An Open Letter to Jose Maria Sison on the 36th Anniversary of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP)

Dear Mr. Sison:

Ang Bayan, the Communist Party of the Philippines' official publication published last December 7, 2004, an article and a diagram laying out the configuration of individuals and organizations within the broad progressive community in the country.

What is sad to note is that this mapping out comes with a most terrible attack hurled against these groups and individuals, generically dismissing them as Counter-revolutionaries, Trotskyites and Social Democrats. The party which you founded 36 years ago views them as ideological and political enemies - class enemies, as can be "gleaned from their international links".

Some personalities involved with some of these groups are already dead, like Popoy Lagman, Romulo Kintanar and Arturo Tabara. Lagman, reportedly - and the latter two admittedly - in the hands of your armed wing, the New People's Army. Another person on the list, Ricardo Reyes, is already in your order of battle.

Outside of Ric Reyes who currently chairs AKBAYAN, we, Walden Bello, Chair Emeritus of AKBAYAN and Loretta Ann P. Rosales, first AKBAYAN representative, are also among the individuals listed. Does this mean you intend to kill us one by one?

What is both puzzling and a trifle annoying is the fact that, while we were all once national democrats, our movement was part of a much broader based anti-dictatorship united front that sought the end of one-man rule through the ouster of the late dictator, Mr. Marcos. Social democrats and Trotskyites marched side by side with national democrats, church groups and ordinary citizens who loved their country and wanted an end to dictatorship. In the international arena, our combined ranks actively led in strengthening the social movements against the ill effects of globalization on struggling economies of the Third World.

Today, AKBAYAN's representative chairs the Committee on Human Rights in the House of Representatives while AKBAYAN is providing leadership among social movements working for a more equitable and humane international social order. For this initiative, AKBAYAN's Chair Emeritus was awarded the Right Livelihood Award also known as the Alternative Noble Prize. Against which standards does the national democratic movement judge such efforts as counterrevolutionary?

We write you on the day you celebrate the 36th anniversary of the re-establishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines. We are quite certain you will once again stand pat on your claim that you are waging an armed and just war in defense of the Filipino people's national and democratic interests. From 1968 to the present, the use of armed struggle has been your over-arching solution in winning over the countryside to ultimately
For turning the screws on hot issues, Bulatlat has been awarded the Golden Tornillo Award.

For turning the screws on hot issues, Bulatlat has been awarded the Golden Tornillo Award.

surround the cities and seize political power.

Considering that we are no longer part of your protracted war, does this make us class enemies and fair game as enemy targets? It bothers us that your 36-year old obsession over armed warfare asserts that all other forms of struggle are inherently inferior and a threat to the primacy of the over-arching goal of a violent upheaval. Even more deadly, it is justified to eliminate such a threat since your concept of revolutionary justice not only excuses but necessitates it.

Thus, those who dare to assert their independence from CPP hegemony are unduly demonized, such as AKBAYAN members, and partners in areas such as Bondoc Peninsula in Quezon where activists from people's organizations such as PEACE Foundation, Kilusang Magbubukid sa Bondoc Peninsula, and Task Force Bondoc Peninsula - all unarmed and aboveground formations - are now military targets.

Has this use of armed violence, resulting in the loss of thousands of lives translated - after 36 years - into economically and politically empowered communities under the CPP leadership? Or do we merely see a situation where a convergence of militarist mindset and behavior can be easily found among the armed units of the CPP and the paramilitary units of the AFP.

To illustrate, there have been instances of other civilians being liquidated by the NPA, such as Nong Boy Ocmen in Agusan del Norte, and another local leader in Nueva Ecija, which goes against the very statements made by the CPP that it does not cause harm to non-combatants as provided for in the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law it inked with the Philippine government. Does this imply that the CPP cannot be trusted to know what its left hand, with a gun is doing, while its right hand is signing a peace agreement?

The recruitment of child soldiers is a practice that is found among the Citizens Armed Forces Geographical Units of the AFP (CAFGU) and the New People's Army (NPA). Both armed groups violate the UN Covenant on the Rights of the Child as reported by the UNICEF and other child-focused NGOs. Where the CPP makes an excuse that these children do not serve on the frontlines but merely serve as runners, etc. belies the fact that children do not belong in a war.

