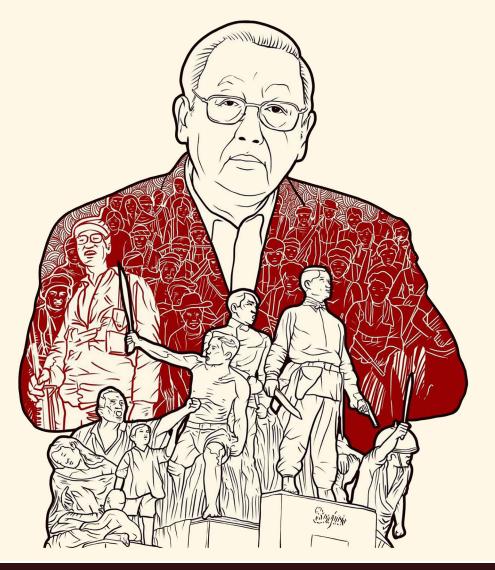


Promote, support and develop the anti-imperialist and democratic struggles of the peoples of the world

# **NEWSLETTER**

January-March, 2023, Volume 3, Issue 1.

Special Edition in Honour of the ILPS Chairperson Emeritus Jose Maria Sison



Editorial Team: Malcolm Guy, Malem Ningthouja, Samuel Villatoro and Haki. Published by the International League of Peoples' Struggle, P.O. Box 23402, Docklands, Victoria, Australia 8012.
 Emails: : (1) officeofthechair@ilps.info, and (2) newsletter-boletin-bulletin@ilps.info

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# EDITORIAL

Welcome to the Special Edition of the International League of People's Struggle (ILPS) Newsletter (Vol 3., No 1.) in honour of the ILPS Chairperson Emeritus, Jose Maria Sison, who passed away on Dec. 16, 2022 in Utrecht, Netherlands at the age of 83.

There is so much to say about this amazing and beloved revolutionary leader who laid out the theoretical and organizational foundation of the Philippine revolution.

We undertook this issue with a heavy heart because of the deep loss that his passing represents for our organization. But we are determined to honour the memory of Ka Joma, along with you, by taking up where he left off – struggling with all our might to defeat imperialism and truly liberate the Philippines and all oppressed and exploited peoples of the world.

Jose Maria Sison "is ILPS personified because he conceptualized, mobilized and organized the ILPS in 2000 and was its indefatigable Chairperson for ten years", writes Antonio Tujan, ILPS Vice Chairperson Internal. "Joma never lost sight of the focus of the people's struggles, the need to arouse, mobilize and organize the masses in their millions to fight and end imperialism."

This Special Edition features articles and messages for Jose Maria Sison from ILPS member organizations, personal contributions from international friends, tributes from Antonio Tujan, Eric Lacsaman of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines, a poem from Arnold Padilla, statements from allied organizations along with a selection of Ka Joma's poems as well as one of his first published articles and the last article he wrote just before his death. The Special Edition opens with a deeply moving message from his revolutionary partner, Julia de Lima, and concludes with a complete list of books (until 2022) by Prof. Jose Maria Sison, a rich and deep treasure trove of revolutionary writings.

The content of this edition was gathered from material sent directly to the ILPS newsletter team, includes excerpts from the recently published book, *Ka Joma Lives! Tributes and Messages* (Ricardo Lozano, Editor), selections from *The Guerrilla Is Like a Poet/Ang Geriya Ay Tulad ng Makata*, the website of Jose Maria Sison and other on-line sources. Thank you to all who assisted with permissions, articles, art work and encouragement for this Special Edition, and apologies in advance to anyone we missed or could not include.

We are aware that this newsletter is a very modest contribution to the memory and vast legacy of Ka Joma and a small part of the year-long ILPS tribute to the Chairperson Emeritus. Your feedback and suggested additions (and corrections!) are not only welcome but necessary. The next issue of the ILPS Newsletter featuring struggles against US-led wars will be published in early June 2023. Articles are welcome.

Ka Joma Lives

Malcolm Guy and Malem Ningthouja for the ILPS Newsletter Team . April 27, 2023.

# **TO MY DEAREST HUSBAND AND COMRADE**

Read by Comrade Julie de Lima during the last farewell ceremonies for Ka Joma in Utrecht, The Netherlands, December 27, 2022.



I was with you in the last few hours of your life. It pained me seeing you suffer so I asked the attending doctor to ease your pain and give you morphine. I hoped it would help but I still could see you straining with pain as I watched the rise and fall of your chest. And I wished so hard that I could breathe for you. But my wish was not to be.

And so, you took your last breath. Now you are relieved of pain. And now the pain is with me and forever will be. It squeezes my heart every time I breathe. And it will always until I join you.

The projects we were supposed to finish keeps me going. I have all the help I can get from our comrades and friends. They give me comfort and company every day.

And you left so many notes for writing projects that we planned, including requested interviews you had no more time to answer. And so, these will never be written as I cannot do all these without you.

Love bound us on the day we got to know each other. It is love that binds us and to our four children and two grandchildren, to our comrades and friends and the people whom we have served all our lives.

I shall always love you. I shall always feel your presence with every breath I take, in the air that I breathe, in the sunlight that shines on me, in the water that I drink, on the ground on which I tread, and in all the things I do.

I love you as you loved me, your children and grandchildren, and the Filipino people that you served with determination to your very last breath and even beyond as the following notes you left on your writing pad in almost illegible handwriting.

# NOTES (for a poem)

It is unfair that an entire society Is called capitalist and yet so few Can call themselves capitalists And look down on the rest of the people.

It is outrageous That the capitalists boasts Of being the real creators Of the wealth created by labor.

It is simply unjust and revolting That the capitalists dishonor dead labor To usurp power and wealth And dominate and exploit living labor.

It is best to fight for a society Where everyone can call oneself Like others as socialists And live with honor in equality. I have spoken in behalf of all our children. We all are devastated by your passing and they wish to bear their grief in privacy, thus, they are not here with me today.



I Wish to Be Taken for Granted

I wish to be taken for granted Like the wind that you breathe Like the sunlight on your face Like the ground at your feet Like the water that you drink.

I wish to be taken for granted Like birdsong lofted by the breeze Like wood on fire for your comfort Like the grass greening the fields Like the silent swan afloat on the pond I wish to be taken for granted Like the workers in the factories Like the tillers in the farms Like those who dwell in schools Like those who recreate the world.

I wish to be taken for granted But I shall smile with satisfaction If some people sometimes remember That I did what I could in my time To add to what is now commonplace.

One new generation after another Shall create new ideas and new things To surpass the feats of the past There are no limits but the sky, The sun, the earth and the waters.

July 25, 2012

As my tribute to my dear husband and father of our children, I adopt the resolution of the Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Philippines, "Great communist thinker, leader, teacher and guide of the Filipino proletariat and torch bearer of the international communist movement" on November 7, 2016.

As we grieve his passing, let us turn our grief into revolutionary courage and resolve with ever greater determination to continue the struggle for national democracy until the Filipino people win their victory and proceed to socialist construction and revolution.

Let Ka Joma live in the victory of the struggle.

January 12, 2023

# **STATEMENTS BY ILPS ORGANISATIONS**



**ILPS Indonesia** December 17, 2022

ILPS Indonesia - Front Perjuangan Rakyat (FPR) grieves and gives our highest respect to Professor Jose Maria Sison who passed away on December 16, 2022.

"The Oppressed and Exploited People in Indonesia and the World Are Indebted to Professor Jose Maria Sison's High Dedication to the Revolution."

Professor Jose Maria Sison passed away in exile on December 16, 2022, at the age of 83 years old, after being treated for two weeks at the hospital in Utrecht, Netherlands.

The Indonesian people and the world have lost one of the greatest human beings in the history of class struggle in order to destroy the domination of imperialism throughout the world. Individually, Professor Jose Maria Sison has provided unequaled inspiration based on the experience of the revolutionary class struggle in the Philippines and, how the struggle for the destruction of feudalism as the social basis for imperialism domination was carried out in Semi-Colonial and Semi-Feudal countries throughout the world. He set the best example of devoting himself to the revolutionary struggle for the birth of a new social system throughout his life.

The Indonesian people, especially those who are awakened and organized in the ILPS and the Front Perjuangan Rakyat (FPR), together with the oppressed and exploited people of the whole world, owe a great debt to Ka Joma, the theory and practice he obtained through bitterness and sacrifice while he lived is second to none.

Pulang Saludo Ka Joma!

The Oppressed and Exploited People of the Whole

World, Unite! Destroy Imperialism! Abolish Feudalism!

Our Highest Respect, International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS), Chapter Indonesia.

> **ILPS Senegal** December 17, 2022

I learned with great sadness the passing away of Professor Sison. This is an immense loss not only for the Filipino people but also for all the progressive causes and anti-imperialist forces around the world.

I have a fond memory of my meeting with him in 2012 in Utrecht. A great thinker, a staunch revolutionary and a dedicated fighter for democracy and social justice.

My deepest and most sincere condolences to his family and relatives and to the organizations and movements he helped set up.

May his revolutionary legacy continue to guide and inspire the struggles in the Philippines until the achievements of the objectives to which he dedicated his life.

**RIP PROF. SISON!** 

Demba Dembele Helda Khasmy

> ILPS Chairperson December 18, 2022

#### TRIBUTE TO A TEACHER, VISIONARY, REVOLU-TIONARY— COMRADE JOMA SISON.

Dear Comrade Joma Sison passed away on the 16th of December, 2022 after two weeks of hospitalisation. We wish to express our sincerest condolences to Julie De Lima, Joma's life-long partner and comrade-in-arms, their children and their relatives.

Comrade Joma will be very greatly missed by millions of people across the globe. We give him a red salute.

Comrade Joma was a revolutionary, leading the way forward to the liberation of the Filipino people and the

# **1ST INTERNATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE**



From May 25-27, 2001, the delegates deliberated on and ratified the Charter of the ILPS, passed resolutions on the concerns of the League and elected the members of the International Coordinating Committee (ICC). Fifteen workshops were held addressing the issues of most of the 18 concerns. Resource speakers made very informative presentations, draft resolutions were deliberated on, and country experiences were shared.

people of the world. He devoted his life to the overthrow of imperialism and other exploiting social systems.

Comrade Joma was a teacher who helped us understand history and the world as it is so that we could improve our efforts to change the world for the people. He fought continuously right to his death to expose the revisionists, the capitalist roaders in the former socialist countries who have demonstrated their vile treachery in working to restore capitalism in some former socialist countries.

Joma was a visionary who showed us the way forward to a new world of democracy, freedom, independence and Socialism for a bright future for all. He correctly alerted the world's proletariat to the vital importance of Mao Zedong and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) in China, which will be required in some form in the future in socialist countries in order to safeguard the revolution from capitalist restoration.

What must be understood is that following the Second World War, over one third of the world's people lived under the socialist system, and millions more in the colonial and semi colonial world were being inspired by socialism to struggle for their independence and liberation.

Just think of the USSR, China, Eastern Europe, Cuba, Vietnam, North Korea etc.

Had that momentum continued, it is conceivable that two thirds or more of the worlds people would be living under socialism today. What stopped that momentum?

As Joma reminded us on many occasions, the

revisionists, the capitalist roaders in each of the socialist countries took advantage of the deaths of Stalin and Mao Zedong and along with the support from imperialism laid the basis for the restoration of capitalism by destroying all the magnificent achievements of the people in those countries.

As Joma reminded us, Mao Zedong and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which lasted about 10 years achieved some important victories for socialism in that time but ultimately was defeated. The lessons from that must be learned and revisionism must be fought and defeated.

One of many of Joma's lasting contributions to the world's people was his contribution to the rebuilding of the peoples' global movement against imperialism and particularly against US Imperialism which has been the most rapacious, war-like and vicious imperialist country in the world.

One of his contributions in this regard was the planning, launch and operation of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) which has continued for over 20 years doing magnificent work in exposing and opposing the imperialist wars, imperialist exploitation and imperialist robbery. This is one of Joma's finest legacies.

Joma knew that the revisionists, the capitalist roaders, and other opportunists, had committed and were committing treachery by working to cover up the crimes of imperialism and even by collaborating with imperialism in committing those crimes.

To mobilise the people against the common enemy was what had to be done and done it was.

The ILPS has grown into the biggest and most effective peoples' mass organisation fighting for democracy and against imperialism and imperialist exploitation with hundreds of peoples' mass organisations as members across the globe and is still growing and advancing.

This was one of the many long- lasting achievements of Comrade Joma, the visionary.

Joma decided in 2019 to retire from his position as ILPS Chairperson to concentrate on writing which of course the world desperately needed. I was asked to become the Chairperson. It was impossible to fill his shoes in that role, but he helped enormously by agreeing to become the newly established Chairperson Emeritus of ILPS. This enabled Joma to continue to guide, help and be involved, all-be-it at a different level. We will be forever grateful for his decision, which was a huge assistance over those years since 2019.

We will miss dear comrade Joma so much. We will miss his infectious sense of humour, his biting analysis

of the world's contradictions, his important writings and his internationalism. We must all step up and reread his important writings and books.

We will never forget his massive contributions in the service of the world's peoples and particularly the Filipino People.

Comrade Joma has left us an enormous legacy which guides us in fighting imperialism, in fighting for revolution, in serving the working class and other toilers, in changing the world for a bright socialist future.

We will remember you always Joma. We will step up. Long live the beloved memory of Comrade Joma Sison!

Long live his cherished internationalism and international solidarity!

Long live his constant drive to overthrow imperialism!

Len Cooper

Chairperson, International League of Peoples' Struggle.

# **ILPS in Canada**

December 21, 2022

Warmest greetings from Montreal, Quebec, Canada!

My name is Malcolm Guy and I am the Vice Chair-External of the International League of People's Struggle (ILPS). That is the anti-imperialist united front organization that Ka Joma Sison helped to set up in 2001 that's grown into a global force uniting over 400 mass organizations in 45+ countries and territories.

When I received the news via text message about Ka Joma's passing on Friday, December 16, I was attending a photo exhibit organized by Migrante in honor of Migrants' Day. I was asked to not yet mention the news since the official statement hadn't been released yet. My disarray and sadness was countered by the enthusiasm of the migrant workers as local citizens admired their photos at work and play. It made these all-too-often invisible workers visible to the local population. Joma, a talented poet, would have loved the stories and poetry written by the migrant workers themselves.

The official news about Joma's passing finally arrived via an *Ang Bayan* twitter message and I shared it. Everyone grabbing my phone to read and reread it for themselves hoping beyond hope it was fake news.

