

LIBERATION

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ABOUT THE COVER

A rendition of an armed Inang Bayan stands for the Filipino people's struggle, both armed and unarmed, to defend the country's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity against the all forms intervention and interference—economic, political, and military—by any country. Currently a neocolony of US imperialism, the Philippines is ravaged and plundered through economic and military impositions, but at the same time generates the most favorable conditions for armed revolution. The NDFP foresees the termination of all unequal relations with the US and other foreign entities and an independent and peaceful foreign policy upon victory of the national democratic revolution.

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

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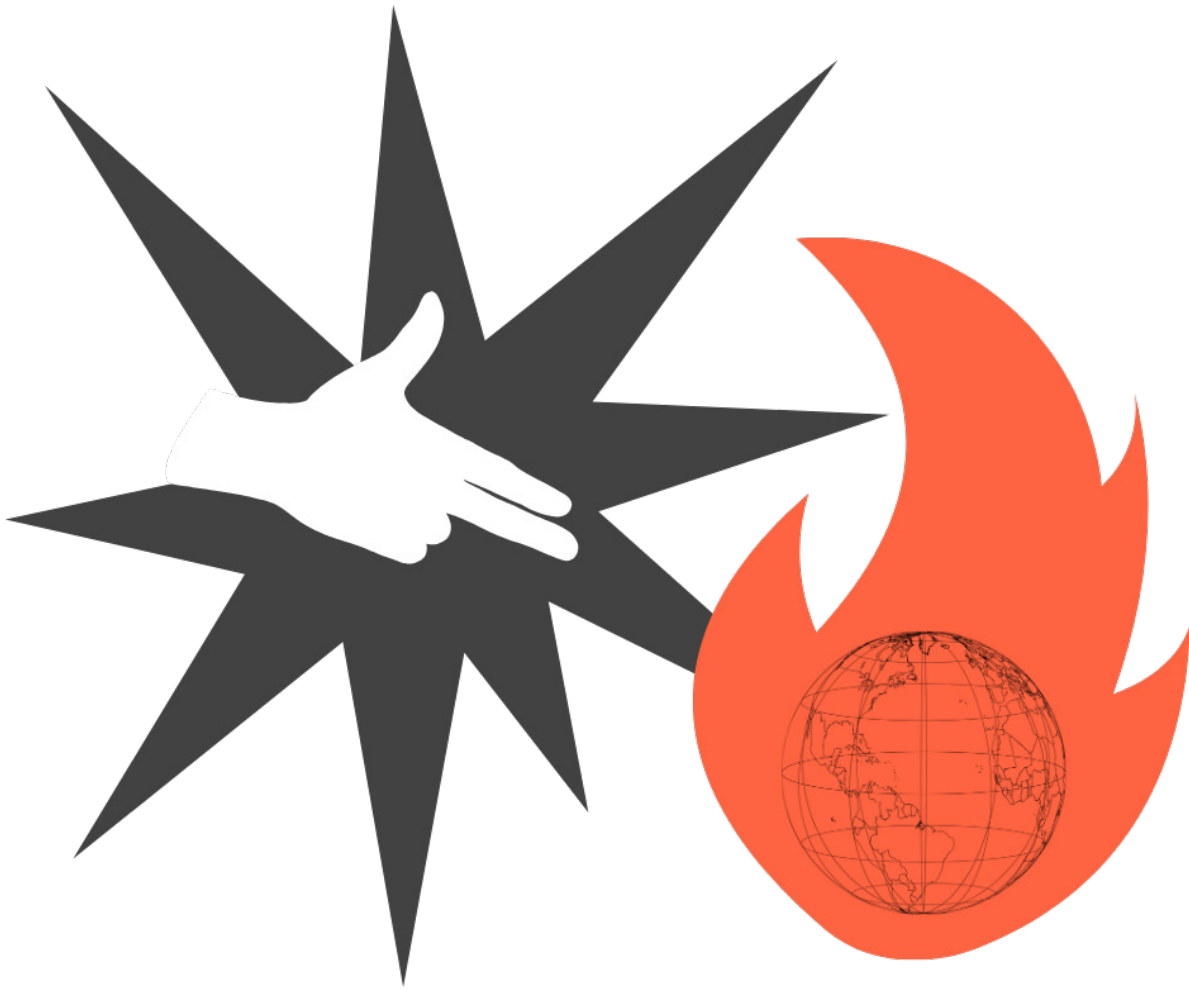
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EDITORIAL

THE PEACE-TALKING WAR FREAK FACES PEOPLE'S RESISTANCE

Ferdinand Marcos Jr. makes a fatal mistake by choosing to remain on the US imperialist orbit. His hollow calls for peace in the Middle East are belied by his continued support for the US war machine in the Philippines. His position only enrages the masses already reeling from oppression and exploitation and pushes them to join the people's war as the only viable solution to overthrow his bankrupt regime and change the imperialist dominated system.

As Trump's war of aggression against Iran wreaks havoc on the Philippine economy, the US-Marcos regime's hypocritical peace rhetoric is as empty as the pockets of the Filipino masses reeling from skyrocketing oil prices;

Marcos' rhetoric is as lame as his response to the problems of overseas Filipino workers, as deceptive as his measly subsidy to millions of poor Filipinos, and as callous as his inaction on the problems of small businesses facing imminent bankruptcy.

He lays open Philippine land, sea, and air for US military build-up in the Indo-Pacific for global hegemony. He takes pride in the 12th Philippines-US Bilateral Strategic Dialogue where he reaffirms his regime's acceptance as a US military satellite and part of the First Island Chain against China, reveling in the dialogue's agreements for increased deployments of U.S. missiles and unmanned systems to the Philippines, establishing critical minerals

supply chains and energy infrastructure to advance joint defense capabilities, expansion of military cyber defense capabilities and more bilateral and multilateral military exercises and cooperation with increased focus on the Taiwan Strait.

As Trump kills thousands of people, especially women and children, Marcos kills thousands of Filipinos in his wars of suppression against the revolutionary movement and the people's protest movements by continuing the previous regimes' policies of aerial bombings, EJKs, abductions, and war on the poor.

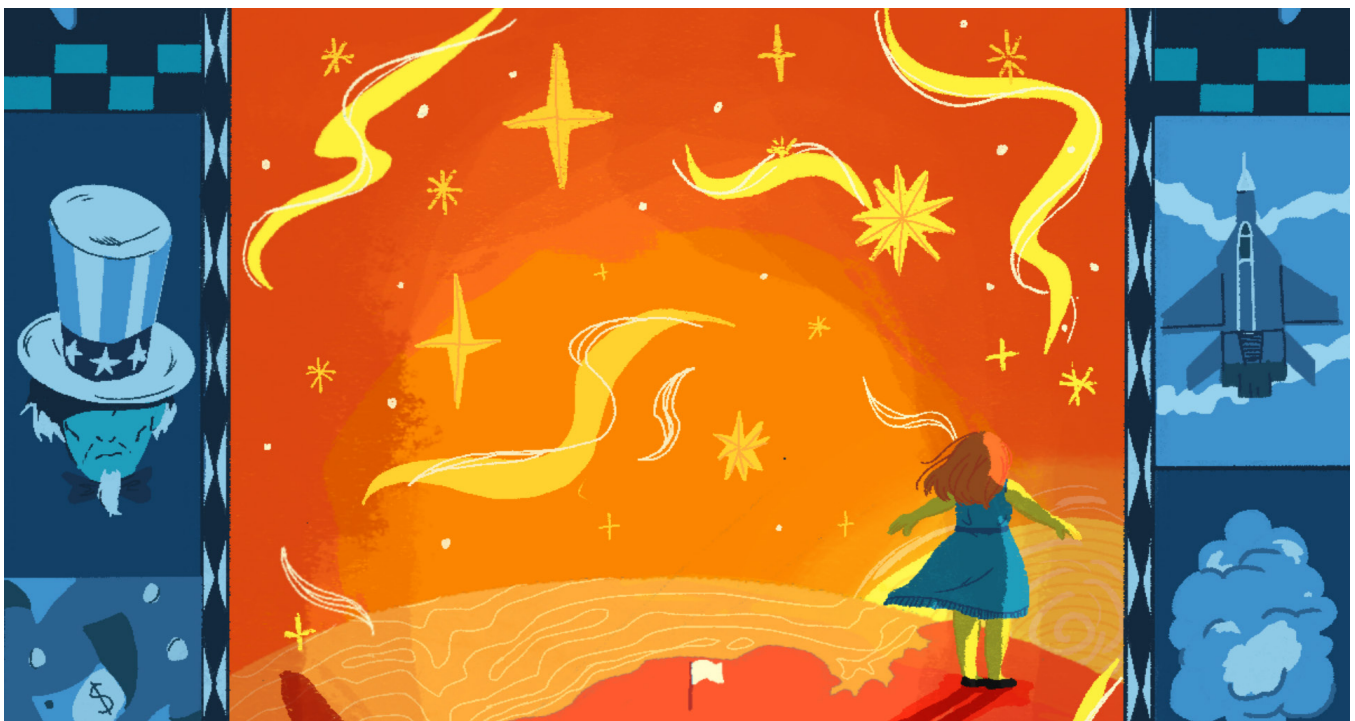
Never in the obedient puppet's rhetoric does he condemn Trump's violent rampage against Palestine, Venezuela, Cuba, and Iran. As the chief representative of the bureaucrat-capitalist, landlord, and big bourgeoisie classes and as chief puppet of US imperialism, Marcos does not remain neutral much less stand for the interests of the Filipino people, even if this means the country getting entangled and ruined in an inter-imperialist war.

US imperialism knows no bounds in its brutality as it is desperate to cling to power in the battle for a redivision of the world among major imperialist powers. This prompts the rise of fascism worldwide among imperialist countries, emergence of puppet dictators in neocolonies, and the resultant resurgence of widespread peoples' resistance against imperialism.

The NDFP stands firmly for the interest of the Filipino people who are adversely affected by this imperialist war. Number 12 of our 12-point program upholds an active, independent and peaceful foreign policy which the revolutionary movement promotes during the national democratic revolution. This will be fully implemented by a people's democratic government that will be established upon the overthrow of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. We call on the Filipino people to expand and strengthen our people's organizations, widely educate the masses on the imperialist accountability for global imperialist violence, strengthen the New People's Army and prepare to arm ourselves in defense against any imperialist aggression and to further advance the people's just war for national democracy.

We join other peace-loving peoples of the world in strongly condemning imperialist war. Only our solidarity to end imperialism and its attendant fascism will guarantee lasting peace. **LIB**

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Rectification movement steadily gains ground

by Iliya Makalipay

To his very last breath, Prof. Jose Maria Sison never faltered in the belief that the national democratic revolution will be victorious. It is invincible, he said.

Three years since his death, the revolutionary movement he founded 57 years ago continues to advance with the support of the masses in the countryside and in the cities as it pursues the rectification movement and takes stock of the lessons from the past, learns from the teachings of Marx, Lenin, and Mao and from the wealth of his writings on Philippine society and revolution, anti-revisionism, and the socialist future.

