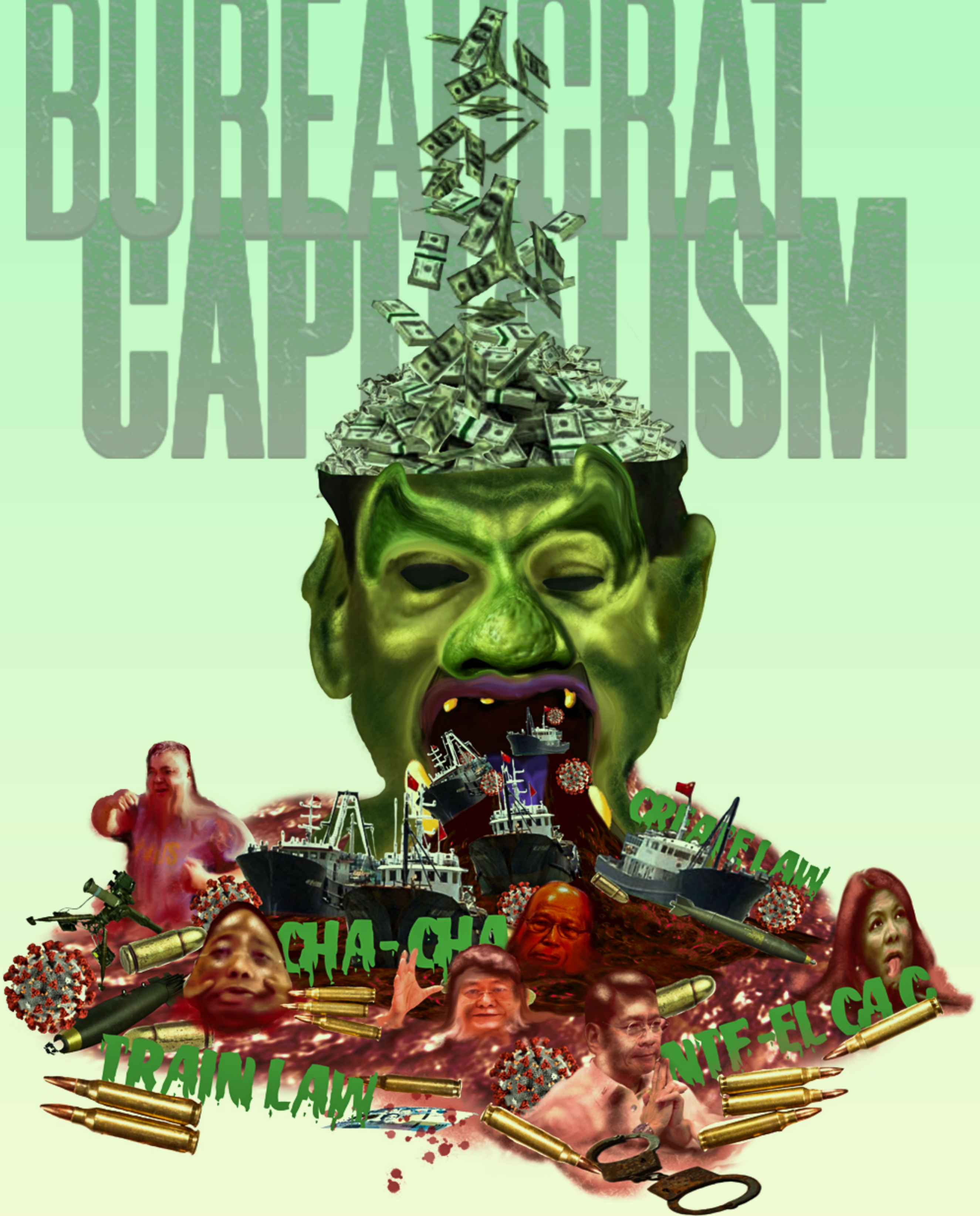


# **LIBERATION**

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BUREAUCRAT  
CAPITALISM





The NDFP is the revolutionary united front organization of the Filipino people fighting for national freedom and for the democratic rights of the people.

Established on April 24, 1973, the NDFP seeks to develop and coordinate all progressive classes, sectors and forces in the Filipino people's struggle to end the rule of US imperialism and its local allies, and attain national and social liberation.

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## **ABOUT THE COVER**

The artwork depicts bureaucrat capitalism with Pres. Duterte as the current chief of bureaucrat capitalists in the Philippines. Bureaucrat capitalism—corruption, puppetry to imperialism, use of fascism, engagement in criminal acts—is one of the basic problems in Philippine society. It is one of the reasons, along with imperialism and feudalism, why revolutionary change is the only solution so that a new, progressive and just society can be built.

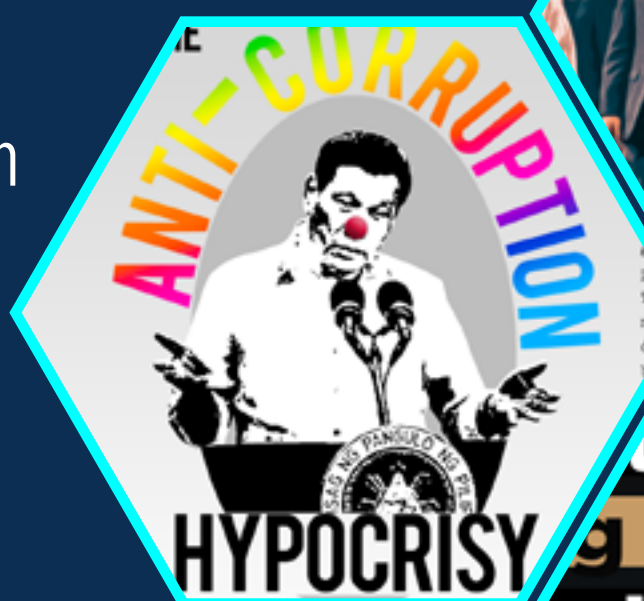
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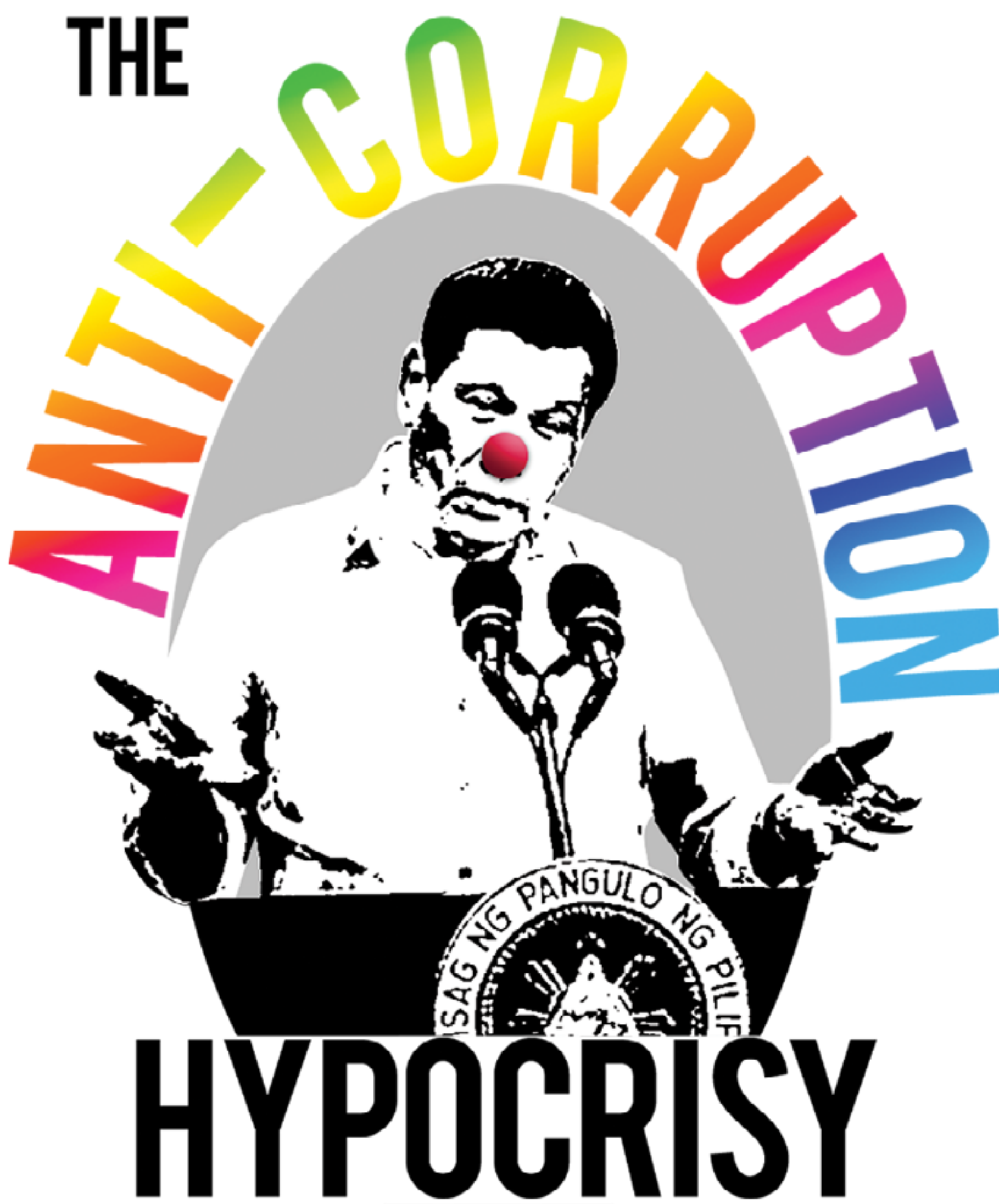


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**#DiPagagapi**  
**#CPP52**

# THE ANTI-CORRUPTION HYPOCRISY



Sometime in September, amid the coronavirus pandemic, a gargantuan corruption scandal of fund mismanagement and overpricing shook up the Philippine Health Insurance Corporation or PhilHealth, the agency tasked with helping finance Covid-19 testing and treatment in the country. Illegal or invalid fund releases were placed at P14.9 billion.

Looking back since 2003, however, fraudulent transactions have altogether cost PhilHealth P154 billion, putting it on the brink of financial collapse.

Too big was the scandal to gloss over that the Senate had to recommend the filing of corruption charges against the agency's senior officials, including Health Secretary Francisco Duque III who sits as ex-officio chairperson of the PhilHealth Board.

Forced to respond to the scandal, President Rodrigo Duterte announced—as he was wont to—the forming of a multi-agency task force. Designating the Department of Justice Secretary as head, he ordered the task force

to investigate not only corruption in PhilHealth but in the entire government, starting with the other corrupt-ridden Department of Public Works and Highways (DPWH).

And for the nth time, Duterte vowed that he would focus on his anti-corruption drive in the last two years of his term expiring on June 30, 2022.

This empty boast came after Transparency International disclosed that the Philippines had fallen 18 rungs toward the bottom of the Corruption Index under Duterte's watch, placing the country at 113 on par with Kazakhstan and Zambia.

But on the heels of his order to investigate, Duterte practically cleared Secretary Duque of any misconduct by publicly stating, *"For the life of me I cannot really find a good reason to prosecute an innocent man."* He thus ignored the widely resonating call for Duque's resignation as Health Secretary, even as there was evident conflict of interest on his part. That sparked outcries about tolerance of massive corruption emanating from the topmost seat of government.

Similarly, while hitting at corruption in the DPWH, Duterte has been vocal about his trust and confidence in the agency's head, Secretary Mark Villar. *"Si Villar mayaman na 'yan. si Sec Villar maraming pera hindi na kailangang mangurakot,"* he said, heaping the blame for deep-seated corruption on officials below Villar. *"Ang problema sa baba... mga projects sa baba 'yun ang laro d'yan."*

The oversimplified logic won't hold water. Greed has no limit. The rich, powerful local elites enter government for private gain. This is nothing new. The difference between then and now is that no president had been as brazen and arrogant as Duterte in defending and protecting his corrupt cabal.

CPP Founding Chairman Jose Maria Sison has observed: *"The corruption of the Duterte ruling clique is as gargantuan as its use of state terrorism. It includes enormous amounts of overpricing the military and civil purchases by government agencies, intelligence and discretionary funds beyond COA auditing, cuts in all kinds of contracts between government and the private sector, grabbing enterprises from opponents, reclamation projects, drug smuggling and casino operations."*

A case in point is the National Task Force to End Local Communist Armed Conflict (NTF-ELCAC). Created in 2018, it had a budget of P1.7 billion in 2020, but this was raised to a huge P19.13 billion for 2021. Even as the regime has been bragging that the CPP-NPA-NDF is already a "spent force", Duterte and his military clique have designated the revolutionary organization as a "terrorist" organization to justify a larger share of the national budget and to employ more draconian measures that curtail civil liberties and grossly violate human rights.

With the other massive resources at his command, Duterte and his clique

Greed has no limit. The rich, powerful local elites enter government for private gain. This is nothing new. The difference between then and now is that no president had been as brazen and arrogant as Duterte in defending and protecting his corrupt cabal.

have become more prone to indulge in corruption.

Just how much wealth Duterte has personally gained since he assumed office remains a secret. In fact, attempts by media groups, particularly the Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism (PCIJ), to look into Duterte's 2018 and 2019 SALN (Statement of Assets, Liabilities and Networth) have proved to be futile: blocked by the Office of the President and by the supposedly independent Office of the Ombudsman, under his appointee. Under previous administrations, in the past 30 years, the Ombudsman had made available the SALN of the president and other government officials.

PCIJ has noted that based on Duterte's 2017 SALN, the last to have been made public, his wealth increased from just about P1 million in 1998 to nearly P29 million in 2017. "Big spikes" were also seen in the wealth of Duterte's children, Sara and Paolo Duterte, based on their SALNs. Duterte's retort: *"What we earned outside is none of your business actually."*

So there! It would not be surprising if Duterte follows after Marcos, not just in the annals of dictatorship but also of kleptocracy. Duterte's famous line in the beginning of his term—not even a "whiff of corruption"—is all hot air, hypocrisy. The betrayal of public trust, shamelessly flaunted under every administration, will continue for as long as power resides in the hands of the ruling elite. **LIB**



# BUREAUCRAT CAPITALISM

is the use of high public office to enrich oneself. In a way, it is a form of capitalism—with high public officials using their power and control of the government bureaucracy and enterprises, access to public funds, and the use of the country's resources as capital.



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# THE SCOURGE OF BUREAUCRAT CAPITALISM

*by Pat Gambao and Vida Gracias*

**T**hrough the years, the Filipino people complained of and protested against corruption in government. Every administration, without doubt and without exception, has been weighed down by corruption cases from the lowest to the highest level of public office. The only difference is in the amount of wealth and power amassed by those in position.

Corruption and bureaucrat capitalism is commonly understood as one, though the latter is more than that. Bureaucrat capitalism is the use of high public office to enrich oneself. In a way, it is a form of capitalism—with high public officials using their power and control of the government bureaucracy and enterprises, access to public funds, and the use of the country's resources as capital.

The big compradors in public office—the highest and most powerful bureaucrat capitalists in Philippine society—include

The **big** **compradors** in public office—the highest and most powerful bureaucrat capitalists in Philippine society—include the president and some cabinet members.

the president and some cabinet members. These high public officials collaborate with their cronies—family and friends—in the private sector or those called big compradors. They form or become part of the ruling clique, with the President emerging as the chief among all.

In his lecture on the “Basic Problems of Filipino People” Prof. Jose Maria Sison explained, “They (families and cronies) personally benefit from the grant of concessions to exploiters of natural resources in the public domain, alienation of public land,

franchises for the operation of public utilities, contracts in infrastructure building and related speculation in real estate, purchase contracts of the government, loans from state banks and insurance systems, endless perks and privileges through multiple positions and directorships in fund-rich government corporations.”

Prof. Jose Maria Sison corrected the notion that former dictator Ferdinand Marcos used his political power to industrialize the country. On the contrary, Prof. Sison explained, “all the enterprises that he (Marcos) and his cronies grabbed or built were big comprador enterprises dependent on imported equipment, construction materials, components and consumer manufactures as

well as agricultural production and mining for export.”

Changing the president and the people around him does not end corruption and bureaucrat capitalism. Bureaucrat capitalism persisted even after the 1986 people power uprising, nor will it end with Duterte. Bureaucrat capitalism is undoubtedly one of the three basic problems in Philippine society, explicitly tied to feudalism and imperialism. The reality is that bureaucrat capitalism is so ingrained in the rotten system of semicolonial and semifeudal Philippines that no less than a people’s revolution could bring it down and effect real change in society.

## Historical roots

Historically and currently bureaucrat capitalism has become a scourge of the Filipino people.

When the Philippines was still a colony of the US it needed reliable allies to advance its interests in the country. So bureaucrat capitalism is practically a handiwork of imperialist US. It found them among the principalia (local elite) of the old Spanish rule. The US colonial government made them *pensionados* while being “trained on governance” to lead the neocolonial State. The US was then preparing to grant bogus independence to the Philippines and needed loyal docile puppets of the US. In exchange, the US showered them with favours, such as loans to the reactionary government and investments. It also trained and enhanced the arms and equipment of the reactionary armed forces and assured the reigning regime of support for as long as it was not a liability to the US.

