 3 years’ time because I had planned to take law. I had fun with schoolmates, including fellow campus writers and activists, even if I took overloads of 24 or 27 units per semester and went to summer school twice.

But when I finished my AB course in 1959, I needed a job immediately because I had gotten married to Julie. Thus, I accepted from the UP English Department the scholarship grant to take the masteral course in Comparative Literature, combined with teaching fellowship and the duty to teach English.

I did not yet have the rank of a professor when I taught English in the UP from

1959 to 1961. I was still at the bottom of the faculty. I became a professorial lecturer at the Lyceum of the Philippines in political science from 1964 to 1968. When I stepped out of political detention in 1986, I became an associate professor at the UP Asian Center of Graduate Studies in 1986.

2. It might not be an exaggeration to say that Philippine education might be one of the most expensive. One semester might cause you a minimum of PhP30,000 sans the books, school supplies, projects, uniform and daily allowance. How come? Why is the Philippine education very expensive in our country?

JMS: Philippine education, especially at the university level, is expensive, because the reactionary government has reduced funding for the state colleges and universities and the school administrations are compelled to raise tuition fees to pay the teachers and maintain operations. The Duterte regime channels most of the public funds to bureaucratic corruption and to overspending for the military and police.

The private colleges and universities benefit from the state policy of promoting commercialized education or education for profit by school owners. They take advantage of the inadequacy and expensiveness of the state colleges and universities. And they have wide latitude in charging high tuition fees and other kinds of school fees.

The state policy of under-funding state colleges and universities and letting the private schools have their way in making profits is due to the fact that the foreign and domestic employers in the Philippines have limited needs for professionals and technical experts for an underdeveloped, pre-industrial and agrarian economy. Thus, many of our people who reach the high school and college levels of education are compelled to seek jobs abroad.

3. Has the education system in the Philippines always been like this? Has it always been designed on the framework of neoliberalism? What was the education system like during the pre-colonial times?

JMS: You are correct in mentioning the framework of neoliberalization. This has aggravated the decline and deterioration of the Philippine educational system and the rising costs of getting an education. Neoliberalism promotes profit-making by the capitalists in education and serving the limited needs of the foreign monopolies and the local exploiters for highly educated Filipinos. The neoliberal emphasis is on educating the students for local exploitation and export of cheap labor.

Since the adoption of the neoliberal economic policy four decades ago, the Philippine educational system has deteriorated. But of course, even in previous times, there were already limitations and encumbrances on the Philippine educational system because of the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society. The university level of education is mainly a privilege of the children of the exploiting classes and the upper middle class.

In Spanish colonial times, when feudal conditions prevailed, catechism was the main form of education for the entire people. Only the children of the landlord class, merchants, professionals and bureaucrats could go to Ateneo, Letran and the University of Sto. Tomas. It would only be under the US colonial regime that the public educational system was established and private schools established to serve the expanded needs of a semifeudal economy under modern imperialism.

But let us not idealize and romanticize education in pre-colonial times. We had a high literacy level of supposedly 80 per cent, much higher than that of Spain at the time. But we did not yet have a full system of primary, secondary and tertiary level of education. The children of the datu and the wealthy family had also the privilege of being more and better tutored than others in the sultanates and other types of societies that existed in the archipelago.

4. Many migrant workers leave their home country to send their children to school hoping to end the cycle of migration—but failing. There seem to be no end to the cycle of migration for poor countries. How bad is the global economy for these students and families to decide to still leave their countries and try their luck elsewhere?

JMS: It is a major global phenomenon that migrant workers come in big numbers from the underdeveloped countries to industrial capitalist countries and other developed economies. This has been undertaken by the imperialist powers to make up for the loss of colonies by bringing cheap labor to the metropolis from the underdeveloped hinterlands.

Under the neoliberal economic policy, the phenomenon of labor migration has grown because of the poverty in the source countries and also because of wars of aggression by the imperialist powers and because of the degradation of the environment by the multinational firms.

As the global capitalist economy deteriorates, there will be more impoverished people wishing to get jobs abroad even as the economic crisis worsens in the capitalist countries and generates anti-immigrant sentiments and movements among the reactionaries.

By the way, do you wish to know the number of Filipino migrant workers. They are 12 million and they are 25 percent of the 48 million labor force of the Philippine. Another 10 million or some 20 percent of the labor stay behind in the Philippines as unemployed. This a huge reserve of cheap labor for Philippine and foreign employers.

5. Now, there is a growing number scholars coming from third world countries. Why do Western countries promote their schools and import academics from third world countries? How does this effect the origin countries of scholars?

JMS: Indeed, there has been a brain drain, a migration of scholars and professionals from the third world to the Western countries. They are excellent and are cheap to hire. And they desire to be employed because of less opportunities for higher income and professional advancement. The imperialist power also has a special interest in using them to influence ideological and political currents in the Philippines, especially in the social sciences.

There is a vicious cycle in the diaspora of scholars and professionals. The dire conditions in their home countries push them to go and stay abroad. As they leave the country, the people are deprived of their services. But I do not blame these migrant scholars and professions. It is the duty of the revolutionary forces and people in the Philippines to make revolutionary change. And these migrant scholars and professionals will come home to help build a better and brighter Philippines.

6. Tito, the COVID-19 pandemic has become a political and economic crisis, many have not returned to their jobs yet and many might not be able to return. Like any other global crisis, it is the poor who are usually suffering. How is it going to affect the millions of youth and students?

JMS: Yes. By itself the COVID-19 pandemic has generated political and economic crisis. It has aggravated the earlier and continuing worsening political and economic crisis of the world capitalist system. Crisis conditions are becoming worse in both the capitalist and underdeveloped countries. The poor toiling masses of workers and peasants suffer most. And the youth and students are suffering worse conditions than ever before.

The states provide the monopoly capitalist class with loan bailouts and stimulus packages and allow them to end employment contracts and obligations to the workers. The unemployed remain unemployed and can get no sufficient unemployment relief. If the host people suffer, the more are migrant Filipino workers are in a dire situation. Many of them have lost their jobs and need to return home. They can no longer remit money to their children to allow them to go to school.

7. The world leaders are trying to restore the normality of life, from tourism to business and education. As an educator yourself, can we hear your opinion about this “new normal”?

JMS: The biggest companies have taken advantage of the COVID-19 to retrench their work force because the economy has in fact receded. And many of the medium and small enterprises which employ a lot of people have been devastated. Even when the COVID-19 pandemic recedes as a problem, the crisis of overproduction of the entire world capitalist system will become worse.