Similarly, draconian behavior from the New People's Army resulting in gross violations of human rights and the destruction of property has been reported by Amnesty International in 2004, in much the same way human rights abuses are committed by the police and the military. The Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines (CBCP) itself has criticized the "permit to campaign" extortion activities of the NPA during elections. Rather than waste time throwing vile at us, the CPP should reflect on why such criticisms are coming its way from all sides.

The Philippine Left is a much, much bigger community than the CPP wants it to be. We want to impart upon Mr. Sison that if the party he founded is truly interested in upholding universal human rights, it has to reassess its role in the progressive movement - as an agent of discourse and peaceful co-existence, not as a fascist harbinger of violence, hatred and murder.
Walden Bello
Loretta Ann P. Rosales
AKBAYAN

- 'Reformists' Instigate Anti-Red Spin  By BULATLAT

- Links of counterrevolutionary groups with Trotskyites and Social Democrats, Ang Bayan, Dec. 7, 2004 issue

- Character Assassination and Cheap Shots by Rabid Anti-Communists and Pseudo-Revolutionaries  By Prof. Jose Maria Sison

- Complaints Should Be Submitted to the NDFP-JMC and Not to the NDFP Chief Political Consultant  By Prof. Jose Maria Sison

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CPP Assassination Threats - Appeal to Defend Threatened Filipino Activists

International Viewpoint
News and analysis from the Fourth International
http://www.internationalviewpoint.org

IV Online magazine : IV364 - February 2005

CPP Assassination Threats

Appeal to Defend Threatened Filipino Activists

Many personalities at the World Social Forum signed an appeal to defend Walden Bello, Lidy Nacpil and others threatened by the CPP's assassination threats. The meeting of radical parties at the ESF made a similar call.

Statement of Concern in the WSF 2005, on the threat of violence in the resolution of political differences

The last few years have seen a very large number of diverse groups and organisations coming together in spite of their differences to confront neo-liberal globalisation. However, we are deeply concerned that there are still some groups in the world today that attempt to deal with political differences using physical attacks and death threats.

A recent example of this is the situation which has emerged in the Philippines where a number of individual intellectuals, activists (Walden Bello and Lidy Nacpil) and organisations engaged in various forms of struggle against militarism and globalized capitalism have been listed by the international department of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) as 'counter-revolutionary' and as 'agents of imperialism'. Some individuals named on this list have already been assassinated and, based on past experiences, this list constitutes a credible threat of assassination.

Therefore, those of us gathered here in the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil and others in the world, inspired by the pluralism and inclusiveness of this global process, believe that when the security of activists is at stake we cannot act as if the problem is a local one. In our efforts to consistently build an international movement for fundamental transformation we strongly reiterate that the resolving of political differences must be done through the struggle of ideas and democratic dialogue and not through the politics of individual assassination.

We call on everyone within the global justice movements to re-assert this principle and express solidarity with all those who are victims of such threats.

Adnane Ben Youssef, CCIPPP, France
Alejandro Bendaña, Centro de Estudios Internacionales, Nicaragua
Alessandra Mecozzi, FIOM, Italy
Alex Callinicos, York University, UK
Ali Fayyad, Centre for Research and Documentation, Lebanon
Allianca Social Continentale (ASC)
Alvaro Porticas, Socialist Party, Uruguay
Alvin Anthony, Jubilee South Africa

CPP Assassination Threats - Appeal to Defend Threatened Filipino Activists

Amit Sengupta, Delhi Science Forum, India
Andrés Thomas Conteris, Nonviolence International, USA
Anibal Quijano, sociologist, Peru
Anna Maria R. Nemenzo, Freedom from Debt Coalition, Philippines
Anna Marize, ICARIA, Spain
Annick Coupe, Solidaire, France
Antonio Martin, ATTAC, Brasil
Dr. A. Sivanandan, Race & Class, UK
Bertil Kinkunnen, Social Democratic Party of Sweden
Brid Brennan, TNI, Netherlands
Campagna Continentale contra a ALCA
Catherine Coumans, MiningWatch, Canada
Chico Whittaker, Brasil
Chris Nineham, Stop the War Coalition, UK
Christian Schroeppe1, ATTAC, Germany
Christophe Aguiton, European March against Unemployment
CUT, Brasil
Dave Batker, Asia Pacific Environmental Exchange, US
Dave Webb, Leeds Metropolitan University, UK
Diana Palmo, Alliance for Democracy, US
Dominique Caouette, University of Montreal, Canada
Dot Keet, AIDC, South Africa
Einar Olafsson, Campaign Against Military Bases, Iceland
Elisabeth Gauthier, Espaces Marx, France
Ernst Van Weizaker, MP, Germany
Franc Branco, Right Livelihood Award Foundation
Francis Wurtz, MEP & GUE/NGL Group
Francois Houtart, CETRI, Belgium
Georges Menahem, ATTAC, France
Hillary Wainwright, Red Pepper, UK
Isabel de la Torre, Earth Economics, US
Jack Dalton, POAC, USA
James Cockcroft, USA
Jonathan Neale, Globalise Resistance, UK
Jan Nederveen Pieterse, University of Illinois, USA
Joao Pedro Stedile, Movimiento Sem Terra, Brazil
Jean Luc Rous, Political Director, Greenpeace International
Jean Pierre Dubois, Federation internationale des droits des hommes (FIDH)