What arose was a bureaucracy represented by big bourgeois compradors and landlords. They managed to rise to power through bogus electoral exercises where money, goons, guns, and influence by the US were decisive.

Obviously, up until today the government is run like a personal business enterprise. They use the machinery and resources of government for their political aggrandizement and economic interests. They extend the benefit to their relatives and friends under their political patronage. All these are at the expense of the people, who dutifully pay their taxes and other exactions for licenses/permits, services, etc.

## Corruption and plunder

Graft, corruption, and plunder are among the obvious features of bureaucrat capitalism, swallowing up the whole government bureaucracy. Bribery is a norm. For every law, executive order or decision, including those of the courts, big sums of money lead to the pockets of corrupt officials. Allotting a large percentage of funds for public works for corruption is considered SOP (standard operating procedure). Many of these SOP are established part of the bureaucracy and strengthened by law.

Political patronage is very much ingrained, especially in public works projects. Relatives and friends of government officials bag hefty projects for considerable profit. Corrupt bureaucrats enact laws and implement projects and programs for the benefit of their crony-bourgeois compradors/landlords. These include land reform laws and building of roads, seaports, airports, dams and bridges. These cronies enjoy and served as dummies of bureaucrats for mining concessions and business corporations. They also corner huge public lands that they turn into subdivisions, condominiums and malls.

Lawmakers appropriate for themselves huge amount of funds from the government budget, for example the Priority Development and Assistance Fund (PDAF), a discretionary fund no different from the old “pork barrel.” They just keep on changing its name to deodorize it and deceive the people. The revelation by a whistle blower of the Janet Lim Napoles’ ghost projects funded by the PDAF and the list of legislators who shared from the loot had opened a stinking “pandora’s box”. This disgraceful and contemptible plunder of billions of pesos of the people’s money had exposed Congress and outraged a nation. Yet, years after, the plunderers went “scot-free” and even ran for public office again.

Bureaucrat capitalists also gain from government debts, dollar allocation, price control, import-export control, illegal entries and naturalization of foreign nationals, concessions in mines, ranches, timberland, stock market manipulation, disaster relief and rehabilitation funds. They engage in money laundering and stash their loot in Swiss or other foreign banks.

These bureaucrats are leeches who suck out the lifeblood of even the poorest and marginalized sectors of society. They grab the land from settlers, as well as the ancestral domain of indigenous people, through manipulation of registry and titles.

Under the current system in the Philippines, graft and corruption will persist.

Prof. Sison elaborated, “(the) acts of graft and corruption involving the violation or circumvention of the law or even the legalization of

what is illegal and immoral can be restrained to some extent and within a certain period by criticisms from the opposition party that has loyalty to the ruling system and expects to take its own turn at engaging in graft and corruption. But very often, the competing factions of government officials can compromise among themselves and take their shares of the bureaucratic loot at the expense of the people. Even the biggest plunderers already convicted and in prison know how to pay for their freedom and proceed to gain more power and wealth.”



## Involvement in criminal activities

Still, with insatiable greed, bureaucrat capitalists engage in illegal and criminal activities such as smuggling, drug trade, gambling, kidnapping for ransom, bank robbery, prostitution, gun-for-hire, etc., in collusion with criminal syndicates, drug lords and gambling operators. They are either directly involved or served as protectors of these criminal activities, the proceeds from which, glut their coffers to the brim as these are one of the biggest sources of their income. In fact they are accountable for the proliferation of criminality and anti-social activities as well as the spread of immorality in the country.

## Puppetry and treachery

As puppets of the US, bureaucrat capitalists have served their masters well. Unequal and oppressive agreements and treaties, such as the Mutual Defense Treaty (MDT), the Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA) and the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA) were like prize trophies. These agreements give the imperialist US the right to continue its control and exploitation of the Filipino people.

In addition there are also grant of incentives and privileges, mining concessions, and land use for plantations. Economic zones for foreign business enterprises are allowed to take advantage of cheap Filipino labor. This is apart from existing oppressive labor laws—contractualization of labor and restrictions to union organizing and strike—as incentive to both foreign and big bourgeois compradors' businesses. Adherence to the imperialist neoliberal policies of liberalization (retail, finance, etc.), privatization (strategic utilities such as water and power) and deregulation (especially of the oil industry) practically and



permanently nailed the people on the cross. Prices of commodities and services skyrocketed and local investors lost their business or opportunities.

Apart from the US, another imperialist master is being served. National patrimony is also being surrendered to China. Government's inaction is as clear as day on China's encroachment in the West Philippine Sea (WPS). This despite the 2016 ruling of the Permanent Court of Arbitration in favour of the Philippines's claim to WPS as a Philippine Economic Zone and that China has no historical rights to it.

## Fascism

“Bureaucrat capitalism is the basis of local fascism,” stated Prof. Sison.

“More than any other section of the capitalist class they (bureaucrat capitalists) are in the best position to take initiative in acquiring despotic powers in fascist dictatorship in order to protect the wealth that they have already accumulated and to increase it further through the exercise of said powers,” he expounded.

Employing the dual tactics of terror and deception is a means to hold on to power and reinforce their rule.

Bureaucrat capitalists make use of the fraud election process to show a semblance of democracy as well as to earn legitimacy for their rule.

Likewise, by controlling the education system and the dominant mass media, they spread erroneous ideas about freedom, human rights, development and good life. They advance the idea that change emanates from within, with the person’s discipline and lofty ambitions, such that self-love is foremost. They divorce the individual from society. Marcos the dictator, during his time, even popularized the call “revolution is in the heart.” Bureaucrat capitalists impress the ideas of subservience and veneration to the ruling class and its imperialist masters. On the other hand, they continue

to disparage the revolutionary movement and keep the people away from the revolutionary path.

To conceal their dubious intent, bureaucrat capitalists deluge the people with reformist ideas such as profit sharing, federalism, charter change, human security. They would appropriate public service projects in their names, e.g. Malasakit Centers that are well-funded while public hospitals and health centers have inadequate medicines and facilities and far-flung barrios completely neglected of, even just, primary health care.

However, when challenged, bureaucrat capitalists resort to fascism in all its brutal forms as the masses dissent, act and advance their own struggles. This is the ultimate defense to shield themselves and their imperialist benefactors, their power and wealth, from the people’s wrath. In so doing, they bolster the repressive instruments of the reactionary State (the military army, the police, courts, jails and laws) to wield them against their adversaries.

For its part, the US beefs up the capacity of the reactionary army and police through training, provision of arms and equipment, and use of drones for surveillance and attacks. Likewise, the Philippine military operational plans are patterned after the US Counter-Insurgency (COIN) Guide. It is not surprising how

assiduously the police would protect the US Embassy, and how violent and vicious were the dispersal of peaceful demonstrations and rallies held there.

The reactionary government turns rabid when the dissent is growing and the people's revolution is advancing. It unleashes its most violent and brutal attacks not only on the Red fighters but also on progressives, activists, as well as innocent civilians. It passes laws or uses and twists existing ones to carry out, with impunity, raids, arrests, harassments, intimidation and extrajudicial killings.

Fascism is not a sign of the reactionary government's strength. It is a manifestation of its weakening power and waning hope. Fascism intensifies in a desperate bid to stem the masses' unrest and the surge of the people's democratic revolution.

The bureaucrat capitalists have never learned their lesson. The people united will never be defeated. Ultimately, bureaucrat capitalism shall be swept in the tide of the people's revolutionary fervor as the reactionary state is overthrown and the people's democratic government shall rise in its stead. **LIB**

“Bureaucrat  
capitalism  
is the basis  
of local  
fascism.”

Prof. Jose Maria Sison

He is cut from  
the same mold  
of government  
leaders who  
use their  
positions to  
amass wealth  
and power.



## Portrait of a bureaucrat capitalist: **DUTERTE**

*by Pinky Ang*

**A**s president, Rodrigo R. Duterte is the current chief of bureaucrat capitalists in the Philippines.

The award for being the chief is immense. More than having the biggest pork of all, he commands all the state armed forces and the direction of patronage politics. He has first dibs on every bone thrown him by his imperialist masters. Early into his presidency, Duterte's own SALN (statement of assets, liabilities and net worth) revealed his wealth had grown far beyond his income as city mayor before he became president. Despite his continued posturing against corruption, he would not tolerate any probe into his bank accounts and his SALN.



Yet, Filipinos were not born yesterday. Duterte may be crude and vulgar and a mere mayor for three decades before suddenly ascending to the presidency, but he is cut from the same mold of government leaders who use their positions to amass wealth and power. He idolizes and vows to emulate the late dictator Ferdinand Marcos, who was notoriously known for plunder, puppetry, cronyism, and tyranny.

One of Duterte's earlier "achievements" during his term was helping former chiefs of bureaucrat capitalists such as Ferdinand Marcos and Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo to evade punishments for corruption and war crimes. The Marcoses made leaps in rehabilitating themselves during his presidency when Duterte allowed the burial of the remains of the late dictator at the Libingan ng mga Bayani. Decades-long graft and corruption charges filed against the Marcos heirs and beneficiaries were dismissed. Also, Macapagal-Arroyo was swiftly freed from jail and plunder charges even before Duterte warmed his seat as president.

Under Duterte, the Philippines dropped in worldwide ranking on transparency and fighting corruption. Surveys unearthed complaints that bribery to facilitate government transactions and contracts remain standard operating procedure. He coddled and recycled his appointees when they were caught in scandals.

To this day, there is no closure yet to revelations of mafia-like corruption in Philhealth, Department of Public Works and Highways, Bureau of Correction, Bureau of Customs, Department of Transportation, Department of Information and Communication, to name a few. Worse, these and other departments continue to get larger and juicier pork-laden budget. Every budget season, the Filipino people witnessed spectacles in Congress as Duterte mediated between allies in their competition on who gets how much and how soon in pork barrel insertions.

While bullying certain oligarchs, Duterte favored his cronies through behest loans and investments and getting preferential treatment for their contracts and businesses. One of the conspicuous examples is the case of Dennis Uy, a rumored bagman/dummy of Duterte.



Going by the standard modus operandi of bureaucrat capitalists, namely grabbing “SOP,” “tongpats,” and commissions in contracts and purchases, Duterte and his cohorts have had ample chances to line their pockets. He has a massive infrastructure project called “Build Build Build” or BBB worth trillions of pesos. The few things that limit their greed here are (1) public protests by the affected communities, and (2) his own cohort’s poor planning and execution that led to shelving and revising items in his list of projects.

Aside from BBB, his war-and-profit rule with military generals ramped up the Armed Forces of the Philippines’ (AFP) Modernization Program. This involves barely audited intelligence and confidential funds; and billions of pesos worth of procurement of warships, warplanes and helicopters, drones, missiles, guns, and other war materiel.

Even the natural and man-made disasters have proved to be opportunities for corruption and power expansion for the bureaucrat capitalists such as the disposition of donation, calamity funds, and stimulus funds. In the case of current coronavirus pandemic, there are the questionable purchases of medical supplies, vaccines, the sudden explosion in foreign loans ostensibly for fighting the Covid-19 pandemic. [\[Read: Duterte piling up more ways to score \(and hide\) more loot\]](#)

Last but not the least as source of wealth goes: Duterte’s encouragement/protection of gambling (as evidenced by the deluge of Chinese-operated POGOs or the Philippine Offshore Gaming Operators), and his supposed war on drugs that is widely believed as a way to consolidate his drug overlord status in cahoots with the Chinese triad.

Being the topmost government official has proved highly profitable to Duterte and his clique. Using government power, he and his family, his cronies and his druglordship, have expanded in power and wealth.

And so, like the presidents before him, he has been trying hard to cling to his post. There is the term extension through charter change being railroaded in Congress. There is the push intermittently aired by a puny number of “mass supporters” for a “revolutionary government” with Duterte as the head. There is Duterte’s stab at growing his political dynasty, with his adult children led by current Davao City mayor Sara Duterte being urged to run in the 2022 presidential elections. Worst of all, there is his intensifying tyranny as his government tries to implement Martial Law nationwide under various guises.

For all these, what have the people got in the bargain?

TheStar.com



## In deeper poverty and crisis

Toward the people, Duterte can only renege on his campaign promises and do the opposite of his pretend commitments. It is not in the nature of bureaucrat capitalists to desist from enriching themselves and propping up the semifeudal and semicolonial system. But it is in their nature to lie and justify it in the name of mythical peace and order and economic development. Historically, chief bureaucrat capitalists such as Duterte are only forced to “moderate their greed” in the face of heightened public disgust and ouster calls, or when their term ends despite their efforts to extend it. Due to the ensuing crisis generated by their rule, the people are simply forced to fight back.

Duterte’s rule has worsened the chronic crisis in Philippine society because he did not introduce changes but merely continued the policies that have brought the economy and the people in protracted underdevelopment.

Duterte unilaterally laid waste previous painstaking efforts in peace negotiations with the National Democratic Front of the Philippines to craft agreements on social and economic reforms, which include doable free land distribution, agrarian reform, developing the countryside, and paving the way to national industrialization. The Duterte regime’s abandonment of peace negotiations in 2017—when the parties were about to sign an agreement on land reform and rural development and on national industrialization and economic development—starkly showed they were not really serious about these reforms.

## Portrait of Bureaucrat Capitalist: Duterte



Instead, Duterte shamelessly bragged about selling even the ancestral domains of the indigenous peoples (IP) to foreign investors. He retained the bogus Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program (CARP) and helped big landlords and local and foreign capitalists expand their land monopoly control.

Thus, haciendas, vast private landholdings, plantations, mining areas have continued and even expanded during his term. Peasants and IPs have been deemed as “enemies of the state” because they rightfully defend their rights over the lands they’ve tilled and forests they’ve guarded as ancestral domain for generations.

As Duterte collaborates with local compradors and landlords—tying down the country to businesses and geopolitics of imperialists—the Philippines remains backward and pre-industrial. Duterte’s neoliberal economic policies prioritize extractive industries such as mining and logging, agri-plantations for cheap raw materials and labor-intensive and graft-laden “Build, Build, Build” projects.

Duterte has deepened the country’s import-dependence. His regime liberalized the entry even of the Filipinos’ staples such as rice and fish products. After the enactment of a Rice Liberalization Law, imported rice flooded the market and sped up the bankruptcy of around three million long-neglected rice producers. Under Duterte, agriculture has recorded no growth since 2018. It went negative in 2020, worsened by his epic failure of coronavirus pandemic response. Pork and chicken production also went down, as did fish production and catch.

Given that majority of the population remain as poor peasants and oddjobbers, they can barely get by, let alone have savings. In sourcing investments, puppet presidents such as Duterte extol foreign direct investments (FDI) at the expense of local workers, the environment and the development of the country’s own industries. As of this writing, Duterte’s minions in Congress are trying again to railroad the passage of charter change. They harp on “developing the economy” by further opening it up to foreign investments. But, their claims have repeatedly been proven wrong.

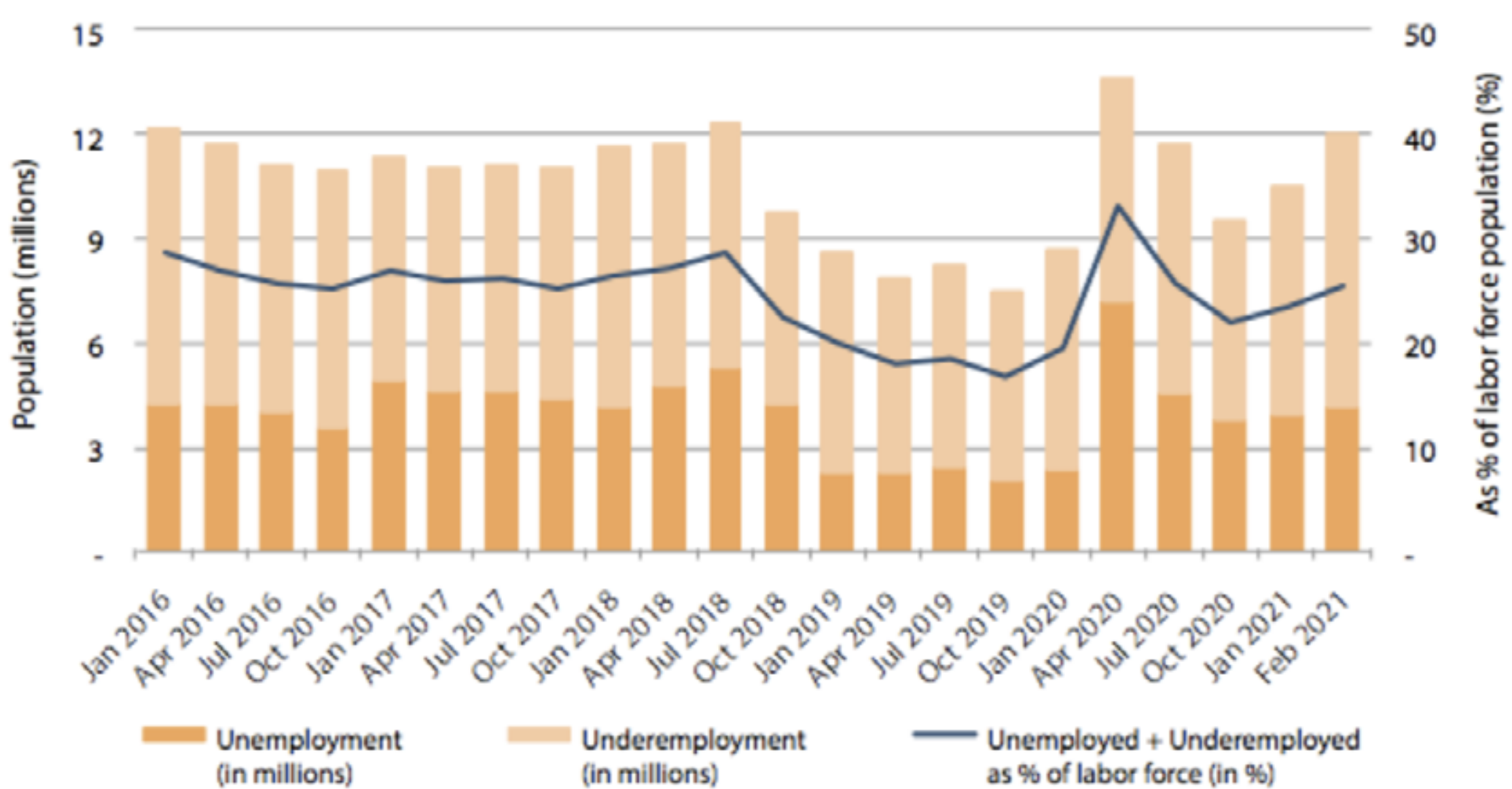
Non-government research group IBON said key Philippine sectors have actually been shrinking in relative terms as FDIs into the country increased. Despite the tripling in foreign direct investments from 2000-2004 annual average of US\$286 million to US\$4728 million in 2015-2019, manufacturing’s share in gross domestic product has fallen, as do the sector’s share in employment.