The economies will continue to sink because it cannot employ so many unemployed and thus the market for the products of industry will continue to shrink. The “new normal” will be even more abnormal than relatively better times in the past. The crisis will continue to worsen. Contradictions among imperialist powers, between imperialist powers and oppressed peoples and nations and between capital and labor will intensify.

The imperialist and local reactionaries will unleash state terrorism and ultrareactionary movements of xenophobes, racists, misogynists and fascists. The US will continue its endless wars and will try to win its growing contradictions with China. At the same time, the proletariat and peoples of the world will continue to intensify the anti-imperialist and democratic struggles that became conspicuous last year. The crisis conditions make people suffer but also drive them to fight back.

8. Many of the students even in Western countries are taking part-time jobs so to sustain their education. There are also the parents of migrant children and whose jobs are most probably in the front lines. Cleaners, health workers, shopkeepers, etc., If the labour market is worsening, why still insist on the resumption of the academic year?

JMS: Indeed, a great number of students will not be able to go to school because they lose their part-time jobs or parents can no longer finance their studies. But it is important to make demands even on imperialist and reactionary states to enable all the students to continue with their studies. If these states do not comply with the just and reasonable demands, then they are exposed for what they are and become easier targets for revolutionary resistance,

In the meantime, there are still students with some families that can support their education. Let them continue to study but try to motivate to join the movement for revolutionary change as much as possible. They can still significant contributions to the revolutionary movement of the youth and the entire people.

9. What do you think about the postponement of the academic year? Is there an alternative?

JMS: In the Philippines, the public schools, including the state college and universities, under the direction of the Department of Education, are supposed to start the new academic year in October because the COVID-19 pandemic has become worse in the Philippines. But certain private schools, especially at the secondary and tertiary levels, have already begun their academic year through online schooling.

I think that even under current conditions, it is possible to have a mix of teachers meeting the students for the purpose of instruction and homework assignment at the primary level. The teachers and parents can cooperate to ensure that the home work is done. The teachers and their supervisors can be trusted with lesson plan and methods of teaching and using the school facilities, like the classrooms, the school grounds and other facilities with due respect to social distancing, sanitation and hygiene.

At the secondary and tertiary levels, it is more feasible to have a mix of online schooling and classroom or laboratory meetings. Online schooling can be availed of, as already done by certain private schools. It might be worthwhile to study and plan how to put into convenient groups those students who live in the same area and let those students with computer gadgets to share these with those who have none. Otherwise, the government must provide the computer gadgets. The problem is that Duterte and his fellow thieves have already bankrupted the government.

10. In the Philippines, the Department of Education is considering online schooling—it might work in foreign countries, but not in the Philippines. Why is it not going to work in the country? Or for the sake of the argument, how can we make it work?

JMS: As I have said, certain private schools in the Philippines at the secondary and tertiary levels have resorted to online schooling. But these are schools of students from well to do families who can afford the computer gadgets. The poor students do not have these gadgets and cannot participate in online schooling. Probably it can work if the students who live in the same neighborhood can be grouped, with those who own the gadgets to share these with classmates who have none, as I have earlier said.

11. Tito, as Filipinos, we cannot discuss the educational system of the country without discussing the famous slogan of the youth and students, “PAMBANSA,

SIYENTIPIKO AT MAKAMASANG EDUKASYON,” What is it about and why is it that important that our educational system should be patriotic, scientific and pro-people?

JMS: The line of patriotic, scientific and pro-people education is important for defining the nature and purpose of the educational system. It guides and determines the content and methods of education. We need to carry out the line in order to overcome the dominant anti-national influence of pro-colonial and pro-imperialist ideas, feudal and medievalist obscurantism and the anti-people and selfish motivations and direction of those who think that they are superior to other people because of their higher formal education.

Education must be national or patriotic in character in order to satisfy the encircling Filipino nation, cherish our own national cultural heritage and repudiate colonial mentality and subservience to imperialist powers. Education must be scientific so that we can use science and technology that have been achieved by us as well as by other peoples to develop the country. Education must serve the entire Filipino people, especially the workers and peasants, who are oppressed and exploited. It must serve their national and social liberation.

12. Lastly, Tito, can you tell us about the educational system envisioned by the revolutionary forces, we know it is included in the NDFP’s 12-point program.

JMS: The kind of educational system envisioned by the revolutionary forces in the NDFP program is patriotic, scientific and pro-people in character and purpose, as likewise espoused by the legal democratic forces of the people. During the current stage of people’s democratic revolution, the revolutionary forces welcome what good reforms can be realized by the legal democratic movement despite the tremendous odds. But in the guerrilla fronts in the countryside, the People’s Democratic Reform is striving to promote and advance the line patriotic, scientific and pro-people in a more extensive and intensive way.

The current stage of the Philippine revolution has a socialist perspective and direction. The Filipino revolutionary forces and people ought to know even now that education shall be universally free at all levels of formal education. Upon the basic completion of the people's democratic revolution through the seizure of political power, the socialist revolution shall begin and the realization of universal free education at all levels of education, with a patriotic, scientific and pro-people character, shall also begin. We know the great achievements made by socialism in the field of education in order to develop a country by leaps and bounds economically, socially, politically and culturally.

Dissecting the Marcos and Duterte Regimes

Webinar by the Youth Movement against Tyranny-Metro Manila

September 20, 2020

Dear fellow activists, let me congratulate the Youth Movement Against Tyranny-Metro Manila for having arisen as an alliance of student councils, student publications, and youth formations in Metro Manila that aim to unite all freedom-loving Filipinos to fight tyranny and fascism, exemplified by the Marcos fascist dictatorship and now recurrent under the Duterte tyrannical regime.

Thank you for having invited me to be one of the speakers for the event, “Martial Law Noon at Ngayon: Dissecting the Marcos and Duterte Regimes”. I appreciate Paaralang Joma Sison, YMAT Metro Manila, and UPM USC for spearheading this event, which is a major part of Kontra Agos: Sa Paglaban at Paglaya, the week-long commemoration of the 48th anniversary of the Marcos Martial Law declaration.

This is a time to remember the extreme suffering of the Filipino people under the Marcos fascist dictatorship and the heroic resistance of the people and their patriotic and democratic forces aboveground as well as the armed revolutionary movement in the underground and in the guerrilla fronts in the countryside. We must be inspired by the people’s resistance that ultimately overthrew the Marcos

fascist dictatorship. We can be highly confident that the Duterte scheme of fascist dictatorship will have a short life span.