1It's very hard to explain how much I've learned from this amazing revolutionary. I'm certainly a much better and somewhat smarter person for his initiative and direction, incredible memory and wit as well as razor-sharp analytical skills. And I'm sure many of you feel the same.

For many years I was the General Secretary of the League and had the privilege to often work side-by-side with Joma, the then ILPS chair, on my trips to Utrecht in the Netherlands. More than once, I remember seeing him apparently sleeping during our meetings only to suddenly intervene in the discussion with a point that made everything crystal clear. It never failed to amaze me how quickly he could turn out an in-depth article and sharp analysis about the world or the Philippine situation. Just look at the number of statements, articles and volumes of the books he has produced, almost all edited by his wife, Julieta de Lima.

Joma also had a magic touch when it came to resolving contradictions and finding elegant yet principled ways to get people working together and overcoming political differences. I know Julie is going to sorely miss Joma sitting in front of his computer in their small crowded apartment, taking a short break between reading the news, talking to the media in the Philippines, and writing a new article, to sing yet another syrupy love song in her honor. And we will all miss of course his delightful off-key singing and contagious energy in the karaoke evenings he adored.

It is clear that Joma longed for his homeland. He was forced to seek asylum when his passport was removed by Corazon Aquino. Then he had to escape three assassination attempts. This revolutionary couple spent years in the city of Utrecht in the Netherlands dreaming of mangoes in the land of apples, and dreaming of warm beaches in a land of chilling winds and ice-cold rain.

Joma and Julie form an amazing revolutionary couple. And my thoughts go out to Julie, their children, comrades, friends and their countless admirers. I will work even harder over the next few months to complete a film I have been shooting and editing for several years on Joma and Julie in order to share it as part of the contribution to his memory.

Ka Joma, we will honor your memory by taking up where you left off - to defeat imperialism and to truly liberate the Philippines.

Yes, Ka Joma lives! Professor Jose Maria Sison Presente!

Malcolm Guy Vice Chair—External

International League of People's Struggle (ILPS).

# **ILPS Guatemala**

December 21, 2022

The organizations that make up the International League of Peoples' Struggle - Guatemala Chapter, express our solidarity and condolences to the Filipino people, to all the organizations that make up the ILPS worldwide and to the family of the great comrade, Professor José María Sisón, President Emeritus, after his unfortunate death last December 16 in the city of Utrecht, the Netherlands, the country that gave him political asylum after strong persecution in his native Philippines.

Professor Joma, dedicating his whole life to just causes and especially to the struggle for national liberation in his country and with his heart in his people and the peoples of the world, leaves us a great teaching of dedication and revolutionary commitment. Through his writings and analysis we can have a correct and coherent reading of the geopolitical situation from the Marxist Leninist Maoist ideological basis, which he conceptualized in his theory and practice.

Through one of his books entitled "Philippine Society and Revolution", Comrade Sison, under his nom de guerre "Amado Guerrero", the pseudonym he used when he was Chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines from 1968 to 1977, comprehensively illustrates to us the basic problems, the prevailing social structure, the tactical strategy and class logic of the Philippine People's Revolutionary solution.

Comrade Sison was also an important part in the creation of the anti-imperialist and democratic formation that now is constituted in the International League of Peoples' Struggle – ILPS for its acronym in English, which extends to more than 40 countries of the world, and thus left a seed that blooms and will bloom in the peoples of all continents and especially in Latin America.

A great human being, with a profound social, political and human sensitivity, friend, companion and comrade, Professor Sison is gone. We will remember him this way, even in moments of conviviality and familiarity, when he liked to demonstrate his poems and his Spanish with songs from the heart. His messages of solidarity for the people were never lacking and we remember especially those given on the occasion of the inauguration of the Museum of the Martyrs of the Trade Union and Popular Movement of Guatemala and the creation of our local Chapter of the ILPS. The death of Comrade José María Sisón today weighs more than a mountain, because he died always serving the people. We will continue forward relying on his teachings and committed to continue the struggle for a different world in favor of our peoples.

¡Hasta la Victoria Siempre Comrade Professor José María Sisón!

ILPS Guatemala Chapter. Presente!

# Campaign for Peace and Democracy (Manipur)

December 21, 2022

I express my deepest condolences to the family and friends of the late comrade Jose Maria Sison, or Ka Joma. For about a decade, I communicated with him via email and social media. I had a chance to meet him in February 2015. He was one of the rarest pillars of the contemporary revolutionary movements and democratic struggles across the globe.

He was feared and treated with hatred by the bourgeois establishments of homeland in particular in the global imperialist powers, and their proxies across the globe. He was one of the rarest architects of revolutionary internationalism that brought into being broad based anti-imperialist democratic mass organizations on the one hand, and like-minded communist parties on the other hand.

His revolutionary writings in the context of the Philippines and global imperialism had profound impacts on spreading valuable information and advocating revolutionary consciousness. He stood firmly for the revolutionary cause and has created a legend that will live longer.

I express my highest respect and salute to what he has built.

Long Live Comrade Jose Maria Sison!

Malem Ningthouja

#### ILPS Commission 15 on Diaspora, Refugees, and Migrant Workers December 29, 2022

The International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) Commission 15, devoted to "the rights and welfare of the diaspora, refugees and migrant workers displaced by imperialism and local reactionaries," pays tribute to Prof. Jose Maria Sison, ILPS Chairman Emeritus, fellow migrant and sterling champion of migrants' rights.

Prof. Sison's death on December 16 is such sad news for our Commission. We express our deepest condolences to his wife Julie de Lima-Sison, his children, relatives and comrades. We mourn his death, together with the Filipino people, Filipino migrants, and all migrants and peoples of the world.

For the longest time, Prof. Sison was a Communist, nationalist and activist leader who worked in the Philippines. He focused on the plight and struggles of the working people of his country. He was, and until his death, an internationalist, leader for peace and always in solidarity with the working peoples of the world.

Forced into exile in 1987, however, Prof. Sison experienced firsthand what an increasing number of his compatriots have been experiencing: forced migration outside the Philippines. He has been active in the international migrants' movement, including migrants' plight and struggles in his focus.

Prof. Sison has contributed immensely to the international migrants' movement. His theorizing of the exploitation and oppression suffered by migrants under monopoly capitalism, and the role of migrants in the struggle against this system are invaluable foundations that will remain with us.

Many migrant organizations have solicited and studied Prof. Sison's writings on migration and imperialism. His writings present sharp analyses of the crises that immediately affect migrants and other working people. These also clarify the immediate and long-term tasks of migrants in the struggle.

The ILPS and the international migrants' movement suffered a huge loss with the death of Prof. Sison. He has greatly contributed to strengthening the struggles and building the movements that will continue the fight for his dream — a world without monopoly capitalism and forced migration.

Prof. Sison's ideas will continue to guide the migrants and peoples of the world. His example of indefatigable struggle against imperialism and all reactionaries will continue to inspire us. His love for the exploited and oppressed of the world and his spirit will surely live on in our movements.

Long live the spirit of Prof. Jose Maria Sison! Onward with the struggle for migrants' rights! Onward with the struggle against imperialism! Long live the ILPS!

Long live the migrants and peoples of the world!

# **ILPS Australia**

"If you tremble with indignation at every injustice, then we are comrades."

Members and supporters of ILPS Australia are immensely saddened by the passing of Joma Sison, the inspiring leader of the struggles of Filipino working people for many decades.

His insightful analysis of world events will be sadly missed. Joma Sison provided the people's movement with an example of political foresight and skill, ideological clarity, courage, and the ability to overcome the many threats and obstacles raised against him by reactionary forces. In a lifetime devoted to serving the people, Joma Sison made enormous contributions to people's anti-imperialist struggles and movements not only in the Philippines, but across the world.

We are confident that his lasting legacy will be the militant, organised and united mass movements of the Filipino people which will overcome the forces of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism so that the Filipino people enjoy the life they rightly deserve. His memory will live in the struggles and hopes of the people.

The feelings of us mourning Joma's death can be summarised by the words of another great revolutionary. "If you tremble with indignation at every injustice, then we are comrades."

Vale Joma Sison.

Kevin Bracken Chairperson, ILPS Australia

# **PERSONAL MESSAGES**

#### Irina Malenko

December 19, 2022

#### Dear comrades!

I have been trying to find the right words to express my feelings about the passing away of our mutual friend and teacher, Ka Joma Sison, during these past few days, but I have been unable to do so. It seemed that other comrades had already said all the best words, all the most precise definitions of how infinitely much he means to the world revolutionary movement, to the struggle of the Filipino people for their bright future, and to each of us who had the good fortune to know him, to fight shoulder to shoulder with him, to discuss with him what is happening in the world and the paths to our common victory in the cause of socialism.

Therefore, I will just say a few words about how Ka Joma and his comrades appeared in my life and what an important role they played in it. I met Ka Joma relatively recently compared to how long most of you have known him. It was a little less than 20 years ago, during our participation in the work of one of the Brussels International Seminars of the Communist and Workers' Parties, where I was present as an interpreter. I remember how a small group of Filipino comrades entered the foyer of the hall where the meetings were held, and all those present immediately somehow unusually perked up and hurried to them. There was a kind of small whirlpool of people. I did not immediately understand that the reason for this was this modest, easygoing man in glasses and a cap which he probably had hoped would make him invisible, but it did not help; everyone immediately recognized him, which caused such a vivid reaction from comrades from all over the world who had gathered there.

"What's happening?" I asked some of them. "This is Sison, Professor Sison has arrived!" - they answered me. And then I remembered: when I was still a schoolgirl in the Soviet Union, on Sundays we had on TV the program called "International Panorama", about the events that took place during the week in different countries. One day they talked about the Philippines and that the leader of the Filipino communists was currently in prison. I was then around 12-13 years old, as far as I remember. The Philippines was not talked about so often on Soviet television, and the Filipino communists too were not a frequent topic, because in the USSR at that time, to put it mildly, men tried not to give young people a reason to become interested in the ideas of Maoism, so maybe that's why that TV program stuck in my memory so much. I could not imagine at the time that a few decades later I would personally get to know this man who was thrown into the dungeons at that time, and that he would become one of the most important, most inspiring senior comrades in my life.

After that seminar, I started reading his books. At first, I was surprised by his assessment of that period in the history of the USSR, which fell on my childhood and youth, because many of us then did not fully comprehend when exactly the gradual decline of Soviet society began, when that erroneous turn was made, the turn that through enough a long period has brought our country to its tragic end. For many of us, on an emotional level, it must have been simply unpleasant to think that our happiest years passed at a time when this erroneous turn had already been made. But the longer I studied the works of Comrade Sison, the more I realized his correctness and his far-sightedness, based on a deep knowledge of the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, knowledge that he so naturally, one might even say so elegantly applied in practice to analyse not only the historical course of development of this or that society, but also our contemporary events. For him, this application of knowledge of theory to the analysis of specific situations, events, realities of specific countries and the whole world as a whole was as natural and organic as breathing air. And it was amazing to listen to him (and I wanted to listen to him for hours, and he could talk for hours!), to feel how even what seemed rather vague before talking with him, became fully clear. Listening to him, his interlocutors could almost physically feel in their thoughts this clarity, growing with each of his words, when everything just falls into place.

After the seminars, I began an exchange of political news and thoughts with one of his close comrades. I did not know then that he has forwarded my letters to Ka Joma and other comrades, even in the Philippines themselves, and that they got to know me better precisely from these letters. Great was my surprise when, a few years after that first meeting, I found myself in a hotel elevator in distant Pyongyang with a little Filipino woman whom I saw for the first time in my life, but when I told her that I was a Russian who lives in Ireland, she immediately answered, as if she had known me for a long time, "Ah, you must be Irina?" By the way, it was she who first told me last week the tragic news of the death of our dear comrade, Ka Joma.

But let's get back to those years, when soon we finally had the opportunity to get to know Comrade Joma closer. I say "we" because at that time I went on vacation to the Netherlands with my 2 sons, who were then about 10 years old. We met with Filipino comrades, familiar to me from seminars in Brussels, and they surrounded us with hospitality and such care, as the closest friends, even family-like. I remember when I brought my boys to your office in Utrecht, they played with the computer because they were still too young to sit still for a long time. In the meantime, I listened to Ka Joma for hours on end. When we returned home, my youngest son said to me "Mum, these people are so good! They are too good!"

From that first meeting in the office there is a photograph where we are all together, including my sons. By the way, only much later they fully understood who were those hospitable people who received them so warmly! Before that, they just called Joma "your friend, the Professor". I remember how one day my eldest son came up to me, pointed to this photo, which we have in the most prominent place in our house, and asked me: "Mom, is it really HE?" and pointed me to the Wikipedia article on Ka Joma. It was hard for him to believe that such a wonderful, outstanding fighter for a just cause, for the cause of socialism, turned out to be such a simple, modest, cheerful and informal person in daily life. My son also said then: "Now I have something to tell my children in the future!"

Such trips and conversations gradually became more regular, then I began to take part in various events organized by Filipino comrades, I was very proud when I was entrusted with writing reviews of new books by Ka Joma ... I remember how, on one of my visits to Utrecht, I spent the night before at the airport, sleeping on a bench, I arrived very tired and had hoped that after our meeting I would immediately go to bed. But Ka Joma infected me with his youthful energy. I don't know how it happened, but it was almost 11 pm, and we were still in the office, and listened to how he was singing from his heart all kinds of songs in a karaoke session! So, I will also have something to tell my future grandchildren about!

An unforgettable memory for me will forever be the presentation of the Dutch edition of my book "Sovietica" in Amsterdam, completely organized by the Filipino comrades, in which Ka Joma and Ka Julie took the most active part, and which turned into a real celebration, with songs, with a sea of red flags - with everything that lacked so much for me in the Netherlands when I had lived there, and what I could not even imagine in the Netherlands at all!

Ka Joma helped me to feel deeply involved in a great cause, he helped me become useful again after the Brussels seminars had stopped, he supported me in those years that were perhaps the most difficult years of my life, when the support of comrades, their human warmth, the opportunity to exchange views and to work on common projects turned out to be even more important than ever. He came up with the idea to create an archive of Soviet and other socialist videos to educate future generations, and I worked hard on it. Thanks to his support, I was able to take part in the 6th Worldwide ILPS Assembly in Hong Kong in 2019, as the chairman of the Ireland-Korea Friendship Association, which was an unforgettable experience of communication, exchange of opinions and experiences and establishing and maintaining contacts with progressive activists from all continents and served as a great inspiration for my future work.