As the rectification movement enters its third year, the Central Committee of the CPP said, in its 57th anniversary statement on December 26, 2025, that the Party has achieved “meaningful advances in the ideological, political, and organizational fields.” Recognizing the contributions of all members and cadres, especially the young cadres, the CC announced: the “Party is now well-positioned to lead the broad masses of the people in all fields of struggle, primarily in the field of armed struggle.”

Waging armed struggle, overcoming relentless fascist attacks

Led by Marcos Jr, the reactionary regime and its armed forces gloat about the so-called defeat of the

revolutionary movement, of the New People’s Army. But that’s just it—finding pleasure and satisfaction over their delusion.

It is the case of the revolutionary movement in Mindoro, which has for many times been declared by several regimes as “insurgency-free.” But in 2025, the New People’s Army bravely and actively fought the combined forces of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, Philippine National Police and the Citizen Armed Force Geographical Unit. The Lucio de Guzman Command of the NPA in the island had 16 firefights, resulting in heavy casualties among the enemy forces while minimizing casualties among the Red fighters despite the AFP’s use of artillery and heavy weapons.

The same is true with the NPA-Apolinario Gatmaitan Command of the Negros Island Regional Operational Command which forges ahead to full recovery and advance as it implements the rectification movement. Like Mindoro, several commanders of the AFP battalions in Negros hailed their “success” in dismantling the guerrilla fronts in Negros Island. But many have left their positions a failure.

Amid intensified military operations, the Roselyn Jean Pelle Command launched counter-encirclement with more than 20 offensive operations and seized high-



powered rifles and ammunition. It has expanded its area of operations and recorded a 12 percent increase in the number of fulltime Red fighters and almost 20 percent in the number of people's militia. The NPA fighters have consolidated through political education and military training.

Strengthening the mass base

Recovery, expansion

Among the things the masses appreciate with the revolutionary movement is its ability to critically examine its strengths and weaknesses and rectify errors. The rectification movement is an occasion to openly discuss these critical self-examination with the masses; and, a time for the masses to hold criticism and self-criticism sessions with the revolutionary forces.

This kind of relationship helps deepen the roots of the CPP and the NPA among the masses. Accordingly, this sustains the work of the revolutionary movement among the masses—both in good and bad times.

On December 26, 2025, the Party, the NPA and the masses in Mindoro proudly raised the Party's flag in a gathering to celebrate the 57th anniversary of the CPP. It proclaimed, through Ka Madaay Gasic, spokesperson of NPA-Mindoro, that it has "reached and reactivated 84% of the towns on the island and a significant number of villages through the spirit of rectification and guidance of the Party."

Part of reaching out and reactivation of the mass base were the establishment of revolutionary mass organizations, holding of medical missions, political education, and training e.g., self defense. Some NPA units also joined the masses' food production work and

facilitated problem solving sessions on the day-to-day concerns and problems of the masses.

In Masbate, as part of the rectification movement, Party members and Red fighters revisited the villages they had not seen in years. Despite the long absence, the people were still welcoming, embracing them wholeheartedly because they recognize the Party and the NPA's track record in helping them regain their land and other democratic rights.

The masses in a village in Rizal province responded in the same way when an NPA unit went back to their village and explained the rectification movement, held study sessions, and helped in the production work. While they did not allow the Red fighters to sleep in their village as the military moved past their houses unexpectedly, the masses looked for ways to provide food for the NPA unit.

Consolidation towards revolutionary mass organizations

NPA units operating in a guerrilla front in Negros Occidental revived revolutionary mass organizations in a village despite intense military operations, surveillance, and threats. The masses in this barangay have long endured military abuses and crimes, aside from feudal and semifeudal exploitation by landlords.

The more than 2,000 individuals mobilized in a mass meeting were later organized as chapters of the Pambansang Katipunan ng mga Magbubukid (PKM), Makabayang Kilusan ng Bagong Kababaihan (Makibaka), and Kabataang Makabayan (KM). An almost platoon-size local militia, a defense unit in every sitio, and the village Party branch were also established. Only three kilometers away from them, there were military troops operating.

This was made possible by the dedicated effort put into the preparation—series of consultations among the Party collectives, NPA units and key leaders in the village, careful and comprehensive planning including monitoring of the enemy's movements, discussing with the masses the summing-up documents and review of the CPP's revolutionary guide to agrarian reform. The courage and the revolutionary zeal shown by the masses in this barangay dates back to the 1960s, which they have consistently upheld up to the present—a rich revolutionary history.

In urban centers

Heeding the Party's call for exposures, integration, and deployment in the countryside and guerrilla fronts, the



youth and professionals from the cities offered their expertise while acquiring practical experience in the work of the Red fighters—waging armed struggle, building and strengthening the mass base, and implementing agrarian revolution. Simultaneously, these endeavors activated and energized their organizations, driving forward the underground revolutionary movement in the cities and boldly advancing the call to join the NPA.

Chapters of Kabataang Makabayan and Makabayang Samahang Pangkalusugan (MSP), held assemblies as part of their consolidation process. The Katipunan ng Gurong Makabayan (Kaguma) likewise successfully held its 4th National Congress after 24 years. The Compatriots-Christians for National Liberation had its global launch in the United States in October 2025.

Since the start of the rectification movement, revolutionary organizations allied with the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) have become more visible in urban centers, including in Metro Manila. They have been holding lightning rallies, cultural assemblies, education sessions, Operation *Dikit-Pinta*, *balatengga* or streamer hanging, and sticker bombing. With the guidance of seasoned cadres, the majority of participants who are newcomers have successfully conquered their initial fear and hesitation.

The issuance of statements and the revival and regularization of publications in the regional and national levels of the revolutionary mass organizations and other propaganda work have become significant in battling the reactionary government’s terrorist tagging and more importantly, the claim that there are no more guerrilla fronts in the country.

Through rallies and diverse forms of propaganda, they have bolstered the urgent call to unite and join the people’s army in pursuit of the national democratic revolution.

The Party recognized all these efforts in its December 26, statement: “They bring together and consolidate the advanced sections of the masses taking part in mass struggles. They serve as the underground backbone of the broad, open mass movement, guiding the masses to avoid reformism in waging their struggles. In urban areas, the call for enlistment, especially from among the petty-bourgeois intellectuals, to go to the countryside for temporary or long-term deployment is growing stronger. Their contributions to invigorating educational, cultural, and other aspects of work in the people’s army are invaluable.”

Deepening ideological foundation, strengthening unity

Launched in 2023, the rectification movement is primarily a study movement on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the Party’s basic principles aimed at repudiating “primarily, empiricism and, secondarily, dogmatism in ideology; to eliminate conservatism, liberalism, tailism, and sectoralism in politics; and to eliminate bureaucratism and ultra-democracy in organization.”

Education sessions and political studies are regularly held; and various learning aids are employed to facilitate and deepen the discussions.

The revolutionary movement in Agusan-Surigao provinces held, in batches, vigorous study sessions on



regular Party courses as well as basic activist courses. These were enriched by the sharing of experiences both in mass work and in waging armed struggle, especially by seasoned cadres. The Southern Tagalog region takes pride in the 5,000 urban- and countryside-based members who finished the basic Party courses.

In a guerrilla front in Samar, a weekly political education day for the Red fighters was designated. This consists of discussion of a statement or news heard on the radio, watching political and war films including videos of mobilizations in urban centers. The videos of mobilizations in the cities is a way of connecting the struggles of those in the countryside and showing that even those in the cities are struggling and protesting. "Of course, we adjust when there are military operations. But the military can not be in all places at the same time, so there's really space for these kinds of activities," said the Region's propaganda officer.

Many references, documents, courses, and reading materials have been translated in local languages as in the case of Negros Regional committee, which ensured that there are Hiligaynon translation of various materials needed for education sessions, especially among the basic masses. Other regions produce localized primers. In Southern Tagalog, they produced and used a primer to unite the masses on the revolutionary history and significance of their town, its current situation and classes within. These discussions facilitate the establishment of groups and branches of revolutionary mass organizations in the locality.

Outside the formal sessions and when situation allows, discussions over coffee or meals continue to be a learning session among the seasoned cadres and the young members, those from the countryside and the cities, of the Party and the NPA—which provide lessons, inspiration, and vigor that would fuel the revolutionary to greater heights in the coming years.

As a study movement, the third rectification movement does not only consist of studies and discussions but also, and equally important, is summing-up of years of practice and engaging in a thorough investigation of the current social realities and updating class analysis from the local up to the national level.

Members and cadres of the Party, the Red fighters and the revolutionary mass base easily united on the need for the rectification movement. As the North-Eastern Mindanao Party and NPA units said, "the comrades are excited and enthusiastic to face the challenges, having achieved the goal of starting the rectification movement, consolidating, identifying every detail of their

shortcomings and errors, and overcoming weaknesses with determination to make even more progress in the future."

The Negros Island Regional Committee meanwhile "has accumulated golden lessons as solid basis for formulating the overall plan and direction that will further strengthen the foundation of our Party" after the summing up of their revolutionary practice. The Party even reviewed their assessment reports of 22 years, starting from the mid-1990s.

Conferences and training like those held in Southern Luzon were also employed to focus on certain lines of work such as mass work, military work, health, etc. Case studies were presented in these conferences e.g. methods in mass work and concerns on expansion, consolidation, the importance of participation in production work of the masses, conservatism, and many others. In military work, case studies of successful and failed tactical offensives, defensive battles were also discussed.