Our commemoration is highly significant and purposive because today the people are again being confronted and subjected to an undeclared but real fascist dictatorship under Duterte. The open rule of terror has been a creeping reality in the Philippines since Duterte became the president in 2016 and has become full-blown, even without the formal declaration of martial law, since the enactment of Duterte's law of state terrorism.

We must understand why the fascist dictatorship occurred in the time of Marcos and is now recurrent in the time of Duterte. I propose to discuss the common ground of counterrevolution and revolution in the Philippines, the essential similarities and circumstantial differences between the fascist dictatorship of Marcos and Duterte and the prospects of the people's resistance.

The Common Ground for Counterrevolution and Revolution

The semicolonial and semifeudal society is the common ground for counterrevolution and revolution in the Philippines. It is a society in chronic crisis because the broad masses of the people are subjected to extreme forms of oppression and exploitation by the foreign monopoly capitalism of the US and its imperialist allies as well as by the local exploiting classes of the comprador big bourgeois, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists.

These oppressors and exploiters are collectively responsible for keeping the Philippines underdeveloped and impoverished and for profiting most from an economy that is a cheap source of mineral ores, export crops and labor in exchange for manufactures from abroad in the form of some depreciable capital goods and consumer goods. The chronic trade deficits as well as budgetary

deficits keep the Philippines always in need of local and foreign loans.

In their rise to power, the political representatives of the comprador big bourgeoisie and landlord class, acquire the distinctive character of being bureaucrat capitalists by having the opportunity to use their public offices for personal enrichment through corrupt practices. These bureaucrat capitalists may priorly belong to big comprador and landlord classes or they acquire the character of these classes if they are bright boys and girls from the middle class.

The chronic economic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system tends to generate political crisis as it intensifies the contradictions among political parties or groups representing factions of the exploiting classes. Under conditions of worsening economic and political crisis, the president or chief bureaucrat capitalist can be tempted to take advantage of the crisis and use executive powers, especially martial law powers, in order to take over the entirety of the reactionary government and use this in a bid to break into the topmost level of the comprador big bourgeoisie.

You must recall that Marcos took advantage of the chronic economic and political crisis by orating that the social volcano was about to erupt in the country, that extraordinary measures would have to be adopted and that he would be the savior to make the Philippines great again. When he declared martial law on September 21, 1972, he said that he was saving the republic and building a new society and demanded that the people submit themselves to the discipline of his fascist dictatorship. He invoked anti-communism and exaggerated the number of the Red fighters of the New People's Army to rationalize his fascist rule.

What was the real objective of Marcos in becoming a fascist dictator? It was to rob the people of US\$10 to 15 billion and stash this away in various banks and investment houses abroad, to get bribes from overpriced infrastructure projects and onerous foreign loans guaranteed by the Philippine state, to take over well-

established big compradors firms like San Miguel Brewery Corporation, PLDT, Meralco and other corporations, to close down ABS-CBN and put up his own Kanlaon Broadcasting Network and to buy expensive properties abroad.

What did Marcos do to serve notice that he can do anything to anyone who opposed his despotism and plunder of the country's national patrimony and social wealth? He caused the arrest and detention of at least 70,000 people and the torture of at least 35,000. Nearly 10,000 victims of human rights violations won their case against Marcos in the US after his overthrow. At least 3,257 activists, critics and political opponents were documented as disappeared, tortured and murdered.

Millions of people, especially workers and poor peasants, indigenous people and Moro people, were forced out of their land and homes. According to the International Committee of the Red Cross, three million people were displaced in Mindanao, especially among the Moro people. All over the country, properties and businesses were confiscated to enrich the Marcos family, his business cronies, his political and military agents.

Duterte brazenly praises and emulates Marcos as his hero and idol. He is cruder than Marcos in openly admitting the mass murder of people and boasting of presidential protection and immunity for his armed minions who carry out the grave and systematic human rights violations. Like Marcos, his real objective in ruling with mailed fists is also to enrich himself from overpriced infrastructure projects and onerous loans., from other kinds of programs and projects that channel public funds to himself and his cronies and even from the smuggling of drugs and other contraband and casino operations of Chinese criminal syndicates.

While such political monsters of the ruling system as Marcos and Duterte can take advantage of the chronic crisis of the ruling system and abuse their presidential powers to engage in graft and corruption and wage

counterrevolution, the same chronic crisis is aggravated by their crimes of plunder and mass murder and their escalation of the conditions of oppression and exploitation and drives the broad masses of the people to wage various forms of resistance.

The highest form of resistance, the people's war along the general line of people's democratic revolution, has grown in strength and advanced precisely because of the tyranny and fascism of rulers like Marcos and Duterte. The recurrence of the open rule of terror, despite thirty years of pseudo-democratic regimes from Aquino the mother to Aquino the son, shows that the chronic crisis has kept on worsening and that the ruling class cannot rule in a way to deceive the people effectively. The ruling system is completely rotten and the people's revolutionary struggle against one regime after another result in the accumulation of the people's strength against the entire ruling system.

The same semicolonial and semifeudal conditions and chronic crisis that breed despotic regimes, such as those of Marcos and Duterte, also provide the objective conditions for the development of the subjective forces of the revolution. The proletariat as class leader of the Philippine revolution can find the peasantry in the countryside as its most numerous and most reliable ally. In the countryside and among the peasants, the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army, the revolutionary mass organizations and the people's democratic government have grown from small and weak to big and strong nationwide.

Comparison of Marcos and Duterte as traitors and tyrants

Before he became president, Marcos hired so-called nationalist speech writers like Blas Ople and the like, spread the word that he was supportive of the Supreme Court decisions restricting the privileges of foreign investors and actually spoke against the sending of Filipino troops to Vietnam to join the US war of aggression against the Vietnamese people. But secretly he was soliciting

campaign funds from the US corporations and assuring them of charter change for their benefit.

As soon as he became president, he did not make any significant move to change the semicolonial relationship of the Philippines with US imperialism, except to plead for the reduction of the 99-year lease of military bases under US Military Bases Agreement to 25 years. Early on in 1965 the Kabataang Makabayan and other patriotic and democratic forces launched demonstrations to demand the abrogation of all treaties, agreements and arrangements binding the Philippines as a semicolony to the US economically, politically, culturally and militarily.

Contrary to his pre-election position against sending the Philcag to Vietnam, he agreed with US President Johnson to send the Filipino troops to Vietnam. And the puppet Marcos was happy that Johnson called him his right hand man in Asia. When Johnson held his Manila Summit to round up support from his Asian puppets for the US war of aggression in Vietnam, Marcos used the police and military to arrest leaders of Kabataang Makabayan on October 23, 1966 (including myself as the KM chairman) and brutally disperse the demonstration of thousands of students at the Manila Hotel on October 24, 1966.