Then, unexpectedly for all of us, the pandemic hit the planet. It seemed that the world had gone crazy, so much of what was happening around was so absurd. In addition to worrying about the virus, we were also deprived of the possibility of direct contact with our comrades, and it was not clear when all this would end. You could wake up in the morning and find that even the few freedoms you still had were further curtailed. But Ka Joma never gave up, he always remained steadfast and looked for new methods of struggle, new methods of maintaining contacts and continuing to work. Within a short time, he actively moved to working in Zoom events mode. And his new books were still published with enviable regularity, and now we discussed them and held their presentations also online. The comrades were worried about Ka Joma's health, they looked after him so tenderly. I managed to meet him personally again, when it became more or less safe, and each such meeting at that time became literally worth its weight in gold for me. I absorbed literally every word he said and tried to remember every moment. And I also tried to recharge from his undying optimism, which was especially necessary in those dark days, when many comrades in other countries, unfortunately, withdrew into themselves and stopped communicating. And this optimism of his fuelled my consciousness like a ray of sunlight - as the Russian literary critic Dobrolyubov said, like "a ray of light in a dark kingdom." This is what our people say about a bright phenomenon or a kind, humane person in some difficult, depressing situation. It was Ka Joma and his comrades who helped me, I'm not afraid of this word, not to go crazy in these last years, to survive these years, to become stronger and continue our mutual struggle.

Our last joint events were a webinar dedicated to the 110th anniversary of the birth of the leader of the Korean people, Comrade Kim Il Sung, in April this year, and a webinar dedicated to the events in Ukraine and the aggravation of the international situation related to this, in the summer of the same year. Ka Joma was personally acquainted with Comrade Kim Il Sung - the two legends of the international communist movement had met in the past, and it was exciting when he shared with us his memories of what kind of person the Korean Leader was. During the last webinar, together with my Ukrainian friend, we managed to prepare a joint Russian-Ukrainian dinner of international solidarity for our Filipino hosts, and my heart is warmed by the insignificant (compared to the scale of Ka Joma's personality!) memory that he got the experience of tasting our dishes and becoming closer to the realities of our part of the world... His analysis of the war in Ukraine in the context of the global crisis of capitalism and the intensification of the inter-imperialist struggle was remarkable for its depth, insight and coverage of all the various aspects of what is happening, in all their versatility.

Ka Joma was the honorary editor of the international theoretical communist journal "Marxism and Modernity", created by our militant Ukrainian communist Tamila Yabrova, who highly appreciated his work. I am proud to have translated many of his articles and speeches into Russian. Now, I would very much like to publish in Russian a book of memoirs of comrades from different countries of the world about Ka Joma. Let me take this opportunity to suggest to all comrades here to start working on such a project. Let this collection of memories become a living monument to our immortal comrade, leader and teacher!

Thank you for everything, comrades. Thank you dear Ka Joma.

You have not left us and you never will, you will always be with me, with all of us in our hearts, in our future battles and victories!

As our famous revolutionary poet Vladimir Mayakovsky said in his poem "At the Top of My voice", "I don't care a spit for tons of bronze; I don't care a spit for slimy marble.

We're men of kind, we'll come to terms about our fame; let our common monument be socialism built in battle!"

# **Jonas Staal** December 19, 2022

Greetings Comrades!

Deep into the night of December 16, the great Julie De Lima wrote to me about the passing of revolutionary leader, revolutionary poet Jose Maria Sison. Known by his comrades as "Ka Joma," I always continued to call him Professor Sison. It was my way of acknowledging his towering presence for Professor Sison seem to be always working, always teaching, committed in his every being to the struggle for Filipino national liberation and the building of international solidarity.

I'm not the right person to express what he has meant to the national democratic movement of the Philippines, nor would I know how to find the words to describe his force of history but what an honor it has been to work with him and learn from him in the past decade. He was our keynote speaker at the Second New World Summit in Leiden and our first teacher in the New World Academy in Utrecht. I had the privilege to co-edit the reader towards a people's sculpture with him and together with Vincent van Gerven Oei, I worked to publish his collected poems: *The Guerilla is Like a Poet*.

Prof Sison was relentless, tireless and in the rare moments that he allowed himself to rest, tremendously funny and joyous despite his forced exile in the Netherlands. His heart was always in his homeland even though he famously said that as a revolutionary, he was "at home in the world." That sentence comes from his poem *Sometimes the Heart Yearns for Mangoes* which reads as follows: Sometimes, the heart yearns For mangoes where there are apples, For orchids where there are tulips, For warmth, where it is cold, For mountainous islands, Where there is flatland.

The well-purposed exile continues to fight for his motherland against those who banished him: the unwelcomed exploiters of his people. And he is certain that he is at home in his own country and the world.

Rest in Power Professor. Ka Joma Lives!

> Fred Engst December 23, 2022

In memory of Professor Sison.

It was with a heavy heart that I heard about the passing of Professor Jose Maria Sison.

The first time that I heard of him was in the 80s when the dictator Marcos was toppled in the Philippines by the so-called "people's power". There was a peace talk between the Filipino government and the NPA, and one of the conditions was the release of Professor Sison from prison. It was then that I learned he was the founder of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the leader of the armed struggle that is getting stronger each year.

I have since visited the Philippines many times and tried to study the movement that Professor Sison was a part of. As Maoism has been pacified in China, it has found a stronghold in the Filipino movement. It is ironic and inspirational to the Maoists in China to learn from the people's struggle in the Philippines.

It has been the most successful movement that combines armed struggle with a united front that included the labor movement, peasants' movement, urban poor, migrant workers, women's movement, students' movement, the environmental movement, etc., and even parliamentary elections. This movement has applied Maoism to the highest degree possible.

During the centennial celebration of the October Revolution in the Netherlands, I had the fortune to meet Professor Sison in person, although in his advanced age. In our conversations I found him to be very well-informed about the actual struggles during the Cultural Revolution in China. In March 2022, I was asked to do a review of his new book "Imperialism in Turmoil and Socialism in Prospect". I was shocked to learn how Professor Sison was able to produce such a voluminous book, just by his writings and speeches within one year, and all at the advanced age of 83! Although I don't fully understand his analysis of the Ukraine war, I do respect his steadfast anti-imperialist stand when it comes to U.S. imperialism and the U.S. lead NATO block, as it is the number one task for the revolutionaries in those countries.

With the passing of Professor Sison, the working class of the world lost one of its best strategists, thinker, theoretician, and leader. But history has shown that with each passing of a revolutionary, thousands upon thousands will rise again.

From Fred Engst Dec 23, 2022

> Bert de Belder December 24, 2022



Dear Julie, dear comrades,

Here's to Joma, as one of the countless sweet memories we will keep from him: together in the Veluwe, 10 July 2013, just enjoying each other's company.

Hugs, Bert

## **Rainer Werning**

January 1, 2023

# Mi Ultimo Adios to the "Beloved Warrior"

A personal obituary by the translator and co-author of Kasama Joma's works

No later than the early 1970s, "Amado Guerrero" (Beloved Warrior) had become the epitome of a revolutionary awakening in the Philippines for progressive and leftist social activists in this Southeast Asian island nation. As it would turn out years later, this was the nom de guerre of José Maria Sison - "Ka (Comrade) Joma" for short by his friends - who died of heart failure in exile in The Netherlands on December 16, 2022 at the age of 83. On December 27, the body of a man whose name had had an electrifying effect for many for more than half a century and had become a trademark for leftists and revolutionaries worldwide was cremated in Utrecht. Commemorative events and tributes for the deceased will continue to be held in many places both inside and outside the Philippines in the coming days. One thing is already certain: José Maria Sison, alias Amado Guerrero, will remain a prominent figure long after his death and an inspiration to all those who remain unwaveringly committed to democracy, self-determination, justice and genuine socialism.

For a person like Sison aka Guerrero coming from a wealthy family with Chinese roots, the first step that he had to take toward political commitment meant first and foremost one thing - class betrayal. A conscious decision that others of similar origins and background took before and after him. For anyone who is even partly familiar with the history of the Philippines it is easy to understand how rampant poverty, oppression and exploitation in a climate of state violence and combined with an elastic judicial system that acts solely in the interests of the rulers, would lead any sensitive and prudent mind to take a clear position, the choice being between some kind of "arrangement" with the prevailing conditions or continuous struggle to force the latter to "dance" in the Marxian sense.

Sison chose the second option. Naturally gifted and endowed with abundant wit and intelligence, he stood out from his classmates and fellow students and succeeded in assuming leadership positions early on in life. His role as founder of the *Kabataang Makabayan (Nationalist or Patriotic Youth)* in the fall of 1964 deserves special mention. As a member of the *Partido Komunista ng*  *Pilipinas (PKP)* he increasingly clashed with its top cadres, whom he accused of treason and revisionism. Consequently, the party was re-established on December 26, 1968, this time on a Maoist basis and with Sison as its founding chairman. This *Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP)*, together with its guerrilla organization, the *New People's Army (NPA)*, which was formed three months later, has since waged one of the world's longest-running liberation struggles. All other communist parties in the Southeast Asia region have disappeared from the political scene.

In the early 1970s, Amado Guerrero penned the book Philippine Society and Revolution (PSR for short), the Philippine version of the "Mao Bible" during the Cultural Revolution in the People's Republic of China. This work, which was translated into several languages (including German by the author of this obituary in 1973), politicized and radicalized an entire generation, its analyses providing them with the ammunition they needed to confront the ruling regime. The latter struck back hard: the dictator of the day, Ferdinand E. Marcos, father of the current president, imposed martial law on the island nation in September 1972. One of the main reasons for this was, according to Marcos, to put an end to "communist subversion". But it was precisely during the martial law era, which lasted de jure until early 1981, that the NPA became the world's "fastest-growing guerrilla movement," according to U.S. intelligence reports.

Meanwhile, Sison aka Amado Guerrero, had long since been declared public enemy number one by his country's rulers and later even branded a "designated global terrorist" abroad (USA and EU). It was a stigmatization that lasted until his death because of his indomitable spirit - despite almost nine years of imprisonment in the Philippines (1977 to the spring of 1986) and despite all the years he spent in exile in the Netherlands after 1987, where he only enjoyed tolerated status as an asylum seeker in Utrecht. From there he operated alongside Julieta de Lima, his wife and long-time partner in life and combat, as chief consultant to the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP). The NDFP, an underground political alliance that has been in existence since spring 1973 and includes more than a dozen other organizations in addition to the CPP/NPA, officially conducted peace negotiations with the governments of the day in Manila until 2017.

In these negotiations, as well as in meetings of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS), in which Sison also served as chairman, "Ka Joma" proved to be both a prudent and eloquent debater and strategist. He could be tough as nails when it came to certain political-ideological positions. At the same time, he was and remained until his last breath a person with a great sense of humour. He would often recall with amusement the dream that he cherished as a boy of becoming a bishop one day. "Thank God" his final decision was in favour of the CPP and not the Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines (CBCP). The latter would have been only too happy to see him in its ranks.

While earthbound representatives of the reactionary Marcos regime, in the shape of spokespersons of the Armed Forces of the Philippines and the Philippine National Police, expressed their hopes that Sison's death would provide a "final chance for peace", the CPP's Central Committee, in a statement on December 26, the 54th anniversary of the Party's founding, proclaimed its commitment to uphold the legacy of "Ka Joma" in every respect and to "intensify tactical offensives against the enemy."

Wherever "Ka Joma" may dwell now, may he still enjoy one thing: succulent mangoes in abundance from his beloved homeland rather than the tulips he had to make do with for the past 35 years in exile in the Netherlands.

Note: Dr. Rainer Werning translated Amado Guerrero's "PSR" into German, which was first published in May 1973 under the title "Philippinische Gesellschaft und Revolution", and co-authored the following books with José Maria Sison: "The Philippine Revolution. An Inside View" (Die philippinische Revolution: Eine Innenansicht \* 1993) and "A Life in Resistance" (Ein Leben im Widerstand \* 2019) – Both published in German by Verlag Neuer Weg, Essen.

# **Joi Barrios** December 19, 2022

Why I Remember Comrade Joma While Watching K-Drama.

Like many others, I too am enrapt watching every episode of K-drama One after the other until the serial drama ends. I know not why sometimes, when the protagonists speak their lines I think of none other than him, the great Comrade Joma.

As in Crash Landing on You, where people from a socialist country are not portrayed as monsters but human beings.

Like in Dong Yi, when the hero declared the slaves are pushed to the limits and so they revolt.

Or in When Our Love Blooms, when no matter how many decades have passed the activist pianist never gave up the goals workers are fighting for.

I just finished watching The Bridal Mask. And while the character, though minor, is being tortured, close to death, dared to utter that the real terrorist are those who steal from the people.

And with Capital Scandal currently following This is the conversation:Question: Why are you reading socialism and freedom?I, I just want to defend those I love.

Reply: That's it! That is socialism, It is the struggle for freedom.

We learned from you to aspire to be like Attorney Woo: Whatever the disability and flaws still strive to contribute towards achieving justice. You will be remembered always Especially we, your admirers And fans of K-drama.

With K-drama, I remember my youth, reading, studying the works of Comrade Joma These were forbidden then. Which is why one can't find them in libraries.

Although you are gone Tito Joe, our Comrade Joma,

your legacy will not vanish.

You will be remembered in every march, in every fight,

In every second of continuous service to the people.

You will forever be the flaming torch of our struggle

You will be remembered, more so by your fans, and the fans of K-drama.

Joi Barrios, BAYAN Tandang Sora Network 19 December 2022, Bradford MA.

# TRIBUTES

## **Edre Olalia**

December 17, 2022

The Heart Yearns for Mang Joe Iniwan na ako ng kalaro ko!

It is a day I dreaded will come. But it is a day certain to come.

I stayed dazed, catatonic and sleepless hours after I immediately got A1 confirmation of embargoed information you had passed on, Joe.

It is simply overwhelming.

Sayang I missed out many chances to travel and di na tayo uli nagkita since the pandemic broke out. And our prospective reunion early next year is no more.

I am not into signs and superstitions but for some reason your second Messenger turned totally black the other day when I wanted to share again a photo and all our exchanges were completely deleted. For some reason, I wanted to wear to a basketball game and took out again after so many years your high school blue cap you gave to me upon my ardent request.

As my frustrated-lawyer-pretending-to-be-a-client, inspiring mentor, harsh editor, subtle critic, avid fan, "partner in crime," and not-so-kuripot kumpadre, I am also privileged, as countless others, that there is between us a surfeit of vivid memories of not just intense and serious peace-related work but also endless fun, easy laughter, childish silliness, naughty sordid thoughts, hard lessons, valued secrets, unique escapades, petty misunderstandings even. And yes, of lasting images of having authenticated your pledge to completely end your chain-smoking days decades back.