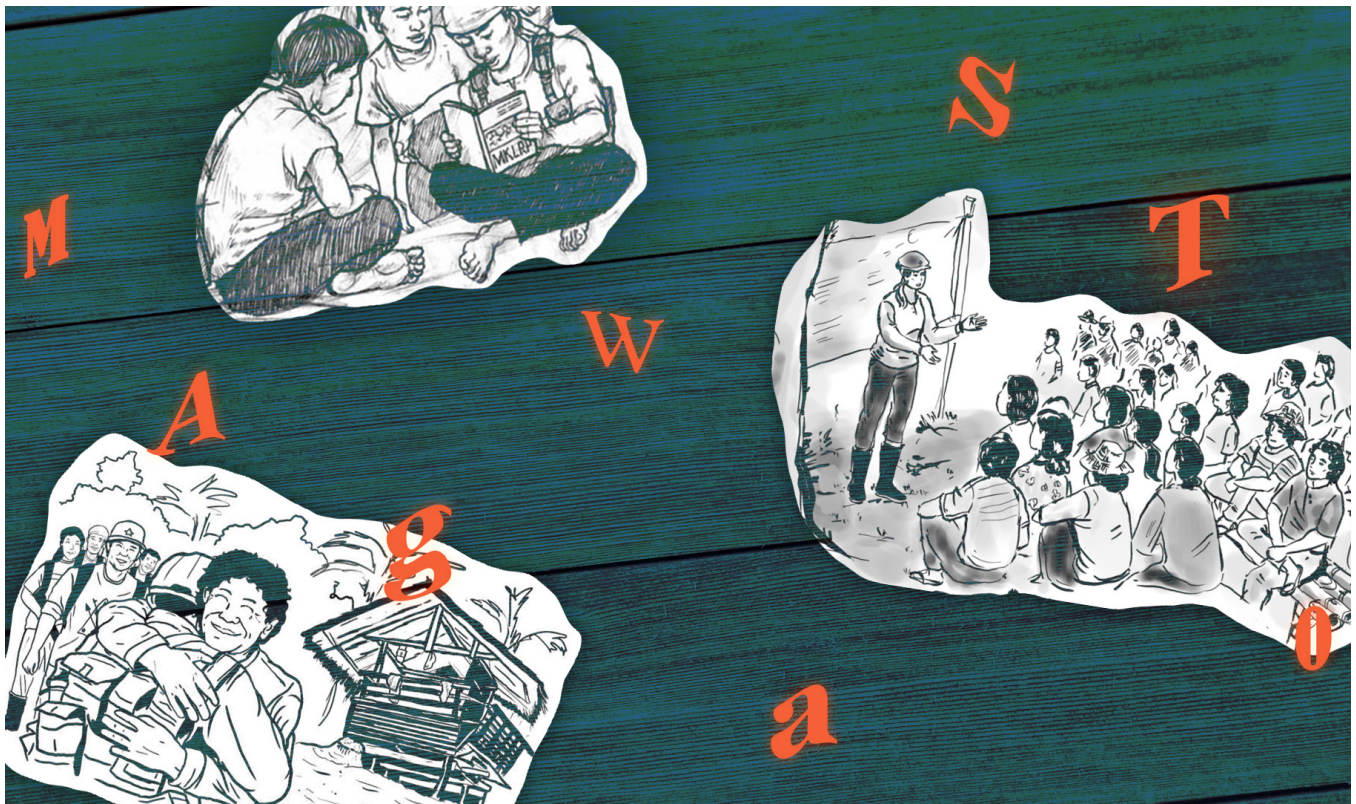
Celebrating victories

While celebrating the victories achieved through the rectification movement, the Party acknowledges that numerous challenges and significant effort still lie ahead as we strive to advance further. It stressed: "some areas have lagged behind and some have suffered losses due to still unrectified weaknesses and in the face of relentless attacks of the enemy."

The Philippine crises will always breed revolutionaries as NDFP's Secretary General Elias Dipasupil said in a statement in July 2025. But as the revolutionary movement strengthens itself ideologically, politically and organizationally, through the rectification process, individual members should also "steel their fighting spirit, deepen their understanding of Philippine society, get closer to the basic masses, expand and consolidate their organizations, be good at united front tactics, and march forth."

As the revolutionary movement continues to implement the rectification movement, the challenge at this point is for the members, cadres, activists, and the mass base to embrace the growing and evolving responsibilities and sacrifices with steadfast determination, believing wholeheartedly in the Party's vision and path to victory. **LMB**

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WHAT'S IN A RECTIFICATION MOVEMENT? *by Bernadette Rojo*

Back in 2023, in its 55th anniversary statement, the Communist Party of the Philippines launched an organization-wide rectification movement aimed at addressing longstanding internal problems of the revolutionary movement in the Philippines. In the spirit of criticism and self-criticism, the Party aimed to revitalize its forces in the face of clear setbacks over the past few years. The rectification movement set out to resolve issues across all aspects of the revolution, from the work carried out in urban areas to the armed struggle in the countryside.

Two years later, in the 57th anniversary statement of the CPP, the Central Committee recognized that the movement had achieved moderate gains in its implementation of the rectification movement. There was still some way to go, with the statement highlighting some areas which had not yet been fully addressed or resolved.

When I first heard that the CPP was launching a third rectification movement, it seemed, of course, quite daunting. As a young revolutionary — much, much younger than the CPP and the national democratic (ND) movement as a whole — all I had heard about

“rectification” at that point were the stories from the First Great Rectification Movement of the late 60’s and the Second Great Rectification Movement of the 90’s. Both were made out to be rather turbulent, confusing times. So what’s going on in this Third Rectification Movement? What’s it got to do with what we do in our organizations under the NDFP?

THIRD TIME AROUND

If you read the CPP statement that officially launched the current *kilwas*, while it notes that this is the third time this is happening, it avoids calling this one “great”, unlike the First and Second Great Rectification Movements. Why is that? Based on the 55th anniversary statement, it has something to do with the fact that the Party is still very much solid as a whole, with its members all in general agreement as to the economic and political analysis of Philippine society, the strategy and tactics to be used, and many other fundamental points. Very much unlike the first two *recti* movements which were marked by clear ideological disagreements internally.

So far, so good, then. So what’s there to rectify? For starters, it’s clear that, over the past few years, instead

UNBOXING MEANING

Legalism: Limiting the people's movement to purely legal forms of struggle addressed to actions in parliament such as repealing, amending, or passing laws within the reactionary system; ignoring other forms of democratic and metalegal actions addressed to rouse people into action for their own empowerment outside of government, neglecting the need for revolutionary armed struggle and other underground forms of organization and mobilization.

Reformism: Working purely for reforms without placing these within a framework for systemic change; negating the need to overthrow the reactionary state as a prerequisite for genuine and lasting reform. Note that pushing for reforms does not necessarily equate to reformism.

NGOism: Running institutions and organizations the way traditional non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are operated: activities and campaigns based entirely on funding requirements; institutionalizing salaried, 9-to-5 work among cadres, prioritizing regular office work over activism and voluntarism; among many other things.

Military conservatism: For NPA units, this is the failure to take military initiative and maximize opportunities to deal blows against the enemy—failure to actively plan, lay the groundwork for, and execute tactical offensives that the strength of the revolutionary troops and mass base can be capable of winning, failure to maintain an active defensive posture, among many other things.

Self-constriction: For NPA units, it is the process of limiting one's own available area for maneuver, such as repeatedly retreating into a select few "favorite" consolidated villages while neglecting continuous expansion on the basis of continuous consolidation.



of advancing, the movement has retreated. In one of its statements, the CPP noted how, after a period of general stagnation since the mid-2000s, the movement experienced major setbacks starting 2017–2018.

For an outsider, it might be easy to chalk things up to the counterrevolutionary *opians* of the likes of the tyrant Rodrigo Duterte. The Party, however, takes it a step further—while recognizing that the reactionary regime is indeed doing all it can to crush the people's revolution, we need to look inward at our internal problems and see what we need to overcome, to place ourselves in a position of strength against our enemies.

So the challenge now is to learn from our mistakes and do better. With the third rectification movement, the CPP and all the organizations it leads—from the NPA to the organizations under the NDFP—is doing exactly that.

EMPIRICISM, THE MAIN ERROR

The CPP identified empiricism, a form of subjectivism, as the main internal error right now. Being subjective, just like how the term is usually used, means being one-sided or just looking at things from a single point of view. Empiricism is a particular way of being subjective; rooted in the word "empirical", or working with what you can directly see, hear, observe. Empiricism just means understanding things based only on what you see in front of you. What the Party has set out to correct is the tendency not to look back at the wealth of revolutionary theory and see how this can be creatively applied in the various tasks we take on as revolutionaries.

What might this look like in practice? Conducting political work mechanically, using the same approach on repeat without bothering to take a step back and sum up experiences so that we might improve. Getting caught up in dealing with what's directly in front of you—the technicalities of reactionary legislative frameworks, or a defensive military situation—that you are unable to take a step back and see the bigger picture, see what work can be and should be done to advance the revolution tangibly. Becoming content with shallow analyses and half-baked investigations into the concrete conditions of the areas and sectors we operate in.

As you might expect, it is this empiricist mindset that has led to several of the other -isms criticized by the Party: legalism, reformism, NGOism among those working in organizations and institutions in the city, military conservatism and self-constriction in many units of the NPA. These manifestations of empiricism have real implications—increasing number of defensive battles among NPA units, decreasing number of

tactical offensives, lower recruitment into our revolutionary organizations, among many others.

BACK TO BASICS

So what does the CPP task its membership to do to address the shortcomings of the past years? This third *kilwas* is characterized as a “study movement” — a movement to brush up on revolutionary theory, and build ideological understanding and strength to face and overcome the challenges of today. Among other things, Party members have been tasked to visit and revisit classics of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist theory, conduct educational discussions, and see how these impact our work in strengthening the organization and the movement as a whole.

For NDFP-affiliated organizations, we are also invited to take our educational work seriously and to the next level. In addition to courses like *Araling Aktibista*, we can expand our curricula to include discussions on the whole 12-point program of the NDFP, as well as courses such as *ESKUM Digmang Bayan*. This way, we can also help build the foundations of revolutionary theory and practice among our members, and contribute to addressing the problematic isms affecting the movement today.

Being part of the third rectification movement is daunting, but as they say, *internal ang mapagpasya*. As members of our organizations under the leadership of the CPP, we are in on this. As the Party has self-criticized to rectify its errors, we are all challenged to examine ourselves individually and collectively, and see what we can do to regain lost ground and advance the Philippine revolution tangibly. **LIB**

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Leo Velasco: Guided by MLM and inspired by the masses

by Mia Andres

“**S**inuhulan ako ng tatay ko na bibilhan niya ako ng motor Shuwag lang akong mag-NPA,” Leo Velasco once said. “Eh matagal ko nang hinihingi sa kanya yun.”

This was in 1970s when activism was spreading like wildfire. The idea of liberating the masses from oppression and exploitation was an attractive call.

Leo wanted to be a neurologist—a kind of doctor that is scarce in the Philippines. It was a very promising future for him. Yet, in his first year of medicine proper at the University of the Philippines, he decided to go underground. In an open letter he wrote to members of Progresibong Kilusang Medikal, he said his decision was prompted by his realization he won’t be able to cure his patients when there is a bigger disease in society that keeps its citizens even more ill.

So the motorcycle he had always wanted became a trivial thing. He now wanted something bigger than himself.

From medic to commander

A warrior of the people is not only good for battle but everything else—a medic, a teacher, sometimes a mediator,

and most of the time, a problem solver. Armed not only with a rifle (which were few during that time) but also with the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology, Leo was able to organize the locals and helped in establishing organs of political power.

He was among the cadres who gave the first-ever military training of the New People's Army (NPA). But before they were able to teach military tactics to local commanders and team leaders, they realized they needed to address first a more basic issue—basic education.

It was prompted when a platoon commander from peasant origin asked a cadre from the city what the round thing attached to his watch was. It was a compass.

“Ano ang compass, kaddua?”

So the cadre explained what a compass is. *“Ito yung nagsasabi saan ang timog, hilaga, silangan at kanluran. Lagi siyang nakaturo sa hilaga dahil sa magnet nito.”*

“Ano ang magnet?”

There it was. “We need to start from the basics,” the cadre said. So the comrades who came from universities pooled their knowledge and came up with modules for literacy and basic education on science and math.

When asked what they wanted to learn about, the peasants said they wanted to learn why there were different types of plants and trees, things closest to their lives. It meant that they needed to learn how species evolved to what they are today. At the time, there was no internet, nor a laptop with an electronic encyclopedia so the teachers had to rely on their stock knowledge. As the teachers realized none of them were capable of teaching this branch of science, Leo arrived at the camp. He came prepared to give a military training but he had to teach science first.

Because it is the army of the people, military work comes hand-in-hand with mass work. The people's army to liberate the masses is the masses themselves. Leo understood this deeply. Thus, the basic science and math discussions would become instruction materials not only for the people's army but also for the peasant masses they organized.