The brutal attack became the stimulus for the launching of the October 24th Movement to arouse, organize and mobilize the student youth for social investigation and integration with the youth and masses in factory sites, urban poor communities and peasant communities in the Central Luzon and Southern Tagalog regions. The protest mass actions and the campaigns of integration with the urban and rural poor raised the membership of Kabataang Makabayan from a few scores at its founding in 1964 to a few thousands in its first two years of existence.

Prior to his election as president, Duterte took the same demagogic path of Marcos, pretending to be a sympathizer and ally of the patriotic and democratic forces and even of the revolutionary movement even as he became increasingly

notorious for engaging in the extrajudicial killing of suspected common criminals and drug users and pushers. He stood out in honoring the late Ka Parago, facilitating the release of prisoners of war captured by the NPA and promising to amnesty and release all political prisoners and to engage in serious peace negotiations with the NDFP.

Soon after becoming president, Duterte began his all-out war against the revolutionary movement under the pretext of letting his military continue Aquino's Oplan Bayanihan. It soon became clear that he was reneging on his promise to amnesty and release all political prisoners and that his objective in peace negotiations was merely to seek the capitulation of the revolutionary forces through a protracted ceasefire agreement. Even then, it was necessary for all patriotic and democratic forces, the peace advocates of various types and the NDFP to make just demands and propagate these, test Duterte and let him unfold his own character.

Within the period of June 2016 to June 2017, it became absolutely clear to the public that the Duterte regime was traitorous in trying to serve two imperialist masters, the US and China, for his personal gain; tyrannical and genocidal with a penchant for the mass murder of poor people and his opponents; plundering the public coffers and the economy in league with the big plunderers of previous regimes who had supported his electoral campaign; and swindling for personal and dynastic benefit. The peace negotiations could not go beyond the fourth round in April 2017. Then in May 2017 Duterte declared martial law in Mindanao not only against the jihadist groups in Mindanao but also against the CPP and NPA in the larger parts of Mindanao.

It has become absolutely clear that Duterte has been like Marcos, obsessed with gaining absolute power through brute force in order to enrich himself and his family. His mass murder of 30,000 people who have been arbitrarily listed as drug users and drug peddlers has been for the purpose of mass intimidation, corrupting the police with rewards and giving the message to everyone that he is capable of killing anyone opposed to his rule.

In escalating his military campaign of suppression against the people and the revolutionary movement, Duterte is applying the same methods that he applied in Oplan Tokhang. He turns into his criminal accomplices his loyal military officers by ordering them to murder suspected revolutionaries and feeding them money for every suspect killed as well as for fake surrenders and imaginary community development projects.

But Duterte cannot stay in power as a fascist dictator for as long as Marcos did, who totalled 14 years of fascist dictatorship. Duterte came to the presidency much older than Marcos and sickly with multiple serious ailments. He has bankrupted his own government and the entire Philippine economy through unbridled corruption and extreme overspending for the military and police, especially during the last six months of the COVID-19 pandemic.

He is liable to be squeezed out or squashed by trying to serve two conflicting imperialist powers, the US and China. The bureaucrats and military officers surrounding Duterte knew that he cannot stay long in power and they are now engaged in an unprecedented plunder of public funds and the economy. The majority of military officers and personnel are disgusted with Duterte as a puppet of China. They frown at the corruption of the retired and active military officers close to Duterte and are sick and tired of military operations that are futile against the NPA but extremely abusive of the people.

The movement against tyranny or the broad united front against tyranny which took shape in the second half of 2017 has gained further strength and the capability of carrying out large protest mass actions. And it is appreciative of the readiness of the vice president to succeed the president upon his incapacitation or resignation. The colossal crimes of the Duterte regime are bound to cause its ignominious downfall if it uses fascist dictatorship to rule the people beyond 2022.

Having signed into law his license for unlimited state terrorism, Duterte is poised to make a series of moves to arrest and kill en masse his critics and opponents and push the ratification of a fascist constitution that pretends to shift the country to federalism and parliamentarism. Remember that Marcos made his decisive moves for formally declaring martial law and imposing fascist dictatorship on the people in 1972, the year before his second four-year term ended in 1973. So be ready for probable surprise moves that Duterte will be making within the next year or so.

Prospects of the people's resistance against the Duterte fascist regime

The legal democratic forces as well as the revolutionary forces of the Filipino people are far stronger and are more experienced and tested than they were when Marcos planned and carried out his scheme of fascist dictatorship from 1969 to 1972. For Duterte to impose a fascist dictatorship on the Filipino within the next year or so is practically lifting a big rock only to let it fall on his feet.

It is instructive to review the years of 1969 to 1972. As early as 1969 to 1970, when the legal democratic forces were small and the revolutionary forces were even far smaller, it became clear that Marcos was determined to impose a fascist dictatorship on the people because of his pronouncements about the social volcano on the brink of eruption and his role as savior and also because of the off-the-record boasting of the propagandists and military loyalists of Marcos that he was serious with his plan to save the republic and build a new society.

What did the legal democratic forces do? They hastened their work of arousing, organizing and mobilizing the people. Militant mass actions arose not only in Metro Manila but also in various parts of the country. The First Quarter Storm of 1970 erupted and further mass actions occurred up to 1972. At the same time, the most advanced mass activists were already mentally prepared to go underground and have their own firearms in case of crackdown.

Thus, when the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus occurred in 1971, hundreds of mass activists went underground and thousands were prepared to do likewise if martial law would be declared. When martial law was declared on September 21, 1972, thousands of mass activists went underground. By 1974, they were deployed nationwide to strengthen the revolutionary forces in the countryside.

Parallel to the readiness of the legal democratic forces to go underground in case of crackdown, without giving up the legal and defensive political struggle in the urban areas, the revolutionary forces of the people carried out in earnest their ideological, political and organizational work in the countryside. The Communist Party of the Philippines had the foresight to reestablish itself on December 26, 1968 under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and proceeded to found the New People's Army on March 29, 1969.

The CPP and all other revolutionary forces pursued the general line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war. The experienced guerrilla fighters from the old revolutionary movement were combined with the mass activists from the urban areas, who came from the ranks of trade unionists and educated youth. They learned to integrate the revolutionary armed struggle, land reform and mass-base building. They further built and strengthened the CPP, NPA, the revolutionary mass organizations, the alliances and the local organs political power that constitute the people's democratic government.