Jeremy Corbin, M.P., UK
John Cavanagh, Institute of Policy Studies, USA
John M. Miller, War Resisters League, USA
Jose Correa, Brasil
Josu Egireun, ESK, Basque Country
Kamal Chenoy, Jawaharlal Nehru University, India
Klaus Hartmann, World Union of Freethinkers, Germany
Laura Gonzalez de Txabarri, ELA, Basque Country
Leo Gabriel, Suedwind, Austria
Leo Panitch, Socialist Register, Canada
Lim Soei Liong, TAPOL, Indonesia Human Rights Campaign
Liz Fekete, Race & Class, UK
Louis Weber, Federation Synicale Unitaire, France
Loring Wirbel, Citizens for Peace in Space, USA
Luciano Muhlbauer, SinCobas, Italy
Marcha Mundial des Mulheres
Marco Berlinguer, Transform! and Parti Rifondazione Communista, Italy
Marcus Arruda, Global Workshop on Solidarity Socioeconomy, Brasil
Mark Rand, USA
Matthias Reichl, Center for Encounters and Active Non-Violence, Austria
Maud Barlow, Council of Canadians
Medea Benjamin, Global Exchange, United States
Moema Miranda, IBASE
Mubarak Awad, Non Violence International, Palestine/US
M.P. Giyose, Jubilee South Africa
Nahla Chahal, CCIPPP, France
Nancy S. Lovejoy, USA
Naomi Klein, Canada
Niclas Hallstrom, Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, Sweden
Njoki Njoroge Njehu, 50 years is enough, USA
No Nukes North, US
Ole von Ulexhill, Right Livelihood Award Foundation
Paola Manduca. World March of Women, Italy
Patrice Barrat, Bridge Initiative, France
Peiro Bernotti, COBAS, Italy
Peter Damo, Romanian Social Forum, Romania
Peter Rosset, CECCAM, Mexico
Petros Constantinou, Campaign Genoa 2001, Greece

Some 12 years back, the Communist Party of the Philippines began to condemn to death and assassinate member cadres of other progressive and revolutionary organizations. The situation continues to worsen today.

Second International Meeting of Radical Parties Solidarity Declaration concerning the Philippines Porto Alegre, 31st of January 2005

To sign the statement please contact Wilbert van der Zeijden: wilbert@tni.org
Walden Bello

All the Left movements find themselves threatened, except for those which the CPP itself is leading. It is especially the case with the different Filipino organizations that participate in our international Network of Radical Parties.

Likewise, persons active in the anti-war movement and with whom we oppose capitalist globalization, like Walden Bello and Lidy Nacpil, have been named and denounced as "counter-revolutionaries".

We cannot accept the use of violence, including armed violence, within the workers and people's movements. We strongly affirm our full and deepest solidarity with the progressive and revolutionary organizations in the Philippines threatened by the CPP.

We call for the broadest expression of this solidarity on the international level, for the Communist Party of the Philippines to put a final end to this policy of threats and assassinations.

(Editor's note: To read more about the background of this issue, see the articles: In Solidarity with the Filipino left, May 2003; After Kintanar, the killings continue. The post-1992 CPP assassination policy in the Philippines', July 2003; The post-1992 Communist Party of the Philippines and its policy of "death condemnations", October 2003; and A new Letter of Concern, January 2005.)
Philippines

The CPP-NPA-NDF “Hit List” - a preliminary report

Pierre Rousset

It is essential to understand the real scope of the assassination policy of Left activists pursued, after the 1992 crisis, by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), its military arm, the New People's Army (NPA) and its politico-diplomatic arm, the National Democratic Front (NDF).

