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Political Transmission 16

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side entrances. In any case, Rama's motto, so he says, is to understand and to be understood.

Thank you again. Perhaps we might take the books apart again some time.

N. V. M. GONZALEZ

Political Transmission 16

Political transmissions are documents of the illegal Communist Party of the Philippines. They set forth the Party Line. They present the current economic and political situation at home and abroad as seen through Communist eyes, and on the basis of this interpretation lay down the policies to be followed, the strategy and tactics to be employed in the unceasing struggle to overthrow the existing government of this country and replace it with a Communist dictatorship.

An analysis of Political Transmission 15 was published in the January number of this review. Shortly thereafter Political Transmission 16 was called to the attention of the editors. P.T. 16 is characterized by an aggressiveness which was not evident in earlier transmissions. A brief summary of events may help to place it in its proper context.

The original Communist blueprint for the Philippines was to take over the government by military action. The defeat of the Huks and the subsequent capture of important members of the Philippine Politburo made this plan unworkable.¹

As is usual in such cases, the Party abandoned the military struggle and began to concentrate its efforts on the so-called "legal and parliamentary" struggle. This means that the Party goes underground and behind a wide screen of "front" organizations not openly identified with the Communist cause endeavors to infiltrate the most influential groups in the social structure (labor unions, educational institutions, student organizations, communications media). This new strategy went into operation around 1956-1957, presumably under the leadership of Jesús Lava.²

¹ Those captured in the raids conducted by the then Secretary of Defense Ramon Magsaysay are: (a) Onofre Margila, Salome Cruz, Cenon Bungay, Magno Bueno, Ramon Espiritu, Federico Maclang, all of whom were subsequently sentenced to death; (b) Jose Lava, Federico Bautista, Simeon Rodriguez, Celia Mariano Pomeroy, William J. Pomeroy, Cesario Torres, Angel Baking, Rosario de Santos, Marciano de Leon, Marcos Medina, all of whom were sentenced to life imprisonment; (c) Nicanor Razon, Sr., Amado Dacanay, Juan J. Cruz, Rosalina Quizon, Pedro Vicente, Andres Baisa, Jr., Genaro de la Cruz, Aquilino Bunsol, Fermin Rodillas, Bayani Espiritu, Teopisto Valerio, who received sentences of ten years or more.

² Of the three Lava brothers, Vicente is dead and Jose is in prison.

Communist infiltration of the labor unions met with little apparent success. Student organizations, however, seemed to provide a much more promising field. The holding of the Communist-sponsored Vienna Youth Festival in 1958 drew the attention of the government to certain professional student leaders who were actively promoting the sending of Philippine delegates to the Festival. The Congressional Committee on Anti-Filipino Activities (CAFA) disclosed the existence of a so-called Student Politburo, allegedly identified with the National Preparatory Committee (NPC). Congressman Leonardo Perez, chairman of CAFA, mentioned the following as being connected with NPC:

ISAIAS GONZALEZ: active in CONDA (Conference Delegates Association) and SCAP (Student Councils Association of the Philippines). He admitted establishing NPC in collaboration with Leonardo Ignacio and Jose Clemente. He attended the follow-up conferences at Stockholm after the Moscow Festival and the preparatory conferences for the Youth Festival at Vienna. He brought home with him forty travel grants for students going to the Vienna Festival.

LEONARDO IGNACIO: chairman of the NPC and allegedly the brilliant leader of the entire group. He has done some traveling inside the Iron and Bamboo Curtains, and apparently makes no secret of his leftist tendencies.

JOSE CLEMENTE JR.: at one time president of Student Catholic Action. Secretary-Treasurer of NPC. He has been to Vienna.

Other names mentioned in the CAFA enquiries were those of Amado Inciong, Jaime Ramirez, Guillermo Vega, Luis Alberto, Bernardo Silverio and Johnny Antillon.

It was in the wake of these events that P.T. 16 was released. Internal evidence suggests that it was written some time before the 1959 elections. The document is militant, purposeful and specific. It prescribes the immediate and long-range tasks to be undertaken by the Party. Of the five parts into which it is divided only one has an acknowledged author, Jesús Lava; the others may have been written by different persons, if stylistic variation is any warrant. What was remarked about P.T. 15—that it could not have been written by harassed dissidents in the hills, but by men right in our midst, with libraries and research facilities within easy reach—holds true of P.T. 16.

P.T. 16 emphasizes even more strongly than the preceding transmission the absolute necessity of alienating the Philippines from the United States. This is based on the sound strategic principle of *divide et impera*—the enemy is most easily defeated in detail. Hence the controversy that has arisen between the two governments regarding U.S. military bases in the Philippines must be vigorously exploited to

achieve a double end: get the U.S. to withdraw the bases and turn Filipino affection for America into uncompromising hatred. Further, U.S. investments in the Philippines must be represented as a form of economic imperialism which nullifies the grant of political independence, and any attempt to point out the fallacy of this reasoning must be labelled anti-nationalist.

The mounting force of popular nationalist sentiment sweeping Southeast Asia today must be controlled and directed against all individuals, groups and institutions inimical to Communism. Thus the Catholic Church must be represented not only as having identical interests with the capitalist and exploiting class, but also as being under the control of foreigners hostile to nationalism.

P.T. 16 distinguishes three kinds of nationalism. The "chauvinistic" nationalists are those who put the blame for the nation's ills everywhere except where the Communists want it, namely, American "imperialism". The "reformist" nationalists are those who recognize the evil effects of imperialism and colonialism, but who propose a policy of peaceful reform rather than violent attack. The "revolutionary" nationalists are those who want an immediate change in the *status quo* no matter by what means, but preferably by violence and class warfare. This third group obviously represents the only true nationalism from the Communist point of view: the other two groups are really anti-nationalist.

In our January analysis we called attention to the close similarity between the concept of nationalism put forward by the National Progress Movement (NPM) and that of P.T. 15. Since then several prominent citizens, such as Vice-President Macapagal, Mayor Lacson of Manila, the Vigilance Committee of Catholic Action, and Captain Carlos Albert, formerly chief of Armed Forces Intelligence, have publicly expressed their belief that the NPM is either completely Communist or at least a Communist "front" organization. NPM leaders indignantly denied this and invited investigation by CAFA. However, no clear and unequivocal repudiation of the Communist party line regarding nationalism was forthcoming.

And now, embarrassingly enough for the NPM, P.T. 16 comes out loud and clear with the statement that of all allegedly nationalist groups and movements in the Philippines, the NPM is the only one that approximates the "true" concept of nationalism, namely, "revolutionary" nationalism, or, what comes to the same thing, Communist nationalism.

ENRIQUE L. VICTORIANO