Toward the final months of Duterte’s term, the number of employed Filipinos is even less than when he started as president in 2016.

For the worst economic collapse in history in 2020, Duterte can’t even cite the pandemic as an excuse; (ridiculously, his spokesperson even bragged that his administration has handled the pandemic “excellently”). Jobs generation and whatever growth rate recorded were already decreasing yearly before the pandemic. The worse it gets with the heightened implementation of neoliberal policies, which also shrink protection and government spending on people, the uglier the economy gets and the more people are driven to protest.

This persistent underdevelopment traces its roots to the semifeudal ruling system of oppression and exploitation, perpetuated by the imperialists and their domestic collaborators. This system generates both armed and unarmed resistance.

Unemployment and underemployment, January 2016-February 2021



Source: Philippine Statistics Authority Labor Force Survey

## US-#Duterterrorism in a dirty war against the people

Of all post-Edsa regimes, Duterte is the most brazen at breaking the taboo on reimposing Martial Law and praising Marcos despite the latter's brutal dictatorship and kleptocracy.

Duterte had been obviously itching to declare Martial Law nationwide and he was crude enough to try. But the struggle and consciousness of the Filipino people is already at a state that despite his bloodthirstiness, Duterte can formally impose Martial Law only in a limited way.

After devastating Marawi, the Duterte regime sowed terror on Mindanao by imposing martial law allegedly to “suppress terrorism.”

“On the pretext of a ‘rebellion,’ the Duterte regime staged a brutal 147-day siege of Marawi City in a US-directed war that displaced and wreaked havoc on at least 500,000 of its civilian residents and nearby towns,” said Ka Oris, spokesperson of New People's Army-National Operation Command.

Then it came up with Memo 32 also to sow terror in Negros, Eastern Visayas, and Bicol. Then it issued Executive Order No. 70

to nationalize a scheme to impose a military junta. The NPA's Ka Oris said EO 70 placed the entire government machinery with its resources “at the behest of Duterte and his military gang junta for their whole-of-nation terrorism.”

EO 70 created the National Task Force to End Local Communist Armed Conflict (NTF-ELCAC).

“EO 70 is an integral part of the military Operational Plan (Oplan) Kapanatagan that has been terrorizing and wreaking havoc on communities through sustained military occupation and operations; indiscriminate aerial and artillery bombardment of villages, assassinations of civilians (lumad leaders, peasant activists, trade unionists, professionals such as lawyers, doctors, teachers, even local government officials); illegal arrest, detention and torture of suspected supporters/sympathizers of the New People's Army; witch-hunting or red-tagging of churches, organizations and mass leaders, and other forms of human rights violations,” said Fidel V. Agcaoili, the late NDFP peace panel chairperson, in a statement released February 5, 2020.





Having focused the AFP operations against the Communist Party of the Philippines and New People's Army, Duterte promised to "annihilate" and "render irrelevant" the revolutionary movement by the end of 2018—a promise made by all his predecessors through all their respective "counterinsurgency" Oplans but failed. Duterte has already failed to meet his self-imposed deadline and extended the target deadline to mid-2019, then the end of 2019, to the end of 2020, and, recently, until the end of his term on 2022.

In pursuing all these martial law-type operations, Duterte and his military generals have relied on the US-supported fascist machinery—the AFP and the PNP—that had been built up, strengthened, and politicized under the Marcos dictatorship.

"Not only were the state armed forces and police not reformed, their brutal and repressive orientation was further heightened, especially with US indoctrination, training and

support. Fascist crimes and rights abuses remain unabated," as the CPP said in a statement marking the 35th year of EDSA uprising this year.

With Duterte's EO 70, the AFP generals and police commanders have grown even more addicted to war-and-profit. It is now no longer just *pabaon* (send off) system or the PAMANA (*Payapa at Masaganang Pamayanan*) program as milking cows under previous presidents. Nowadays they have their own pork barrel (starting from the P19-billion 2021 budget of the NTF-ELCAC), of which Php16 billion is supposedly for so-called Barangay Development Programs.

Under the rubric of "localized peace engagements" and the Enhanced Comprehensive Local Integration Program (E-CLIP), the NTF-ELCAC "has been devising all sorts of money-making schemes to line the pockets of military and police commanders and local bureaucrats," said a statement from the NDFP negotiating panel.

Among others, the NDFP said, the following are some of NTF-ELCAC's money-making schemes:

1. buying off (with kickbacks) city and municipal councils into declaring the NPA "persona-non-grata" in their areas;
2. manufacturing fake surrenderers to obtain the reward and integration monies (as exposed in the photoshopped picture of previous surrenderers and the alleged surrender of Alde Salusa, a military agent who killed anti-mining activist Datu Jimmy Liguyon);
3. appointing paramilitary groups such as the Alamara and "New Indigenous People's Army for Reform (NIPAR)" to local councils that extend permit fees to mining and logging companies as well as multinational agribusiness corporations for the exploitation of ancestral lands;
4. renegotiating a bigger amount of "settlement" with the previously surrendered and paid Rebolusyonaryong Partidong Manggagawa ng Pilipinas/Revolutionary Proletarian Army/Alex Boncayao Brigade–Tabara-Paduan Group in a new agreement called Clarificatory Implementing Document.

“  
**The war-and-profit-addicted generals of the AFP are the biggest stumbling blocks to peace and national unity.**

Marco L. Valbuena, *Information Officer*  
Communist Party of the Philippines

“The war-and-profit-addicted generals of the AFP are the biggest stumbling blocks to peace and national unity,” said Marco L. Valbuena, Information Officer of the CPP, in a statement on December 8, 2020.

Even after the Covid-19 pandemic hit the Philippines in early 2020, the AFP launched a nationwide offensive against the people and NPA. Duterte and his generals ordered their troops to intensify armed operations and bombings even in areas devastated by calamities and government neglect, as well as to the continuing restrictions and clampdown imposed on the pretext of pandemic response. The offensives were carried out at a time when a ceasefire was in place, through the regime's unilateral declaration and the CPP-NPA's own declaration in response to the call of the United Nations for global cessation of hostilities.

On top of all of these, the Duterte regime railroaded the passage of



Anti-Terror Act in 2020 while the people were hard-pressed with the lockdowns imposed in response to the pandemic.

Ka Oris said that if #Duterterrorism's twisted logic is to be applied, anyone who dares to air protest or grievance against the regime is automatically red-tagged as a "communist terrorist" or "supporter of communist terrorists," such as in the cases of celebrities Liza Soberano, Angel Locsin, and Catriona Grey.

Little wonder then that the "anti-terror" Act has become the most questioned law before the Supreme Court, with almost 40 petitions filed calling for its nullification.

Even as Duterte intensified the conduct of dirty war on all fronts, misusing the people's taxes, he has apparently only succeeded in rousing more people to defy and fight #Duterterrorism and wage armed and non-armed resistance. Instead of intimidating and scaring the people, the "anti-terror law" has resulted in the growth in strength of a looming anti-Duterte broad united front.



## Duterte's worse puppetry to the US and China

Duterte had made much of his pretend "independent foreign policy" but in truth he is both puppet of the imperialists US and China.

China, to Duterte, sates his greed for money through his BBB centerpiece program, in which overpriced contracts and high interest loans are opportunities for kickbacks; and also for expanding drug trade and distribution with his partner, the Chinese triads.

Despite Duterte's previous posturing that made it appear he's critical of the US, the "special relationship" actually remains. He has surrounded himself with pro-US officials and generals used to favoring US policies, be it economic or military. Joint military exercises continue to be scheduled and held. Duterte is abiding by his commitment to the US.

Duterte has never questioned the unequal military agreements, the Military Assistance Agreement (MAA), the Mutual Defense Treaty (MDT), the Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA), the Mutual Logistics Support Agreement (MLSA) and Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA). In November 2020, Duterte finally put an end to his pretense of reviewing and putting an end to the VFA.

All these bind the country's foreign policy to that of the US, making it untrue to describe the Philippines as truly

independent. The US remains dominant over the Philippine economy, politics, culture and security. Duterte has to assure the pro-US military and police officers whose loyalty he needed to keep himself in power.

"Duterte traitorously dangles Philippine sovereignty as a bargaining chip for more US weapons and military funding to be used in his counterinsurgency and fake drug war," said the CPP.

The US military is already using again its former Subic Naval Base in Zambales and a new base in Palawan. During the Marawi siege the US reportedly had troops and facilities at Camp Ranao. It has an agreement with the AFP to use or co-locate its own facilities in other AFP military camps.

In 2017, Duterte promised then US President Trump he would terminate the peace negotiations

with the NDFP, that he would crush the armed revolutionary movement and push charter change to allow foreign capitalists to fully own landholdings, businesses and other resources in the Philippines. Later that same year, the previous "war-on-terror" bilateral arrangement in Mindanao, led by the US that considered the country a second front of such war, established the "Operation Pacific Eagle-Philippines."

Yearly, the Philippines has been the top recipient of US military aid in the Indo-Pacific. The government also receive some of the discarded but "refurbished" US war ships and planes, such as the Hamilton-class cutters soon to be downgraded by the Philippine Navy and some attack helicopters used in Afghanistan now with the Philippine Air Force. Exchange of information and training continue to be held to foster the interoperability of AFP and US troops.

Duterte's smooching with China helped him score funding for his cronies' BBB projects and loans and investments for his favored compradors. *Ang Bayan* noted that even as China's committed loans have yet to reach Duterte, he has already looked the other way and did nothing to stop China's construction of military facilities in seven artificial islands within the Philippines' territorial waters.

The Philippines is now in a tighter squeeze between two geopolitical rival powers, no thanks to puppet Duterte.

Duterte knew of the rivalry between the imperialists US and China. When he asked for more guns and bombs from the US in exchange for allowing its military basing here, he justified

it saying that anyway, a conflict between China and US will arise in South China Sea and the Philippines will be dragged in it.

Newly installed US President Joe Biden has agreed to sell the Philippines arms and war materiel, disregarding mounting calls both in the US and in the Philippines for the US to stop the aid to the tyrannical and human rights violator that is Duterte. The CPP said Biden seeks to bolster US control of the neocolonial Philippine state, in part, through the AFP. It is part of US plans to be more aggressive at defending its economic and geopolitical interests in the face of growing competition from China. As such, it is doing what it could to ensure the support and loyalty of its obeisant ally in the Philippines.

## Duterte's ending term

Months into the end of his term, Duterte appears almost like a resurrected Marcos, or may be worse. His ambition could be high but the span of his reach is limited by the severity of the crisis of the semicolonial-semifeudal system and the persistence of the people's resistance to his increasingly fascist tyranny.

He is not any less and may even be worse of a butcher-in-chief than his idol Marcos. His rule at barely five years has already killed tens of thousands and jailed hundreds of political prisoners and "drug addicts" and now, "terrorists". In so short a time he's become notorious internationally for human rights violations and death squads; and of late, as one of the worse performing presidents in responding to the Covid-19 pandemic.

Emulating Marcos, he has dared to formalize the imposition of martial law through various executive orders and new repressive laws. He is now



approaching the end of his term fearing trials for war crimes and rights violations. At that time, like Marcos and Macapagal-Arroyo, he can only hope to be saved from jail time by his fellow former chiefs of bureaucrat capitalists or through succession of his trusted allies or family members.

He has launched with much fanfare a long list of grand BBB infrastructure projects. He has pretentiously laid claim to the recycled neoliberal policies in the semifeudal setting as “Dutertenomics.” But, he failed to even come up with pretend development showcase. All significant data reveal the people’s worsening poverty and underdevelopment. Marcos and even other post-Edsa US imperialist puppets at least had a few years of uptrending statistics.

Duterte had boastfully shopped for new or made-to-order warships, assault helicopters, warplanes, missiles. But what has he got to show for it? The AFP still doesn’t have a minimum credible defense posture to sail or fly in the contested South China Sea. His vaunted independent foreign policy was revealed as a mere ploy to try to secure more benefits. In the end, what he received were far, far short of what were promised him, whether from China or the US, even when he has practically sold off Philippine sovereignty to both imperialist powers.

What the AFP continues to gain is a seemingly upgraded ability to launch a costly, dirty war that have indiscriminately harmed the people. But this for him is self-defeating, said CPP Information Officer Marco Valbuena. For every bomb dropped and artillery shelled, he and the military stoked mass fury and caused more armed revolutionaries to arise.

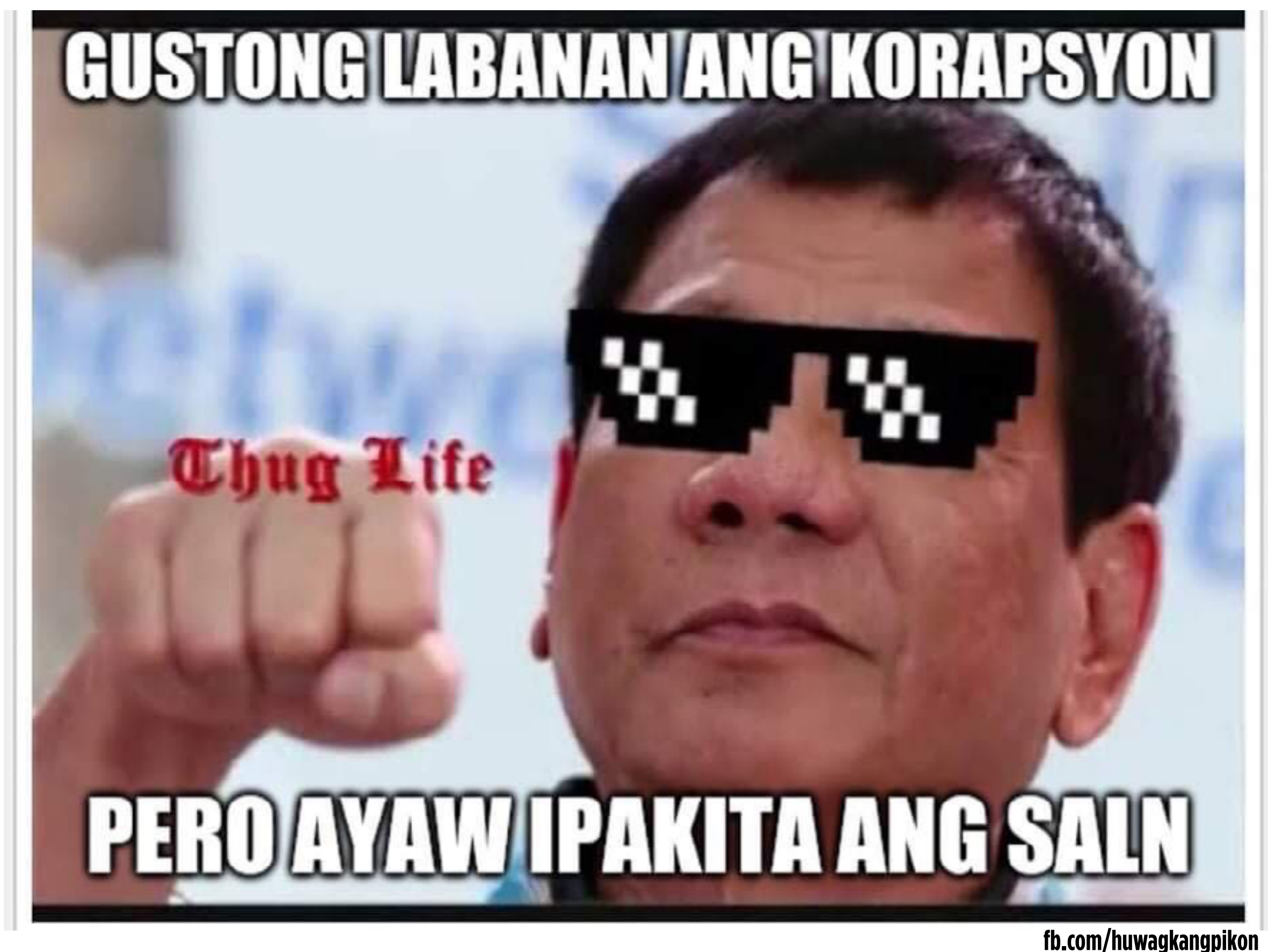
As such, Duterte’s self-imposed deadline to crush the armed revolution has degenerated into a semestral, renewable fantasy. In this failure, he truly takes after his idol Marcos. **LIB**



**Duterte**  
**piling up**  
**ways to**  
**score**  
*(and hide)*  
**more LOOT**

**P**resident Rodrigo Duterte promised to reduce corruption to the barest minimum under his watch.

But as he approaches the last months of his term, he is not only expanding ways and means to intensify corruption and centralize the power of bureaucratic looting at the Office of the President but also promoting various ways of sabotaging efforts previously pushed by the people for transparency and accountability.