I am presenting here data on people who have been killed since 1992; on people who are presently hunted down, who received death threats or have escaped murder attempts; and on people being accused to be “counter-revolutionaries”, “agents” and “criminals” (such accusations may lead to death sentences if the CPP leadership so decides). A list of organisations threatened is also given at the end.

These data are far from being complete. This is only a preliminary report. A later version of this CPP-NPA-NDF “hit list” will be prepared when more information will be available to me. To get a full picture is not easy. All the more because, out of fear, relatives of victims may not volunteer information: A peasant family will be at risk if, in a zone where the NPA operates, they denounce a murder.

The global picture

Some figures. This preliminary report presents the case of 27 people killed by the NPA plus 9 who escaped assassination attempts (36 in all). The First Quarter Storm Foundation learnt of some 30 killings in the past four years only (while some of my records are from an earlier period). Obviously, many of the cases recorded by the FQS are not listed here. It confirms that the real figures of victims of the CPP-NPA-NDF assassination policy are well above those I know of.

I also present below a list of 16 other activists who are publicly labelled “counterrevolutionaries” by the CPP. There are of course many more of them, but it shows, together with the corresponding list of organisations threatened, the scope of the CPP-NPA-NDF “revolutionary versus counterrevolutionary” policy.

Even with its limitations, this preliminary report represents a factual answer to many of the arguments of those who chose to cover-up and defend the CPP policy.

1. We are not faced with a very limited number (two or three as often suggested) of so-called “criminal cases”. Cadres and members of mass organisations have been killed and are threatened, as well as members of most political groups from the Left not led by the CPP. This is notably the case for the five major independent Left parties: Akbayan! (Citizen Action Party), the Marxist-Leninist Party of the Philippines (MLPP), the Revolutionary Workers Party-Mindanao (RPM-M) and the Revolutionary Workers Party of the Philippines (RPM-P); the CPP denies having killed in 2001 a leader of the Workers Party of the Philippines (PMP), but today it openly threatens this organisation too.

2. Killings would in no way be justified if the “context” were, as some like to say, a confrontation between “reformists” and “revolutionaries”. But the “context” is in fact totally different. For many years, the organisations targeted by the CPP-NPA-NDF were underground revolutionary parties. The broad left legal party, Akbayan!, began to be very severely attacked only in 2003-2004, and even then those targeted often belonged to a revolutionary tradition.

The CPP-NPA-NDF policy of assassination is turned against the whole independent Left and popular movements, whether reformist or revolutionary. The real “context” which helps us understand the
assassinations is the will of the CPP-NPA-NDF to impose its monopoly of power above the people's movement. The real issue raised is the right of a pluralist progressive and revolutionary Left to exist in the Philippines.

3. The intricacies of the Filipino Left are for sure difficult to understand from abroad. But the question here is not to discuss the merits and demerits of each party (or each individual). One can be very critical of the political line or the political evolution of a given organisation or individual. We are not asked to involve ourselves in the debates over politics, strategy and programme in the Philippines.

If our responsibility is engaged, and if we have to express solidarity, it is because we are faced with an overall policy of threats, death sentences and killings deployed by the CPP-NPA-NDF on a national scale, something that no other group is doing.

4. The CPP-NDF officials adamantly deny that there is an NPA "hit list". The overall picture shows that such a "list" actually does exist. Individuals and leaders of organisations are listed in the Order of Battle of the NPA as "legitimate" targets.

One concrete example shows the reality of the matter. April 8, 2001, NPA operatives tried to assassinate the RPM-M Front Secretary in Lanao (Mindanao). His wife felt the danger and he escaped (but was killed later). Unfortunately, the Regional Commander of the Revolutionary People's Army (RPM-M/RPA) happened to visit his comrade precisely at that time. He was immediately killed, while trying to speak to the IUPAs (who he knew personally). The NPA operatives did not have to ask for new instructions: he was listed in the Order of Battle, so he could be murdered without further formalities.

Those who are branded "counter-revolutionaries" are, let's say, part of the CPP "hate list", not necessarily of the NPA "hit list". But the difference between the "hate" and the "hit" lists is blurred, because the "hate list" is used as a threat. Charges are the same and one never knows if and when she or he will be transferred by the CPP leadership into the NPA "hit list". Thus, the Ang Bayan "diagram of counterrevolutionaries" names together activists who are in both: no difference is made.