From you I probably got to learn over the years how to try to think, speak, act and write swiftly, even colorfully. I have somehow imbibed by osmosis perhaps your extraordinary meticulousness in composing and vetting documents. And how to separate the chaff from the grain and not to forget to always keep an eye at the bigger picture.

While you are evidently a genius of sharp mind and eidetic memory, a master of language, a speed reader, an arduous singer, a bad joke teller, and a Facebook addict, we must accept you are also not immortal. You are human as you are humane.

But your ideas, thoughts, and writings, your burning desire for freedom and liberation, and your unflinching passion to always uphold and defend the people's interests that I saw and felt up close are everlasting and incomparable.

You are many things to many people and your inimitable legacy and venerable place in history and in the peoples' struggle are embedded in our minds and hearts.

But for me, you are just Joe, my kalaro, ka-pilyuhan, "karibal", kliyente, kumpadre at siyempre kasama.

Things will never really be exactly the same again without you around.

But you will be around.

Sige na Bok, pahinga ka na.

Tuloy tuloy pa rin naman ang kanta ng iyong walang kamatayang Mao's Way.

We will be yearning for you, Joe. Not sometimes, but oftentimes.

Edeare/Eder Oolaliyah 16 December, 2022

Edre U. Olalia

December 28, 2022

Political and organizational integrity, non-capitulation, non-submission to the other party's political authority; parity, equality, reciprocity, mutuality; joint and separate duties and responsibilities; mutually-acceptable principles; reaffirmation of validity and binding effectivity of agreements; no preconditions; foreign neutral venue; adherence to law on armed conflict; people's interests and benefit, just and lasting peace for the people...these are some of the recurring buzz words that keep ringing and make up the North Star that Joma constantly and consistently set in the peace process and negotiations.

For someone who he said would have been a lawyer for the poor and the oppressed if he did not become the Joma Sison we all know, these are fundamental issues and arguments to advocate the people's case across the negotiating table. He not only pounded on the facts and history but also pounded on the law and, when necessary, on the table.

And for him, the theory of the case, based on factual evidence, is simple: there is an ongoing armed conflict and peace negotiations can address the reasons for it. And this can be aided by -using his favorite Latin legalese-*inter alia*, the laws of war.

Using elegant and precise language - both diplomatic and candid - matched by meticulous and advanced preparation, infectious thoroughness, mastery of facts, sharp memory, and firm grasp of basic principles, he presented superior ideas while listening to others, anticipating counterarguments, making instant adjustments and quick reformulations by a studied flexibility in tactics. He untied Gordian knots during deadlocks with creativity and a good mix of humor, self-deprecation and irony. He is *sui generis*.

While conscious of the limitations of peace negotiations as a unique form of struggle, he pushed for it with all sincerity and passion, nay childlike excitement, because he was a problem solver, was actually reasonable, managed expectations and understood the reality of its potential to bring about reforms and remedies for the people.

For Joma, waging a war of liberation is not incompatible with waging peace to resolve the roots of the armed conflict. For him, waging people's war is yearning for people's peace.

Indeed, he "welcomed dialogue to find a peaceful solution to the armed conflict" and for this he paid a price, as it were, for the prize of peace.

All these premises considered, our Resolution is that we should give Joma what he deserves: the noble peace prize of continuing his pursuit of a truly just and lasting peace for the people by keeping the fire in our bellies and the light burning.

# **May Kotsakis**

He may be gone but his memory lingers.

This is the kind of talk that I do not enjoy preparing. While doing a draft, I have to stop several times as I could not see anymore, the keys of my keyboard. Ka Joma is far from us, living in the Netherlands not of his own choice, but as a result of continuous attack on him when then President Cory Aquino cancelled his passport while he was on an international speaking tour in 1988, he became stateless.

Yet, Ka Joma seemed so near and always with us in all our struggles. He was with us when we were learning about our country, the Philippines. We studied Philippine Society and Revolution, which is among the first books he wrote. It is an essential education reference of Filipino activists. He was with us when we expressed our commitment to uphold and fight for the rights and welfare of the poor, the exploited and the oppressed, the world's masses. He was with us when we were weighed down, feeling the difficulties and pain with the attacks by the reactionaries and the enemies of the struggling people. He, who was born in a wealthy family, chose to leave that privileged life to be with the people and fought for and with them. A result of this is that throughout his adult life, he was always under attack. He was with us when we were enjoying a gain, a win on our fight no matter how small the gain was. He was with us when we had a get-together. Ka Joma loved to sing. At the end of any event, he would suggest a karaoke session, and he would hold on to the microphone until someone requested to sing.

I love attending Ka Joma's education sessions. When he was teaching, it was like telling a story that he was part of. One time, he was sharing the history of the world's liberation movement. He needed to mention the Russian, the Chinese and the Vietnam revolution, and he would continue with the history of each revolution as if he were there. We will all be interested and quietly listening like little children until someone, most often Julie, his wife called his attention and told him that he was veering off the topic. Then he would chuckle, smile and ask, "where was I"? Ka Joma never refused an invitation to speak or to share. When the time is not suited for him, he would record his speech and send it before the event. He was our speaker at several Australian events.

He would also not refuse to have photos taken with us or anyone who asked him. Before the shoot, he would ask, "okay na ba suot ko, okay na ba ganito?" Asking whether his attire and pose were okay. Always smiling, he was fun to be with. He may be physically gone, but his memory lingers. His teachings will guide us in our struggle, his legacy will live forever. We love Joma. Ka Joma lives.

# Antonio Tujan Jr.

Jose Maria Sison, is a revolutionary internationalist and the founder of ILPS.

We all mourn the passing of Jose Maria Sison, Chairman Emeritus of the International League of Struggle since 2016. He is the great leader and driving force in building a worldwide antiimperialist front led by the revolutionary proletarians to build socialism. He is ILPS personified because he conceptualized, mobilized and organized the ILPS in 2000 and was its indefatigable Chairman for ten years.

In the midst of US imperialist triumphalism with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 and the end of the Cold War, imperialism launched a political-ideological offensive exemplified by Francis Fukuyama's declaration of capitalism's victory as the 'end of history' – that class struggle is passe replaced by identity politics, that communism and militant struggle by the masses are passe.

Joma heralded the fightback, releasing the article "Stand for socialism against modern revisionism" clarifying that the path of the onward march for socialism has never been clearer with capitalist restoration as a result of revisionism while the worldwide crisis of monopoly capitalism further deepened. Amidst the ensuing debate amongst revolutionary proletarian parties and organizations he pushed many of them to take the forward path of anti imperialist and democratic struggle in their countries, and build international coordination of militant mass struggles.

But launching ILPS was not an easy task as the visionary goal of starting with the formation of ILPS as a formation of mass movements and peoples' organizations separate from political parties met with another round of two years of debate. Its founding in 2000 has proven the timely but difficult work of struggling against the US empire. But it has grown into the largest, most active and militant international movement against imperialism and reaction worldwide.

As a Marxist, Joma has always underscored the revolutionary cause and interest of the proletariat and the masses of the people. Beyond the theoretical and ideological debates in the international communist movement, Joma never lost sight of the focus of the people's struggles, the need to arouse, mobilize and organize the masses in their millions to fight and end imperialism. ILPS has the urgent and critical role to mobilize the mass struggles of the proletarian and semi-proletarian masses, along with other middle forces of the peoples across the world, especially in the semifeudal and semicolonial countries of the imperialist periphery.

ILPS is key in building a broad international antiimperialist united front where mass organizations not only express international solidarity to fight imperialism within different countries but also collaborate internationally in different projects. ILPS develops activities and programs for education and training to raise the capacity of mass organizations in different countries, and advancing them to develop and build their own proletarian revolutionary parties.

Joma has always been a hands-on revolutionary. In ILPS he took charge in the whole process of founding ILPS, seeing through the launch and first assembly, became chairman when Ka Crispin Beltran took ill, and continued performing part of its work as Chairman Emeritus in 2016. He was indefatigable – producing more than 200 statements per year, directed the preparation of meetings, monitored the conduct and run of campaigns and ensured the trouble-shooting when problems cropped up.

Of course, Joma is much more than ILPS. Jose Maria Sison provided comprehensive leadership to the national democratic revolution in the Philippines – the people's war, the democratic mass movement both rural and urban, the broad united front and the elections, the peace talks, and the revolutionary movement of the overseas Filipinos. Joma also was also heavily involved in the building of the international solidarity movement overseas from inception, besides building proletarian internationalist coordination leading to the formation of the ILPS and the broad international antiimperialist united front. We all miss him – his leadership, wisdom, his masterly grasp and wielding of the power of Marxism. He is unbelievable and unparalleled in these times.

*Note:* Antonio Tujan Jr. is associated with the Institute of Political Economy. He is the Vice-chairperson for Internal Affairs of the International League of Peoples' Struggle.

# Eric Lacsamana

December 26, 2022



The greatest tribute to Joma is to emulate his commitment to socialist revolution

The CC-CPP anniversary statement opens with – "we give extraordinary tribute to Ka Jose Maria Sison (Amado Guerrero), founding chairman of the CPP Central Committee, whose masterly grasp of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism guided the Party from its inception, infancy and growth. Ka Joma has bequeathed to us a treasure trove of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist work in which his immortal revolutionary spirit will forever live to guide the next generation of Party cadres to greater heights."

What makes him an eminent successor to Marx Lenin and Mao and all other great communists is his total commitment and application of materialist dialectics on social science in the current struggle against monopoly capitalism. This is evidenced by his single-mindedness of purpose in pursuing the national democratic revolution in the Philippines and building antiimperialist movements globally towards socialism.

Such singled-mindedness in purpose is behind his indefatigability – in his utter sense of responsibility of leadership in waging revolution in the Philippines, and proletarian internationalism in taking the responsibility to contribute to international leadership. These can be in the different arenas of struggle of the people's democratic revolution in the Philippines like the conduct of people's war and all its components, the democratic mass movement, the broad national united front or the elections, and the peace process. This can also be in the different efforts to build up the international coordination of proletarian revolutionary parties and movements, developing Marxist theory in these times and in contributing to different international movements and initiatives against imperialism. He is imbued with true optimism which is based on his correct analysis of objective conditions and the dialectical process of development whether in the Philippines or the world.

He is a master dialectician, in thought, word and deed. He is disciplined in discovering the process of development of struggle and interpenetration of opposites, and teasing through complex interspersed processes.

Thus, he is an effective problem solver. Known for his flexibility in finding solutions and well as in pushing the boundaries of multiplicity of tactics and initiatives to drive the strategies according to and contributing to the correct Marxist ideological and political line.

As a communist and revolutionary he is at one with the masses. Thus, he is very sociable in person especially to the toiling masses and comrades in arms. He recognizes and relates with the humanity of every person, even those members and agents of the ruling class who have good intentions (or not).

As Joma grappled with his individual mortality and legacy, as each of us does, he wrote his final piece, "The Filipino People's Democratic Revolution is invincible!" This piece is not about him but about the cause that he lived for. But I read it with trepidation in the context of which it was written (in helping in the editing) towards the end of his mortal life, but it is indeed about the revolution and the (ideological and political) legacy he leaves us which are invincible.

The national democratic revolution of the Philippines and the cause of socialism is invincible. We now face the dawn of future free from imperialism and its lackeys. And the great and arduous struggle to claim the victory of the proletarian revolution is upon us in this century.

Joma is the great warrior of the proletariat against imperialism. We all aspire to be like him as a revolutionary proletarian, a communist. While we do not expect to be equal in his contributions, we all strive to perform to fulfil our tasks for the revolution. We are all his successors to carry forward the legacy of Marx, Lenin and Mao and other great communist leaders Engels, Stalin, Ho, and Joma Sison to win a socialist future.

*Note:* Eric Lacsamana is the NDF international representative.

# Arnold Padilla

December 26, 2022



Tiyak na lilipas Ang gabi ng ating panimdim. Ngunit habang wala pa Ang ating bagong bukas -Maging tanglaw tayo ng pag-asa Sa agam-agam at dilim. Maging liyab at liwanag! Maging apoy at alab!

### [English Translation]

Our night of grief Is sure to pass. But as we await Our new dawn -Let us be the light of hope In the darkness and despair. Be the spark and flame! Be the fire and flare!

Para sa ating nagluluksa (For us who grieve)

# FROM ALLIED ORGANISATIONS

## International Migrants Alliance December 18, 2022

Greetings of solidarity!

On behalf of the International Migrants Association (IMA), we express our deepest condolences to the family, friends, colleagues, and comrades of Prof. Jose Maria Sison. While the progressive movement of migrants, immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers is saddened by the loss of one of our own – a fellow displaced, we also offer our salute to Professor Jose Maria Sison or Ka Joma as a long-time activist, genuine internationalist and a true revolutionary.

For us in IMA, Ka Joma shared the sharpest line and analysis on imperialism and migration. During a couple of times, he was one of our keynote speakers in several global assemblies of IMA, and IMA-sponsored webinar and fora in the past years. He was always ready to accept invitations from us to share his thoughts on the imperialist crisis, commodification of migrants, and the role of migrants in national liberation and democratic movement in our homelands.

His critical analysis on the current development of global capitalism helped us – the leaders and advocates of migrants and refugees in IMA to strategize our campaign and organizing – he challenged us to think deeper and broader beyond our sector, beyond our nationality, beyond our current territories as we are part of the world proletariat. We shall ever be grateful to Ka Joma.

On a more personal note, I got to know Ka Joma through the work of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) Commission on Migrants and Refugees when he was still the Chairperson of the League. The commission was also instrumental in the formation of IMA. I met him several times during ILPS international assemblies and other informal visits. Through these meetings, I learned many things about him.



First, he was a refugee who was forced to leave his homeland in the Philippines because of his involvement with the national democratic movement. Later, I learned that there are over 160 million asylum seekers and refugees as a consequence of war and political conflict that serve imperialist interest. Those in the frontline like Ka Joma are confronted with the most intense political prosecution.

Second, he loved jokes and karaoke. He even had his own karaoke and magic mic – this for me is a really rare hobby for someone of his caliber and for someone who is also one of the most wanted persons of the government.

Third, what made me admire him most was that despite his in-depth knowledge and experience, he did not put himself as senior to others. He did not treat others like his juniors. He was very passionate about learning and listening, and engaged in serious discussion or expressed his opinion only if someone asked him.

Fourth, he also made people around him comfortable – women or men, adult, or children, even when someone did not speak English well. I really wonder why a humble and dedicated man like him had been tagged as a terrorist and a target of arrest. Like many of us, he just wanted to fight for genuine peace, democracy, and sovereignty of his country.