## Hiding SALNs.

The Ombudsman, with its Memorandum Circular 1, has blocked public access as well as public inspection at reasonable hours of the Statement of Assets, Liabilities and Networth (SALN), for the first time since the law mandating public disclosure of these records was passed in 1989. It blocked even the journalists. Duterte is the first president to have broken the annual tradition imposed by the law for government officials to disclose their wealth with or without media or public request. The last Duterte SALN made available to the public was in 2017. The Ombudsman is also proposing to do away with lifestyle checks. During the 2021 budget hearing, Ombudsman Samuel Martires said his office had stopped lifestyle checks on officials saying the RA 6713 set “unclear” standards. Martires is a two-time Duterte appointee.

Aside from The Ombudsman, trends under Duterte showed the House of Representatives, Senate and the Supreme Court keep SALNs a secret.



Rappler.com

# Shielding hidden wealth.

The Ombudsman is also rolling back gains from the Ill-Gotten Wealth Law (RA 1379) which put the burden of proof on government officials to show that wealth and assets not commensurate to visible sources of income were lawful.



**I just want to assure everybody that ‘yung pagbasa sa pangalan niyo is not a condemnation or indictment that you are guilty of something.**

In the same manner that I will tell people not to take it as a ‘gospel truth.’ Lumabas lang ‘to sa investigation ng PACC.

**Rodrigo Duterte**

President

December 28, 2020

On naming lawmakers allegedly linked to corruption

FILE PHOTO/MALACAÑANG

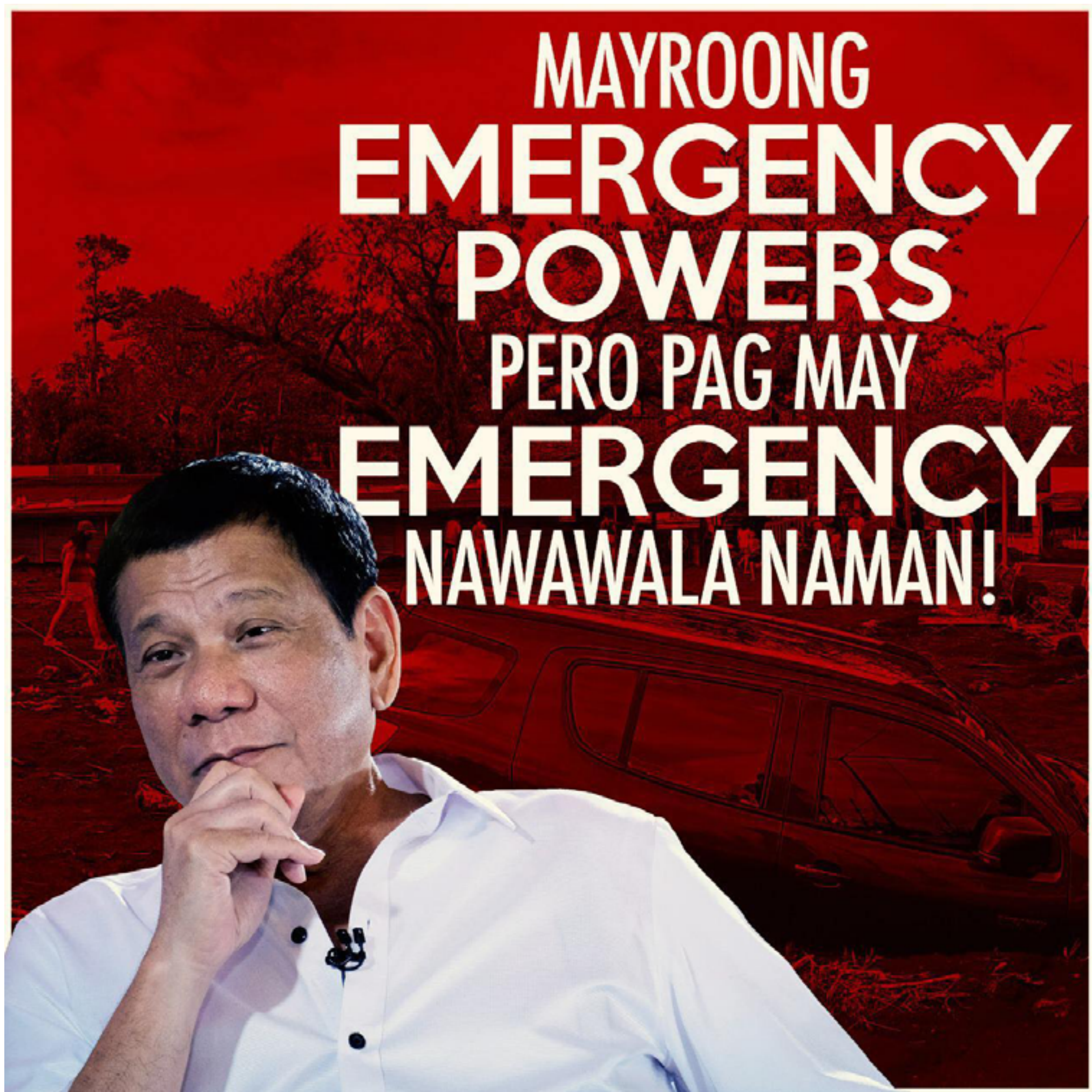
PHILIPPINE  
**STAR**

Philippine Star

# Protecting allies involved in corruption.

Duterte, for all his rants and grunts against corruption, has actually protected his allies who were accused of looting the nation’s coffers. Worse, some were “recycled” by reassigning them in another government agency or some were even promoted. Those who were fired were not charged in court. Among his favourites were former military officers Isidro Lapeña, Allen Capuyan, and Nicanor Faeldon. Both Lapeña and Faeldon were involved in a corruption and smuggling scandal at the Bureau of Customs but were only reappointed to several government posts after. Ex-colonel Capuyan was assistant general manager for the Manila International Airport Authority who was linked to the smuggling of Php6.4 billion worth of shabu from China in 2017. Today Capuyan concurrently heads the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) and the secretariat of the National Task Force to End Local Communist Armed Conflict (NTF-ELCAC).





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# Seizing more economic dictatorial powers.

Bills granting Duterte economic dictatorial powers are being railroaded in Congress. House Bill 7884 was passed on 2nd reading in mid-October 2020, following similar railroading of a counterpart bill in the Senate. Certified urgent by Duterte, the proposed law gave the president authority to override all existing processes and regulations that govern business permits and licenses. It covers all agencies of the executive departments, bureaus, offices, commissions, boards, councils and even government-owned and controlled corporations.

# Increasing pork barrel funds, war chest.

The budget for health, education, and social services barely increased despite the gargantuan need, but the Duterte administration increased the already huge funding for defense, surveillance, and “infrastructure pork programs.” Its budget allocation revealed the armed forces are more hellbent to wage war against the people than project a minimum credible defense posture against external forces. The ground troops of the Philippine Army, which mainly make up the government’s attack force on armed revolutionaries, got an additional Php800 million in the 2021

ABS-CBN News

budget. The Air Force and Navy got only Php400 million each. The National Task Force to End Local Communist Armed Conflict (NTF-ELCAC) got the Php19-billion it had proposed. Plus, it will manage the “Barangay Development Project” of the military which, like pork barrel, is at the discretion of NTF-ELCAC and local governments. As the Commission on Audit (COA) has lamented, it is unable to audit the president’s intelligence, confidential, and NTF-ELCAC funds. **LIB**



ABS-CBN News

**Some**

**corruption**

**issues**

**that rocked**

**the reign**

**of the regimes**

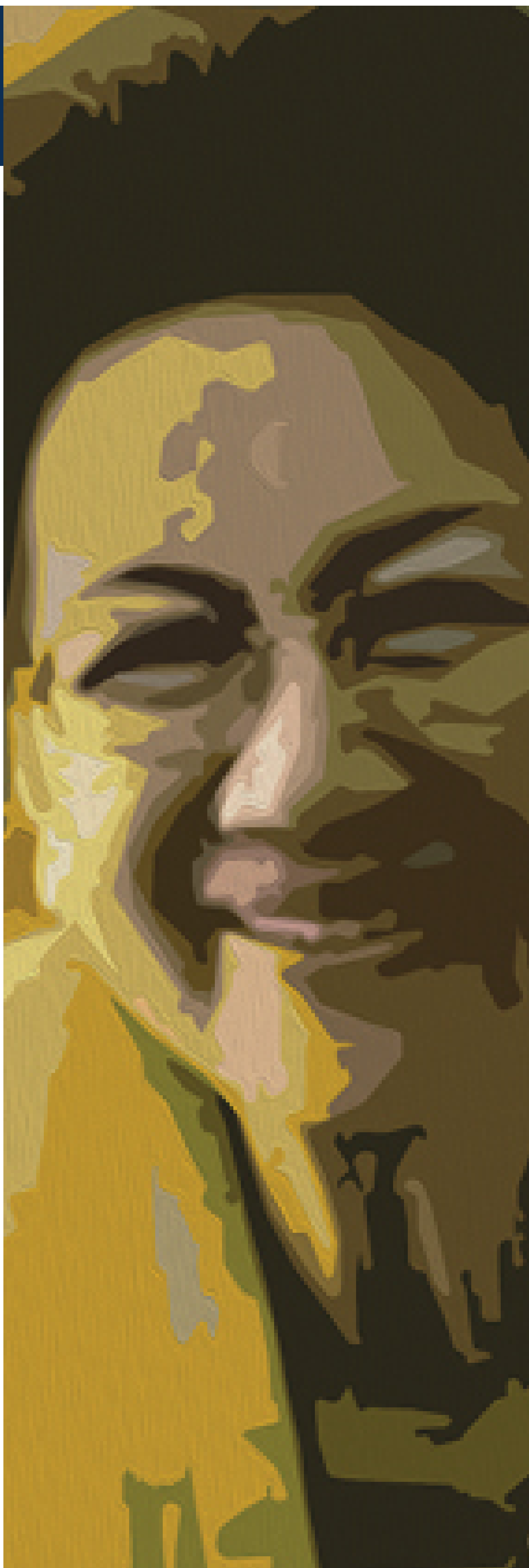
**after the**

**Marcos**

**Dictatorship**

## CORAZON AQUINO

- The sale of PAL stocks by the Government Service and Insurance System (GSIS) to an investment group headed by his nephews from the Tanjuatco and Cojuangco clan resulting to the loss of more than U\$ 300 million of Filipino people's money. They borrowed money from Philippine banks to pay for stocks using the said PAL stocks as collateral.
- Bargain sale of 38 sequestered companies of Kokoy Romualdez worth billions of pesos to brother-in-law Ricardo Lopa for only U\$ 227,000.
- Returned the sequestered Philippine Long Distance Telephone Company to her Cojuangco nephews. Marcos cronies had paid the Cojuangcos for it at the prevailing market stock price.
- A foreclosed property of the United Coconut Planters Bank bought by Sharp International for Php 38 million was sold to the government for Php 56 million. But the Department of Agrarian Reform (DAR) paid Php 65 million for it. The financier of the scam was Romeo Santos, an associate of Peping Cojuangco and Cory's election campaign manager in Bicol.



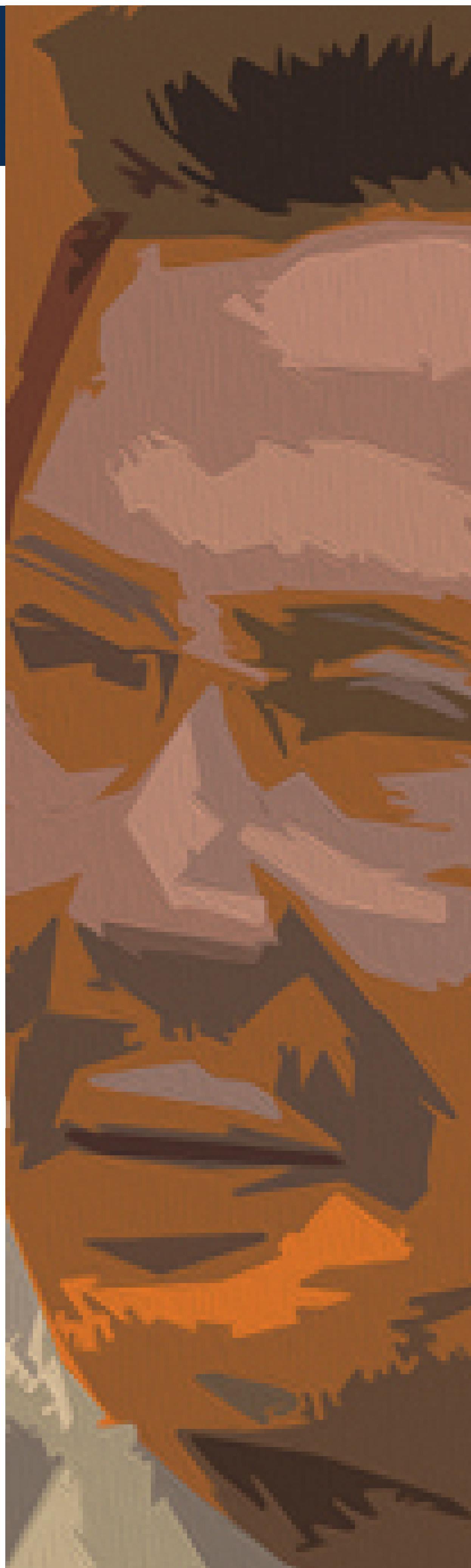


## FIDEL RAMOS

- PEA-Amari deal (Public Estates Authority- Amari Coastal Bay Resources Corp.) The controversial deal involved the acquisition of 158 hectares of reclaimed land on Manila Bay that was to be converted into so-called Freedom Islands. The late senator Ernesto Maceda dubbed the deal as the “grandmother of all scams”, defrauding the government billions of pesos.
- Centennial Expo and Amphitheater at the former Clark Air Base in Pampanga, a Ramos pet project. The project intended for the 100th year anniversary of the Philippine independence from Spain caused the government to lose Php 9 billion to be able to raise election funds for Ramos’s political party Lakas.
- Privatization deals of government-owned corporations such as the Metropolitan Water Service and Sewerage System and Fort Bonifacio.

# JOSEPH ESTRADA

- Accused of being the “lord of all jueteng lords” for receiving Php 440 million protection money from jueteng (a poor man’s gambling game).
- Also accused of receiving Php 130 million in tobacco tax kickbacks.
- The Department of Education, Culture and Sports (DECS) textbook scandal involving one of his mistresses.
- The Philippine Charity Sweepstakes Office (PCSO) scam involving the first family.
- Stopping the probe of Dante Tan’s Best World Resources, that also involved one of his sons.
- Exonerated Lucio Tan from a multimillion tax evasion charge and supported his takeover of the Philippine Airlines and the Philippine National Bank.
- Deals with Cojuangco on the Philippine Long Distance Telephone-Metro Pacific, land conversion and coconut levy.
- Questionable deals with the Philippine Amusement and Gaming Corporation (PAGCOR) involving his gambling buddies, Charlie “Atong” Ang and Stephen Ho.