5. We are confronted with cold-blooded murders, often planned during months. People are killed while trying to speak and reason out with their former comrades. They are shot right in front of their families, including in front of their young children. Their daughter, son-in-law or driver may be gunned down together with them: they are viewed as simple “collateral damages” by the CPP-NPA-NDF. Is it a crime deserving capital punishment for a 19 year-old student to have fallen in love with the wrong daughter? Or to be the daughter of the wrong father?

A whole community can be affected by continuous harassments and threats as is the case in the Bondoc Peninsula (Quezon Province), where peasant leaders have been assassinated both by the landlords' goons and the NPA. Families had to leave their homes and seek security elsewhere. Nelia Bitong, wife of farmer leader Alberto Bitong, died of heart attack due to successive threats of the NPA to her husband. Children of affected families are suffering from trauma and some were forced to stop schooling in the process (from a report by the Task Force Bondoc Peninsula).

6. As explained in my previous papers, charges against "opponents" are fabricated by the CPP-NDF with often no concern for credibility. It is again the case today, Walden Bello being presented as a "ring-leader", as a staunch supporter of the WTO and imperialism, as a "highly paid" "special anti-communist agent" of the US and Filipino governments, engaged hand-in-hand with the military in "psy-war operations" and whose ambition is nothing less than the total destruction of the people and revolutionary movement in the Philippines.

Today's charges against Walden Bello are good examples of how the NDF "justice system" operates. Many other activists have been slandered in similar ways by the CPP-NPA-NDF. The day the CPP leadership chooses to do so, political charges become a "criminal" case, which can lead to capital punishment. People condemned have no possibility to defend themselves. There is no independent due process whatsoever. Once sentenced, activists can be summarily killed anytime. Death sentences are politically motivated, even if the charges are on "criminal" grounds.

7. The data provided here show that the CPP-NPA-NDF policy of death threats and assassinations began twelve years ago, and that things are getting worse. It is unacceptable to see how victims are turned into culprits by pro-CPP networks. Threatened activists and relatives of victims are not playing in the hand of...
imperialism because they defend themselves! It is the CPP-NPA-NDF which is playing in the hand of reaction: Its policy of assassination creates a favourable situation for any kind of provocation from agents of the military and police. It divides and paralyses the popular forces. It discredits the revolutionary project and socialist alternative.

**Sources of information**


I have used here two main sources of information.

1. The first and most important one are various documents and statements of the CPP-NPA-NDF itself, of its spokespersons (Gregorio "Roger" Rosal...) and leaders as its chair, Jose Maria Sison, or Fidel Agcaoili and Louis Jalandoni.

2. The other Left organisations in the Philippines and progressive individuals who can testify to the reality of the CPP-IVPA-IVDF policy of threats are my second main source of information.

3. I sometimes used as a complementary source of information articles published in the press. I have NOT used governmental or other similar sources.

**I/ PEOPLE KILLED**

The following data are presented from the most recent to the oldest ones. Names are not always given for security reasons.

* Arturo Tabara, chairman of the RPM-P/RPA-ABB (named AB "diagram"). Killed September 26, 2004 in Metro-Manila. Stephen Ong, student, 19 years-old boyfriend of Tabara’s daughter, was gunned down too.

* Daniel Batoy, senior RPA-ABB Commander, shot in August 22, 2004 in Makato, Aklan. His daughter was also assassinated, together with him.

* Lit0 Bayudang, local farmer-leader and district officer of Akbayan, killed May 6, 2004 in Nueva Ecija.

* Donie Valencia, 22 years old, unarmed organizer of the MLPP/RHB. Killed in Bataan few days after being abducted June 11, 2003.


Peninsula, Quezon Province.

* Romulo "Rolly" Kintanar, former member of the CPP Politburo and head of the NPA. Killed January 23, 2003 in a Quezon City (Manila) restaurant.

* Felimon "Popoy" Lagman (identified in AB "diagram" as PMP-BMP-Sanlakas). Killed in Metro-Manila, February 6, 2001. Some suspect the NPA of this murder but the CPP denies any responsibility.

* RPM-M Party's Front Secretary: he was the one targeted by the NPA, April 8, 2001. He was later killed, May 9, 2001, in an encounter with the Philippine Military because the NPA set him up (contacting the Military and informing them of the RPA unit’s position).