From one regime to another, these revolutionary forces have overcome all counterrevolutionary campaigns of suppression and have grown in strength through revolutionary struggle. The CPP has now tens of thousands of members. The NPA has thousands of Red fighters plus tens of thousands of members in the people's militia and hundreds of thousands in self-defense units of the revolutionary mass organizations. The members of the revolutionary mass organizations are in the millions. And so many more people are governed by the local organs of political power.

According to revolutionary strategists, the nationwide base of the revolutionary forces in 110 guerrilla fronts in 73 out of the 81 Philippine provinces is an ample launching base for tactical offensives for destroying and disintegrating the reactionary military, police and paramilitary forces and accumulating the armed strength to knock out the concentrations of armed power of the state in areas close to or inside the major cities in the future strategic offensive against the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system.

The NPA is steadily engaged in bringing about the maturation of the strategic defensive from the middle phase to the advanced phase with the rapid multiplication of squads and platoons as combat units that can be easily combined as companies upon need. The stage of strategic stalemate will be characterised by frequent company-size and battalion-size operations and will be much shorter in time than the stage of the strategic defensive. The strategic offensive will be facilitated by the ever-worsening crisis of both domestic ruling system and the world capitalist system. Such crisis is discernible even now.

According to Ang Bayan, the reactionary Armed Forces of the Philippines has only 140 maneuver battalions, of which, 35 are deployed in Luzon; 19 in the Visayas; and 83 in Mindanao (19 battalions in Moro areas, and 64 in NPA areas). Thus, close to 85% or 118 battalions are deployed against the NPA. Close to 55% of AFP units deployed against the NPA are in Mindanao, mainly in the eastern regions. Combined AFP and PNP troop deployment are highest in Southern Mindanao, followed by Southern Tagalog, Eastern Visayas, North Central Mindanao, Far South Mindanao and Negros.

The balance of strength between the revolutionary side and the enemy side is now far more favorable to the revolutionary side than during the time of Marcos dictatorship. The enemy side is still militarily superior but is on the losing side because it fights for US imperialism and the local exploiting classes, eats up a lot of public money and commits atrocities against the people. Even if it is still superior to the NPA in purely military terms, it is blind and deaf in its search and

destroy operations because it lacks the support of the people and it is extremely vulnerable to the strategy and tactics of guerrilla warfare.

Based on the publications of the CPP, NPA and NDFP that I have read, the armed revolutionary movement of the people is determined and expects to inflict more casualties on the enemy side and seize more arms from it. The morale of the enemy side is running low because it is fighting for US imperialism and the local exploiting classes and for a regime that is notorious for treason, tyranny, mass murder plunder and swindling and is getting fatigued by too many fruitless operations and being exposed to the tactical offensives of the NPA.

It is a matter of historical truth that before a certain exploitative ruling system is overthrown, it does its worst in armed counterrevolution because it does not volunteer to surrender its power and wealth to the oppressed and exploited toiling masses of workers and peasants. But it is precisely because of extreme brutality and greed that the ruling system becomes more rotten and compels the people to wage armed revolution until they win total victory.

Long live the Youth Movement Against Tyranny-Metro Manila!

Oust the traitor, tyrant, butcher, plunderer and swindler Duterte!

Advance the national democratic movement!

Long live the Filipino people!

Fight State Terrorism and Oust Duterte Tyranny

Message of Solidarity to Anakbayan-National

November 30, 2020

Dear fellow activists, as the founding chairman of Kabataang Makabayan, I am happy that you are celebrating your 22nd anniversary on this day. This is a day of great significance. It was the day when Kabataang Makabayan was founded in 1964 and when the great leader of the Philippine Revolution of 1896 and the Katipunan, Andres Bonifacio, was born.

I wish ardently that you sum up your experience in arousing, organising and mobilizing the Filipino youth since 1998. Learn well your positive and negative lessons, enhance your strength and overcome weaknesses, face the challenges and set forth the tasks for winning ever greater victories along the line of the new democratic revolution against the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system in the era of modern imperialism and the proletarian-socialist revolution.

What is evil, anti-national and anti-democratic is now concentrated in the Duterte regime which is tyrannical, traitorous, murderous, extremely corrupt and deceptive. Since the downfall the Marcos fascist dictatorship in 1986, the current regime has been the most servile to imperialist powers (especially the US and China) and the most brutal and most greedy chief representative of the local exploiting classes of big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists.

It knows no bounds for cutting into contracts involving government appropriations and franchises, especially in programs and projects involving imports and exports, public utilities, infrastructure and local and foreign purchases of supplies and equipment for the bureaucracy and the armed services. The Duterte family has become the supreme crime lord by taking over the smuggling and distribution of illegal drugs and other contraband and by killing tens of thousands of people to grab crime territory from competitors.

After killing the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations since 2017, the Duterte regime has brought the worst aspect of its evil character by accelerating its drive for fascist dictatorship. Aside from stealing hundreds of billions of pesos from the national treasury, the regime has taken advantage of the Covid-19 pandemic by enacting the Anti-Terror Law in order to carry out state terrorism in the name of anti-communism and terrorism.

Even before the formal declaration of nationwide martial law, the regime has acquired the means to impose fascist dictatorship on the Filipino people and suppress the patriotic and democratic forces. Oplan Tokhang methods are now being unleashed against the people as in the bogus war on drugs. People are arbitrarily tagged, listed and vilified as “communist terrorists” for the purpose of arrests, indefinite detention without judicial warrant, extortion and torture and extrajudicial killings with utter impunity.

It is the urgent duty of the Filipino youth and people to fight and oust the monstrous Duterte regime which is ruining the Filipino nation in an all-round way, economically, politically and culturally. It is trying to keep the monster in power even beyond 2022, despite the fact that he is physically, mentally and morally sick. His alternative is to use the military and his control of the Comelec vote count in order to install a presidential proxy.

Anakbayan has the experience of overthrowing the Estrada regime which was extremely corrupt and brutish in ruling the country. You should be inspired your own success in making a major contribution to the ouster of Estrada from 1998 to January 2001. I am confident that you can muster the political will and carry out the mass actions for getting rid of the Duterte regime which is far more monstrous than the Estrada regime.

I urge you to link yourselves with the broad masses of the people and the broad united front in the rapidly growing movement for the ouster of Duterte. You must contribute your resolute will, your irrepressible efforts, your militancy and mass strength to the multi-class and multisectoral movement for ousting the Duterte regime.