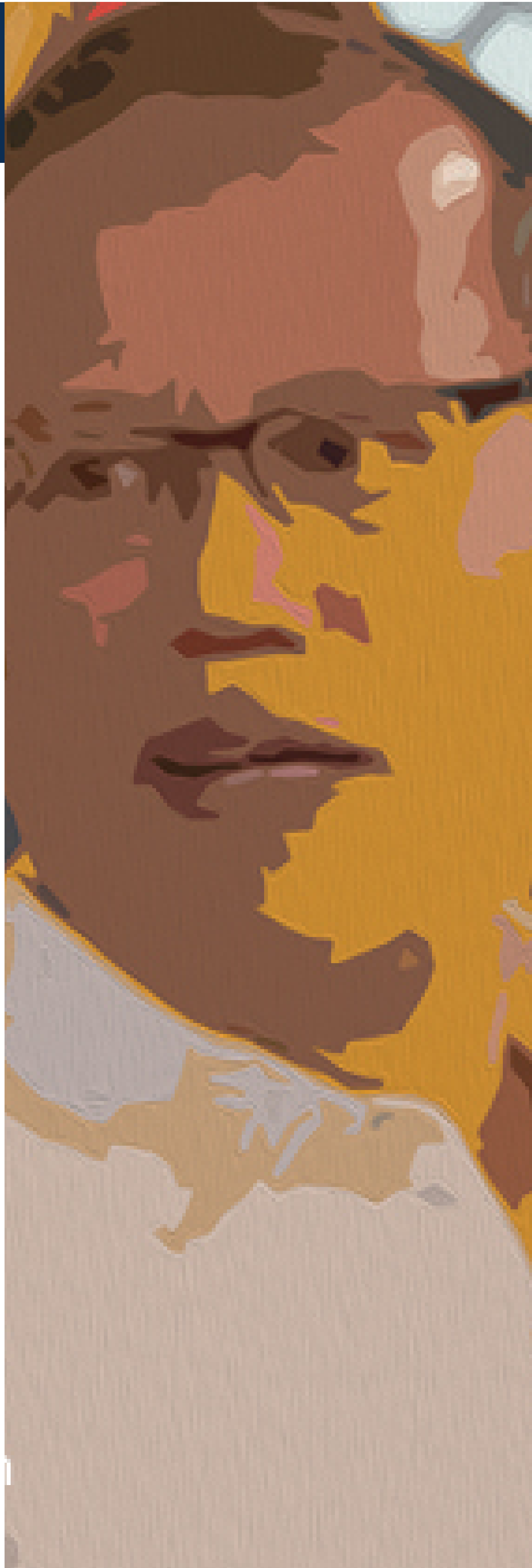
# GLORIA ARROYO



- Kickback in the U\$330 million deal with China's NBN-ZTE Corporation to set up a broadband network linking government offices.
- Health Secretary Duque's diversion of Php 500 million for health cards used in Arroyo's presidential campaign
- Money laundering through the Jose Pidal bank accounts of the First Gentleman amounting to at least Php 321 million
- Misuse of Php366 million in lottery funds during her administration, worth about \$8.8 million at the time of her arrest.
- Php 728 million fertilizer funds diverted to 2004 election campaign of GMA

# BENIGNO AQUINO III

- Approved the disbursement, without congressional approval, of Php72 B (\$1.35) state funds as Development Acceleration Fund (DAF) given to legislative allies.
- Pork barrel scam involving ghosts NGO projects of Janet Lim Napoles funded by the Priority Development and Assistance Fund (PDAF) of legislators. Senators Juan Ponce Enrile, Jinggoy Estrada, and Bong Revilla, who were complicit in the scam having pocketed their percentage shares from the fund, were charged with plunder.
- “Missing” housing funds amounting to Php 20 billion for the housing project of the survivors of typhoon Yolanda.
- The ‘pabaon’ (send off) system in the Armed Forces of the Philippines was exposed involving senior and retiring military officials. The practice was said to be started under Estrada’s term







## In between Duterte's late night show, **WHO'S ON THE STAGE?**

*by Iliya Makalipay*

A series of tragicomedy—and deadly—policies and actions by the Duterte regime have plagued the country and the Filipino people alongside the Corona virus pandemic. On the surface, the regime's response to the pandemic looked absurd and obviously plucked out from an alternate reality. People call it '*mema*'—*me-magawa* or *me-masabi* (a popular slang term meaning to look like one is doing or saying something meaningful or relevant). But the *mema* is actually a consequence of the government's lack of direction and plan on how to deal with the pandemic and its impact on the country's already neglected health system and a failing economy. Apparently, the Philippines has become Southeast Asia's Covid-19 hotspot while the economy has now plunged into recession, the worst in eight decades. Both demonstrate how the regime has gone to rack and ruin. More than six months into the lockdown, the people are more convinced that the criminally negligent regime is deadlier than the COVID-19.

At the onset, health measures such as mass testing, contact tracing, isolation and treatment, and the overall strengthening of the healthcare system (weighed down by the yearly budget cuts even before the pandemic) were sidelined in the battle against Covid-19. With former generals Delfin Lorenzana, Eduardo Año, and Carlito Galvez calling the shots, military and police deployment, lockdown and quarantine, and orders to arrest, jail, and kill the “quarantine violators” were top priority. The measures were largely punitive rather than facilitative, especially in delivering the much-needed services and assistance to the homeless and jobless.

The fascist measures taken by the regime reflect the military's

dominance in the Inter-Agency Task Force against Covid-19 (IATF Covid-19); and the absence of health experts and scientists. Since Day 1 the regime has stubbornly stuck to a failed and irrelevant militarist approach despite the continuous rise in the number of Covid-19 cases, slow recovery rate, and the many deaths among health practitioners and those who were infected by the virus. The people, sick with the mishandling of the pandemic embraced and popularized the slogan/hashtag *#SolusyongMedikalHindiMilitar*. Recently, the slogan has ceased to be just a social media hashtag as calls for the resignation of health secretary Duque and the revamp of the military-dominated task force mounted.

## **The Inter-Agency Task Force against COVID-19: A militarized response to the pandemic**

The actual operations of the IATF Covid-19 follows the command operation of a military organization with the big three generals—Delfin Lorenzana, Eduardo Año, and Carlito Galvez—at the top. National defense chief Lorenzana heads the IATF Covid-19 command center, which oversees the implementation of the National Action Plan (NAP) of the “Bayanihan We Heal as One” Law; while DILG secretary Año sits as vice-chairperson. Third in command is presidential peace adviser Galvez Jr, the “chief implementer” of the NAP. He heads the National Incident Command (NIC) for its daily operations. Later, when Covid-19 cases rose to dangerous level in Cebu City, Duterte chose former AFP chief of staff and environment secretary Roy Cimatu as deputy chief implementer for the Visayas. Cimatu immediately deployed soldiers and tanks to Cebu, a move that was heavily ridiculed by the people.

The IATF dished out policies, oftentimes problematic and in conflict with those in the local government units and the health sector and other frontline workers, and to the detriment of the working class.

How the IATF Covid-19 works with the existing Task Force for Emerging Infectious Disease (a body created during the term of Pres. Aquino III), the several Czars appointed for quick fix, and the several other task groups is a tangled web. It has neither a beginning nor an end.

What is obvious from the public's view is that the retired generals and the Philippine National Police (PNP) are obviously running the show.

DOH's Duque who was visible in the first few weeks of the pandemic slowly faded from the scene only to reappear later when public demanded for a clear health solution to the pandemic rather than a militarist one. This however did not pacify the people as Duque is largely perceived as corrupt and equally inefficient in handling the pandemic.

Expectedly, the embattled regime shielded its militarist approach and criminal negligence by red-

tagging its critics and propagating the *pasaway* (stubborn, disobedient) narrative against the people, especially the poor. Propped up by the Presidential Communications Operations Office (PCOO), thousands of paid trolls, and aided by a number of reporters in the corporate media, the regime blamed anyone and everyone in an effort to get away from its accountability. Only a month after the lockdown, the PNP recorded in April 2020 some 93,000 people accosted for "quarantine violations" while about 24,000 were arrested and slapped with charges. They are mostly workers and urban poor dwellers who were forced to earn a living in the absence, or lack, of government assistance.

In an interview, Prof. Jose Maria Sison aptly described the IATF Covid-19 a "coordinate of the NTF-ELCAC" (National Task Force to End Local Communist Armed Conflict) as both task forces are controlled by the same ex-military generals. The IATF Covid-19, Prof. Sison said is, "practically (NTF-ELCAC's) replication."

## **The National Task Force to End Local Communist Armed Conflict (NTF-ELCAC): A militarized response to social injustice and poverty**

Joining Lorenzana, Año, and Galvez at the helm of the National Task Force to End Local Communist Armed Conflict (NTF-ELCAC) is national security adviser Hermones Esperon, also a retired general. Esperon is the president's vice-chair in this task force of 20 cabinet members and two unnamed sectoral representatives.

Created through Executive Order no. 70 in 2018, the NTF-ELCAC embodies Duterte's rehashed version of the "whole-of-nation" approach started by the Noynoy Aquino regime. It aims to mobilize the whole civilian bureaucracy to end the more than

50 year-old revolutionary movement led by the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army, and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (CPP-NPA-NDFP). Essentially, the NTF-ELCAC has militarised the government and establish a fascist state. Lorenzana, Año, Galvez, and Esperon are among the more than 80 ex-military officers and men who dominate the civilian bureaucracy of the Duterte regime. According to Prof. Sison, the NTF-ELCAC fully created Duterte's military junta.

The NTF-ELCAC, with the regime's disinformation/misinformation arm and fake news mill, the PCOO and regional headquarters of the AFP and PNP have been notorious in using public funds to spread lies in the country and in the international community. These are specifically directed against the revolutionary movement, the open and legal people's organizations, leaders of people's organizations, human rights institutions, and the regime's critics. Although oftentimes ridiculous and beyond belief, red tagging has already become a death sentence to many activists. During the lockdown, at least five known leaders—including NDFP Peace consultant Randy Echanis and human rights activist Zara Alvares—and hundreds of activists who were red tagged and vilified as terrorists were murdered.

The NTF is also engaged in a big-time racket through fake surrender of "rebels"—most often civilians who were lured or coerced and later presented as rebel surrenderers. Each "surrenderer" is supposedly given at least Php 65,000 cash assistance. In 2018, at least Php 520 million up to Php 715 million were purportedly spent by the government for this program, mostly ending up in the pockets of military officers and their minions since there has never been many real surrenderers.



While the country was in lockdown, helicopters were used to drop not relief goods but “counterinsurgency” flyers on the remote villages of Sagada and Besao in Mountain Province and in Surigao in Mindanao. *Ang Bayan*, the official publication of the CPP reported “extensive combat operations” and 14 indiscriminate bombing, strafing, and artillery shelling incidents in Lumad villages in the borders of Agusan del Sur, Bukidnon, and Davao del Norte from March 24 to April 1. Further, *Ang Bayan* recorded military attacks in at least 625 barangays of 247 towns in 54 provinces while the country was battling the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic. The highest number of cases of human rights violations was recorded in 149 barangays in Southern Tagalog, 106 in Eastern Visayas, and 101 in Bicol. Meanwhile, 26 incidents of aerial surveillance were also recorded.

The regime's intense ‘counterinsurgency’ operations happened at the time when CPP-NPA-NDFP's unilateral ceasefire was in effect from March 26 to April 15. The CPP ceasefire was extended to April 30 when Pres. Duterte lengthened the lockdown; but, the military operations continued. The CPP declaration of a ceasefire was a response to the call of United

Nations Secretary General Antonio Guterres for a global ceasefire during the pandemic.

Simultaneously, in urban and rural centers, humanitarian missions and community kitchens were red-tagged, blocked, and prevented from delivering relief goods to many communities neglected by the government. Worse, those who participated, including a former house representative of the Anakpawis partylist, were arrested, jailed, and charged with made-up charges.

The whole bureaucracy has enabled the NTF-ELCAC to pursue its nefarious activities, aided by the majority of the members of the legislative and judiciary branches of government, which have become Malacanang's rubberstamps since the beginning of his term. They have enabled the junta to gain traction by providing legal shield to its criminal acts against the people and the revolutionary movement.

It came as no surprise that just as the people fought hard for their lives, livelihood, and their rights amid the regime's messed up response to Covid-19, measures to suppress further the shrinking “democratic” space such as the ABS-CBN shutdown and the approval of the Terror Law took effect.

## **The Anti-Terrorism Council (ATC) of Duterte's terror law: State terrorism against the fight for freedom and democracy**

Dubbed as the generals' pet bill, the terror law was approved hastily by the Lower House and signed into law by the president on July 3, ahead of any concrete plan to protect the people from the impact of the pandemic.

In a statement the CPP said Duterte's Terror Law "tears away whatever is left of the ruling state's trappings of democracy. With a rubberstamp Congress, a compliant Supreme Court, a puppet Comelec/Smartmatic, and now with extraordinary power, Duterte has now placed the entire reactionary government under his virtually unquestioned authority and limitless power."

To date, there are now almost 40 petitions filed at the Supreme Court against Duterte's terror law representing the views and arguments of various groups and sectors basically because Duterte's terror law violates even its own reactionary Constitution. One of the extremely treacherous provisions of the terror law is the creation of an Anti-Terrorism Council (ATC), tasked determine who are terrorists and who are not. Dangerously, the ATC it has the powers of both the executive and the judiciary that can issue orders of surveillance, arrest, and detention.

Aside from determining who the "terrorists" are, authorize state forces to arrest people without warrants, detain without charges for up to 24 days, these presidential appointees act as the sole arbiter under the ATA. The immense power and broad function of the ATC obviously poses risk to people's rights.

Prof. Sison described the ATC as a “compact board of inquisition and state terrorism.”

The law defined the ATC's composition as follows: the president's executive secretary, national security adviser, department secretaries of defense, interior and local government, justice, finance, information and communications technology, foreign affairs, and the executive director of the Anti-Money Laundering Council (AMLC) secretariat. The National Intelligence Coordinating Agency (NICA) acts as the council's secretariat.

Concretely, under the Duterte regime, those in the ATC are: ES Salvador Medialdea (Chairperson), security adviser Esperon (Vice Chairperson), and heads of departments Lorenzana (defense), Año (local government) Medardo Guevarra (justice), Carlos

Dominguez (finance), Gregorio Honasan (information and communications technology), Teddy Locsin (foreign affairs), and Mel Georgie Racela (AMLC), and NICA chief Alex Paul Monteagudo.

Again, the same anti-communist fascist generals who dominate the NTF Covid-19 and the NTF-ELCAC are in the ATC, namely Esperon, Lorenzana, and Año,

As soon as the president signed the bill into a law, Esperon fired the signal shot by saying they're making a list of “terrorist” that would, expectedly, include the open, legal, and unarmed people's organizations and progressive groups constantly tagged by the regime as “front organizations” of the CPP and supporters of the NPA. After the signal fire, Esperon immediately sniped at the critics of the terror law saying they must be supporters of “terrorists”.





Pres. Duterte often referred to the military and the police as “my soldiers” and the “backbone of (my) administration”. Under the Duterte regime, it has not only become the norm to rely on the military for civilian functions but also to mollycoddle the officers, active or retired, and use them to threaten the people and his critics of a military junta.

A military junta has been among Duterte's options to remain in power beyond his term in 2022—aside from ensuring reliable successor preferably from his own family. “The current political value for Duterte in having a military junta in prospect is to flatter the military and whet its loyalty to him and at the same

time threaten the opposition and the people with the prospect of military junta ruling the country in case of his death or total disability at any time or the failure of his dynastic successor to take over his position,” said Prof. Sison. The dominance of the military in the Duterte regime means an escalation of its offensives against the revolutionary movement led by the CPP, the NPA, and the NDFP and all the democratic forces in the society even as he face the wrath of the Filipino people and widespread condemnation even in the international community. At the end of the day, he will face the people who will hold him accountable for all his crimes against humanity, for treason, murder, and plunder. **LIB**



## **“MY SOLDIERS”**

### **THE DUTERTE REGIME’S BACKBONE**

**H**ere is an initial list of ex-military and police officials in the civilian bureaucracy—from the Cabinet to the major attached agencies, and in government-owned corporations—proof that indeed Pres. Rodrigo Duterte has militarized the civilian bureaucracy.

Duterte’s penchant for favouring the military and police has nothing to do with the soldiers’ so-called obedience and efficiency, as he claimed. Terribly scared to get ousted, Duterte had to accord the armed forces with power, status, and resources to secure their loyalty. More importantly, the militarization of the bureaucracy is part of the regime’s counterinsurgency program, the whole-of-nation approach (WONA), a concept that has failed in the previous regimes but, which the Duterte regime is trying hard to bring back to life by posting ex-military and police officials in key government positions.

“To serve as an “efficient mechanism and structure” for implementing the WONA, the National Task Force (NTF) was created, headed by President Duterte as chair, with his national security adviser (Hermogenes Esperon Jr.) as vice-chair. NTF members are ranking officials of the following departments: Internal and Local Government, Justice, National Defense, Public Works, Budget, Finance, Agrarian Reform, Social Welfare, Education, Economic Development, Intelligence, TESDA, Presidential Adviser for the Peace Process; plus the presidential assistant for indigenous peoples concerns, NCIP chair, AFP chief, PNP chief, PCOO secretary and two private sector representatives.”

To date, there are seven department secretaries, six officials with Cabinet-level rank, 28 department undersecretaries and assistant secretaries, and 25 officials of attached agencies who were officials of the Armed Forces of the Philippines and the Philippine National Police.

Also, notable in this list are the “recycled” presidential appointees who were transferred from one agency to another even as they were involved in scandals, mainly corruption

cases. Pres. Duterte can’t seem to let go of them. Among his obvious favourites were Isidro Lapeña, Allen Capuyan, and Nicanor Faeldon—who currently does not hold any government position, not yet.

There are also a number of appointees who came from Davao or those assigned in Davao City while Duterte was mayor. And, there are the Gloria Arroyo men—seven AFP and police officers associated with Gloria Arroyo are also in the Duterte administration: Hermogenes Esperon Jr, Eduardo Año, Roy Cimatu, Allen Capuyan (all four remain highly influential and dominant in the Duterte regime), Rodolfo “Garic” J. Garcia, Roberto Lastimoso, and Reynaldo Berroya (all three are in a government-owned corporation).