For me, and many of us, he was a friend, a comrade, a teacher, and an inspiration. He truly is a hero of the Filipino peoples' struggle for national democracy and socialism. He is a true internationalist for all struggling people of the world whose legacy will live on. Rest in power, Ka Joma.

Long Live Ka Joma! Long Live International Solidarity!

Eni Lestari Chairperson, IMA

# Indigenous Peoples' Movement for Self-Determination and Liberation December 21, 2022

We join the millions of peoples around the world in expressing grief and condolences for the untimely death of Professor Jose Maria Sison, one of the greatest revolutionary leaders for the people of the Philippines, and for the rest of the world.

Prof. Jose Maria Sison was a writer, a poet, an anti-imperialist and great revolutionary that has inspired



millions and millions of peoples for the liberation and assertion of the rights not just in the Philippines but also in other places all around the world. Prof. Sison's incisive critique of the global imperialist system and the exposition of its core problems has contributed to the anti-imperialist struggles across regions including in supporting and defining and strengthening the indigenous peoples struggle for the assertion of their rights, and assertion of their right to self-determination over their land, territories and over their future.

The sacrifice and indomitable spirit of Prof. Sison will continue to inspire the millions of oppressed and struggling peoples to resist capitalism, colonialism, imperialism, and fascism that has been unleashed on people's land and resources for long.

The legacy of Prof. Sison will continue to inspire millions of indigenous peoples, workers, peasants, youth not just in the Philippines but across the world to struggle and liberate themselves from all oppressors, colonizers, and imperialists.

The sacrifice of Prof. Sison in the service of the people will be remembered for long years to come.

Long Live the revolutionary spirit of Prof. Jose Maria Sison!

Jiten Yumnam IPMSDL

# International Women's Alliance

December 23, 2022



(Jose Maria Sison with Azra Sayeed (Chair, International Women's Alliance and Vice-Chair, International League of Peoples' Struggle.)

International Women's Alliance is deeply grieved by the passing of one of the greatest militant leaders of our times, the founding leader of the Communist Party of the Philippines, Comrade Joma. His vision, his dedication to overthrowing imperialism, and his absolute belief in the victory of the people of the Philippines in gaining national liberation remained to his last breath. Comrade Julie de Lima has shared Professor Comrade Sison's last message to his beloved countrymen and women, in which he has clearly stated "the Filipino People's Democratic Revolution is Invincible." And this belief will indeed come to fruit.

Ka Joma will be remembered and honoured for his deeply critical analysis of imperialism and his vision and political struggle not only for the Filipino people but for the people of the colonized world struggling for liberation. Professor Jose Maria Sison has provided us - the women fighting to free themselves of the shackles of patriarchy, feudalism and imperialism – with extremely critical tools of analysis.

His revolutionary vision and teachings have rooted our struggle to contest not only monopoly capital but to work toward dismantling patriarchy. His constant guidance, his deep love for the masses have inspired not only the Filipino people, but also the people of the world, his zeal and energy for revolution added to the people's militant power, to continue our journey to fight and win a bright future for the entire humanity. Professor Joma has inspired us to resist, to fight and to win. And Win We Will!

We send our deepest condolences to his family, especially to his life long partner Comrade Julie who has stood with him shoulder to shoulder; joining him in his struggle for genuine democracy, and in the very long painful exile. His revolutionary struggle will be a beacon for the masses leading us to victory, freedom from capitalist tyranny, from oppression and exploitation of a class based society.

Long Live Ka Joma! Long Live International Solidarity!

# Youth Brigade International December 21, 2022

Warm and comradely greetings to you all. My name is Cody Urban, and I am a member of the small but growing organizing committee of Youth Brigade International – a broad internationalist alliance of youth and youth organizations around the world. Ka Joma's revolutionary and practical teachings have been a beacon for the oppressed and have been an invaluable weapon for the struggle of the masses against their oppressors. His writings are a lighthouse in a storm, keeping the peoples struggle of the world diligently on the revolutionary path in the midst of the imperialist tempest.

But it is in his practical experiences that the youth today can find the best model on how to organize towards their liberation. Joma Sison began his organizing as a youth activist. In 1964, he helped found the Kabataang Makabayan, the patriotic youth organization of the Philippines. And years later would go on to kickstart the First Quarter Storm movement that galvanized youth in the universities and factories to take to the streets and mobilize to the countryside to unite with their peasant and rural worker youth compatriots.

As a young revolutionary, he paved the way for the exploited youth to seize the future that had been seized from them by the ruling classes and founded the New People's Army whose ranks have been filled by young fighters and cadres from the Filipino masses up until to-day.

What can we say that would give true justice to this great teacher of the 20th and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries? We should say what Ka Joma would always say to the youth of the Philippines and the world: Join the revolution!



Ka Joma would always take the time to meet and talk to any young organizer who reached out for guidance. It was one of the things that gave him utmost joy: to see the fire of hope and courage still alive in the youth of today doing whatever is necessary to learn the ropes and unite the people of their nations.

But his greatest lesson was that of decisiveness. In the chaotic first decades of US neocolonial rule, he decisively re-founded the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) to light the torch for others to take up. In the dungeons of the US-Marcos dictatorship, he decisively persevered against the worst of all odds. In his many decades of exile, he decisively kept up his leadership of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) as a platform for his people's revolution back home. And in the setbacks of the international communist movement, he decisively held high the red banner that all students of genuine proletarian revolution still grasp today.

Let all young revolutionaries and activists learn well the lessons and decisive actions of Ka Joma Sison, for when we celebrate his life, we recommit to the struggles for national liberation and international solidarity.

Ka Joma Lives!

Cody Urban Member, YBI

# Instituto Cubano de Amistad con los Pueblos

December 21, 2022

Dear Brothers and sisters of AMISTAD solidarity group:

It is with deep sadness that we have received the painful news of the death of Cuba's great friend: Professor Jose Maria Sison.

On behalf of the Cuban Institute of Friendship with the Peoples (ICAP), Vice-President Victor Gaute Lopez, and the staff in Asia-Pacific Division, we express our eternal gratitude for the solidarity activism that Jose Maria sustained for years in favour of the Cuban people.

Please, convey our condolences to the family and friends for such a sensitive loss.

Fernando Duque Gomez, Director of Asia-Pacific Division, ICAP.

# Kurdistan Democratic Communities Union December 20, 2022

To the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines,

To the Family and Comrades of President Jose Maria Sison,

We regretfully learned of the death of our friend Jose Maria Sison, the founding chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP). This sad news deeply affected the members and supporters of the Communist Party of the Philippines, the loved ones and comrades of President Sison, and the Philippine people, and left us, his friends, in pain and sorrow.

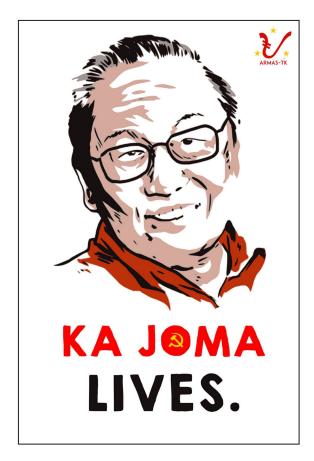
President Jose Maria Sison was involved in the revolutionary struggle of the people of the Philippines for socialism all his life. He was always a front-line revolutionary. He was both an activist and a revolutionary theorist. Comrade Sison's struggle against the dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos is legendary. He spent many years in prison for his struggle against the Marcos dictatorship. He also fought in prison by leading the revolution and revolutionary forces with his writings and thoughts. President Sison's struggle was not limited to the country of the Philippines. As an anti-imperialist, he partnered with the world revolutionary movements and continued his struggle in the international arena.

President Jose Maria Sison was also a friend of the Kurds. He was always in solidarity with the freedom struggle of the people of Kurdistan. He actively participated in the freedom campaign for our President, Mr. Abdullah Öcalan, and made efforts to make the campaign stronger in the international arena. President Sison's death has affected us deeply. The people of Kurdistan and the Kurdistan freedom movement are saddened by the loss of a great friend. President Sison was a great bridge of friendship between the peoples of the Philippines and Kurdistan. As his friends, we and President Sison's Comrades face the task of further developing this bridge of friendship. In this regard, we are determined to be worthy of his memory by protecting the legacy that President Sison has left us.

On this occasion, we extend our condolences to the esteemed family, comrades, friends, directors and members of the Communist Party of the Philippines, the people of the Philippines and the world revolutionary movements, and bow respectfully before the memory of Comrade Sison.

Revolutionary Greetings, KCK Executive Council

# SELECTED POEMS OF JOSE MARIA SISON



Comrade Jose Maria Sison was a poet and has penned several published and unpublished poems. A collection of his poems entitled "The Guerrilla Is Like a Poet" was published in 2013. The poems are organised into three themes such as, (a) the people's resistance, (b) detention and defiance, and (c) the struggle continues. The first theme is about revolutionary struggle of toiling masses against their foreign and feudal oppressors. The second theme is about Joma's torture and imprisonment by Marcos fascist dictatorship from 1977 to 1986. The third theme is about perseverance of Filipino people and Joma in revolutionary struggle. Out of these the editorial team has selected 17 poems.

# (1) THE PEOPLE'S RESISTANCE **The Guerrilla is Like a Poet**

The guerrilla is like a poet Keen to the rustle of leaves The break of twigs The ripples of the river The smell of fire And the ashes of departure.

The guerrilla is like a poet. He has merged with the trees The bushes and the rocks Ambiguous but precise Well-versed on the law of motion And master of myriad images.

The guerrilla is like a poet. Enrhymed with nature The subtle rhythm of the greenery The inner silence, the outer innocence The steel tensile in-grace That ensnares the enemy.

The guerrilla is like a poet. He moves with the green brown multitude In bush burning with red flowers That crown and hearten all Swarming the terrain as a flood Marching at last against the stronghold.

An endless movement of strength Behold the protracted theme: The people's epic, the people's war.

1968

# **Defy the Reptile**

In the gloomy swamp of barbaric times Fear creates a god in the crocodile And plays on the innocent child



A nightmare of almighty jaws, All-seeing eyes, limitless guile, Adeptest claws and toughest hide.

Praises and offerings to the reptile Whet the whining bloody appetite And make the bamboo raft more fragile. The scrubs around and above cast shadows And the dark rocks below assume forms To magnify, multiply the slithering terror.

But when the monster itself appears, It reveals its limited size and puny parts. The lonely person is roused to resist And resorts to his knife and wile To defy the reptile and old beliefs And inspire more men to use their spears.

Folks learn to bait the beast with toads And then to set upon its securest lair. Thus, one crocodile god after another Yields its teeth to the circle of spears. And these become the amulets, tokens Of proven willful strength of men.

March 1982

# **In Praise of Martyrs**

We praise to high heavens And for all time The heroes who die In the hands of the enemy In the battlefield In the torture chamber And against the wall. In these bloody places, The struggle is sharpest And the meaning of one's life Is tested in one crucial moment. Courage to the last breath Makes the martyr live beyond death.

## 9 December 1977

# Wisdom From a Comrade

A Red fighter had died in the battle And his sweetheart was grieving. A comrade went over to her and said, "He was my best pal and I am also sad But I am happy too and proud of him For he was to the end a revolutionary And nothing can ever change that." She wiped off her tears and smiled. When I heard those words and saw her eyes, I felt the wisdom flow into my soul.

14 December 1977

# What Makes a Hero

It is not the manner of death That makes a hero. It is the meaning of life drawn From the struggles against the foe.

There is the hero who dies in the battlefield, There is the hero who dies of hunger and disease, There is the hero who dies of some accident, There is the hero who dies of old age.

Whatever is the manner of death, There is the common denominator: A hero serves the people To his very last breath.

10 December 1977

# (2) DETENTION AND DEFIANCE In the Dark Depths

The enemy wants to bury us In the dark depths of prison But shining gold is mined From the dark depths of the earth And the radiant pearl is dived From the dark depths of the sea. We suffer but we endure And draw up gold and pearl



From depths of character Formed so long in struggle.

10 April 1978

## Pearl

In the gloomy depths of the ocean, Pearl is formed by salted pain In the tenderness of the oyster In utter cold, under the weight Of the water mountain of affliction.

The diver cannot reach the pearl Without weighing himself down, Without the endurance and painful labor, Without the keenness of vision Through the gloom under pressure.

The pearl is the lustrous fruit Of the oyster's mighty struggle. It is also a glowing eyeball, A witness to the diver's effort. Snatched from the jaws of fathoms, It becomes a centerpiece of triumph

12 April 1978

# **Chemistry of Tears**

Tears have too long been the food of the meek.

But hunger has become anger so fierce,

Turning the tears of the meek into nitroglycerine

To explode the vile system of terror and greed.

Such is the chemistry of tears catalyzed by iniquity.

14 April 1978

# **A Furnace**

When it was December I compared my cell By midnight to a freezer And by midday to an oven.

Now that it is summer I compare it to hell. But because of its smallness, I also call it a furnace.

'Tis a seething furnace For tempering steel And purifying gold. 'Tis a comforting metaphor.

15 March 1978

# Like a Giant, Like a Bird

In the concrete conditions of prison, The devil has a big advantage. Even the demons press their power, Swaggering like big monsters.

They call the prisoner an ant They can fool and play with. But the revolutionary spirit can win, Whatever is the devil's scheme.

No matter how tight the cell, It is an arena of struggle, A part of the wide front Of the people's surging resistance.

The courageous fight in prison Joins the irresistible tide Of the revolutionary struggle springing From the bosom of the motherland.

Crush the body of the prisoner Who has a firm and lofty stand, His spirit resists and endures. It lives on in the spirit of the masses.



The heroic prisoner is like a giant; He draws strength from the masses, His spirit is like a bird looking down: Oh, how small are all the monsters below!

16 December 1977

# **My Spiritual Weapon**

Marxism is a powerful beacon To revolutionary mass actions. But in my prolonged isolation It is also my spiritual weapon.

Wielding it, I defend my integrity; The enemy cannot overwhelm me. He is despicable and puny. Before the people and history.

I draw strength from the revolution In steady progress outside prison. I wish to make a contribution By my struggle even in isolation.

Thus, I can endure the torture, The physical and mental pressure And all the diabolic overtures That the revolution I abdure.

I keep on recalling the people, Comrades and red fighters Who have shed their blood in struggle. My own suffering I belittle.

I have undergone only punches, Water cure and daily threats. But the most difficult of my tests Is month after month of forced rest.

To a cot I am always shackled With nothing to read and no spectacles. It is taxing to the mind and nonsensical To stare at the ceiling and walls.