The rapidly worsening crisis of the Philippine ruling system and the world capitalist system is bound to generate mass uprisings in the forthcoming weeks, months and years in the Philippines and the world. Take advantage of the crisis conditions and follow the desire of the people for revolutionary change.

Fight and oust the Duterte regime in order to advance the just cause of full national independence, democracy, social development, economic development through genuine land reform and national industrialization, provision of social services, the progress of patriotic, scientific and propeople culture and just peace.

Long live Anakbayan and the Filipino youth!

Fight state terrorism and oust the Duterte tyranny!

Be inspired by the Philippine Revolution of 1896!

Advance the new democratic revolution!

Long live the Filipino people!

Solidarity With Jovenes Anakbayan ng Bicol at Its Third Regional Conference

November 30, 2021

Dear fellow activists of Jovenes Anakbayan, I would like to extend my heartfelt congratulations and solidarity to you on your Third Regional Congress on November 30, 2021, Andres Bonifacio's birthday, Heroes' Day and the anniversary of Kabataang Makabayan. It is a good reminder to me that I greeted your very first congress in 1998.

I salute you and commend you for your achievements as the broadest and most comprehensive national democratic youth mass organization in Bicol that fights imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat-capitalism.

The theme of your Congress is accurate and timely: "Strike, youth! Continue the revolutionary tradition of the Bicolano youth! Defeat fascism and state terrorism! Ensure the downfall of the number one enemy of the toiling masses! "

We now face the monstrous Duterte regime that is a traitor to the people, a tyrant, an executioner, a plunderer and a swindler. It is our duty to oust this regime that oppresses and exploits the Filipino youth and people.

Strengthen and carry out the role of Anakbayan in arousing, organizing, and mobilizing the mass base to implement the advancement of the national democratic movement to complete success.

Long live the Jovenes Anakbayan of Bikol!

Greater success of the national democratic movement!

Long live Anakbayan and the Filipino people!

Message to Anakbayan Cordillera on Its 8th Congress

November 30, 2021

Dear fellow activists of the Cordillera, I am pleased to extend patriotic greetings and solidarity to the leadership and membership of Anakbayan Cordillera on the occasion of its 8th Congress this November 30, 2021 in Baguio City, simultaneous with the 23rd Anniversary of Anakbayan and the 57th Founding Anniversary of Kabataang Makabayan (Patriotic Youth).

Thank you for inviting me to be your keynote speaker on the opening of your Congress as a recognition of my contributions to the youth movement and the whole mass movement of the Filipino people and for considering my contributions as inspiration for the youth of the Cordillera.

The Kabataang Makabayan and other national democratic forces rose up and gained strength in your region during the decade of the 1960s. Cordillera is the backbone of Northern Luzon and became the base of my investigation of the situation of Northern Luzon in 1969 and for so many times, my launch to reach Ilocos or Cagayan Valley at the start of the armed struggle in 1969.

I was part of the first efforts to build the revolutionary forces in the Cordillera.

When martial law and the fascist Marcos dictatorship was declared upon the Filipino people, Cordillera became the bulwark of the revolutionary forces to fight for national liberation and democracy.

Red salute to you! You carry the glorious victories and lessons of the historical struggle of the Igorot against the Marcos dictatorship. I am confident that you will fight with renewed courage and proficiency now that you are being challenged by the state terrorism of the treasonous, tyrannical, murderer, plunderer and swindler Duterte regime.

The crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system is now very intense due to the heinous crimes of Duterte, especially his plunder and excessive squander of public funds through military campaigns of suppression. The crisis further intensified when state terrorism was promulgated into law, a big chunk of the budget was allotted to the National Task Force-ELCAC, and when Duterte stole funds allotted for fighting the pandemic and support for millions of people who lost their livelihood.

Your theme, “Strengthen Our Ranks: Fight resolutely in the face of the pandemic and tyranny! Youth, stand firm and fight with all your might!” is timely, correct and appropriate. We should all be angry that at a time when we are being besieged by the pandemic (due to Duterte’s allowing half a million Chinese tourists to enter the country last December 2019 up to March 2020), Duterte took this as an opportunity to intensify his oppression and exploitation of the Filipino people.

Since 1902 up till June 2016, the accumulated debt of the Philippines was ₱ 5.9 trillion. In five years alone, Duterte doubled the debt to ₱11.9 trillion in September 2021. The economy and reactionary government of the Philippines are bankrupt. Debt continues to increase rapidly due to large government budget and trade deficits. The value of exported raw materials is falling and the income from overseas contract workers is also decreasing. Despite this, importation of

manufactured products continues to rise.

You must strengthen your ranks, be firm and with all might fight until the plague that is the Duterte regime is ousted from power and until Duterte and his cohorts are punished. Do not allow him to use the 2022 election to avoid responsibility for all his crimes against human rights and his many cases of plunder. He plans to cheat in the election and make Bongbong Marcos or Bong Go the president, his daughter, vice president and himself a senator.

The Filipino people is pitiful if Duterte will be able to insist his cheating in the election. If this happens, the Filipino people must rise up to stop the monsters, like Ferdinand Marcos and Rodrigo Duterte, from taking power. The people were able to cause the downfall of Marcos in 1986, it should be easier to fight Duterte who backtracked to a lower position and gave way to Bong Go or Bongbong Marcos as his successor. Nobody believes that the minion of a tyrant being vomited by the people nor the son of a dictator whom Duterte himself called a drug addict will win in a clean election.

If by any chance, Duterte could still use his co-fascists in the military and police to put into power Bong Go or Bongbong Marcos, the Filipino people will surely rise up in the form of huge mass protests. The armed revolution will further strengthen. People's war for the people's democratic revolution will intensify. The whole Philippines will easily be inflamed like dry cogon due to the heinous crimes of Duterte and his military and because of the extreme worsening of the crisis of the ruling system.

The crisis of the rotting ruling system is rapidly intensifying and the Duterte regime is fast weakening. On the other hand, the legal democratic forces like Anakbayan are growing rapidly and so do the forces of armed revolution. It is your duty to uphold and implement national and democratic rights. And if state terrorism stops you, you have no problem going to the mountains because you are already in the mountains of the Cordillera, and guerrilla fronts already exist

in all its provinces.

While there is still space for you to uphold and implement national and democratic rights, you must do all you can to explain the issues and encourage the youth to take the correct position, organize them so they will have unity and determination and mobilize them to demand from those responsible that they should act according to the needs and demands of the youth and the Filipino people.

Because of the continuous pervasiveness of state terrorism, the organization must be strengthened further through persuasion, organizing and mobilizing while being vigilant and concealing from the enemy what it should not know and having the readiness to cross over to the path of revolution. The revolution is always in need of more young people who are ready and has the experience in correct ideology, politics and organization.