The military training that followed was a success. In the following years, the membership of the NPA multiplied



exponentially. It was able to expand in almost all regions and was able to establish several fronts nationwide. He was first assigned in the Cagayan Valley region as a medic, then eventually became one of the commanders of the New People's Army in the region. Even when Leo rose up to one of the most important roles in the people's army command, he held on to his dedication to the masses as he faced more pressing tasks at hand.

Asked when is it correct for an NPA fighting unit to leave its base in the context of worsening enemy attacks, Leo answered, "when the NPA is pushed into a purely military situation, when it can only do military work and not perform its mass work anymore, it is time to leave and rebuild another base."

The second great rectification movement

There were five of them in the Executive Committee—Benito Tiamzon, Wilma Austria-Tiamzon, Ric Reyes and Arturo Tabara, and Leo. In 1989, Reyes and Tabara were pressuring the EC to make the strategic decision to launch the series of events that aimed to spark an insurrection to finally seize political power. At that time, Joma Sison came out with a document to reaffirm the basic principles of the Party—protracted people's war (PPW) and seizing political power by encircling the cities from the countryside as the most realistic strategy and tactic for a semicolonial and semifeudal society.

It was a very long debate among the five. On one hand, the economic and political crises seemed more than ever ripe for revolution. On the other hand, the subjective forces—the revolutionary organizations and mass base—had not yet reached the level of strength to launch such a decisive action. Shifting from PPW to insurrection at the time could spell the life or death of the revolution. The people's army had big military formations, yes, but there were so many errors in premature regularization that had to be corrected. They couldn't get a consensus. So they had to resort to voting.

The Tiamzon couple voted to reaffirm. Reyes and Tabara voted for insurrection they were peddling. It was a 2-2. Leo broke the tie and voted to reaffirm. During that time, it was not an easy decision for him. (But to continue this story, the two EC members who voted for insurrection issued totally different orders on the ground. Eventually, they faced a trial for their offenses and were expelled from the Party.) Looking back, if Leo had voted with Reyes and Tabara, Party cadres would have had a more



difficult time in carrying out the rectification movement and thus it could have resulted in more setbacks.

Leo, since then, devoted himself to taking important duties in rectifying the mistakes of the Communist Party, the Army and the United Front. He led the military commission to advance warfare to the middle phase. He was not a military genius nor a shining tactician. He was a cadre whose standpoint and viewpoint remained firm against revisionism.

Firm in principle, flexible in tactics

Because of his duties, he went around the country guiding and coordinating with guerrilla fronts on military matters. He would also give training in military work. At the time, there were no cellphones with GPS yet. He taught comrades how to map grid coordinates and know their location in reference to the location of the enemy. Having this skill gave NPA fighters time to retreat or advance in their positions.

He was also ready to help resolve problems of different regions. He would gladly sit with comrades during an assessment or meeting to hear the matters at hand and was willing to give his sound advise.

One regional cadre recalled there was a time when some *atas* (tasks) had been interpreted differently and caused some confusion or disagreement among regional cadres. And because he was present, he was able to clarify the context of the tasks from the higher organ. When they realized the task was not applicable in some areas, he and the cadres crafted another plan that would achieve the same objectives.

Enriching point number 3 of the NDFP's 12-point program: Build the people's army and a people's defense system.

With his leadership, the NPA was able to launch a series of centralized military training—for military trainers, snipers, and ordnance specialists. NPA fighters from different regions were able to share skills and experiences in guerrilla warfare, with the more advanced regions helping out other regions, which were relatively lagging behind. As a result, many regions, if not all, gained more confidence to launch tactical offensives with the right preparation and social investigation.

During the early 2000s, he was able to organize Operation Raindrops, a nationally coordinated military campaign. It

was a call for all NPA units nationwide to launch tactical offensives, however small or big based on their capacity, within a specific time frame. In the usual principle of “centralized leadership and decentralized operations,” regions would launch offensives based on their own time frame within a general program. But with this campaign, the regional commands put military action as priority for the specific time that the national command directed, coordinated, and monitored. This was to test the capacity of the NPA to launch nationally coordinated campaigns as it looked forward to the middle phase of the strategic defensive—where such operations would be more prominent as the people’s war moved to the strategic stalemate. This was to also spread the enemy thin nationwide and divert its focus on specific areas.

This initiative showed a leap from that time’s existing military conservatism and gave a telling blow to the US-Estrada Regime’s “counterinsurgency” program, the Oplan Lambat Bitag.

On February 19, 2007 in Cagayan de Oro City, Leo—unarmed and assisting the region on some organizational problem in the urban area—was abducted by men wearing shirts bearing the logo of CIDG (Criminal Investigation and Detection Group). He became one of the 206 victims of enforced disappearances of the US-Arroyo Regime’s Oplan Bantay Laya.

From the NPA’s struggles during its infancy to its march in the middle phase pushing towards the advance sub-stage of the strategic defensive, Leo Velasco held the spirit of combating conservatism. He persevered in always looking and moving forward. He always upheld the armed struggle being waged by the New People’s Army, never losing sight of the ray of hope towards victory. While there is still that light, the younger fighters are now challenged to hold the torch on one hand and an armalite on the other, and win the revolution. For it is only through the armed revolution of the masses, guided by the Party, that oppression can be eliminated and people be genuinely free. **LIB**

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by Pinky Ang

In a neocolonial society such as what the Filipinos have, the defense of sovereignty is so utterly bastardized that it is used to justify offering the country to the US as a proxy in its imperialist wars and provocations.

The Marcos Jr puppet regime is in a mad rush to serve the US interest of containing its rival China at the expense of the Filipino people. For 2026, Marcos regime allotted Php 430.9 billion defense budget, a landmark amount marking the third consecutive year of double-digit growth in military spending. It is a 14 percent increase from the 2025 allocation, and one-and-a-half times larger than the Php278.1 billion level in 2024. With such funding, the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) is expected to improve readiness to operate with “allies” in the so-called Indo-Pacific region.

“Comprehensive Archipelagic Defense Concept”

In 2024, the US-Marcos Jr regime, through its Defense Secretary Gilbert Teodoro, vowed to smash the revolutionary movement by the year’s end. It came with the announcement that the AFP would shift its operations from internal to external defense based on what it called the “Comprehensive Archipelagic Defense Concept” which, supposedly, aims to “guarantee Filipino corporations and foreigners permitted by the Philippines to peacefully carry out exploration and exploitation in all natural resources within the exclusive economic zone (of the Philippines) and other areas within (its) jurisdiction.” The concept, according to Ang Bayan’s February 2024 article, was lifted straight from the US military’s Archipelagic Defense Strategy (ADS).

In reality, ADS intends to “prevent Chinese aggression in the Western Pacific Theater of Operations emphasizing on what it calls the ‘First Island Chain’.” The ADS, according to the same article, aims to neutralize, suppress, and eliminate the capability of the “enemy” that is China to launch aggression in the region. Hence, the Marcos regime’s shot at establishing a network of US bases, building of facilities for war materiel such as missiles—both publicly or privately.

ADS was preceded by the US-RP Bilateral Defense Guidelines signed in May 2023. Included in this is a provision for the Philippines to “coordinate closely [with the US on] defense budget planning [to] identify priority defense platforms and force packages over the next five years to bolster our combined capabilities and capacity.”

Using Filipino money

Ironically, for a “strategy” that mainly serves US war provocations in the region, its so-called Asian partners—Japan, Korea, and the Philippines—are required to shoulder its cost.

In line with this “archipelagic defense” Teodoro bragged about the Marcos regime’s Php 2 trillion 2024 defense budget will be used to buy US-made weapons, vehicles, and other military equipment—overpriced antiquated US F-16 jet fighters, large ships to participate in “joint patrols” in the South China Sea, and other large weapons or “big tickets”.

In other words, all these yearly increase in military budget means the US-Marcos Jr regime has been splurging on what it calls defense, yet, trampling on the country’s sovereignty by opening up its territory to US military basing and troops and to the allies of imperialist US such as Japan and Australia. They are raiding the public coffers to fund the military buildup.

US Readyng the Philippines

The ADS is readyng the AFP for more intense US imperialist aggression in Asia-Pacific and that includes more and bigger joint military drills like Balikatan and Cope Thunder that are regularly held on Philippine territory. Participating troops increased from four digits in 2020 to more than 25,000 in 2025. The planned US military “engagements” rose from 300 in 2020 to over 500 annually from 2024 to 2026. Most of these “engagements” are joint exercises, patrols, and the annual one to two large-scale multi-lateral war games involving thousands.

For the Marcos regime, the “archipelagic concept” is

bringing the Philippines country into more “alliances” and signing of visiting forces agreements with other US imperialist partners such as Japan, Australia, Canada, and France.

Entire archipelago and whole-of-nation approach being attuned for imperialist US

The archipelagic concept is clearly about being a proxy and subordinate of the US. In September 2022, the US announced the Task Force 76/3, a unit from its Indo-Pacific Command, to tighten control over naval facilities, bases, and forces in South East and Southeast Asian countries to surround China with land-based long-range missiles.

Since Balikatan 2025, a unit of this Task Force began operation. The US formed Task Force Ayungin in 2024 to provoke maritime skirmishes between China and the Philippines in the West Philippines Sea.

These war projects necessitate building more military bases. At the behest of the US, the AFP expanded military facilities at Ulugan or Oyster Bay in Palawan to serve as port and repair stations for large US vessels. The site is serving as launching pad for sailing US naval vessels to provoke armed confrontations with China. The US is also planning to construct a similar port for smaller assault ships in Quezon, also in Palawan, where it had constructed military barracks in 2024. The US wants it operational by 2026 in time for delivery of small boats and assault ships.

US has more plans for new military infrastructure. These include:

- a refueling depot or fuel storage in Davao Gulf spanning Davao City’s coastline to Malalag Bay;
- an ammunition factory in Subic Bay Freeport;
- a drone factory in Aurora Pacific Economic Zone and Freeport.

In March 2025, Marcos signed the Joint Vision Statement on US-Philippine Defense Industrial Cooperation. The US has identified some military companies it plans to bring into the country, thus promising huge benefits and commissions to military generals and bureaucrat capitalists who would partner or work as agents to supply the US war business with equipment and ammunition.

To date, the AFP has excitedly welcomed this announcement notwithstanding the failure of similar projects in the past to, even at the very least, “industrialize” the



supply of war materials to the local reactionary troops. This is not to mention the toxic legacy the US military infrastructure and operations invariably leave where it located.

To the US, the military buildup and war provocations in the Asia-Pacific is not just about blocking the advance of its rival China. It is also about continuing to profit from war, selling arms and weapons, warships and planes as it pushes Southeast Asian countries to respond to China’s expansion with military buildup. The paradigm shift in the AFP is manifesting fully in the bigger, most ambitious shopping for war machines and construction of military infrastructure.

“Counterinsurgency”

Alongside the US-led war provocations against China, US promotes “counterinsurgency”, suppressing national liberation movements and destroying mass movements. Of the world’s total spending on military, the US leads with 37 percent. In the Philippines, a neocolony of imperialist US, the local reactionary troops have largely been using the US-supplied or brokered arms, munition, and military aid to repress the people and enforce martial law-like rule in mounting its “counterinsurgency” operations.