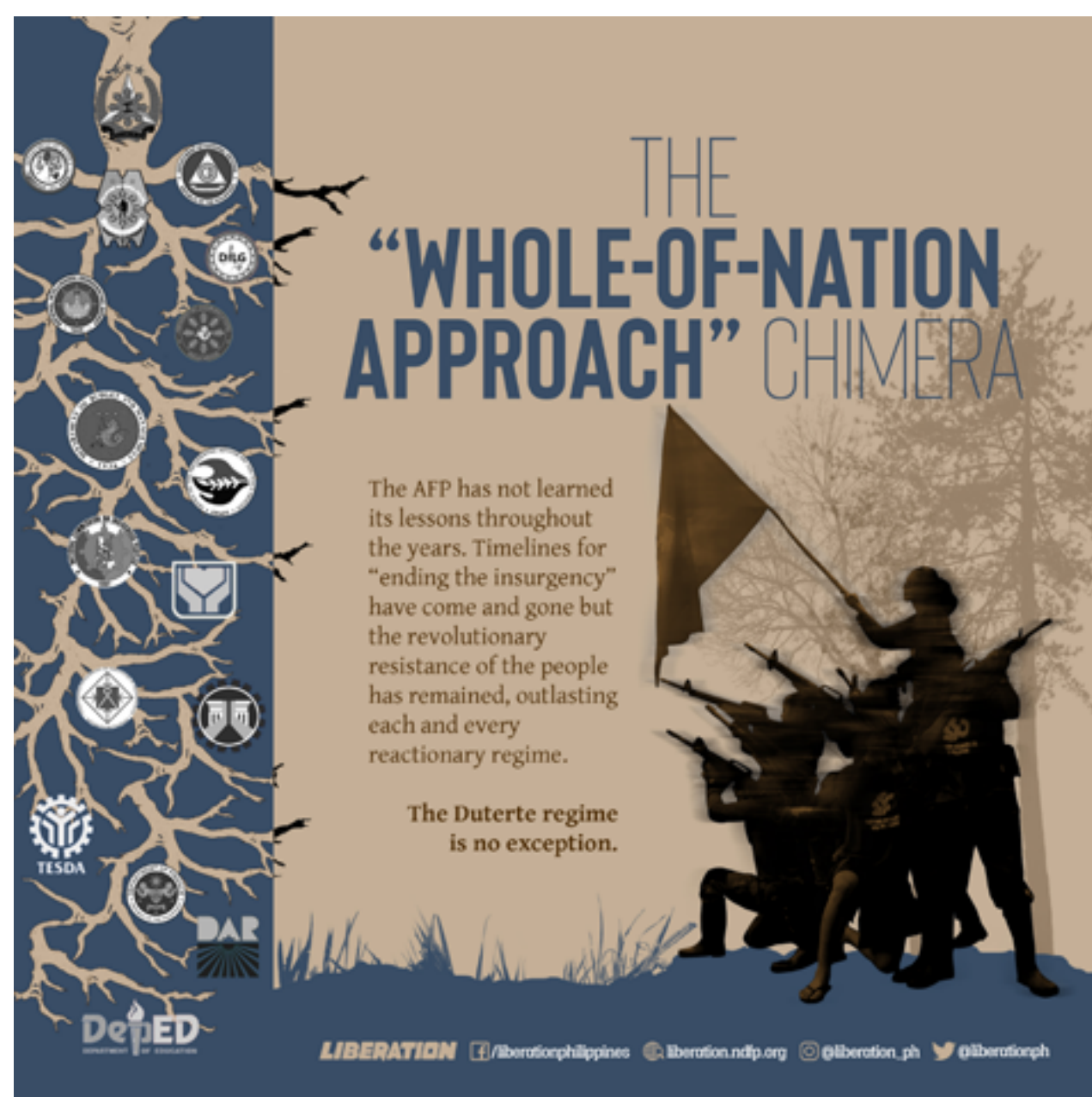
Also included in this list, although unnumbered, are some of the names of previous appointees who resigned or were reassigned. The list could go over a hundred names more if those in the regional offices and positions lower than those in this list are included; and those who were earlier appointed but were replaced but information on their subsequent assignments is not available.

## Department Secretaries

- 1. Roy Cimatu,** Environment and Natural Resources (DENR). A former Philippine Army general who became Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of the Philippines under Gloria Arroyo. When he retired from the military, Arroyo appointed him as Special Envoy to the Middle East during the Iraq War. Cimatu is also head of the Task Force Covid-19 for Visayas.
- 2. Gringo Honasan,** Information and Communications Technology (DICT). Retired Army officer who became senator, Honasan was appointed DICT chief, despite questions on his qualifications that failed to meet the requirements of the Law which created the Department.
- 3. Eduardo Año,** Interior and Local Government (DILG). A retired Philippine Army general who served as AFP Chief of Staff (2016 to 2017). Aside from the Philippine Military Academy, he also studied in the U.S. Army Intelligence Center and School and in the Israel Counter Terrorism Center. He was appointed Martial Law Administrator in Mindanao during the Marawi siege. Año figured in in numerous cases of human rights violations, notably during the Arroyo regime.
- Eliseo Rio Jr.,** Undersecretary, OIC, DICT. Retired BGen Rio was Undersecretary for Operations of the Philippines’ Department of Information and Communications Technology and once headed the department from 2017 to 2019 as Officer-in-charge. He resigned in 2020 after questioning Honasan’s cash advance from confidential funds worth Php 300 million.

**4. Delfin Lorenzana,** National Defense (DND). Former Army general and defense attaché to the United States, Lorenzana also served as commander of the Special Operations Command, and the 2nd Scout Ranger Battalion in Malagos, Davao City. He was assigned to the Presidential Security Group as commander of the Light Armored Brigade for Presidents Cory Aquino, Joseph Estrada, and Gloria Arroyo. His work included the laying down of foundation for the establishment of the Citizen Armed Force Geographical Units (CAFGU).

**5. Rolando Bautista,** Social Work and Development (DSWD). Immediately before his retirement, he led the Presidential Security Group, then the 1st Infantry Division of the Philippine Army under the Duterte regime. He was overall ground commander of the Joint Task Force during the Marawi siege and was later promoted Commanding General of the Philippine Army.



**6. Eduardo del Rosario,** Department of Human Settlements and Urban Development (DHSUD). A veteran of the Philippine Army, he was commander of the AFP Southern Luzon Command and of the 2nd Infantry Division. He was also commander of Task Force Davao which revived Alsa Lumad, a counterinsurgency program in the 1990s that mobilised the Lumad indigenous communities against the New People’s Army.

**7. John Rualo Castriciones,** Castriciones is a member of the Philippine Military Academy class of 1994. As a cadet during Martial law, he was accused in the hazing death of a fellow cadet and sentenced to five years imprisonment by a military court.

## Officials with Cabinet-level rank

### **8. Hermogenes Esperon Jr,**

National Security Adviser. He was the Chief of Staff of the (2006-2008) and Commanding General of the Philippine Army (2005 to 2006) under the Arroyo regime. He was also Arroyo’s Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process and later, head of the Presidential Management Staff.

**9. Catalino Cuy,** Chairman, Dangerous Drugs Board (DDB). He was acting interior secretary of the DILG. A retired police director, he was reappointed to the DDB when General Año assumed post at the DILG.

**10. Danilo Lim,** chairperson of Metropolitan Manila Development Authority (MMDA). He was Scout Ranger commander Brig. Gen. He was jailed from 2006 to 2010 for rebellion charges and attempted coup d’état. In

2007, he was again involved in a standoff at the Peninsula Manila hotel in Makati, where he called for Arroyo’s ouster. He was Deputy Commissioner of the Bureau of Customs under the Aquino III regime.

**11. Ricardo Jalad,** Executive Director, National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Council (NDRRMC). He served the Philippines Army for 32 years and retired with a rank of Brigadier General. He was commander of the AFP Southern Luzon Command and of the 2nd Infantry Division.

**12. Carlito Galvez Jr.,** Presidential Peace Adviser, Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process (OPAPP) is a retired general who was AFP Chief-of-Staff under Duterte government. He led the AFP Western Mindanao Command during the Marawi siege. In 1989, he was among the officers involved in a failed coup attempt against President Corazon Aquino.

## Department Undersecretaries and Assistant Secretaries

**13. Isidro Lapeña,** director general, Technical Education and Skills Development Authority (Tesda). A retired police general, Tesda is Lapeña’s third government position under the Duterte regime. He was first appointed Director General of PDEA and was later transferred to the Bureau of Customs as commissioner. It was under his term that the controversial smuggling of Php11 billion worth of shabu slipped past the Bureau. In 2019, Lapeña faced two counts of violation of the Anti-Graft and Corrupt Practices Act, dereliction of duty and grave misconduct over the two incidents of shabu shipments. He was the Deputy Director for Administration of the PNP Special Action Force Command and Davao City Director of Police Office.

**14. Dickson Hermoso,** chief of the Ministry of Transportation and Communication-Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (BARMM). He was army colonel of the 6th Infantry Division that fought against the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) and the Bangsamoro Islamic Freedom Fighters (BIFF). He was first appointed by Duterte as assistant secretary for peace and security affairs at the Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process (OPAPP).

**15. Eduardo Gongona,** National Director, Bureau of Fisheries and Aquatic Resources (BFAR) Undersecretary for Fisheries-Department of Agriculture. Gongona is a retired Commodore of the Philippine Coast Guard.

**16. Rodolfo Cadiz Garcia,** Undersecretary, DENR. The former Armed Forces vice chief of staff general Garcia was a PMA classmate of present DENR Secretary Roy Cimatu. He is both DENR’s Undersecretary for Attached Agencies and chief of staff. He was undersecretary of the OPAPP and was part of the peace panel which negotiated with the MILF during the Arroyo regime.

**17. Nestor Quinsay,** Assistant Secretary, DILG. The former Philippine National Police (PNP) Intelligence Director now oversees the Bureau of Fire Protection (BFP). Quinsay was also PNP’s Acting Director for Directorate for Intelligence and Director for Police Community Relations Group. Also in 2017, his wife Evelyn Quinsay was appointed member of the Movie and Television Review and Classification Board (MTRCB).

**18. Ricardo David,** Undersecretary for Defense Policy, Department of National Defense (DND). He was Chief of staff of the Philippine Armed Forces under the Aquino III regime.

**19. Cardozo Luna,** Undersecretary, DND. A retired three-star general and former Vice Chief of Staff of the AFP. Cardozo Luna also served as the commander of two unified commands, Eastern Mindanao Command and Central Command. As chief of the Central Command he vowed to destroy the CPP-NPA to “inconsequential level through simultaneous in-depth operations”, among them through strengthening of the Citizen Armed Force Geographical Unit battalions. Later, Luna was appointed

Gloria Arroyo Philippine Ambassador to Netherlands.

**20. Reynaldo Mapagu,** Undersecretary for Civil, Veterans and retiree Affairs, DND. He was AFP vice chief of staff. Prior to this, Pres. Arroyo appointed Mapagu Army chief during her term. He was chief of the First Scout Ranger Regiment from 2006 to 2008 before he was assigned to lead the Army’s 10th Infantry Division in Davao and then the National Capital Region Command.

**21. Raymundo Elefante,** Undersecretary for Finance and Materiel, DND. Elefante was commander of the Air Force Reserve Command (AFRC).

**22. Cesar Yano,** Undersecretary for Defense Operations, DND. Retired Brig. Gen. Cesar B. Yano was in military service for 34 years. He was assistant chief of staff for civil military operations and spokesman of the 4th Infantry Division Mindanao. He was also chief of staff of the 7th Infantry Division and the Northern Luzon Command. He is the younger brother of Alexander Yano, Arroyo’s former AFP chief of staff who was later appointed ambassador to Brunei.



**23. Daniel Casabar,** Director, Government Arsenal, DND. He was commander of the Army’s elite units. Retired Maj. Gen. Daniel Casabar headed the Special Operations Command.

**24. Arnel Duco,** Undersecretary for special concerns (legislative matters), DND. He was AFP Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel. In 2016, BGen. Arnel M. Duco was senior military aide to defense secretary Lorenzana.

**25. Ricardo Jalad,** Undersecretary, Administrator of Office of Civil Defense, Executive Director of the National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Council (NDRRMC)-DND. Retired BGen. Jalad served the Philippine Army for 32 years. He was Assistant Division Commander of the 5th ID-PA, among his other assignments. He also served as Brigade Commander of the 2nd Mechanized Infantry Brigade, Chief of the Unified Command Staff of the Southern Luzon Command, among others.

**26. Josue S. Garveza Jr,** Assistant Secretary for Financial Management, DND. He was commanding officer of the 9th Infantry Division of

the Philippine Army during the Aquino III regime. He was later forced to retire under the attrition law.

**27. Teodoro Cirilo Torralba III,** Assistant Secretary for Assessments and International Affairs, DND. The Brigadier General was military adviser at the Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process (OPAPP) when he presided over the court martial proceedings in the trial of four army officers in a botched Basilan operation that killed 19 soldiers.

**28. Antonio Bautista,** Assistant Secretary for Human Resource, DND. He was AFP deputy chief of staff for reservists and retirees affairs during the Arroyo regime.

**29. Manuel Felino V. Ramos,** Assistant Secretary for Installations and Self-Reliant Defense Posture, DND. He was a Colonel of the Philippine Army.

**30. Angelito M. De Leon,** Assistant Secretary for Plans and Programs, DND. He was commander of the 7th Infantry Division of the Philippine Army based in Fort Magsaysay. He was also AFP Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations (J3) and Chief of the AFP Command Center.

**31. James A. Layug,** Director at the Office of Assistant Secretary for Installations and Self-Reliant Defense Posture, DND. He was first appointed Director of Port Operations Service, AOCG and Chief of the Anti-Smuggling Unit of the Office of the Commissioner at the Bureau of Customs. He was a Lieutenant Senior Grade in the Philippine Navy AFP.

**32. Jesus Rey Avilla,** Assistant Secretary for Logistics and Acquisitions, DND. He was Deputy Inspector General of the AFP.

**33. Ernesto Carolina,** Undersecretary, Administrator of the Philippine Veterans Affairs Office (PVAO)-DND. Lt. Gen. Carolina held, among others, the following posts in the AFP: Commander, 78th Infantry Battalion, Philippine Army (PA); Chief, AFP Liaison Office for Legislative Affairs; Chief of Staff, 4th Infantry Division, PA; Commander of the 401st Infantry Brigade, PA; Commanding General of the 7th Infantry Division, PA; Commander, Southern Luzon Command (SOLCOM); Commander, Southern Command (SOUTHCOM), AFP in Mindanao; and The Deputy Chief of Staff, AFP.

**34. Raul Z. Caballes,** Assistant Secretary, Deputy Administrator of the Philippine Veterans Affairs Office (PVAO)-DND. MGen. Caballes was AFP Deputy Chief of Staff for Communication, Electronics, and Information Systems (2005- 2007).

**35. Manuel Antonio L. Tamayo,** Alternate Chairperson of the Civil Aviation of the Philippines (CAAP) Board; Undersecretary for Aviation & Airports, Department of Transportation (DOTR). He was Chief of Intelligence President Security Group (1988) and Deputy Chief Intelligence (1986) when he was also Presidential Escort to President Corazon C. Aquino to the USA.

**36. Manuel S. Gonzales,** Assistant Secretary for Special Concerns, DOTR. From 2013-2014, BGen. Gonzales was commander of the AFP Joint Task Force in the National Capital Region assigned to combat “terrorism” in Metro Manila.

**37. Fidel Igmedio T. Cruz, Jr.** Assistant Secretary for Railways, DOTR. BGen. Cruz served as Deputy Commander of the 355th Aviation Engineering Wing of the Philippine Air Force (PAF). In 2013, he led an all-PAF Philippine contingent to Liberia to assist in the “maintenance of law and order”.

**38. Edgar Galvante,** Assistant Secretary, Chief of Land Transportation Office (LTO)-DOTR. Galvante is a retired police director-general who was deputy chief for operations and director for the NCR Police Office. Galvante is a permanent member of the Dangerous Drugs Board.

**39. Rene Glen Paje,** Undersecretary, Department of Social Work and Development (DSWD). The retired major general led the First Scout Ranger Regiment during the Marawi siege. The current DSWD secretary Rolando Bautista was Paje’s Army commander.

**40. Emmanuel Bautista,** Undersecretary and Executive Director of the Security, Justice and Peace Cluster-Office of the President (OP). He was AFP chief of staff before his appointment as Undersecretary at the Office of the President. He headed the National Task Force on the Whole of Nation Initiative and was also the executive Director of the National Task Force on the West Philippine Sea.

**41. Arthur Tabaquero,** Undersecretary, Presidential Adviser on Military Affairs, OP. He served as commander of the AFP East Mindanao Command. He was also commander of the 8th Infantry Division in Leyte and a short stint in the National Capital Region Command. Tabaquero is from PMA Class of 1978, the class that adopted Gloria Arroyo.