The people of the Cordillera have a rich experience in the tradition of the tribal warriors during the Spanish colonization, in their participation in the democratic revolution against Spain and the United States, in fighting against Japanese Occupation, in the annihilation of the 100,000 to 150,000 Japanese soldiers assembled by Yamashita, and in the revolutionary forces in the guerrilla fronts of the new democratic revolution.

The people of the Cordillera have greatly contributed to the advancement of the Philippine revolution and for its being outstandingly known as one of the leading revolutionary movements in the whole world. Together with the Philippine revolution are the many mass struggles for national independence, democracy and socialism. These are the fruits of the rapid deterioration of the crisis of the world capitalist system. Today, the Philippine revolution is considered as a torch bearer of the world proletarian revolution.

Long live Anakbayan Cordillera!

Advance the Philippine revolution!

Long live the Filipino people!

The Filipino Youth Movement

Then and Now

Questions from ND Online School of Anakbayan-Europe, December 12, 2021

1. Can you give us the history of the Kabataang Makabayan in capsule form or in a few paragraphs?

JMS: The Kabataang Makabayan (KM) was founded on November 30, 1964, the 101st birth anniversary of Andres Bonifacio. It was constituted as a comprehensive youth organization of students and young workers, peasants, teachers and other professionals. It aimed to continue the unfinished Philippine revolution that had been started by Andres Bonifacio in 1896. At the same, it adopted the general line or program of new democratic revolution under the class leadership of the proletariat in consonance with the era of modern imperialism and the world proletarian revolution.

Conscious preparations for the establishment of the KM were started in 1961 when activists of the Student Cultural Association of the University of the Philippines decided to promote the organization of new democratic study groups in universities in downtown Manila and nationwide, in trade unions associated with Lapiang Manggagawa and in barrios where the Malayang Samahan ng mga Magsasaka existed. By 1964, the founders of the KM decided that there was already a sufficient ideological, political and organizational basis to form the

KM.

The KM became the most outstanding Filipino youth organization in propagating national democratic education, in increasing its nationwide membership and in carrying out militant anti-imperialist and antifeudal mass protests from 1964 to 1972. It initiated mass protests against the pro-imperialist and anti-democratic policies of the Marcos regime and school administrations. It joined workers' strikes and peasant mass actions. It carried out the Omnibus protests against the unequal treaties with the US imperialism in 1965 and became a key organization in the formation of the anti-imperialist united front, the Movement for the Advancement of Nationalism in 1966.

It spearheaded the October 24th Movement of 1966 which promoted the mass integration of the student youth in rural and urban poor communities, joined the transport workers in protesting against the oil price hikes in 1969, carried out the First Quarter Storm of 1970 and the Diliman Commune of 1971 and launched large mass actions in solidarity with the Vietnamese people's struggle against the US war of aggression. It raised the call for people's war when Marcos suspended the writ of habeas corpus in 1971 and declared nationwide martial law in 1972.

Forced to go underground, the KM became a major founder of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines and assisted the CPP and the NPA in making nationwide the people's democratic revolution through people's war. It played a major role in strengthening and advancing the armed revolution and eventually causing the downfall of the Marcos fascist dictatorship in 1986. It has persevered in the underground to serve as the reliable receptacle and trainer of the youth who join the revolutionary underground and are being prepared for assignment as cadres and fighters of the New People's Army.

2. Why was KM conceived?

JMS: The Kabataang Makabayan was conceived of to continue the unfinished Revolution that Andres Bonifacio had started in 1896 in order to achieve national independence and democracy against Spanish colonialism and local reaction. At the same time, we the founders of KM were conscious that global and national conditions had changed, that we could no longer adopt in toto the principles and program of the old bourgeois democratic revolution led by the liberal bourgeoisie but that we needed to carry out the new democratic revolution led by the proletariat in the era of modern imperialism and the world proletarian revolution.

We adopted the program of new democratic revolution for the national and social liberation of the Filipino people against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists. We considered the KM as the assistant and youth trainer of the revolutionary proletariat. The class leadership of the revolution belongs to the proletariat as the most advanced productive and political force. It is reliant on the worker-peasant alliance, seeks to win over the alliance of the petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie and takes advantage of the splits among the reactionary upper classes. The revolution has a socialist perspective and is guided by the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

3. Who were the key personalities of KM at the time when it started? How strong was KM in terms of forces and membership relative to the archipelagic state of the country/and or educational institutions?

JMS: After the successful demonstration of 5000 UP students against the Committee on Anti-Filipino Activities to defend academic freedom and civil liberties against the anti-Communist witch-hunt on March 15, 1961, we who belonged to the Student Cultural Association of the University of the Philippines (SCAUP) decided to build student organizations similar to ours in downtown universities in Manila and to use national student conferences to encourage students in the provinces to do likewise. Also for the purpose of organizing a comprehensive youth organization like the KM, we decided to approach the

Lapiang Manggagawa in 1961 and the Malayang Samahan ng mga Magsasaka in 1962 to offer our assistance in doing research, holding seminars and conducting social investigation and mass work.

By 1964, we already had initial groups of the KM mainly in Metro Manila universities, in the trade unions linked to Lapiang Manggagawa and in a number of barrios in Central Luzon and Southern Tagalog regions where the Masaka had chapters. We founded the KM on November 30, 1964, with only some 80 charter members attending and representing the students and the young workers, peasants, teachers and other professionals. Those elected as members of the KM National Council may be considered as the key personalities of the KM just before, during and soon after the founding.

The core of these personalities belonged to the old communist party but were already adherents of Marxist-Leninist ideas against modern revisionism. After the KM founding, we formally enrolled as KM members by the hundreds and then by the thousands from year to year nationwide because of the high prestige of KM as a resolute and militant anti-imperialist and democratic youth organization and because of the highly visible campaigns of political education and protest mass actions that it carried out.

The KM played a key role in helping the CPP and NPA become nationwide organizations from 1968 onwards. At the time that Marcos declared martial law and outlawed the the KM, this had already a national membership of 15,000 to 20,000, most of whom joined the revolutionary underground and many of whom joined the CPP and the NPA to strengthen these as nationwide organizations. Since 1973, the KM has been a major component of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines.