Two years after Defense Secretary Gilberto Teodoro announced the shift from internal to external defense following Marcos Jr’s directive, activists and

revolutionaries remain the top targets of the AFP.

The CPP noted that while the Marcos Jr regime allows itself to be used in the war provocations against China, it has yet to remove its “counterinsurgency” forces that are conducting intense military operations in rural areas.

The resisting Filipino masses, their organized and revolutionary sections, and members of the mass movement are subjected to threats, trumped up criminal charges and constant demonization. Their communities are targets for aerial bombing, shelling and imposition of martial law conditions including hamletting, curfews, sanctions and food blockades. The reactionary government continuously opposes and sabotages the people’s action to implement genuine land reform and assert their right to self-determination.

More than the high-profile “engagements” with China at the West Philippine Sea, the reactionary troops encamp within civilian communities and use the civilian bureaucracy to subject people to surveillance, harassment and violent attacks whether they are armed revolutionaries or unarmed peasants and activists.

Marco Valbuena, CPP’s chief information officer, said in an interview in October 2025: “Marcos’ line that there are ‘no more guerrilla groups’ in the country is a big lie. Marcos made the declaration to satisfy his US imperialist masters who have been pouring large amounts of funds to AFP ‘counterinsurgency’ operations over the last few years, in the vain hope that it can completely crush the New People’s Army, so that they can have the puppet AFP give full attention to supporting the US war plans in the Indo-Pacific.”

The US-Marcos Jr regime can only dream on. **LIB**

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‘BOLDER THAN EVER’

The most costly phase of AFP Modernization under Marcos Jr.

by Pinky Ang



Over the last eight years, the total funding for the Armed Forces of the Philippines’ modernization program has grown by 150 percent. Philstar reported that Php 30 billion in 2018 increased to Php 75 billion in 2025. It observed that the share of unprogrammed or standby funds also saw its biggest increase during these past eight years, growing eightfold from Php 5 billion in 2018 to Php 40 billion in 2025.

The Philippines as a US adjunct in Asia comes with a hefty price tag. In the third and “final” phase of the three-phased modernization program (the first was under Aquino 2, the second under Duterte), Marcos Jr approved a revised modernization plan. The previous Horizon 3 or third phase covering 2023 to 2028 becomes Re-Horizon 3 covering a decade with a Php 2 trillion or roughly \$35 billion price tag.

The obedient puppet of imperialist US seeks to accelerate the AFP modernization program at a pace unseen in previous years. Previous modernization tranches have already cost the Filipinos billions while laying the groundwork for the latest shopping pressure. Under Duterte the guaranteed funds for AFP shopping from 2018 to 2022 ranged from Php 25 billion to Php 29 billion. Under Marcos Jr the guaranteed funds were increased sharply to Php 35 billion in 2025 and Php 40 billion in 2024. Should the Department of Budget Management (DBM) manage to gather funds elsewhere (i.e., perhaps if they reduce some of the kickbacks of some of their political rivals) in 2025, the AFP modernization program stands to get another Php 40 billion in funding.

In May 2025 the AFP convened a high-level meeting with then Executive Secretary Lucas Bersamin, Budget Secretary Amena Pangandaman, and Finance Secretary Ralph Recto to discuss financing not only to fund but

also to fast track the AFP modernization program. Add to this, to fund the AFP’s newly established “Self-Reliance Defense Posture Program” where they seem to be hatching with US a plan to manufacture or assemble in the country some of the equipment and ammunition it would need especially if war breaks out in the Asia Pacific.

Shopping list of a proxy

Halfway into his term, the US-Marcos Jr regime has already ordered the following killing machines:

- Additional 12 FA-50 combat aircraft. Overpriced at more than U\$700 million when the reactionary government issued a Notice to proceed (formalizing the contract to buy), these aircraft would have made the AFP’s fleet to a total of 24, a “full squadron” by 2030. But last March, one of it crashed in Bukidnon.
- Upgrading of existing fleet or currently the 11 FA-50 of the Philippine Air Force through a separate initiative under Re-Horizon 3 worth approximately U\$95.4 million.
- Additional 6 A-29 B Super Tucanos currently being built by Brazilian defense major Embraer which delivered the first six A-29 Tucanos amid the pandemic in 2020. The first six were ordered under a Php 5 billion or roughly U\$100 million contract.
- New air defense systems. The AFP procured Air Surveillance Radar System and ground-based air defense systems from Japan. In 2023, the Philippines was the first country to receive assistance from Japan’s then newly created Official Security Assistance (OSA) when it received Japan’s assistance for U\$ 4 million in maritime domain awareness radars. In 2024, Japan reportedly allotted U\$10.6 million for unspecified number of coastal radar systems and rigid-hulled inflatable boats for the Philippine Air Force and

Philippine Navy. Even the previously ordered four air defense radars through \$103 million deal in 2020 will reportedly be covered by Japan OSA. Of these four, one was already delivered in 2023.

- Two new Miguel Malvar-class Corvettes currently being built in South Korea's Hyundai Heavy Industries for U\$ 478 million to be delivered from this year to 2028. BRP Miguel Malvar, delivered in 2023, is a modern corvette equipped with advanced surface and air surveillance capabilities.
- Modernizing cyber infrastructure. For what the AFP Chief of Staff Gen Romeo Brawner called networked warfare, the AFP has also been spending tons of money to procure or upgrade programs integrating command and control systems, drones, and ISR (intelligence, surveillance, reconnaissance) tools to ground operations. At the same time the AFP is also spending money in tactical radio systems, satellite communication, and logistics management platforms.
- Training and indoctrinating the AFP. The most visible drills and operations happen during Balikatan, Salaknib and other war drills held in the country where local reactionary troops “train” or conduct operations under the guise of war exercises with US, Australian, and Japanese troops. In simulating joint air and sea operations, local troops are familiarized with who the imperialist masters target as enemies and who really wields the command in battle, under the concept of “interoperability.” There are training in using the hardware and software provided to the AFP under loan or other assistance contracts.
- Six new and upcoming Rajah Sulayman class offshore patrol vessels. The modular tower-array sonar system for three of these cost Php 2.40 billion or U\$35 million.
- Five more 97-meter long patrol vessels, ordered by the AFP in May 2024, the largest military maritime deal so far between the Philippines and Japan. Funded by the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) through its the Official Development Assistance (ODA) the \$507 million loan covers the U\$425 million for constructing the five vessels and the rest for a five-year integrated logistics support package. These five will join the two ordered from Japan in 2020 and delivered in 2022—now BRP Teresa Magbanua and BRP Melchora Aquino, in use for patrol and war games.
- The US has approved the sale of 20 units of overpriced F-16 aircraft (U\$5.5 billion), training helicopters with simulators and other training equipment (U\$120

million) and Typhon Missiles. Of these, the Typhon missile system has now been permanently stationed in the Philippines.

- Various infrastructure, equipment for military use. Since 2016 the Philippine Coast Guard received via loan from JICA 12 Multi-Role Response Vessels (MRRV) from Japan. It is now being deployed in South China Sea and in resupply missions to BRP Sierra Madre.
- Some reports from US Naval Institute (USNI) said the US is set to fund and construct a fast boat base in Quezon, Palawan under similar specification for what it has been building in Oyster Bay, also in Palawan, with additional storage and even conference rooms. In 2024 in the same compound in Quezon, Palawan the US contracted for building a two-storey military barracks. The USNI report said the base should be ready in time for the “arrival and initial use” of rigid-hulled inflatable boats and assault boats.

Upgraded shopping for whom

The reactionary AFP is expectedly making a lot of noise for the pivot to external defense, the justification for this latest costly shopping package of the AFP modernization program. So far their record of standing up, if it is qualified as standing up for what they call as Philippine sovereignty, is parroting the US imperialist line of maintaining freedom of navigation in the South China Sea. And, warning China on behalf of US.

Ultimately, it is the Filipino people who will pay the bill: The fisherfolk are frequently deprived of opportunities to fish. Joint exercises harm the environment both of land and seas. Farmers and fishers complained and protested how the increased military build-up has been infringing on their livelihood, polluting and destroying the ecosystem in the environment, and destroying as well the culture in the vicinity. The military build-up is also maxing the capacity of the reactionary troops to impose a martial law-like situation in many regions of the country. **LIB**

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CONCHA ARANETA-BOCALA: CONTINUING THE TRADITION OF WOMEN FIGHTERS

by Silvia Madiaga

Some of her fellow FQS (First Quarter Storm) activists said she wouldn't last in the hills because she was flat-footed. And Panay's West Cordillera range has among the most rugged mountains, second only to the Cordilleras of Northern Luzon.

Some of her family members thought she wouldn't last in the hills because she was not used to the hard life of peasants and farm workers. She was born and raised in a *buena familia*, a *colegiala* who excelled in the academics of an exclusive school, designed to prepare for a successful domestic or corporate life, to attend to the family business, and raise beautiful children who would later be sent to the next exclusive schools.

Some friends raised eyebrows and doubted if she would last in the hills because she was a woman. The late 1960s had strict stereotypes of women—for the nursery, the bed, the kitchen. Even during the ferment of the youth movement, society generally regarded women as submissive though attractive creatures, and only activists among women wore pants. Literally. Others wore miniskirts.

But she proved them all wrong. She not only overcame her physical, class, and gender limitations to survive in the mountains for more than five decades, but also emerged as a revolutionary leader in the tradition of Panay's strong, revolutionary women—Katipunan's Generala Teresa Magbanua and the HMB's (*Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan*) Kumander Waling-waling or Coronacion Chiva.

Crossing boundaries

Concha Araneta was a product of her time. Society was in a ferment. The economic crisis in the US brought about by its own imperialist aggression in Vietnam was being transferred to the US neocolonies including the Philippines. Newly-aware youth were questioning old traditions, building new ones. Workers were reeling from

the effects of the economic crisis and peasants sinking deeper in poverty with the shrinking land frontiers. The Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) was established in 1968 on the broad base of young student activists and union organizers, and the New People's Army (NPA) among the peasants. Mao Zedong's Cultural Revolution was inspiring youth in the Philippines and all over the world.

Resurgence of the women's movement was among the results of this ferment. While schools were teaching "social graces" and home economics for women, activists were discussing social issues and systemic change outside the classrooms. While mass media, theatre, and advertisements were stereotyping women as fragile creatures on pedestals, commodities for sale, or glorified prisoners in their own homes, the national democratic movement, now with MAKIBAKA (*Makabayang Kilusan ng Bagong Kababaihan*) as the foremost women's organization, was asserting that "a woman's place is in the struggle." And while the reactionary Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) was relegating women soldiers into its auxiliary services, the NPA was welcoming women and men into its ranks as equal comrades. The FQS of 1970 was not just a series of violently dispersed rallies, it was a spark that brought the liberating message of national democratic revolution to the whole country.

Then a student of the University of the Philippines, Concha was among the activists of the FQS. She would later become an NPA Red fighter in Panay, working



and living among the indigenous Tumanduk in Panay alongside her husband, also an NPA guerrilla.

Transformative power of revolutionary commitment

Her four arrests and detentions, together with her participation in the spectacular escape of a group of political prisoners timed on Marcos' birthday, are all well-known stuff for legends. But even with such determination and daring, Concha had to face her own personal struggles while pursuing the revolutionary path.