## Officials of Attached Agencies

**42. Rey Leonardo Guerrero,** Commissioner, Bureau of Customs (BOC). The retired Army general was AFP Chief of Staff. He was also commander of the Task Force Davao. He was previously appointed administrator of the Maritime Industry Authority (MARINA) from April to October 2018. He is the third BOC commissioner under the Duterte regime. Previous BOC chiefs former AFP officers Nicanor Faeldon and Isidro Lapeña were involved in a drug smuggling controversy at the Bureau. After BOC, Faeldon was transferred to the Office of Civil Defense-DND and later to the Bureau of Corrections. Currently, he no longer holds any government post. Yet.

**43. Raniel Ramiro,** Deputy Commissioner for Intelligence, (BOC). Former BGen Ramiro was already acting head of the Customs’ Intelligence Group before his formal appointment in 2019. He was AFP-Peace Process Office Chief who, in 2018, initiated the formation of the Peace and Development Forces (PDF) among members of the Cordillera Bodong Administration-Cordillera People’s Liberation Army—former rebels who surrendered and have long been part of the government’s paramilitary group.

**44. Donato San Juan,** Deputy Commissioner for Internal Administration Group (IAG) BOC. San Juan was the 57th superintendent of PMA and served in different command positions in the AFP.

**45. Jessie Cardona,** Director III, BOC. The former PNP senior superintendent was officer-in-charge of the Ilocos Sur Police Provincial Office. He was also part of the Anti-Terrorism Council Program Management Center as the new head of the Bureau’s accreditation office (AMO).

**46. Gerald Bantag,** Bureau of Corrections-Department of Justice (DOJ). Bantag was an enlisted man of the Philippine Marines Corps. He was the director of the Bureau of Jail Management and Penology (BJMP) in MIMAROPA. He is the 3rd BuCor chief under the Duterte

regime. Army official Nicanor Faeldon and PNP chief Ronald Bato de la Rosa previously held the post.

**47. Jaime Morente**, CEO

VI, Commissioner, Bureau of Immigration-DOJ. A member of the PMA “Dimalupig” Class of 1981, Commissioner Morente handled various positions in the Philippine National Police and in the Philippine Constabulary. He was Duterte’s police chief in Davao City.

**48. Allan Iral**, Chief, Bureau of Jail Management and Penology (BJMP)-DILG. Iral is a member of the Philippine National Police Academy Sandigan Class of 1994. Iral worked as Davao City Jail chief (2004-2006) and jail chief of Davao Region (2014-2015), the same period that Duterte was City mayor. He became BJMP’s director for operations, for personnel and human resource, and for logistics and was once headed the BJMP Central Visayas.

**49. Gerardo Gambala**,

Director IV Transport Security Oversight and Compliance Service OTS-DOTR. A former Army captain, Gambala was among the 20 Magdalo officers brought in to the Bureau of Customs when Faeldon was appointed chief. Gambala was

deputy commissioner who was linked to the controversial P6.4-billion shabu smuggled from China. He, and Milo Maestrecampo, also an army official, were reappointed to DOTR when they resigned from the Bureau of Customs.

**50. Milo Maestrecampo**,

Assistant Director, Civil Aviation Authority of the Philippines (CAAP)-DOTR. The former military officer of the Magdalo group was reappointed to the DOTR despite allegations of corruption on the release of a P6.4-billion illegal drug shipment from China. He was Import Assessment Services (IAS) director at Bureau of Customs.

**51. Cedrick Train**,

Security Director IV, Office for Transportation Security-DOTR. Appointed by Duterte in March 2019, Train was police regional director in General Santos City. Train is said to be close to Davao Mayor Sara Duterte-Carpio.

**52. Robert Empedrad**,

Administrator, Maritime Industry Authority (MARINA)-DOTR. Vice Admiral Empedrad was flag officer in command of the Philippine Navy. He was also Chief of Staff of Naval Forces Eastern Mindanao;

Director, Naval Operations Center; He was Chairman of Defense Acquisition System Assessment Team (DASAT), in charge of the updates on Navy Ships, including the controversial Frigate Acquisition Project. Empedrad replaced Ronald Joseph Mercado who was involved in the Frigate controversy.

**53. Ricardo Banayat,**

Deputy Director General for Operation, CAAP-DOTR. He was Air Force brigadier general and former Commander of the PAF’s 1st Air Division.

**54. Antonio Gardiola Jr.**

member, Land Transportation Franchising and Regulatory Board (LTFRB). A retired police chief superintendent, Gardiola was Bicol police regional director in 2017. In 2016, he headed both the PNP Highway Patrol Group and the Inter-Agency Council on Traffic. He is from PMA Class 1986.

**55. Archimedes Viaje,**

Director IV, President, National Defense College of the Philippines (NDCP)-DND. BGen Viaje was a commissioned officer in the Philippine Navy. He was part of the Corps of Professors and headed the Command Guidance and Counselling

Office of the PMA and later as head of the Department of Social Sciences of the Academic Group. He served as chief of the Military Affairs Division and Chief of Staff of the President of the NDCP.

- Prior to Viaje’s appointment, another retired military officer **Roberto Estioko** was president of the NDCP. Estioko was AFP vice commander of the Philippine Navy.
- Former AFP-Civil Relations Service chief **BGen. Rolando Jungco** was previously listed as Executive Vice President of the NDCP although the position is now declared vacant.

**56. Casiano Monilla,**

Assistant Secretary, Civil Defense Deputy Administrator for Operations, OCD-DND. Retired BGen Monilla was Assistant Division Commander, 10th ID-PA.

**57. Henry Anthony M.**

**Torres,** Director Region 8, Office of the Civil Defense (OCD)-DND. Col. Torres was among the Oakwood mutineers who was brought in to the Bureau of Customs in 2017 when Gerardo Gambala became Deputy Commission of BOC’s Management Information System and Technology Group.

**58. Allen Capuyan,**

Executive Director, National Commission on Indigenous Peoples-DSWD. Ret. Col. Capuyan was chief of operations at the Intelligence Service of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (ISAFP) under the Arroyo administration. This is Capuyan’s 4th post under the Duterte regime. He was first assistant general manager for security and emergency services of the Manila International Airport Authority. Implicated in the P6.4-billion shabu smuggling, he was reappointed undersecretary as Presidential Adviser on Indigenous Peoples’ Concerns. In 2019, he was appointed executive director of the National Secretariat of the National Task Force to End Local Communist Armed Conflict (NTF-ELCAC).

**59. Alex Monteagudo,**

Director General, National Intelligence Coordination Agency (NICA)-Office of the President (OP). Monteagudo was police director of the PNP. Among others, he was assigned as Provincial Director of Cotabato, PNP Regional 12 Director, and director of the Directorate for Investigation and Detective Management and later for Operations.

**60. Rufino Lopez,**

Deputy Director General, National Security Council (NSC)-Office of the President (OP). Retired Rear Admiral Rufino Lopez was AFP inspector general. He was chair of the Ad Hoc Committee which was created to investigate a supposed coup against Gloria Arroyo and the stand-off at the Marine Headquarters in Fort Bonifacio. Among those investigated were Brig.Gen Danilo Lim, chief of the First Scout Rangers Regiment, Maj. Gen. Renato Miranda, commander of the Philippine Marines, Col. Ariel Querubin, head of the Marines in Lanao province.

**61. Vicente M. Agdamag,**

Deputy Director General, NSC-OP. Retired Rear Admiral Agdamag was commander of the Naval Education and Training Command of the AFP. As director of the NSC, Agdamag is also a member of the NTF-ELCAC.

**62. Damian Carlos,**

Deputy Director General, NSC-OP. Ret. Admiral Carlos was appointed by Gloria Arroyo Coast Guard commandant in 2006. Immediately before this appointment he was Coast Guard deputy commandant for administration. His other previous assignments were

Coast Guard district commander in Palawan and in the NCR. He also became commander of Coast Guard Operating Forces.

**63. Bruce Concepcion**, Special Envoy on Transnational Crime, Philippine Center on Transnational Crime (PCTC)-OP. Lt. Colonel Bruce Concepcion became public information officer of the Philippine Air Force. He served the military for 26 years and was awarded, among others, The Outstanding Pilipino Soldier (TOPS) Award. Prior to his current position, he was PCTC chief consultant for the Visayas and Mindanao. He was also a member of the Board of Directors of the Philippine National Oil Company (PNOC).

**64. Allan Guisihan**, Executive Director, PCTC-OP. In 2010, Guisihan was director of the Negros Occidental Provincial Police Office (NOPPO) who was under investigation for his alleged involvement in illegal mining activities in Iloilo when he was promoted officer-in-charge of the Region 6 Police Office. He became part of its directorial staff, the fourth highest position in PNP-Western Visayas.

**65. Wilkins Villanueva**, Director General, Philippine Drug Enforcement Agency (PDEA). Duterte appointed Villanueva in May 2020 to replace Aaron Aquino who was reassigned as president and CEO of the Clark International Airport Corp. (Ciac). Villanueva was among those who crafted the anti-drug programs of the PDEA and the PNP, including “Oplan Tokhang.” He headed PDEA’s Northern Mindanao office prior to this appointment. Villanueva is the third PDEA director general under the Duterte regime. The first two were Isidro Lapeña and Aaron Aquino. Aquino is now president and chief executive officer (CEO) of the Clark International Airport Corp.

**66. Gregorio Pimentel**, Deputy Director General, PDEA. Pimentel was head of the Directorate for Intelligence of the PNP. He replaced Jesus Fajardo who joined former PDEA director general Isidro Lapeña at the Bureau of Customs in 2018. He was also head of the PNP Highway Patrol Group in the Davao region.

• **Retired Major General Jesus Fajardo** was chief of the 2nd Air Division of the Philippine Air Force. He is a member of the PMA Class 1978. From BOC, MGen. Fajardo was later transferred to TESDA as Region 3 Director when Lapeña was reassigned to TESDA.



## Officers in Government-owned and Controlled Corporations

**67. Ferdinand Golez, Director,** Bases Conversion and Development Authority (BCDA). Retired Vice Admiral Golez has been with the BCDA since 2011. He was appointed by Gloria Arroyo Flag Officer-in-Command of the Philippine Navy from 2008-2010. Golez was also commander of the Naval Education and Training Command based in Zambales. Golez is from PMA Class 1976, a batchmate of AFP Chief of Staff Alexander Yano and Army Chief Lt. Gen. Victor Ibrado. He is the brother of Roilo Golez.

**68. Glorioso Miranda,** Director, BCDA. Lt. Gen. Miranda was commanding general of the Philippine Army. He served both as acting chief of staff and vice chief of staff of the AFP. He became chief of the Northern Luzon Command and the 7th Infantry Division-PA, among other commands.

**69. Benjamin Defensor,** Director, Clark Development Corporation (CDC). General Defensor was the 26th Commanding General of the Philippine Air Force and the 30th Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of the Philippines.

**70. Aaron Aquino,** President and Chief Executive Officer, Clark International Airport Corp. (CIAC). Retired Police chief superintendent was reassigned by Duterte to CIAC on May 2020 leaving his post as PDEA director general. This is Aquino’s second post under the Duterte regime. Aquino was in the Presidential Security Group (PSG) during the presidency of Corazon Aquino and Fidel Ramos. He was chief of the Police Regional 3 Office. He was part of “Oplan Double Barrel”—Duterte’s so-called war on drugs.

**71. Eduardo Davalan,**

Director, John Hay Management Corporation (JHMC). Retired BGen. Davalan was regiment commander of the First Scout Ranger Regiment-Philippine Army. Among his previous military assignments were: 7th and 10th ID-PA; Commander in Northern Luzon, Scout Ranger Training School; Security Officer Chief JUSMAG; Head Department of Ground Warfare at the Philippine Military Academy.

**72. Miguel dela Cruz**

**Abaya,** Director, Development Bank of the Philippines (DBP). Abaya was Regional Commander of the Philippine Constabulary-Integrated National Police (PC-INP). He represents the military and police institutions in the DBP Board. DBP provides finance facilities for the AFP-PNP modernization programs.

**73. Alan Luga,**

Trustee, Government Service Insurance System (GSIS). Lt. Gen. Luga was Vice Chief of Staff of the AFP. He served as Commander of the AFP Southern Luzon Command. He previously headed the 802nd and 1001st Infantry

Brigade and the 7th Infantry Division of the Philippine Army. He was a member of the GRP Peace Panel for the GRP-MILF Peace Talks as Chairman of the ADHOC Joint Action Group, OPAPP. Currently, he also heads the AFP General Insurance Corporation.

**74. Reynaldo Berroya,**

Administrator, Light Rail Transit Administration (LRTA). Retired police general Berroya was appointed by Gloria Arroyo PNP intelligence chief and later regional director of the Central Luzon police then as director of the PNP Civil Security Group based in Camp Crame. He was a friend of then Vice President Joseph Estrada who brought Berroya into the anti-kidnapping group headed by Estrada. Berroya was found guilty and sentenced to jail in 1995 for his involvement in the May 11, 1993 kidnapping of Taiwanese national Jack Chou.

- Former general **Danilo Lim** also sits as Board Member of LRTA in his capacity as chairperson of the Metro Manila Development Authority.

**75. Rodolfo “Garic” Jasminez Garcia,** General Manager, MRT3 DOTR. Garcia, a retired police general, was chief of PNP Intelligence Group during the presidency of Fidel Ramos. Pres. Arroyo appointed him chief of PNP Region 12 and later as MRT Director for Operations, the same time Arroyo appointed Reynaldo Berroya general manager of MRT 3. Garcia and Berroya were classmates at the PMA.

**76. Ricardo Visaya,** Administrator, National Irrigation Administration (NIA). He was AFP chief of staff. He was assistant division commander of 6th Infantry Division and former commander of the 4th Infantry Division before he headed the Southern Luzon Command.

**77. Abraham Bagasin,** Senior Deputy Administrator, NIA. BGen. Bagasin was AFP chief of staff. He became commander of the 11th Infantry Battalion in Negros Island and of the First Scout Ranger Regiment. Prior to his appointment to NIA, Duterte appointed him director of the John Hay Management Corporation.

**78. Romeo Gan,** Deputy Administrator for Administrative and Finance Sector (NIA). MGen. Gan was Commander of the 2ID “Jungle Fighter” Division of the Philippine Army. He became Assistant Division Commander of the 6th ID based in Maguindanao before he was appointed civil relations chief. Generals Gan, Visaya, and Bagasin belong to the same PMA class 1983.

**79. Anselmo Simeon Pinili,** Chairperson, Philippine Charity Sweepstakes Office (PCSO). Retired police general Anselmo Pinili replaced former PCSO Chair Jose Jorge Corpuz who resigned for “health reasons” in 2018. Pinili was Special Envoy on Transnational Crime until 2018; and Deputy Regional Director for Administration at the Police Region 11 office. Pinili batted for a localized “peace talks” between the government and the revolutionary forces in Davao del Norte and Compostela Valley. In May 2019, graft complaints were filed at the Ombudsman against Pinili and other PCSO officials.

• **Jose Jorge Corpuz,** a retired chief superintendent was appointed in 2017 chair of the PCSO. He was the director for Integrated Police Operations for Southern Luzon. He resigned in 2018.

**80. Royina Garma,** Vice Chairperson and General Manager, PCSO. Garma was Cebu City police chief who was appointed by Duterte in 2019 to replace ex-Marine general Alexander Balutan. Garma, prior to her appointment as Cebu City police chief, was administrative officer and then head of the Davao City’s Women and Children’s Protection Desk. She was also chief of Sasa and Sta. Ana police precincts in Davao City.

- **Gen. Balutan** was appointed in PCSO in 2016 but he was dismissed because of overspending for the PCSO’s Christmas party and for favoring a certain company for small town lottery operations.

**81. Roberto Lastimoso,** Chairperson, Philippine National Railways (PNR). Lastimoso was already in various government agencies after his stint as PNP director general. He was general manager of MRT 3 and chief of Land Transportation Office during the Arroyo regime. He was also Vice-Chairman of GRP peace panel with MNLF.

**82. Michael Mellijor Tulen,** Director, PNR. Appointed in November 2016, retired

Police Superintendent Tulen is from Tagum City. He headed the Investigation Detective Management Section (IDMS) of the Provincial Police Office in Davao del Norte.

**83. Marlene Romero**

**Padua,** Director, Health Care Providers Sector Representative, PhilHealth. Retired BGen. Padua served as chief nurse of the 4th Infantry Division-PA, Philippine Navy, and the AFP. Aside from sitting in the Philhealth Board of Directors, she is also currently Chair of the PNP Health Service Advisory Council, PNP Health Service PATROL Plan, Dean of College of Nursing of the Arellano University-Pasig.

- **Dante A. Gierran,** was recently appointed PhilHealth President and CEO after retired Army general Ricardo Morales resigned “for health reasons” amid a string of corruption charges that rocked Philhealth. Gierran, technically do not belong the “ex-military and police officials category” as he was Director of the NBI, an attached agency of the Justice Department. He was also acting Region XI director of the NBI in Davao City.

- **Ricardo Morales**, a retired Army general, was appointed by Duterte in 2019 President and CEO of PhilHealth, a few days after he was placed as member of the MWSS board of trustee. Morales was aide de camp of former first lady Imelda Marcos but at the same time a member of the Reform the Armed Forces Movement (RAM), who served as the rebel soldiers’ informant in Malacanang. In the succeeding years, he became executive officer at the Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff of Plans and then director of the Army Modernization and Strategic Studies Office.