I suffer so many deprivations That boredom and vexation Often try to close in on my isolation. But Marxism is my powerful weapon. I become my own companion And apply the law of contradiction On so many problems and questions In my situation and contemplations.

My interrogators wish information But I go into political discussion. I uphold the justness of the revolution, The people's demands and aspirations.

Due process and basic necessities I demand without cease, To struggle on, Marxism tells me, Against the viciousness of the enemy.

I turn to composing poetry Expressing my desire to be free Blending it to the ever fierce Desire of the people to be free.

I long for the warmth of the people And full initiative in the struggle. But each day longer in the present crucible Tests and tempers the mettle.

A day that passes is a day closer To the riddance of my shackles. I place my hopes on the struggle Of the broad masses of the people.

8 February 1978

# You are My Wife and Comrade

You are my wife and comrade. It is harsh that we are kept apart By a cruel enemy with many snares. We care for each other's welfare.

The wishes of the tyrant are so evil. He seeks the betrayal of our souls By torture and the threat of murder And the wasting away of our youthful vigor His cruel minions are gleeful That we suffer in stifling cubicles. They are driven by usurped power And like dogs carry out orders.





(Jose Maria Sison with his family members in 1987)

But even in our forced separation We remain one in fierce devotion To the noble cause of the revolution. Firmly the struggle we must carry on.

Our chief tormentor on the throne Will someday be overthrown. For the seed has been sown And the future is well known.

We have lived a full and fruitful life Even at a youthful age so rife For so much more to be done In the raging course of the revolution.

We fear neither hardship nor death For the people's supreme interest. We are scornful of slander and intrigue As the people wait for us to speak.

We may never be allowed to speak. But tongues of fire affirm our integrity. More than enough are the testaments For our children's worthy heritage.

We miss our beloved children But our spirit continues to guide them. We will always be part of the movement Far beyond the bounds of the present.

10 March 1978

# (3) THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES

(Written while Joma was in exile as a political refugee in the Netherlands.)

# Monsters in the Market (Song Lyrics)

Shame on those who spread the false illusion Of the free market and tout the law of the jungle. The self-interest of monopolies is so visible, A hand that squeezes and ruins the lives of people.

Monopolies are monsters preying on the market. They can't hide their greed with any sleight of hand. They make super-profits from the sweat and blood Of entire nations, the workers and the peasants.

Awake and arise, unite to fight the monsters That oppress and exploit the people In the factories, farms and marketplace. Let us free ourselves and build a new world.

They manipulate the prices of goods in the world. Burden weaker countries with deficits and debts And pay only a bit of the full value of labor power And feed like sharks on the big unpaid labor.

The imperialists plunder and unleash wars, Gang up on weaker countries, nations and peoples To rob them and curtail freedom They rival and wrangle to re-divide the world. Let us free ourselves and build a new world.

December 2005

## The Way to a Just Peace (Song Lyrics)

The Yanks came posing as a friend Then they unleashed aggression To rape, plunder and imprison Our long suffering Motherland. The way to a just peace is to fight For national liberation

By ceaseless, ruthless use of arms The ruling classes dominate, Oppress and exploit the people Mainly the workers and peasants. The way to a just peace is to fight For social liberation

The people must rise up to fight The imperialists and puppets Gain the power to free themselves And build a just and lasting peace The kind of peace that the imperialists And the local exploiting classes wish Is the abject surrender of the people To the daily violence of exploitation.

The way to a just peace is to end The violence of exploitation .

The people must rise up to fight The imperialists and puppets Gain the power to free themselves And build a just and lasting peace!

December 2005

# My Pen and My Tongue

The only weapons I have Are my pen and my tongue To protest greed and terror And call for people's resistance In my Motherland and in the world.

I protest the daily violence Of exploiting the toiling masses And burying them in poverty, Misery, slow death and silence. I call for ending the pillage.

I protest the wars of aggression And all acts of repression That perpetuate exploitation By the imperialists and puppets. I call for ending the carnage.

I fight for justice and peace In solidarity with all peoples And I praise and encourage them To wage the just struggle For national and social liberation. The imperialists and the puppets React to my pen and tongue With false charges, demonization And the iron fist of state power. But I stand with the people.

4 September 2007

# **Rulers and Butchers**

The rulers and butchers of my country Rain bombs and artillery fire To force more than a million Peasants and indigenous people Out of their homes and land And make way for plantations, Mines and all kinds of plunder. They think they can do so with impunity

They have murdered, abducted And tortured more than a thousand Workers, peasants, women, Students, teachers, lawyers, Journalists, priests and pastors To quell the people's resistance And keep the reign of greed and terror They think they can do so with impunity.

Before a single one of them Can be brought to justice The rulers and butchers of my country Have colluded with the imperialists To put me once more in solitary, As in the days of the Marcos tyranny, On a false charge of murder For the revolutionary acts of the people.

I join the ranks of the victims And I follow the examples Of Ka Bel, Ka Satur, La Liza, Ka Paeng, Ka Ted and Ka Joel Persecuted but unbowed By the oppressors and their foreign masters Standing up for the just cause Of the suffering and struggling people.

7 September 2007

# The Master Puppeteer and the Puppets

In neocolonial times, the master puppeteer Lends the puppets grandeur and puts them On the stage, in the mass media, all sorts of gatherings. To conjure the illusion of democracy, he arranges The electoral contests like dazzling cock fights In so many town fiestas for several months.

But most important to the master puppeteer Is to elect the puppet politicians that serve best The collaboration of the us and local exploiters, And make the exploited and oppressed believe That they have freely chosen the best of possible. Thus, the us has prolonged its domination.

But the revolutionary movement has arisen To arouse, organize and mobilize the masses, To confront the oppressors and exploiters, To seize power wave upon wave in the localities And gain strength for the liberation of the nation And mainly the workers and peasants.

The Filipino people shun the master puppeteer For rotating puppet rulers to oppress them, They reject the blatant despotism of Marcos As well as the pseudo-democratic successors Who take turns at oppressing the people And serving the foreign and local exploiters.

August 2013

# The Monster Ravages the Forests and Mountains

The birds have fled and sing no more Where the monster has felled the trees With complete abandon, with no concern For the life of the forest that he ravages.

The wooden furniture and panelings Of homes and offices in cities are splendid While the folks where the trees are gone Miss the savor of wild plants and animals.

And the flood and drought take turns

In drowning and parching the land To ruin the rhythm and future of crops And afflict the folks in the valleys and plains.

The monster is frenzied at ripping off The mineral ores from the mountains. He digs wide open pits and uses chemicals Of the deadliest sorts to hasten the extraction.

The monster is pleased with the gold, Silver, platinum, nickel, chrome, zink, copper And other ores to feed his industry And make all sorts of strong and shiny things,

While poison flows to the streams and wells, The tailings silt and choke the rivers, And the mountains erode until they crumble With landslides and mud flows to afflict the folks.

By denuding the forests, the monster robs The land of its lungs and the shield against typhoons. By extracting the ores, he robs the country Of its development independent of its greed.

August 2013

# **JOSE MARIA SISON'S FIRST KNOWN ARTICLE**

# Hulme: Vitalism and Geometry

(1960)

Although T.R Hulme is extremely traditional, he perfectly suits at the same time the modern temper. His ironical position is stressed by the fact that he has influenced modern criticism more than he has been acknowledged, according to Walter J. Bates. Above all, he has in an amazing but indirect way been responsible for a new kind of literature that is represented by T. S Eliot and former members of the Imagist group. Led either by Ezra Pound or Amy Lowell during the first decades of the century. The principle of objective correlative is the echo if his talks on impersonality in the poetry club he organized in 1909 and at his salon on Frith Street. F. S. Flint's "History of Imagism" in 1915 regards him as the prime source of Imagist theory and limits the merit of Pound to the mere advertisement of another man's ideas. Incidentally, Eliot owes to Pound a germinal knowledge of Hulme's theories as confirmed by F.O Matthiessen and William K. Wimsatt Jr.

Reacting to the excess and expansiveness of the preceding century which M. Rene Taupin characterizes curtly in the rhetoric of Victor Hugo, Hulme—like the French symbolists—swings to the other end of the pendulum and advocates classical objectivism as a philosophical prerequisite to poetry. He reacts to a period of wonder and romantic subjectivism. A return to orthodox doctrine is seen as a counter-force against the Goethean delusion of spiraling progress and infinite perfectibility which smacks of Spenser's sense of continuity gone berserk in the popular conception of evolution. The wheel is offered as the clear and concrete analogy of man's capabilities. It is the closing of all the roads, the tragic significance of life.

What is important is what nobody seems to realize the dogmas like that of Original Sin, which are the closest expression of the categories of the religious attitude. The man is in sense perfect, but a wretched creature can yet apprehend perfection. It is not, then, that I put up with the dogma for the sake of the sentiment, but that I may possibly swallow the sentiment for the sake of the dogma (Speculations, p. 119.)

Hulme reassures himself with the religious attitude, but he has nothing to do with recapturing the sentiments of Fra. Angelico, and he has contempt for the didactics of the neo-classicist Pope. Furthermore, unlike Babbitt or Arnold, he simply asks for the hard and dry impersonality of poetry rather than for moralistic projection or for a God-man. The sentimental gloom of nineteenth-century poetry is to be averted only because man recognizes his imperfection and when perfection is not illegitimately pitched onto the human plane. The principal interest of Hulme is to debunk the humanistic bosh of the personality being an infinite reservoir of possibilities, which misconception has evolved from Rousseau's notion that man is by nature good, that it is only bad laws and customs that have suppressed his primordial virtues. Hulme has no nostalgia for medievalism, though: he only wants to negate the romantic attempt to manumit oneself from the spatiotemporal glebe. Without being a defender of religion, he accepts the subordination of man to certain absolute values.

#### II. Method and Weltanschauung

An explication of T.E Hulme's method, variably called his theory of discontinuity, is necessary in view of the fact that poetic composition has been understood to be restricted by him to the vital sphere of his total reality in such a way that ethical values appear to be in complete competition or in blind repulsion of present poetry. Besides doubly clarifying the religious attitude as it is necessary to define weltanschauung as a part of philosophy, the vital and geometrical varieties of art are at last to be hewed.

The elaboration and universal application of the principles of continuity is a conspicuous achievement of the nineteenth-century. The popularization of the conception of the evolution has brought such a principle to the status of category and such has come to be regarded as an inevitable constituent of reality itself instead of being a principle in the light of which certain regions of facts can be conveniently ordered. There is now the tendency, bloated by the Origin of the Species, to regard the discontinuities in the nature only apparent, and to assume that a closer inquiry leads to a more essential flux.

Hulme observes that this shrinking from a gap or jump in nature has developed to such an extent than any objective perception is hardly possible. An objective view of reality has to make use of both categories on continuity and discontinuity and it is easily seen why Hulme should be so much more concerned with the reinstatement of temper or disposition to look at a gap without developing acrophobia.

Certain regions of reality differ not relatively but absolutely. A real discontinuity exists between them and the inability to observe them results in the whole mass of chaotic thinking in religion and ethics.

Reality is to be cut up into three absolutely separated spheres: (1) the inorganic world of mathematical and physical science, (2) the organic world dealt with by biology, psychology and history, and (3) the world of ethical and religious values. A diagram of this assumption may involve two concrete circles on a flat surface. The outer zone is the world of physics, the inner that of religion and ethics, the intermediate one that of life. The outer and inner regions have certain characteristics in common. Symmetrically, these extreme zones have both an absolute character and knowledge of them can be called absolute knowledge. The intermediate region of life, on the other hand is essentially relative; it is dealt with by the loose sciences such as biology, psychology and history. A muddy mixed zone lies between two absolutes. To make the model a more faithful representation, it is to be understood that the extreme zone partook of the perfection of geometrical figures while the middle zone is covered with some confused muddy substance.

In Hulme's method, there is the recognition of the distinction between the physical and the vital as set forth previously by Nietzche, Dilthey and Bergson in every way. It is, indeed, ridiculous to describe vital events in terms of the laws of physics and Spenserian view that life phenomena are mere complicated forms of mechanical change is rejected. Hulme goes inward beyond the first chasm and makes a statement of all ideal values. He segregates the non-material region of religion because, as he claims, the momentum of escape from mechanism has resulted in the restatement of religion in terms of vitalism, which is preposterous. He, therefore, makes it his obligation to explain that biology is not theology, that God cannot be defined in terms of "life" or of "progress".

The failure to observe this second discontinuity has been favored by the extremely prevalent notion, expressed by Arnold, that "our religion has materialized itself in the fact, in the supposed fact." I.A. Richards, on a similar basis in his Science and Poetry, deals with religion as a point of view being effaced by science. Ethical values, in the typical European fashion, are regarded as a part of the temporal flux of appearances. Enlightened by oriental mysticism, Hulme positively insists on the absolute integrity of religious values.

Clearly now, there is an absolute, and not a relative, difference between humanism and the religious spirit. This former is to be taken as the highest expression of the vital and the latter is to be absolutely separated from the vital. The divine is not at all life at its intensest. It contains in a way an almost anti-vital element which differentiates it at the same from the non-vital character of the pure mathematical sphere. The questions of Original Sin, of chastity, of the motives behind Buddhism and the like, is part of the very essence of the religious spirits, have not been understood by the humanist consequently, because he has not made the proper differentiation between humanism and divinity. The Renaissance has so many pictures with religious subjects; but it is erroneous to say that here automatically there is religion art. Here, the emotions are definitely human from end to end. To believe that religious emotion is only the highest form of the emotions that fit into the humanist ideology is to be grossly incorrect. The intensity of the religious spirit as found in art springs not from delight in life but from a feeling for certain absolute values. It should be surprising why the Vatican has been so so much delayed in accepting Georges Roualt whose Christ-figures are economical and precise and whose prostitute figures are fat with round flesh. There is no better moral aptness. Going back to general grounds, a conclusion may be made to the effect that the vexation that is engendered by the trivial and accidental characteristics of vital shapes results in a hankering for economy, a pyramidal stability, a perfection and rigidity that is characteristic of Byzantine, Egyptian and early Greek art; and also, as a corollary, it may state that full satisfaction with life as best exemplified by the art of a glorious Greece results in vitalistic shapes.

If physical science is represented by geometry, then instead of saying that the modern movement from materialism has been from physics through vitalism to the absolute values of religion, it might be simply stated that it is from geometry through life and back to geometry. Certainly, it is very apparent that the extreme zones have resemblances not shared by the riddle zone. While the middle is not absolute, the outer and inner are.

*Note:* The article was published on July 28, 1960 (at which time JMS was 21 years old) by Philippine Collegian (official student publication of the University of the Philippines Diliman).