As a mother, she often longed for her children as it became more and more difficult for her to visit them with the military putting her on the wanted list. And comrades tell stories about how helplessly she once called out to the sky as she watched the passing military helicopter above carrying her infant away.

Her physical health, made even worse by the rigors of mountain life, would often compel her to be sent now and again for treatment in the urban areas, but she would always return to the armed struggle once treated. She was almost blind in one eye, the result of an encounter in Miag-ao, Iloilo. She suffered from anemia and chronic pneumonia. Once, while on an all-day march of retreat from an encounter, she collapsed unconscious along the way. A doctor and several medics who aided her until she regained consciousness asked for a stretcher but she shook off the service and continued to walk until they reached the harbor area. "They are all tired from the march," she said, "it is not good to give them additional burdens because we may meet another encounter along the way and they will not be able to fight."

In the early 1990s, when a large chunk of Panay forces degenerated into revisionist disorientation, Concha led the remaining forces in rallying to the Second Great Rectification Movement, in the face of threats and harassment from the splittist groups that were able to rip off the best firearms from the revolutionary forces.

She drafted the region's 10-year summing-up paper which Party members, Red commanders and fighters of all fronts overwhelmingly approved. Of Panay Island's four standing guerrilla fronts at that time, three were led by women. Women were also the secretaries of the urban committees. They all helped to propagate the lessons of the rectification movement, and Concha was with them discussing the summing-up papers down to the

barangay level organizations. With perseverance, the revolutionary movement in Panay got back on track and regained strength.

In 2015, Concha was arrested for the fourth time while she was undergoing medical treatment in Iloilo. Even in detention, she made friends with her women prison guards, some even receiving acupuncture treatments from her. She continued to give interviews to the media to air her views about the Filipino people's struggles. In 2016, being a peace consultant of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines' (NDFP) peace panel, she was released to join the peace negotiations with the Duterte regime.

When the fascist Duterte regime unilaterally terminated the peace talks, she was designated by the regime as a "terrorist" and had to return to the hills. She could not even attend the burial of her husband who was summarily executed by the military. On August 15, 2024, 11 days short of turning 74, she was slain by the military in an encounter. Her body was turned over to the family only when it had started to decompose. It bore stab wounds instead of gunshot wounds and her face was extremely disfigured.

From a sheltered *colegiala* to a woman revolutionary leader, Ma. Concepcion "Concha" Araneta Bocala is a shining example of the transformative power of revolutionary commitment. She embodies the hundreds of brave women who broke the shackles of social discrimination, shattered societal stereotypes, and gave the best years of their lives to the service of the people.

Liberation of women

The National Democratic Front of the Philippines' 12-point program has for its point 11 to "Advance the revolutionary emancipation of women in all spheres." Concha's life illustrated that by becoming part of the revolutionary struggle to liberate the people from national, class and gender oppression, a revolutionary woman starts the process of her own liberation. **LIB**

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MAKIBAKA-PKM, nanawagan na sumapi sa NPA

Isang araw bago ang paggunita ng Pandaigdigang Araw ng Kababaihan Anakpawis ngayong ika-8 ng Marso, naglunsad ng operation dikit (OD) ang mga mga kasapi ng MAKIBAKA-PKM sa isang unibersidad sa National Capital Region (NCR) upang manawagan sa kababaihan at mamamayan na sumapi sa Bagong Hukbong Bayan at isulong ang armadong pakikibaka.

Mahaba ang kasaysayan ng malupit na pang-aapi at pagsasamantala sa kababaihan anakpawis sa ilalim ng malakolonyal at malapyudal na lipunang nagpapanatili sa mababang kalagayan nito, na lalo pang lumulubha sa gitna ng tumitinding pampulitika at pang-ekonomiyang krisis sa bansa. Pasan ng kababaihan magbubukid ang bigat at dusang dulot ng malawakang pangangamkam ng lupa ng mga malalaking panginoong maylupa at ng kaakibat nitong kawalan ng lupa, kahirapan, at kagutuman.

Ang sistematikong pagnanakaw sa kaban ng bayan ay pinangunahan nina Presidente Bongbong Marcos at Bise-Presidente Sara Duterte, at ang mga kontraktor at iba pang sangkot sa gobyerno ang nakikinabang sa bilyun-bilyong perang nakalaan dapat sa mga pampublikong serbisyo, tunay na reporma sa lupa, at pagpapagaan ng buhay ng bawat naghihirap na Pilipino.

Hindi lingid sa kaalaman ng kababaihan anakpawis na hindi matatamasa ang tunay na kalayaan at ganap na pagkakapantay-pantay hangga't hindi kumakalas ang lipunan sa gapos ng imperyalismo, pyudalismo,



at burukrata-kapitalismo, na nakasandig sa haligi ng pang-aapi at panunupil sa mayorya ng mamamayan upang pamalagiin ang naghaharing iilan sa rurok ng kapangyarihan at karangyaan.

Kaya't buong giting at pagpapasyang tinatahak ng malawak na bilang ng kababaihan anakpawis ang landas ng armadong pakikibaka. Binibigyang pugay ang lakas at tapang ng mga Pulang mandirigmang kababaihan na iniigpawan ang tinalagang katangiang pagiging kimi at mayumi ng kanilang kasarian ng atrasadong pyudal na pag-iisip. Pinatutunuyan nito na ang sinumang sandigan ang masa sa pakikibaka ay militante at dakilang namumuhay para sa pagpapalaya ng kanilang kasarian at uri.

Hinahamon ng MAKIBAKA – PKM ang mga kababaihan na sumama sa pagpapabagsak ng imperyalismo, pyudalismo, at burukrata-kapitalismo na nagpapahirap sa mga kababaihan at malawak na sambayanang Pilipino. Sa pagsulong ng demokratikong rebolusyong bayan na may sosyalistang perspektiba lamang makakamtan ang tunay na emansipasyon ng kababaihan.

Lumahok sa armadong pakikibaka! Sumapi sa Bagong Hukbong Bayan! **LIB**

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STAYING IN LOVE IN THE REVOLUTION

by Ka Isagani (ARMAS - Parts Bagani)

“Pick-up kita mga 7 ng umaga,” sabi ng jowa kong si Marco. “Huwag ka muna magbihis nang formal.” Alam kong may mga gagawin pa si Marco sa umaga ng kasal nina Lara at Jin. Bilang isa sa mga kasamang may kotse, siya ang tagahatid-sundo ng mga dadalong kasama. Ako naman, dahil ibinukas ang ganap sa ilang kasapi ng ARMAS, ay naatasang gumawa ng article tungkol sa gagawing kasal sa Partido (Heto na ‘yon!) Marami na akong napuntahang kasal, pero ito ang unang kasal sa Partidong mapupuntahan ko. Hindi naman ako kabado; sadyang di ko lang din alam ang aasahan.

Puno ang sasakyan ni Marco ng mga kasamang tutulong sa kasal. Sa compartment ng kotse, may tatlong jugs ng tubig, mga kalderong may lutong ulam, mga kaserolang walang laman, mga rekados, mga kubyertos, baso, percolator, at kung ano-ano pang gamit na tila titilapon sa sobrang dami. Para kaming naglaro ng Tetris para lang mapagkasya ang mga ito sa napakaliit na sasakyan.

Lumarga na kami matapos ang ilang minutong pag-siksik ng mga gamit. Pasikot-sikot ang inakyat naming lugar. Alam mong nasa siyudad dahil maraming establishments na nakapaligid, pero sa bawat liko namin, mas lumulubak ang daan, mas tumatayog ang mga puno. Naging lupa ang semento, naging dahon ang mga kawad ng kuryente. Dumating naman kami sa lugar na pagdarausan ng seremonya: liblib, pero accessible pa rin kahit paano. Perfect para sa gagawing kasal.

Ibinaba namin ang mga bitbit na gamit sa kusina at pagkatapos ay muling umalis si Marco para sunduin

ang iba pang dadalo. Ilang batch muling dumating—mga matatandang nakilala ko bilang mga kamag-anak at ilang pamilyar na mga mukha. Ang iba sa kanila sa dadalo sa hiwalay na programa sa hapon. (Dalawang bahagi ang programa sa araw na iyon: Sa umaga, ang pormal na kasal sa Partido kasama ang mga ka-kolektibo ni Jin at Lara, ang kanilang ninong at ninang o marriage collective, at kanilang pamilya. Sa hapon naman bukas na para sa iba pang mga kasama’t kaibigan na wala sa kanilang mga kolektibo).

Kakaiba nga

Ilang minuto pa’y nagsimula na ang pang-umagang seremonya. Nakakandado ang silid kung nasaan kami. Sa labas, may nagpapatugtog ng pop hits para matakpan ang anumang tunog mula sa kuwarto.

“Ako po si Ka Mika,” pakilala ng isang babaeng nakatayo sa harap ng nakaupong ikakasal. “Ako ang magiging tagapagpadaloy ng kasal nina Ka Lara at Ka Jin.” Babaeng tagapagpadaloy ng kasal? First time kong makakita ng ganito sa Pilipinas! This is really not your ordinary wedding.

Ipinaliwanag niya kung paanong “kakaiba” ang pag-iisang-dibdbib sa Partido. Bukod sa walang iisang kasarian ang tagapagkasal (na sa Katolikong setting ay laging lalaki), hindi rin lang exclusively heterosexual ang kasal. In other words, puwede ang same-sex marriage! At bukod dito, maaari din ang divorce sa pagitan ng mga mag-asawa—matapos ang masusing pagsusuri at pag-



aaral. Biruin mo, same-sex marriage at divorce? Hetong mga bagay na hindi kinikilala ng burges at pyudal na lipunan at ng reaksyunaryong gobyerno ay matagal nang ginagawa ng Partido!

Pag-ibig sa isa't isa, sa bayan, at rebolusyon

Kasama sa seremonya ang kwento ng love story nila Ka Jin at Ka Lara—ang highs and lows, mga challenges, kahinaan at kalakasan nila at ng kanilang relasyon. Pagkatapos nito, nagsalita rin ang mga family members nila at “principal sponsors” (mga tagapayo na kasama): mga payo tungkol sa kaligayahan (“Gawing masaya ang lahat!”), sa tampuhan (“Ayos lang matulog nang hindi nag-aayos, basta mapag-usapan sa hinaharap”), at sa pagpapamilya (“Magkaanak na kayo!”)

“Ang kasal sa Partido,” payo ni Ka Mar, “ay ang pinakabusilak sa loob.”

Tahimik kong ninamnam ang mga salita. Samantala, iniisip ko si Marco na baka pagod na sa kaniyang pabalik-balik na pagpanhik-panaog sa malubak na daan papunta sa venue.

Tulong-tulong

Nang matapos ang umagang seremonya, umikot ako sa venue. Sa labas ng gate, matamang nakabantay ang mga taliba. Sa ground floor, abala ang mga tao sa kusina—may mga dagdag na luto na sina Marina para sa lunch at dinner. Busy naman sa decorations sina Lily na nauna na sa venue nang isang araw. Matapos niyang umawit sa kasal, direktang naman siya sa final

touches ng decors. Maya-maya, mawawala uli siya para tulungan sina Lara at Jin magbihis para sa panghapong programa. May mga nag-aayos naman ng isang kwarto kung saan gagawin ang kasunod na ganap.