4. What do you consider as the strategic impact of KM as representation of the voice of the Filipino youth?

JMS: From its founding in 1964 to its illegalization in 1972, the KM was the most outstanding legal comprehensive youth organization advocating the national democratic program and generating the national democratic movement not only in the youth sector but also in other major sectors. It took up national issues and international issues against US imperialism. It was a major force in denouncing and condemning US domination of the Philippines and the puppetry of the reactionary classes and their political agents as well as the US wars of aggression and military intervention in Indochina and elsewhere.

From 1972 onward, as an underground revolutionary force, the KM persevered in fighting the Marcos fascist dictatorship and helping to build the CPP, NPA, NDFP and the local organs of political power as instruments of the people's democratic revolution nationwide. It was a major force in building the mass movement in order to overthrow the Marcos fascist dictatorship in 1986. Since then, it has continued to stay in the underground as a major force of the NDFP in order to keep going the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war. It makes sure that the youth continues to rejuvenate the armed revolution from generation to generation.

5. What do you consider as the best or the peak of its achievements?

JMS: I think that the KM achieved its peaks of strength in every period of its existence. In the period of 1964 to 1972, it peaked with the First Quarter Storm of 1970 and with the mass protests calling for people's war against the Marcos threat of martial law. Then in the period of 1973 to 1986, its thousands of activists, who were forced to go underground, joined and strengthened the CPP and the NPA nationwide.

Consequently, the crisis of the ruling system worsened and persuaded the US to junk the Marcos fascist regime in 1984 to 1986, especially after the 1983

assassination of Aquino. Until now, the KM is a formidable underground organization because it serves as an effective receptacle and distributor of the youth from the urban and rural areas who wish to join the armed revolution as cadres and Red fighters.

6. Do you consider KM as a decisive youth movement against the dictatorship at the time of Marcos?

JMS: Yes, of course. The youth in the urban and rural areas were inspired by the revolutionary program and militancy of the KM and by the prominence of KM alumni and veterans as leaders of the CPP, NPA and NDFP even while the KM was already underground during the Marcos dictatorship. The KM was well-known as an effective and decisive engine of the revolutionary movement all throughout the time of the Marcos fascist dictatorship. Until now, the KM is known to be playing a decisive role in the NDFP and in the people's democratic revolution.

7. How has KM affected or created an impact to the masses in terms of imagery and advocacy in the political, economic and social milieu?

JMS: The KM has a large impact on the masses in terms of imagery and advocacy in the political, economic and social milieu because to this day the imagery of the heroism and militancy of the KM is shown in documentary photos, narratives and art works and the advocacy of the KM is well expressed in its constitution and program, its periodic and timely statements on issues and the books and declarations.

The national democratic principles and program of the KM continue to resound in the declarations and actions of all forces of the national democratic movement. And the entire Filipino people know that the people's democratic

revolution has arisen and advanced because of the KM and its contributions in arousing, organizing and mobilizing of the youth and the oppressed toiling masses.

8. Do you consider KM as still relevant and effective in the ensuing years? How and why?

JMS: The KM is still relevant and effective until now. Even if you look at KM as a historical force, that you might tend to limit to its 1964 to 1972 legal existence, its exemplary role even only within such period, is exemplary, inspirational and relevant. And it is definitely relevant because the semicolonial and semifeudal character of the Philippine ruling system persists. The KM was previously faced by the evil forces of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. To this day, the Filipino youth and people are faced with the same problems in ever monstrous proportions.

9. Do you consider KM as still relevant today and tomorrow? How and why?

JMS: There is much to learn from the history, theory, program, actions, methods and achievements of the KM until now. The KM is still relevant today and will be for some time to come as we strive to accomplish the people's democratic revolution. Even after this revolution is basically completed and we are in the stage of the socialist revolution, it will still be relevant and useful to learn from the historical role and experience of the KM in order to honor our revolutionary predecessors and celebrate their revolutionary spirit, heroic efforts and achievements in the service of the Filipino people.

Fight For Justice And Peace

Message of Solidarity to the Concerned Students for Justice and Peace- Metro Manila

January 20, 2022

Dear fellow activists, I wish to convey warmest greetings of solidarity with you in your fight for justice and peace on the second anniversary of your organization, Concerned Students for Justice and Peace-Metro Manila. I am happy to join you in celebrating the occasion with a community program with the theme, “Sulong Karapatan: Kabataan Laban sa Diktadura, Pasismo at Tiranya” (Advance Rights: Youth Fight against Dictatorship, Fascism and Tyranny.)

I agree with you that 2022 is a challenging year for human rights defenders and advocates for a just peace like you. The traitorous, tyrannical, mass murdering and plundering Duterte regime is conducting a presidential election in which the representatives of the worst political dynasties, Marcos and Duterte, are running for the highest positions under conditions extremely favorable to them and their party mates.

The fascist tyrant Duterte regime is a rule of open terror and greed and controls the COMELEC and the vote count and is expected to commit massive electoral fraud in favor of the Marcos-Duterte tandem. It has taken advantage of the

Covid-19 pandemic to escalate state terrorism and plunder and has continued its threat to declare martial law to suppress the legal democratic forces of the people.

I commend you for staying resolute and militant in the struggle for national sovereignty, justice and democratic rights and condemning the suffocating climate of state terrorism and impunity in which all the patriotic and democratic organizations and individuals are easily subjected to red-tagging for the evil purpose of intimidation, abduction, torture, extra-judicial killing and other human rights violations.

Duterte wants to make sure that he retains power through the Marcos-Duterte tandem in order to keep his accumulated ill-gotten wealth and prevent his prosecution and trial for crimes against humanity before the International Criminal Court and for crimes of plunder and mass murder before Philippine courts. To assure Duterte, Bongbong Marcos has declared that he shall continue state terrorism under the so-called Anti-Terror Law against the people's clamor for justice and peace.

The conditions for the people's resistance will be exceedingly favorable in 2022 and thereafter. The broad masses of the people are fed up with the gross crimes of mass murder, plunder and fascism cum military overspending and corruption committed by the Duterte regime. The economic, social and political crisis of the ruling system will become more manifest than ever with the bankruptcy and debt burden of the economy and the state, the increased mass poverty, high unemployment and soaring inflation.

Like the rest of the Filipino people, you must be prepared for gigantic mass actions against the fraudulent election of the Marcos-Duterte tandem as in 1986 when the fascist dictator Marcos was overthrown as well as for protracted struggle beyond 2022 for as long as the enemies of national sovereignty, democracy, social justice, economic development, cultural progress and

international solidarity for justice and peace persist and need to be overcome.

Love and live the Concerned Students for Justice and Peace-Metro Manila!

Carry forward the struggle for national and social liberation!

Long live the Filipino people and the Philippine revolution!