# **JOSE MARIA SISON'S LAST ARTICLE**

[Published posthumous on December 26, 2022]

It is with deepest grief that I have to be the one to issue my husband's last and final message to the revolutionary forces and the people on the 54<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Communist Party of the Philippines. He started discussing with me the outline and writing of the message a few days a month ago when he just got discharged from the hospital at his second confinement in November and just before the start of his third and last confinement on November 28. He wrote the first draft on paper, which I keyed in to the computer and then he reread and corrected it twice to produce this final draft below.

Some fifteen or so minutes before Joma took his last breath, he was still talking about ensuring the revolution would win victory and advancing to socialism. With his last thoughts he remained optimistic about the Filipino people whom he served with utmost determination.

Julie de Lima

# The Filipino People's Democratic Revolution Is Invincible

Jose Maria Sison, Founding Chairman, Communist Party of the Philippines

Since after the reestablishment of Communist Party of the Philippines on December 26, 1968 and the prompt founding of the New People's Army on March 29, 1969, every reactionary regime of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system in the Philippines (from the time of Ferdinand Marcos, Sr. to the present) has adopted and implemented a strategic operational plan to destroy the Filipino people's democratic revolution.

But each strategic 'oplan' has always utterly failed and instead resulted in the significant growth of the revolutionary movement. Marcos went to the extent of imposing a fascist dictatorship on the people from 1972 to 1986 on the pretext of suppressing the CPP and armed revolution, "save the republic and build a new society". But his power grab merely stimulated and accelerated the all-round growth of the revolutionary movement nationwide. Ultimately, the armed revolution inspired and backed up the people's mass uprisings in Metro Manila



and nationwide in order to remove the fascist dictatorship from power.

The pseudo-liberal democratic regimes that followed the Marcos fascist dictatorship tried to combine their respective military strategic 'oplans' with tactics of deception, including offers of prolonged ceasefire and peace negotiations without addressing the roots of the armed conflict or civil war. Every reactionary regime has been obsessed with destroying the revolutionary movement and preserving the unjust ruling system of oppression and exploitation.

It has used the anti-terrorist card anytime to delay, suspend or terminate the peace negotiations, despite such major joint agreements between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines as The Hague Joint Declaration of 1992 as framework for peace negotiations and the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law of 1998.

Despite the peace negotiations, every reactionary regime has taken the liberty of killing cadres and members of the revolutionary movement. When the NPA captured General Obillo of the reactionary armed forces under the terms of the CARHRIHL and international laws in 1998, it immediately announced willingness to release him as a prisoner of war upon agreement on the safe procedure for his release. But Estrada continuously took offense and used the capture of his general to become the first reactionary president to terminate the peace negotiations in May 1999. After his overthrow by people's mass uprisings in 2001, the Arroyo regime agreed to resume the peace negotiations in 2002, with the Royal Norwegian Government as the third-party facilitator. But in 2004 it became obvious that the Arroyo regime was following US dictates to slow down the negotiations on substantive issues and to suspend them indefinitely and unleash bigger military operations in the name of the "whole-of-nation approach". These military operations failed utterly to destroy the people's war. The rabid anti-communist defense secretary would eventually commit suicide upon exposure of his corruption in the handling of the military budget and even of the retirement funds of AFP officers and personnel.

# I. Complete sabotage of the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations

But the worst came when Duterte became president. He pretended to be eager to conduct peace negotiations but he carried out an all-out war policy against the revolutionary movement by extending Aquino's Oplan Bayanihan until January 2017 when Oplan Kapayapaan was adopted and implemented. Instead of joining the NDFP in addressing the roots of the civil war through basic social, economic and political reforms, he concentrated on trivial and puerile tactics calculated to push the revolutionary movement to capitulation by demanding that the people's democratic government give up its legitimate powers, offering CPP representation in his cabinet prior to a peace agreement and then self-contradictorily including the NPA as target of his martial law proclamation against the Maute group in Mindanao in 2017.

Failing to achieve his short-sighted objectives in trying outwit the NDFP, Duterte agreed with his military minions to stop serious peace negotiations with the NDFP by hyping fake "localized peace talks" under the surveillance and control of the GRP. Duterte and AFP officers became obsessed with increasing the military budget to accommodate their insatiable appetite for corruption and the operations to red-tag, intimidate people and abduct, detain, torture and murder their political opponents. Thus, the ground was laid for the termination of the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations on November 23, 2017 by Duterte after openly consulting US President Trump.

The Duterte's termination of the peace negotiations since 2017 was intended not only as a negotiating trick but as the beginning of ending permanently the peace negotiations. Subsequently, Duterte designated and proscribed the CPP and NPA on December 5, 2017 and ultimately the NDFP on the same grounds, created the National Task Force to Eliminate the Communist Local Armed Conflict (NTF-Elcac) and took advantage of the Covid-19 pandemic to railroad the Anti-Terror Law (ATL) in the servile Congress and the creation of the Anti-Terrorism Council to put the Philippine once more under state terrorism or fascist dictatorship, violate the national and democratic right of the people with impunity and allow those in power to commit treason, tyranny and thievery.

Within this anti-national and anti-democratic framework, Duterte has passed on the reactionary government and ruling system to the Marcos Junior-Sara Duterte tandem by completely controlling the automated electoral system and fabricating more than 20 million votes in favor of the tandem and its candidates for Congress and local executive positions. The current de facto Marcos-Duterte regime is under the dictates of US imperialism and the big comprador-bureaucrat interests of the Marcos and Duterte dynasties and will condone and continue the monstrous crimes of the previous regime until the opposition forces, the revolutionary movement and the broad masses of the people can act to change the situation in the Philippines.

In the meantime, the Filipino people have to suffer the rising level of oppression and exploitation due to the worsening chronic crisis of the ruling system and the anti-national and anti-democratic policies of the Marcos-Duterte tandem. Day after day, they have to suffer, defy and fight not only the bloody human rights violations but also the fake news in the psywar campaign of those in power that the Filipino people and their revolutionary forces have given up the revolutionary struggle for national liberation and democracy.

It is absolutely untrue that the people's revolutionary forces are dwindling and being defeated and that the Red cadres, commanders and fighters–all tested and tempered in more than 54 years of victorious people's war are rapidly being killed or captured in focused military operations or surrendering because of such band-aid offers like the graft-laden Enhanced-Comprehensive Local Integration Program, Community Support Program and Barangay Development Plan. And yet the ruling clique and its military minions keep on demanding more public funds not only to attack the people but also to pocket the larger part of the military budget.

The reactionary armed forces have in fact officially admitted that the NPA grew in strength during the Duterte regime. Towards the end of the Aquino II regime in January 2016, when they claimed the success of Oplan Bayanihan, they announced that the NPA commanders and fighters have been reduced to only 3,900. Now, they claim that at the end of the Duterte regime that they have caused the surrender of nearly 24,000 Red fighters. Unwittingly, they expose themselves as big liars and and big budget thieves and admit that the NPA actually increased its strength during the Duterte regime.

# II. Why the people's democratic revolution is invincible

The Filipino people's democratic revolution is invincible because it is just and necessary to fight for and achieve national liberation and democracy against the three evil forces of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism in a rapidly rotting semi-colonial and semifeudal society. This new democratic revolution is a continuation of the old democratic revolution that was started in 1896 by the Katipunan and was victorious against Spanish colonial rule but was defeated by the US war of aggression that started in 1898. This time, the leading class in the revolution is no longer the liberal bourgeoisie but the proletariat in the era of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution.

So long as the aforesaid three evil forces dominate and afflict the Filipino nation, the ground remains fertile for the growth and advance of the people's democratic revolution. The chronic crisis of the ruling system has been worsening not only due to the factors of exploitation and oppression within the Philippines but due to those in the world capitalist system, chiefly US monopoly capitalism. The Philippines is fortunate to have rich natural resources for its own development but unfortunately the imperialist powers and their reactionary puppets have always agreed to exploit the cheap labor of the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the abundant natural resources of the people.

At every major shift of its economic policy in East Asia, US imperialism has always made it a point to prevent the economic development through a program of genuine land reform and national industrialization in the Philippines. We have seen such phenomenon in the periods when the US favored Japan's economic reconstruction and expansion after World War II and the economic growth of the "economic tigers" to serve as anti-communist front liners during the Cold War and when it promoted neoliberalism and fascism and developed a neoliberal partnership with China until their ongoing decoupling and intensified economic competition and political rivalry.

In the course of its closest neoliberal partnership with China, the US and its chief Filipino puppets encouraged and allowed China to encroach on the West Philippine Sea in order to have the pretext for the US to circumvent the constitutional prohibition against foreign military bases and forces in the Philippines by making the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement to allow the US military forces to have exclusive bases and facilities within the camps and military reserve areas of the reactionary armed forces. But now, the US is conspicuously locked in a contest with China to plunder the natural resources of the Philippines and the rest of ASEAN.

China is more than ever hell-bent on keeping its artificial and militarized islands in the West Philippine Sea because its own undersea explorations show that there are at least USD 26.3 trillion of gas, far more than enough to carry out genuine land reform and industrialize the Philippines and thereby fulfill the main socio-economic demand in the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations. Despite all its pious and glittering generalities for helping the ASEAN develop and for starting its reduction of carbon emissions by 2030, China is determined to grab the gas, marine and other natural resources of the Filipino people in the West Philippine Sea.

The Philippine economy and government are bankrupt due to its internal ills and the unprecedented crisis of the world capitalist system. Due mainly to extreme corruption, import-dependent consumption and military overspending, the Duterte regime has more than doubled in only six years to Php 12.5 trillion the Philippine public debt of Php 5.9 trillion which had been accumulated since 1902. He did a favor to Marcos Jr. by making him president through the fabrication of more than 20 million votes in the last elections but he has given him the big problem of looking for Php 1.6 trillion to pay for amortization and interest payments to support the Php 5.2 trillion budget for 2023.

The Philippine is now reeling from severe conditions of economic depression, decreased export of raw materials and labor, lessened tax revenues and tighter international credit. Production and employment have fallen so steeply. There is severe decline in food production, including rice, vegetable and fish, and inflation is soaring. But the Marcos-Duterte ruling team circulate the painful joke that the people can always buy imported food, despite the big drop in earnings from the export of raw materials and cheap labor. The Filipino people are outraged that the two worst political dynasties (Marcoses and Dutertes) rule the Philippines, have no solution to the urgent basic problems of the people, but engage in the most scandalous forms of corruption (e.g. unaudited confidential and intelligence funds) and in the increase of the military budget to intimidate the people and suppress mass resistance despite the psywar claims that the revolutionary forces have been destroyed or their actual strength reduced to only five guerrilla fronts nationwide.

#### III. The armed counterrevolution will continue to fail

The armed counterrevolution being waged by the Marcos-Duterte ruling combine will continue to fail because the objective conditions of the rapidly worsening crisis of the ruling system are making it impossible for the ruling classes of big compradors and landlords and their bureaucrats to rule in the old way (be it the pseudo-liberal or fascist way); and because it is actually the subjective forces of the revolutionary movement and the broad mases of the people that are gaining strength and advancing the new democratic revolution under the class leadership of the proletariat and along the general line of protracted people's war

As the advanced detachment of the proletariat, the CPP has made great achievements in its ideological, political and organizational work. It has been guided by the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and has applied it on the history and current social circumstances of the Filipino people, It has put forward the general line of people's democratic revolution with the strategic line of protracted people's war and with the socialist perspective. It has upheld the principle of democratic centralism and has built a nationwide organization that is well integrated with the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the rest of the people.

There is no way that the reactionary state can stop the few CPP cadres from performing their tasks in ideological work. From year to year and from decade to decade, under the auspices of the Revolutionary School of Mao Zedong Thought, they were able to educate more Party cadres and members in the course of mass work and put them through the basic, intermediate and advanced levels of Party education after they take the revolutionary mass course for mass activists.

Revolutionary studies can be carried out in so many ways far beyond the limited capabilities of the enemy to spy on and the study materials are now widely available in hard and soft copies. In their struggle for national and social liberation, the Filipino people regard the CPP as the most important revolutionary weapon responsible for leading the peoples democratic revolution. In turn, the CPP wields two other powerful weapons, armed struggle and the united front (constituted as the New People's Army and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines, respectively). The NPA is the main force for fighting and defeating the coercive apparatuses of the reactionary state and enabling the rise of the people's democratic government. The NDFP is responsible for building the comprehensive national united front and winning over the people in their tens of millions to the revolution against the armed counterrevolution.

The NPA carries out the strategic line of protracted people's war of encircling the cities from the countryside. In a semicolonial and semifeudal country like the Philippines, the countryside provides for the widest possible social and physical terrain and area of maneuver for developing the strength of the people's army through definite strategic stages, such as the defensive, the stalemate and counter-offensive. Most of the people are in the countryside. And the main democratic content of the peasant masses is agrarian revolution, the satisfaction of the democratic demand for land.

The NPA is tasked to wage armed struggle as the main form of struggle, carry out genuine land reform from the minimum to the maximum stage and build the revolutionary mass base. It has a major role in building the mass organizations and the organs of political of power that constitute the people's democratic government and carrying out mass campaigns, programs and activities that implement mass education and organization, land reform and socio-economic development, self-defense, settlement of disputes, protection of the environment and other important tasks.

In accordance with the strategic defensive stage, the NPA been victorious in carrying out the people's war through guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. This has allowed the NPA to build the guerilla fronts initially in a few areas and regions and eventually to the eleven major islands inhabited by 94 per cent of the people. Now, the NPA operates in 74 out of the 82 Philippine provinces and enjoys the support of the Filipino people and by the NDFP in all the Philippine provinces.

Every reactionary regime has boasted of being able to destroy the armed revolution within the current term of whoever is the president. But the semicolonial and semifeudal character of the ruling system and its ever-worsening chronic crisis put limits on its ability to control the population and suppress the people's resistance. At any given time, the NPA and other revolutionary forces can work freely and launch tactical offensives in more than 80 per cent of the Philippine archipelago.

Of course, the reactionary armed forces and police can do their best to identify and target the NPA guerrilla fronts with focused or concentrated military campaigns. But the strategy and tactics of guerrilla warfare have served the NPA very well. When the enemy advances in superior force, the NPA main force retreats but deploys command-detonated land mines and sniper teams against the advancing enemy. When the enemy displaces and occupies the area of an NPA guerrilla front, the NPA surveils the enemy deployment in order to be able to know how to harass the enemy camp, hit the isolated perimeter guards and ambush the patrol units.