Ako, tumulong sa pagsabit ng banderitas; si Marco panaka-naka kong nakikitang kasama ang iba pang batch ng attendees o nagbababa ng pinabiling gamit. May mga nagsi-setup ng karaoke at sound system. May mga nagpa-practice ng sayaw at kanta, naghahanda ng petals na isasaboy sa daraanan ng bagong kasal. Bawat mesa ay naka-set na ang plato at may floral centerpiece pa na sina Lily ang nag-arrange. Ang ganda, sabi ko sa sarili ko. Mag-uuwi ako mamaya.

Bago ang afternoon ceremony at matapos ang mga gawain, nagkaroon kami ng small moment of rest ni Marco. Small, dahil di nagtagal ay pinapasok na kami sa isang kwarto.

Salubungin ang bagong kasal

Di kakaiba ang setup sa ibang chapel wedding: nakaayos ang mga silya nang may aisle sa gitna, paikot sa isang “altar” sa harap, pero walang altar. Dalawang upuan lang.

“Mga kasama,” anunsiyo ni Nando. “salubungin natin sina kasamang Lara at Jin!”

Naglakad sila sa gitna ng pasilyo, magkahawak-kamay, balikat sa balikat. Hindi ito gaya ng mga napuntahan ko kung saan nakaabang ang lalaki sa harap ng altar, habang tila pag-aaring ipapasa ng ama ang bride sa

kaniyang groom. Kung sa burges na kasal ay nananaig pa rin ang patriyarkal na pananaw—ang babae ay dapat “chaste,” naglilingkod sa lalaki, litaw na litaw sa wedding na ito ang pagiging rebolusyonaryo ng pag-ibig.

May mga nag-alay ng mga simbolo na di nalalayo sa ginagamit sa karaniwang kasal. Pero ang kandilang simbolo ng tanglaw ng mag-asawa, dito’y isang sulo ng nagliliyab na katotohanan at pakikibaka. Ang singsing na simbolo ng walang-hanggan debosyon ng mag-asawa’y nagsisilbing kawing hindi lang sa pagitan ng mag-asawa, kundi pati na rin sa bayan. Wala rito ang puting belong ikinakabit sa balikat ng mag-asawa na simbolo ng pagpapailalim ng babae sa lalaki. Sa halip, ang pulang bandila na may maso’t karet ang naging simbolo ng sambayanang yumayakap at pumupuspos sa bagong kasal. May halaman at tubig na tanda ng kalinga ng pamilya’t mga kasama sa bagong-kasal pati na rin sa arugang ipinapangako sa kanilang maaaring maging anak—mga panibagong salinlahing magpapatuloy sa dakilang layunin ng kilusan.

Gaya noong umaga, nagbigay muli ng mensahe ang pamilya ng bagong kasal.

Sabi ng nanay ni kasamang Jin, “kung ano man ang pagpapasya nila sa pinili nilang buhay, respetuhin natin ito.” Isang reminder na makatuwiran ang kanilang pagrerebolusyon. Affirmation mula sa magulang na tingin ko ay tumunaw sa puso ng bagong kasal, at siyempre, sa lahat ng naging saksi. Napakagaan sa pakiramdam na marinig sa isang magulang na tanggap ka niya. Habang pabiro naman na nagsabi ang nanay ni kasamang Lara (na mukhang nasa 40s pa lang ang edad) na “wag muna kayo mag-anak, di pa ko ready maging lola!”

Natuwa rin ang bagong kasal at ang mga bisita nang binasa ang mensahe ng miyembro ng NDFP Negotiating Panel na si Ka Coni Ledesma:

“Mahalaga itong araw na ito dahil sa dalawang bagay. Una, ito ay araw ng kasal niyo. Ito ang araw na ipinapakita ninyo sa buong mundo ang pagmamahalan niyo at pagmamahal ninyo sa Partido. Ikalawa, ang kasal ninyo sa loob ng Partido. Lalong tumataas ang komitment ninyo sa Partido, sa pag Serve the People at sa pambansa demokratikong rebolusyon.”

At mula kay Ka Julie de Lima, ang kasalukuyang Chairperson ng NDFP Negotiating Panel:

“Inaasam kong maging matagumpay ang inyong buhay bilang isang pamilya, ang inyong propesyon at aktibismong panlipunan sa pakikibaka para sa

pambansang kalayaan at demokrasya at para sa sosyalistang hinaharap.”

Samantala, not a single dry eye ‘ika nga sa chapel na iyon nang binasang muli nina Lara at Jin ang kanilang panunumpa sa isa’t isa—na siya ring pagsumpa sa Partido. Kahit si Marco sa tabi ko, hindi napigilan ang pag-iyak. Pinisil ko ang kaniyang kamay.

Rebolusyonaryong pag-ibig allover

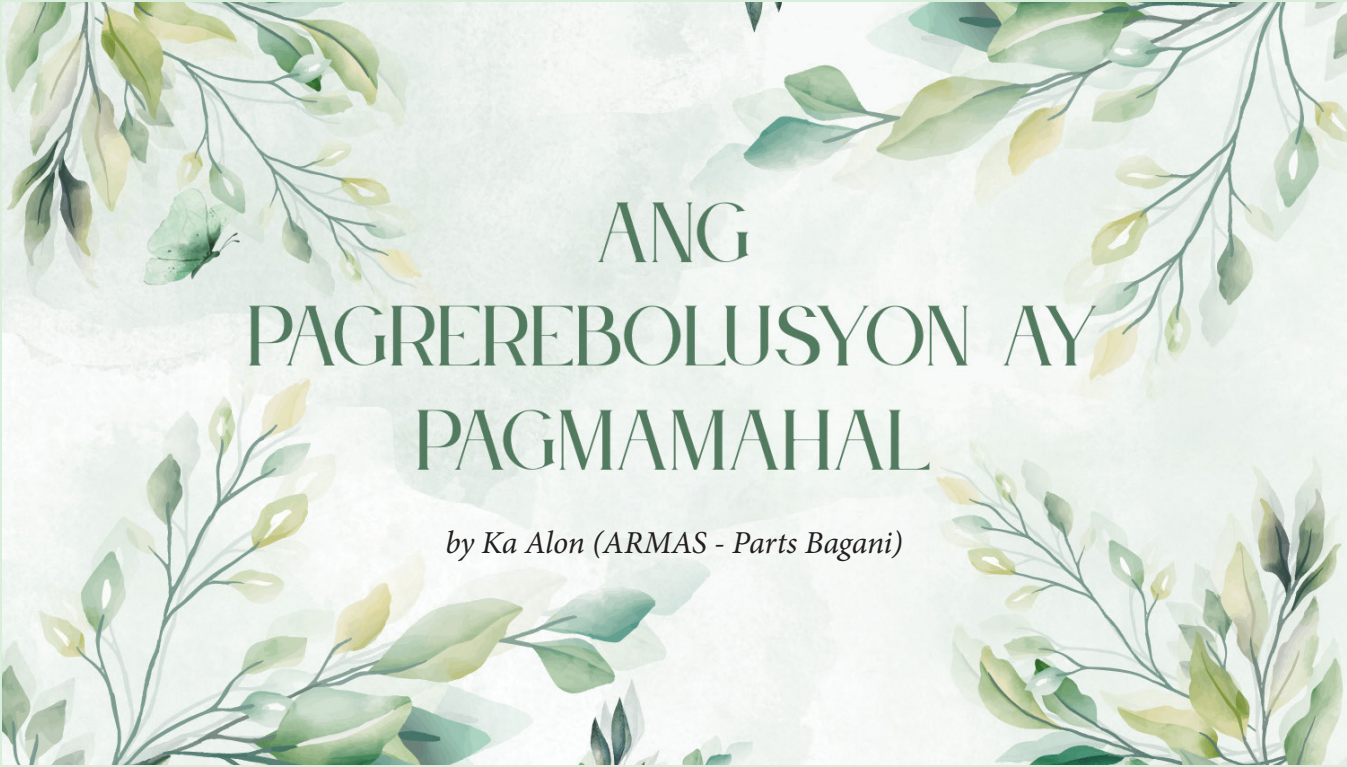
Gabi na nang matapos ang seremonya. Nakabungad na ang full moon sa langit. Sa malayo, ang usok ng Maynila ay napalitan na ng city lights na nakikipag-agawan ng espasyo sa mga bituin sa taas.

Bumaba kami upang pagsaluhan ang mga pagkaing niluto ng aming mga kasama, umupo sa mga mesang inayos ng mga kasama, nakinig sa mga awiting inalay ng mga kasama. At sa ilalim ng mga banderitas na kasama akong nagkabit, nagtawanan kami’t nagdiwang sa matagumpay na pagdaraos ng isang “not-so-ordinary wedding” hindi lang dahil nagawa namin ito sa gitna ng lungsod, kundi dahil dito ko nadama kung ano ang posibilidad ng isang rebolusyonaryong pag-ibig, na nagiging posible dahil sa kolektibong pagkilos. Tiningnan ko ang mga kasama kong naging katulong ko sa pagorganize ng kasal na ito, kaming lahat na nagbigay ng aming oras, panahon, energy, gasolina, at kung ano-anong rekurso para maipagdiwang sina Lara at Jin, ang Partido, ang pagpapatuloy ng kilusan.

Naintindihan ko na si Ka Mar kung bakit ang kasal sa Partido ang pinakabusilak sa loob.

Nang lumalim na ang gabi, nag-anunsiyo si Lily sa naiwang kasama. “Yung mga gustong mag-uwi ng bulaklak, pwede niyo po iuwi.” Tinanong ko siya kung ano ang inarrange niya doon, at itinuro niya ang isang garapong may malalagong halaman, isang kumpol ng blue hydrangeas, at mga bulaklak na di ko mapangalanan. Sa gitna, may maliit na stamped image ng karet at maso na si Lara at Jin ang gumawa. Kahit pala ang floral arrangement, hindi rin pangkaraniwan. **LIB**

Unang inilathala sa liberation.ndfp.info noong Pebrero 16, 2026.



ANG PAGREREBOLUSYON AY PAGMAMAHAL

by Ka Alon (ARMAS - Parts Bagani)

Malamig ang umagang iyon bagaman balot ng smog ang paligid. Maluwag pa ang kalsada ng Kamaynilaan, malamang tulog pa ang nasa gimikan kagabi. Sarado pa ang mall kung saan ako susunduin ng isang kasama. Sa isip, naglalaro ang mga haka-haka tungkol sa seremonya ng kasal ng Partido—may mga baril, nasa gitna ng kagubatan, at may firing salute matapos mag-kiss ang mga ikinakasal.

Pagkaraan ng ilang minuto, dumating na ang sundo ko. Nakasukbit sa kilikili niya ang isang malaking sako bag na kulay blue. Laman nito ang mga gagamitin sa pagluluto, mga stick pangbarbecue, ilang rolyo ng tissue, at iba pa. Maya-maya sumakay na kami papunta sa venue ng kasal. Nangangarap na ako ng kape.