**84. Reuben Lista**, President and Chief Executive Officer, Philippine National Oil Company (PNOC). Retired Admiral Lista was Commandant of the Philippine Coast Guard (PCG). He held various positions in the Philippine Navy, AFP, and the Philippine Coast Guard. He was commander of Marine Environmental Protection Command, of the 1st Coast Guard District, and the 8th Coast Guard District (Davao), among others. He was also part of the Presidential Security Command (PSC), National Intelligence and Security Authority (NISA) and the Office of the President (OP).

**85. Romeo de Vera Poquiz**, Director, PNOC. A retired major general, Poquiz was Commander of the 2nd Air Division, Air Force in the Visayas; Air Force Inspector General; Deputy Commander, 1st Air Division; and Wing Commander, 710th Special Operations Wing, among others. Prior to his appointment to the PNOC, he was director of the Bases Conversion and Development Authority, the Fort Bonifacio Development Corporation, and the Bonifacio Transport Corporation.

**86. Adolf Borje**, Director, PNOC. Retired Rear Admiral Borje was Commander of Naval Forces South. He became chief of Naval staff and chief of Naval Operations of the Philippine Navy. After retirement he was consultant of Davao City for Public Safety and Welfare. He was also security consultant to various companies such as Apex Mining Corporation, Dole/Stanfilco, Sumifru Philippines Corporation, and Banana Growers and Exporters Association, all based in Davao.

- Current Baguio City **Mayor Benjamin Magalong** was appointed by Duterte in January 2018 to the PNOC Board of Directors before he ran for public office. He was deputy chief for operations of the PNP when he retired. He was chief PNP in the Cordillera region and member of the Directorate for Investigation and Detective Management (DIDM). He was head of the Special Operations Battalion of the Special Action Force. He was also assigned to the PDEA, CIDC and he chaired the PNP Board of Inquiry on the Mamasapano botched military operation.

**87. Rozzano Dosado Briguez**, President and Chief Executive Officer, PNOC-Exploration Corporation. Retired Lt. Gen. Briguez was Commanding General of the Philippine Air Force. He was also commander of the AFP Western Command. Other positions he held were: commander of Tactical Operations Group 11 of the Tactical Operations Command in Davao, Assistant Chief of Air Staff for Operations, A-3, 250th Presidential Airlift Wing (Deputy Wing Commander).

**88. Oscar Rabena**, Director, PNOC-Exploration Corporation. He was Commanding General of the Philippine Air Force. Prior to his designation as Air Force Chief, he was Chief Strategic Planner of the AFP as Deputy Chief of Staff for Plans and Programs and Philippine Air Force Inspector General. He became Special Assistant to the Presidential Adviser on Military Affairs and Commander of 18 Assault Squadron.



## **Diplomatic Mission**

**89. Eduardo “Red” Kapunan Jr**, Ambassador to Myanmar-DFA. Air Force colonel Kapunan was one of the founders of Reform the Armed Forces Movement (RAM) who was implicated in the murder of labor leader Rolando Olalia and companion Leonor Alay-ay.



# KA KARI

Revolution runs in the family

*by Priscilla Guzman  
and Markus del Pilar*

It was in 1979 when members of the CPP-NPA reached Ka Kari's barrio. They often met with his family and discussed with them the aims of the revolution. After a year, Ka Kari and his elder brother decided to go fulltime in the revolutionary movement. After a year of being a staff member of the regional committee, he joined the team that established the first unit of the New People's Army (NPA) in a district in Eastern Visayas. That was in 1982.

While Ka Kari and his brother Inging were becoming absorbed with their revolutionary work, they had to deal with the opposition from their eldest brother who was against their involvement in the CPP-NPA. But two years later, in 1984, the elder brother also joined the NPA.

It was a professor from Cebu who stayed in their house who finally recruited his eldest brother. “But my brother and I never failed to write our family, to tell them about our work as red fighters—organizing the community towards building revolutionary organizations, helping in production work and pursuing agrarian revolution, engaging enemy troops among others,” Ka Kari explained.

The brothers wanted their family to know they were not abandoned, that the revolution is the best they could offer them and the people in general. They were persistent, too, in inviting their loved ones to visit them whenever the red fighters were camped.

The nine siblings were deployed in various lines of work and territorial organs within the region. Wherever they were, they looked for family and clan members and kept in touch with them, “to make sure they were informed about the revolution.” The clan members were also tapped for various support work. “Wherever they are, even those residing outside

the region, we make sure that comrades get in touch with them.”

As Ka Kari and his brothers and sisters got married, the revolutionary family grew. Sons and daughters were cared for by in-laws who have become part of the movement, too. Having maintained a close relationship with the nephews and nieces, “the children naturally had their own “idols” among us, depending on who they are closest to.”

But it was not easy at first. “The children resented us. They argued and fought us,” said Ka Kari. But like what they did before, Ka Kari and his siblings persistently explained to them the struggle for liberation and democracy. It paid off, he said because now, “Linyado na rin sila. Some are still studying while others are waiting to reach the age of 18.”

Eventually, sons and daughters and nieces and nephews, upon reaching the right age, also became part of the movement, either as red fighters or organizers in the barrios where they lived or in the schools where they studied. “We look for ways to sustain those who wish to continue their studies,” Ka Kari said. “Also, those who have no good reason to join the revolutionary movement were not recruited.” Expectedly, there were also those who lied low and left the guerrilla zone.

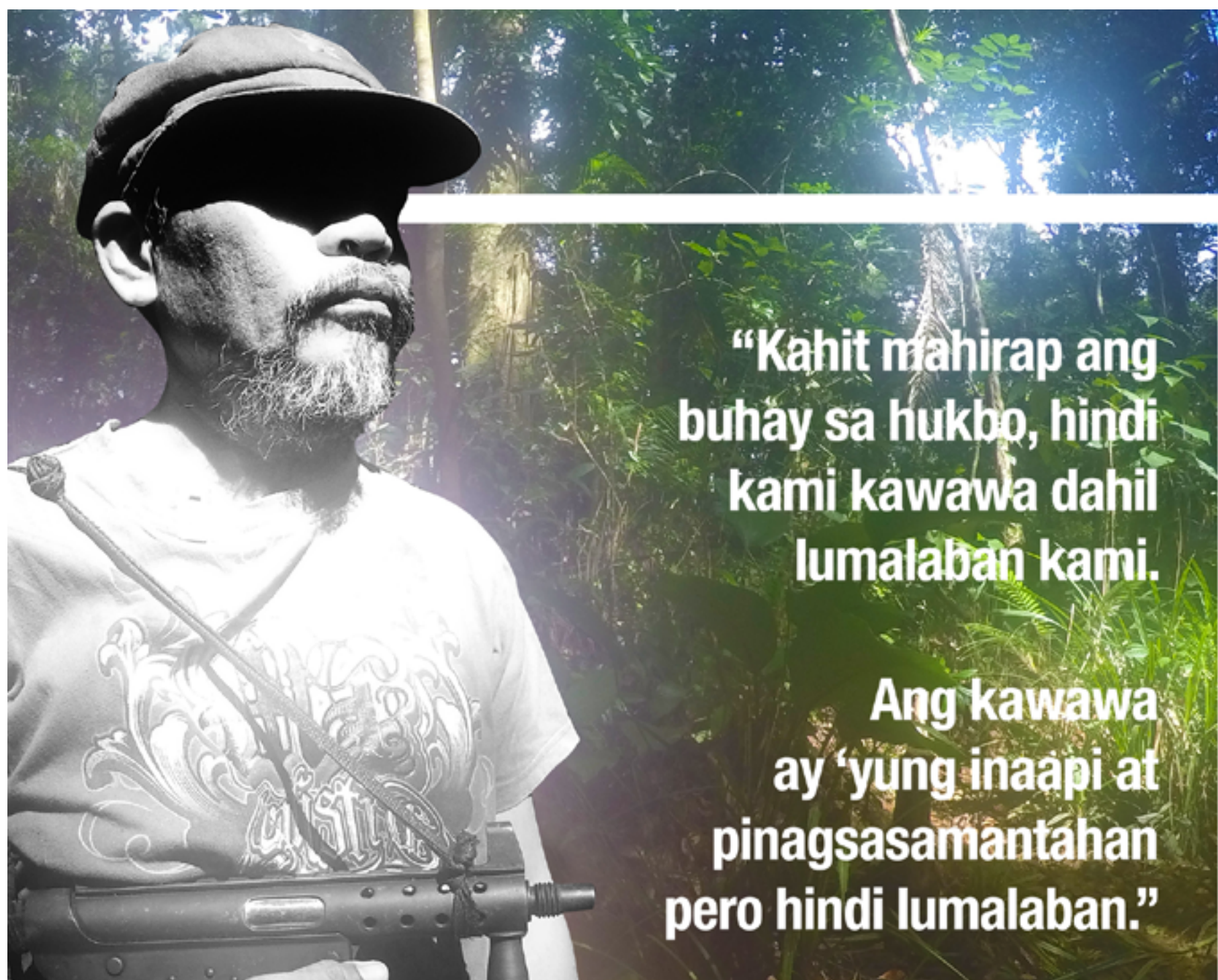


## Family of martyrs

It has already been 37 fruitful years for Ka Kari in the red army when the CPP celebrated its 50th anniversary. Of the nine siblings, only three are still alive to celebrate the occasion—Ka Kari, Ka Resty, and Ka Nonoy. Five of Ka Kari’s siblings had been killed while serving the revolution. One was abducted and has never been surfaced since 2005. All in all, 14 of Ka Kari’s family members have become martyrs of the revolution.

In 1987, Ka Kari’s younger brother Ramil, their sixth, was killed by the military. It was the first death among Ka Kari’s siblings. He was 18 years old. The brother was part of the armed city partisan unit and was tasked to transport a wounded comrade back to the guerrilla zone. He and another comrade were on their way back to the city when soldiers arrested them. His comrade was tortured and chopped to death because he refused to tell where the other comrades were. Ka Kari’s brother was also killed right after, for the same reason.

Ka Kari himself was arrested in 2006 and spent seven years in jail. “Only two of my siblings did not experience imprisonment,” he remarked. But each of those who were jailed would always find their way back to the guerrilla zone.



“Our family has long accepted that death is inevitable. Every death in the family strengthened our resolve to continue. After all, those deaths do not invalidate the basis of the struggle, of why we are here.”

Family meetings are occasions to process the loss of loved ones. “*Waray magulang, waray manghud, waray ranggo* (We don’t mind who is the eldest or the youngest, there’s no ranking here),” he jested. A representative from a higher Party organ is usually invited in these meetings. When Ka Kari was released after almost a decade of imprisonment, they held a family meeting. “Our family has grown, the nephews and nieces are now married. Some of them are now also working fulltime in the revolutionary movement. There were already 14 deaths in the family, 14 martyrs. After each member spoke, it was clear that we were all determined to continue, “Fight fear!” is how they ended their meeting.

## Raising a revolutionary family

The family of Ka Kari did not simply follow each other's footsteps. Theirs was a product of a persistent and painstaking work of arousing, organizing, and mobilizing the masses for the people's war. It stemmed from the comrades' consciousness that their family is among the oppressed and exploited majority and that liberation could only be attained by actively participating in the people's revolutionary movement.

Ka Kari's words sum it up: "*Ang pamilya kolektib din. Tinitiyak namin na mulat ang mga asawa namin, anak, mga pamangkin para hindi sila malayo sa rebolusyon. Kaming myembro ng pamilya na nasa loob ng hukbo, may tasking kami para abutin ang myembro ng pamilya namin. Kung nagpupukaw ka nga sa masa na 'di mo kakilala, bakit hindi ang pamilya mo. Hindi mo lang sila kadugo, biktima din sila ng mapang-aping lipunan* (Your family is also your collective. We make sure our spouses, children, nephews and nieces are aware of the situation and don't distance themselves from the revolution)."

**Your family is also  
your collective.  
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the revolution.**

Through the years, family members would urge them to come home. To which he would reply, "you come here (to the front). No matter how hard you try, as long as oppression and exploitation exist, you will always be a victim."

*“Kahit mahirap ang buhay sa hukbo, hindi kami kawawa. Ang kawawa ay yung mga inaapi at pinagsasamantalahan pero di lumalaban, (Life may be hard in the people’s army, but don’t pity us. Pity those who are exploited but do not fight back),”* was how Ka Kari described the life in the people’s army. **LIB**



## **Ang pamilya, kolektib din.**

Tinitiyak namin na mulat ang mga asawa namin, mga anak, mga pamangkin para hindi sila malayo sa rebolusyon. Kaming myembro ng pamilya na nasa loob ng hukbo, may tasking kami para abutin ang myembro ng pamilya namin.

### **Kung nagpupukaw ka nga sa masa na ‘di mo kakilala, bakit hindi ang pamilya mo.**

Hindi mo lang sila kadugo, biktima rin sila ng mapang-aping lipunan.

Si kasamang Kari, mandirigma, ay isa sa siyam na magkakapatid na kasapi ng NPA sa Eastern Visayas. Abangan ang kabuuan ng kanyang kwento sa susunod na isyu.

**LIBERATION** [f /liberationphilippines](https://www.facebook.com/liberationphilippines) [globe liberation.ndfp.org](http://liberation.ndfp.org) [@liberation\\_ph](https://www.instagram.com/liberation_ph) [@liberationph](https://twitter.com/liberationph)

**RUMBLINGS WITHIN THE RULING ELITE**  
Policy disagreements led to resignations:  
ELISEO RUI, ERNESTO PERNIA, DR. TONY LEACHON  
DICT, NEDA, IATF  
vs. LGUs and other Cabinet members over policy impositions and Balik Probinsiya program

**Conflict over management of funds:**  
ON COMPENSATION OF FRONTLINERS  
ON TUITION SUBSIDIES & CASH GRANTS FOR TEACHERS  
Senators call for Duque resignation  
Big businesses, Church vs. Duterte's terror law

**CORRUPTION**  
WALA NA TAYONG PERA!  
Unaccounted Bayanihan and Covid-19 funds  
Only 1% of Bayanihan fund was liquidated  
SAP distribution anomalies  
PhilHealth  
Php 15B corruption case  
DA's fertilizer aid for farmers overpriced by P271.66M  
Gov't to lose Php 8B over Philhealth's overpriced test package  
investigates DOH Duque re overpriced IM PPEs for Php 1.4B  
Flags DOH for multi million overpriced purchase of medical supplies, PPEs, test kits

**ECONOMIC DECLINE**  
PH economy now in recession  
Total debt of P9.05 trillion (June 2020)  
More than 300K OFW displaced; PH to lose at least \$10B in OFW remittances  
At least 3k companies closed or retrenched workers (at least 90K workers affected)  
Philippines: Economy crashes into recession, down 16.5%  
COVID-19 impact: PH debt to hit P13.7T in Duterte's last year in office  
Adult unemployment reaches record-high 45.5% in July - SWS  
14 M total number of unemployed  
7.8M workers lost their jobs during the lockdown  
No money for COVID but intact funds for BBB, debt service, and CREATE tax cuts for big business

**CRACKS ON THE WALL**  
COVID-19 EDITION  
HEALTH CARE FRONT LINER  
HEALTH SECTOR CALLING FOR DEMILITARIZED COVID-19 RESPONSE  
MILITARIST APPROACH TO COVID-19  
Longest lockdown and quarantine without strengthening health system  
Slow, inadequate emergency relief to jobless and homeless  
Low and slow testing, contact tracing, isolation and treatment  
120+ arrested for "quarantine violations", almost 3k still in jail  
Unpunished VIPs for quarantine violations

**!! PRIORITIES !!**  
P22B-P76B US-PH arms deal amid pandemic  
Military attacks in at least 625 bgyis in 54 provinces  
Use of gov't funds for counterinsurgency instead of assistance to the poor  
Shut down  
Terror Law  
White sand

AT LEAST 27 PETITIONS (AND COUNTING) VS TERROR LAW SUBMITTED TO SC

AT LEAST 3K COMPANIES CLOSED OR RETRENCHED WORKERS (AT LEAST 90K WORKERS AFFECTED)

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Instead of a clear direction and plan on how to protect the people, the Duterte regime stuck on its militarist approach, no thanks to the generals that dominate the fight against the virus. Pres. Duterte issued a shoot to kill order against quarantine violators while protecting the VIPs of the ruling clique. He acted like a burdened leader looking for funds even as the government's debt reached more than Php 9 trillion, acquired at least Php 6.5 billions of donations from private entities. He and his clique now keep a COVID war chest of at least Php 1 trillion.

Fully exposed by the Covid-19 pandemic, the crumbling Duterte regime kept blaming the people, especially the poor, to cover up its criminal negligence and its accountability in dealing with the health and economic crisis. Sooner, the Philippines may become Southeast Asia's Covid-19 hotspot even as the economy plunged in recession, the worst in eight decades—more than enough reason why the people should OUST DUTERTE, NOW!



Pagpupugay sa ika-52 anibersaryo ng ating Partido!  
Mabuhay ang Communist Party of the Philippines!



**#DiPagagapi**

**#CPP52**