When the encamped enemy tires out and retreats, it is the turn of the NPA to make the advance and deliver more offensive blows. But even while the enemy seems to have the upper hand through his advance and encampment, the NPA force on tactical retreat in one guerrilla front can initiate tactical offensives that it can win in a nearby area. Worst of all for the enemy, as has been often the case, in so many other guerrilla fronts in the same region and all other regions the NPA take the initiative to launch tactical offensives by way of strengthening themselves through struggle and helping the guerilla fronts under focused or concentrated enemy attacks.

On the whole in its entire history, the CPP has been excellent and successful in building the nationwide strength of the revolutionary forces by being able to lead and coordinate them in various forms of struggle and, in the field of revolutionary armed struggle, using an existing guerrilla front to beget other guerilla fronts in the same region and provide experienced CPP cadres and NPA commanders and fighters to other regions.

The initial guerrilla front in Tarlac in 1969 led to the building of several guerrilla fronts in Central, Northern and Southern Luzon from 1969 to 1971 and the big wave of CPP-NPA expansion teams to the Visayas and Mindanao from 1972 onwards. Then within the same decade of the 1970s, the guerrilla fronts of the Visayas and Mindanao helped each other and also provided experienced CPP cadres and Red commanders to Luzon. The CPP, NPA and NDFP have become so well-rooted on a nationwide scale and well-integrated with the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the rest of the people.

#### IV. Perspective of the people's democratic revolution

The people's war in the Philippines is still at the stage of the strategic defensive, advancing from the middle phase to the advanced phase. In concrete terms, nationwide guerrilla warfare is the main form of armed struggle being carried out nationwide. At the same time, NPA companies have arisen from the platoons in preparation for the completion of the strategic defensive and advance to the strategic stalemate wherein companies and battalions will have increasing role in tactical offensives.

The strategic stalemate will probably be shorter than the already protracted strategic defensive with the NPA companies and battalions. Such forces already in stable base areas can be regrouped regiments and battalions in an even shorter time for the strategic counteroffensives to capture or compel the surrender of the last and most fortified and isolated holdouts of the enemy. This is merely a line of probability based of successful civil wars. But there is always the contrary line of probability that US imperialism launches a war of aggression against the people before the Philippine revolution.

The reactionary Marcos-Duterte tandem is hellbent on continuing the armed counter-revolution to preserve the ruling system, serve the interests of US imperialism and let the current civil war pave the way for a US war of aggression. The Filipino people have no choice but to carry out the new democratic revolution by continuing the protracted people's war against not only the reactionary state in the current civil war but also the rising military intervention and probable war of aggression by US imperialism.

But there are growing limits to what the US can do to dominate the Philippines, East Asia and the world. It is still No. 1 imperialist power but it is on a strategic decline from its peak after a period of enjoying the status of being sole superpower after the 1991 collapse the Soviet Union, partnering with China in "neoliberal" globalization, expanding the NATO, launching wars of aggression under the so-called neoconservative policy and wasting the enormous amount of USD 10 trillion without any significant increase of territory for exploitation.

The limits of US imperialist power have been exposed by its failure to take over the oil resources and build 16 military bases in Iraq, to destroy the Syria-Russia-Iran alliance, to break the revolutionary struggle of

the Turkish and Kurdish people and to hold on to Afghanistan surrendering it to the Taliban. In the current Russian-Ukraine conflict, the US has been using Ukraine as proxy to threaten and provoke Russia to launch a war but conflict has merely served both Russian and US imperialism to waste resources. It has led even the NATO allies of the US to complain why they have to spend more money for energy supply from the US than for the cheap gas from the Russians.

Despite the recent hype that the US can wage to its advantage a war of aggression against China, DPRK and Russia, the people must be reminded that the US lost the Asian mainland and Eurasia as early as the 20th century after losing a series of wars. The drive of US imperialism for wars of aggression and the danger of world war and nuclear war is still restrained by the fear of mutual annihilation and human extinction on the part of the US and all other nuclear powers. Global warming appears to be more imminent as a threat to human existence than nuclear war.

The crisis of the world capitalist system is rapidly worsening due to the over-accumulation of monopoly capital and over-extraction of surplus value from the toiling masses and the intelligentsia. All major contradiction are intensifying such as those between labor and capital, between the imperialist powers themselves, between the imperialist powers and the oppressed peoples and nations and between the imperialist power and the countries assertive of national independence and desirous of democracy and socialism.

The 2008 financial meltdown has developed into a global depression far more prolonged and severe than the Great Depression of the 1930s, which led to the rise of fascism and World War II. But in the meantime, there are still the UN and multilateral and bilateral relations of states among both the main imperialist contenders and third world countries that uphold their own national sovereignty and their own interest in peace and development and wish to fight fascism and imperialist war.

It is the toiling masses and the rest of the people who fight for national liberation, democracy and socialism against imperialism and all reaction who let us hope for a bright future of world peace and common prosperity. They are now waging anti-imperialist and democratic mass struggle against the current global crisis that has been brought about by revisionist betrayal of socialism, neoliberalism and fascism. These are the prelude to the resurgence of the world proletarian-socialist revolution.

# **BOOKS BY PROF. JOSE MARIA SISON**

(Published From 1961 to 2022. Updated on November 16, 2022.)



Since 1961, more than 50 books written by Jose Maria Sison have been published in English, Filipino and other languages. The books listed hereunder chronologically are mostly available from libraries of major Philippine, US and West European universities, Popular Bookstore in Manila and NDFP International Information Office in Utrecht, The Netherlands.

Books under Part IV Selected Writings of Sison Nos. 11 to 14, from 2019 onwards. and under Part V Sison Reader Series, all numbers, from 2021 onwards are available from such e-publishing outlets as Amazon, Barnes & Noble, Apple, Scribd, Kobo-Rakuten, Vivlio and Bol.com

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  3: Selected Writings, 1972-1977. Netherlands: International Network for Philippine Studies and Philippines: Aklat ng Bayan, Inc.
  547 pages. ISBN 978-1-62847-922-5
- (2013) Detention and Defiance against Dictatorship. Volume 4: Selected Writings, 1977-1986. Netherlands: International Network for Philippine Studies and Philippines: Aklat ng Bayan, Inc. 664 pages. ISBN 978-1-62847-923-2
- (2015) Continuing the Struggle for National and Social Liberation. Volume 5: Selected Writings, 1986-1991. Netherlands: International Network for Philippine Studies and Philippines: Aklat ng Bayan, Inc. ISBN 978-1-62847-924-9.

# IV. SELECTED WRITINGS 2009 -2022

- Published by the I.N.P.S. and more than other ten foreign publishers
- (2013) The Guerrilla Is Like a Poet/ Ang Gerilya Ay Tulad ng Makata. Tirana & The Hague: Uitgeverij. 293 pages. ISBN 978-90-817091-8-7
- (2015) Crisis Generates Resistance. Volume 1: People's Struggle Against Oppression and Exploitation, 2009-2010. Netherlands: International Network for Philippine Studies. 399 pages. ISBN 978-1-62847-925-6
- (2016) *Building People's Power*. Volume 2: People's Struggle Against Oppression and Exploitation, 2010-2011. Netherlands: International Network

for Philippine Studies. 482 pages. ISBN 978-1-62847-925-3

- (2017) Combat Neoliberal Globalization. Volume 3: People's Struggle Against Oppression and Exploitation, 2012. Netherlands: International Network for Philippine Studies. 396 pages. ISBN 978-1-62847-927-0
- (2018) Develop the People's Power. Volume 4: People's Struggle Against Oppression and Exploitation, 2013. Netherlands: International Network for Philippine Studies. 388 pages. ISBN 978-1-62847-928-7
- (2018) Strengthen the People's Struggle against Imperialism and Reaction. Volume 5: People's Struggle Against Oppression and Exploitation, 2014-15. Netherlands: International Network for Philippine Studies. 618 pages. ISBN 978-1-62847- 929-4
- (2019) Combat Tyranny and Fascism. Selected Writings, 2017. Netherlands: International Network for Philippine Studies. 461 pages. ISBN 978-1-62847- 931-7
- (2019) *Struggle against Terrorism and Tyranny.* Volume 1, January-July 2019. Netherlands: International Network for Philippine Studies. 444 pages. ISBN 978-1-62847-932-4
- (2019) Struggle against Terrorism and Tyranny. Volume 2, August-December 2018. Netherlands: International Network for Philippine. 350 pages. ISBN 978-1-62847-933-1
- (2019) Reflections on Revolution and Prospects. Co-authored with Dr. Rainer Werning. Netherlands: International Network for Philippine Studies. 340 pages. ISBN 978-1-62847-9379-5
- (2020) *First Quarter Storm of 1970.* 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Netherlands: International Network for Philippine Studies. 168 pages. ISBN 978-1-62647-936-2
- (2021) Resist Neoliberalism, Fascism and Wars of Aggression. Selected Writings, 2019. Netherlands: International Network for Philippine Studies. 538 pages. ISBN9798703594810
- (2021) Upsurge of People's Resistance in the Philippines and the World. Selected Writings, 2020. Netherlands: International Network for Philippine Studies. 817 pages. ISBN 9798714753541
- (2021) Imperialism in Turmoil, Socialism in Prospect, January-December 2021. Netherlands: International Network for Philippine Studies, 2021. 682 pages.

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#### V. SISON READER SERIES, 2021 ONWARD

(Most current and all available as Ebook and Paperback)

- (2021) On Culture, Art and Literature. Sison Reader Series, Book 1. Netherlands: International Network for Philippine Studies. 324 pages. ISBN 9798743126330
- (2021) On the Philosophy of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Sison Reader Series, Book 2. Netherlands: International Network for Philippine Studies. 476 pages. ISBN 9798509820182
- (2021) Critique of Philippine Economy and Politics. Sison Reader Series, Book 3. Netherlands: International Network for Philippine Studies. 779 pages. ISBN 9798533189149
- (2021) On the People's Democratic Revolution. Sison Reader Series, Book 4. Netherlands: International Network for Philippine Studies. 513 pages.
- (2022) On the Communist Party of the Philippines 1968-1999. Sison Reader Series, Book 5. Netherlands: International Network for Philippine Studies. 619 pages. ISBN 9794796891774
- (2022) On the Communist Party of the Philippines, 2000-2022. Sison Reader Series, Book 6. Netherlands: International Network for Philippine Studies. 697 pages. ISBN-13: 979-8401689481
- (2022) On People's War. Sison Reader Series, Book 7. Netherlands: International Network for Philippine Studies. 591 pages. ISBN-13: 979-8806751783
- (2022) On the United Front. Sison Reader Series, Book
   8. Netherlands: International Network for Philippine Studies. 618 pages.
   ISBN-13: 979- 8435213065
- (2022) On the GRP-NDFP Peace Negotiations. Sison Reader Series, Book 9. Netherlands: International Network for Philippine Studies. 590 pages. ISBN-13: 9798836596002
- (2022) Socialism: Resistance and Resurgence. Sison Reader Series, Book 10. Netherlands: International Network for Philippine Studies. 577 pages. ISBN-13: 979-8847964999
- (2022) On the Marcos Fascist Dictatorship. Sison Reader Series, Book 11. Netherlands: International Network for Philippine Studies. 596 pages. ISBN-13: 979-8848949711
- In addition to the above, 30 more book titles are projected to be published under the Sison Reader Series in the next two years.

#### VI. BOOKS OF POEMS

(culled from above)

- (1961) *Brothers and Other Poems*. Manila: Filipino Signatures.
- (1986) Prison and Beyond: Selected Poems, 1958-1983. Quezon City: Free Jose Maria Sison Committee, 1984. A second edition has been published by Asphodel Press. 130 pages.
- (2013) The Guerrilla Is Like a Poet /Ang Guerilya ay Tulad ng Makata. Bilingual: English and Tagalog. Uitgeverij. 293 pages.

# VII. BIOGRAPHIES OF JOSE MARIA SISON (culled from above)

- (1989) The Philippine Revolution: The Leader's View. Co-authored with Rainer Werning. New York: Crane Russak, 1989. 270 pages. ISBN 08448-1581-0
- (2004) At Home in the World: Portrait of a Revolutionary. Co-authored with Ninotschka Rosca. Greenboro, NC: Open Hand Publishing LLC. 260 pages. ISBN 0-940880-72-5
- (2019) Reflections on Revolution and Prospects. Co-authored with Dr. Rainer Werning. Netherlands: International Network for Philippine Studies. 340 pages. ISBN 978-1-62847-9379-5
- (2019) Ein Leben im Widestand; Gesprache uber Imperialismus, Sozialismus und Befreiung. Verlag Neuer Weg. 340 pages. ISBN 978-3-88021-558-0

# VIII. BOOKS PUBLISHED BY FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS, PARIS & EDITIONS SOLEIL ROUGE

- (2017) Stand for Socialism Against Modern Revisionism. Paris: Foreign Languages Press, 110 pages. ISBN: 9781544057750. (2022) German translation. Für Den Sozialismus Gegen den Modernen Revisionismus. Paris: Foreign Languages Press. 112 pages. ISBN: 978-2-493844-32-3
- (2017) Specific Characteristics of Our People's War. Paris: Foreign Languages Press. 80 pages. ISBN: 978-2-491182-19-9. (2021) French translation. Notre Guerre Populaire et ses Particularités. Paris: Foreign Languages Press. 96 pages. ISBN: 978-2-491182-91-5. (2022). Spanish translation. Características Específicas de Nuestra Guerra Popular. Paris: Foreign Languages Press. 96 pages. ISBN: 978-2-491182-97-7

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- (2019) *La Societe et la Revolution Philippines*. Editions Soleil Rouge. 206 pages. ISBN: 978-2-491182-03-81
- (2020) Basic Principles of Marxism-Leninism: A Primer. Paris: Foreign Languages Press. 176 pages. ISBN: 978-2-491182-22-9 ISBN: 978-2-491182-33-0. (2021) French translation. Introduction aux Principes de base du Marxisme-Léninisme. Paris: Foreign Languages Press. 192 pages. ISBN: 978-2-491182-61-8. (2022) German translation. Grundprinzipien des Marxismus-Leninismus: Eine Einführung. Paris: Foreign Languages Press. 208 pages. ISBN: 978-2-493844-14-9
- (2021) Selected Readings from the Works of Jose Maria Sison. Paris: Foreign Languages Press. 480 pages. ISBN: 978-2-491182-54-0

## IX. SPANISH EDITIONS OF PHILIPPINE SOCI-ETY AND REVOLUTION

- (2021) Translated in Latin America and published by INPS.
- (2021) Translated in Spain and published by Templando El Acero.
- Source: https://www.josemariasison.eu/books-by-profjose-maria-sison-1961-2022/



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