Sa venue, walang may baril at walang naka-ready para sa firing salute. Hindi pa nabibihisan ang lugar—may nag-aayos pa ng mga bulaklak sa gilid, may nagkakabit ng banderitas. At may nagtitimpla ng kape. KAPE! Sa wakas, makakapagkape na. Ilang higop ng kape para magising, tumulong na akong magbuhat ng mesa at bangko para sa inaayos na kainan pagkatapos ng kasal.

Dalawang bahagi ang activity sa araw na iyon. Sa umaga ang pormal na seremonya ng kasal sa Partido nina Ka Jin at Ka Lara na dadaluhan ng kanilang mga kolektiba, marriage collective (ninong at ninang sa kasal), pamilya,

at ilang piling kasapi ng ARMAS. Sa hapon naman ay mas malaking grupo ang inaasahan—mga kasama’t kaibigan na hindi bahagi ng kanilang mga kolektiba pero naging saksi rin sa pagunlad ng relasyon nina Ka Jin at Ka Lara.

Sa maliit na kuwarto, habang nag-aayos ang bride dumating ang kanyang nanay at mga kapatid. Nakapostura at mababango. Nagpakilala kami gamit ang mga koda namin. Sila, sa tunay na pangalan. Bongga! Mayamaya ay dumating ang groom matapos magpanic ang lahat nang matagalan siya sa pagsusundo. Kasama na niya ang kanyang pamilya na nagpakilala rin sa kanilang tunay na pangalan. Hindi Party members ang magulang ng mga ikakasal. At hindi pa iyon ang pinakanakaloka, ito rin ang unang beses na magkikita ang dalawang pamilya, sa kasal ng kanilang mga anak sa Partido.

Panunumpa sa isa’t isa at sa bayan

Sa isang maliit na kuwarto, nagsamasama ang mga piling miyembro ng Partido. Habang ako, naroon bilang miyembro ng ARMAS. Ibinukas ang kasal sa ilang kasama sa ARMAS bilang exposure raw sa mga gawain ng Partido at rebolusyon.

Sa harap ng kwarto ay nakasabit ang bandila ng Partido na idinikit sa pader gamit ang iba’t ibang uri ng tape (kahit sa tape, nag-uuri pa rin talaga tayo, chz!). Mayroon

ding mesang pinalamutian ng bulaklak at may dalawang upuan. Kaharap nito ang hindi hihigit sa 15 upuan para sa 15 bisita—ang marriage collective (o ang mga ninong at ninang), mga ka-kolektiba, at pamilya.

Suot ni Ka Lara ang puting blusa at nakaputing polo naman si Ka Jin. Walang ibang garbo at komplikasyon. Simpleng damit na puting sumisimbolo sa kadalisan ng pag-iibigan ng dalawa. Wala pa mang nangyayari, tumutulo na ang luha ng karamihan habang nakangiti.

Actually, nagpipigil rin ako ng luha. Tanong ko pa nga, paano kaya nakakapagpataas ng komitment sa rebolusyon ang kasal sa loob ng Partido? Naglaro tuloy sa isip ko ang tagubilin ng Partido noong December 26, 2025, ika-57 na taong paggunita nito simula nang ito’y itatag. Sa statement, mariing pinapaaalala na ang Kilusang Pagwawasto ay isang ideological na gawain. Iniisip ko, ano kaya ang relationship ng isang kasal sa pagpapatibay rin sa gawaing pang-ideolohiya?

Nang simulan ng aming tagapagpadalay, si Ka Anthurium ang programa, sabay na tumugtog nang malakas ang Lay Me Down ni Sam Smith sa labas ng kwarto. Kahit sadya ito para hindi madaling marinig ng mga nasa labas ang nangyayari sa loob, ay medyo napalakas nga. Buti’t nakaramdam ang mga nagbabantay sa labas at nahinaan naman agad ang tugtog. Di ko na rin kasi mapigilang matawa sa kanta. Habang nangyayari ito, nagpakilala kami nang pormal sa isa’t isa gamit ang aming koda. Nakakanta na rin kami ng—isang kantang pampag-ibig na kinabog si Sam Smith.

Awit sa Kasal

Ang pag-iisang dibdib
ay pagpanday
sa pag-ibig;
Ito ay wagas
na pangakong mag-alay
ng panahon at buhay
alang-alang
sa ‘yong minamahal

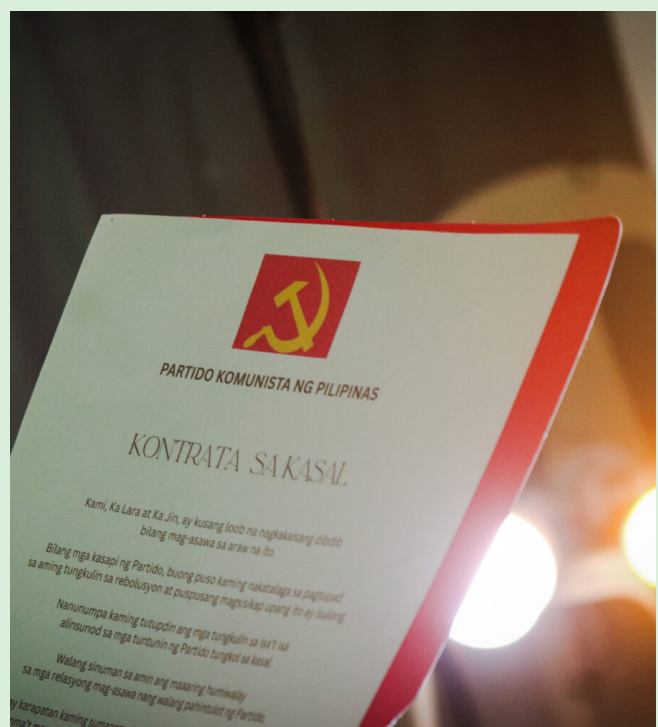
Ito rin ay kasunduan
sa iniilog na bayan
Pag-aalay sa kanya
ng panahon at buhay

Sa exciting part, pinadaloy ni Ka Mika ang kasal bilang officiator. Di mo kinaya na babae ang officiator ng kasal!

Pinaliwanag niyang sa Partido walang pinipiling kasarian ang pag-officiate ng kasal. Kabog! Gayundin, pinaliwanag niya ang kaibahan ng daloy ng kasal sa Partido at ng kasal sa burges. Mas simple ito, siyentipiko, at makabuluhan. Simple dahil hindi kakikitaan ng garbo ang gawaing ito, Siyentipiko ito dahil metodikal ang proseso, sinusuri ang kasaysayan ng relasyon, tinutukoy ang kalakasan at kahinaan at nagmumungkahi kung paano pa ito pa-unlarin. Makabuluhan dahil ginaganap ito sa panahon ng pagwawasto ng Partido; mahigpit na pagbabalik sa turo at prinsipyong ating pinanghahawakan at itinataguyod.

Dito rin nagpalitan ng pangako (vows) ang ikinakasal—para sa isa’t isa at sa bayan. Makabuluhan at simbolikong ipinagtibay ang mga pangakong ito nang isukbit sa kanilang balikat ang bandila ng Partido—na may sagisag ng maso’t karet.

Personal kong paborito nang humarap ang dalawang ikinakasal sa amin at buong kilig na ikinuwento sa amin ang kasaysayan ng kanilang pagkakakilala at ng kabuuan ng kanilang relasyon hanggang sa dumating sa punto ng pagpapasiyang magpakasal at magpamilya. Hindi ko maalis sa isip ang pagkamangha nang taluntunin nila nang buo sa kanilang isip at diwa ang bawat minuto at segundo ng kanilang pagkikita. Nakangiti rin akong pinakikinggan kung paano sila itinama, pinalakas, at pinayabong, bilang indibidwal at bilang magkarelasyon, ng prinsipyo ng Partido bilang mangingibig at mga kadre.



Pamilya, kakampi ng rebolusyon

May mahalaga ring parte ang pamilya nina Ka Jin at Ka Lara sa seremonya.

Unang nagbahagi ang pamilya ni Ka Jin. Nagsisimula pa lang, nagpapahid na ng luha at sipon ang bunso niyang kapatid. Naiiyak siya dahil ang isang mahalagang pagkakataon sa buhay ng kanyang kuya ay naibukas sa kanila, ang pagrerebolusyon bilang kasapi ang Partido. Well composed naman ang nanay ni Ka Jin habang nagbibilin na maging safe silang mag-asawa sa kabila ng hirap ng buhay na mayroon sila. Di man umiiyak ay bakas sa mukha ang galak.

Sumunod namang nagbigay ng mensahe ang mader ng Ka Lara. Maluha-luhang niyang sinabi na, “ang mahalaga, anak, ay masaya ka sa buhay na pinili mo. Masaya ako kapag masaya ka. Nakakabawas ‘yan ng inaalala ko bilang magulang.” Buong puso niya ring tinanggap si Ka Jin bilang parte ng kanilang pamilya.

Di mapigilan ang tila talon na tulo ng luha ng mga kasama nang kausapin ni na Ka Jin at Ka Lara ang kanilang pamilya at ipinakilala ang mga kasama na nasa kwarto.

“Sa aming mga pamilya, sila po ang mga kasamang nag-aalaga sa amin bilang mga fulltime na kumikilos sa rebolusyon. Hinanda namin ang kasal na ito nang magkakasama. Hindi po namin pinababayaan ang isa’t isa. Sa mahihirap man o sa masasayang pagkakataon, sila po ang mga kasama namin.” Ganito nila pinakilala ang Partido sa kanilang pamilya: Matatag, buo, at puno ng pagmamahal.

Napaka-inspiring na makita ang mga pamilya nina Ka Jin at Ka Lara na tanggap ang seremonya at existence ng CPP. Dahil ito sa pagsusumikap at kaseryosohan ng mga kasama na mamulat at ibukas ang programa ng Partido sa kanilang pamilya bilang mga kakampi ng rebolusyon.

Natapos ang seremonya ng kasal sa halik at ang pag-awit ng Internationale. Paglabas namin ng maliit na kuwarto sinalubong kami ng mga nag-aayos ng bulaklak, ng mga upuan at mesa, ng mga banderitas, at ng mga nagluluto sa kusina at bumati nang paisa-isa: “Mabuhay ang bagong kasal!” Mahina ngunit makabuluhan.

Malamig pa rin ang araw na iyon at tanaw ang smog sa Kamaynilaan ngunit pinag-init ng kasal na ito ang diwa ng pag-ibig sa Partido at sa bayan.

Pag dating ng hapon, ibinahagi nina Ka Lara at Ka Jin ang nangyari sa pormal na kasal at muling nanumpa sa Partido sa harap ng mga bagong dating na kasama at kaibigan.

Kinagabihan, nagkakaraoke, nag-swimming, at nagku-kuwentuhan tulad ng karaniwang pagdiriwang ng kasal—may nabusog, nagtawanan, nagkuwentuhan, naglaro, sumayaw at napaos. **LIB**

Unang inilathala sa liberation.ndfp.info noong Pebrero 14, 2026.



*Lightning rally to commemorate 57th anniversary of NPA
España Avenue, City of Manila, Metro Manila, March 24, 2026*



Visual propaganda of different NDFP organizations to commemorate the 57th anniversary of the NPA