* Regional Commander of the Revolutionary People’s Army (RPM-M/RPA) killed April 8, 2001 in Lanao (Mindanao). The NPA operatives were targeting the RPM-M Front Secretary who escaped. The NPA instead murdered the Regional Commander who happened to visit his comrade.

* MLPP members in Central Luzon. MLPP members began to be ambushed in February 2000. In December 2000, this organisation has suffered eleven casualties (four wounded and seven dead). Bartolome Quizon, member of the Executive Committee who had been a leading cadre of the CPP for 30 years, was killed in front of his family on December 2, 2000. At that point in time, the MLPP eventually decided to launch "defensive counter-operations". End of August 2002, a dozen of MLPP members had been killed, about fifteen wounded and some eight IVPs were probably also killed during the 2002 encounters.

* Conrado Balweg, former CPP-NPA in the Cordillera, head of the CPLA. Killed December 31, 1999.


II/ PEOPLE HUNTED DOWN

Continuous attempts of assassination on:

Tito dela Cruz, identified as MLPP in AB "diagram".

Ric Reyes, chair of Akbayan (sentenced to death in 1993, named in AB "diagram").

Caridad Pascual, identified as MLPP in AB "diagram".

Ike de los Reyes, identified as RPM-M in AB "diagram" as RPM-M.

Series of attempts of assassination on:

Regional Military Cadre of the Revolutionary People’s Army (RPM-M) in the City of Iligan.

Dioscoro Tejeno, peasant leader from the Bondoc Peninsula.

Attempt murder of a Front Cadre of the RPM-M, end of November 2004. He was only wounded.

Alberto Bitong, farmer leader, survived a failed ambush March 29, 2004 in Bondoc Peninsula.

Felizardo Benitez, farmer-leader, escaped with his family an attack in January 2004 in Bondoc Peninsula. His two-month-old baby died from exposure to elements in the evacuation. After escaping the NPA, Felizardo Benitez was assassinated by the local landlords March 20, 2004 (two other peasant-leaders belonging to the same movements have been murdered by the landlords and one by the NPA).

Because of the way they have been associated with Arturo Tabara, one can fear for:

Nilo dela Cruz, associated to Tabara and identified as RPM-P in AB "diagram".

Manjette Lopez, associated to Tabara in Ibon's letter, identified as PPD and PMP-merger in AB "diagram".

III/ ORGANISATIONS AND PEOPLE THREATENED

Persons who have been labelled "counter-revolutionaries", "agents" or "criminals", which is to be considered a credible threat in the framework of the CPP overall policy. There are many others threatened without being mentioned in the CPP publications or statements, or who are mentioned only in regional and local publications I had no access to.
Names are given here by alphabetic order. Full names of organisations are given below those of individuals.

**A. INDIVIDUALS**

The CPP leadership began to denounce as "criminals" and "counter-revolutionaries" many of former members of its party after the 1992 crisis. In 1993, a first set of death sentences were publicly announced. The leaders of all the main oppositions were then condemned: Ricardo Reyes (today hunted down), Romulo Kintanar (killed in 2003) and Benjie de Vera from Mindanao; Arturo Tabara (killed in 2003) from the Visayas; Popoy Lagman (killed in 2001) from Manila-Rizal (the Capital Region). Some others were similarly sentenced, secretly or publicly as Joel Rocamora (then a fellow of the Amsterdam based Transnational Institute).

In addition to those already mentioned, here are some of the persons who have been recently labelled "counterrevolutionaries" by the CPP. Anyone familiar with the Philippines knows that most of them are dedicated activists.

Walden Bello, chair Emeritus of Akbayan! (named both in AB "diagram" and Ibon’s letter).

Efren Binalla, farmer-leader, Bondoc Peninsula.

Sixto Carlos, Akbayan’s officer.

Argee Esquejo, farmer-leader, Nueva Ecija.

Robert “Bobby” Garcia, who wrote an in depth testimony of the 1980s’ paranoid purges in the CPP.

Edwin Igay and Dindo Diaz, unarmed young organizers of the MLPP-RBH in Bataan, were abducted June 11, 2003 and received death threats before being released (Donie Valencia, who was abducted with them, was actually assassinated).

Miel Laurenaria, identified as MLPP/RHB by the CPP. Sonny Melencio, named in AB “diagram”.

Boy Morales, named in AB "diagram".

Lidy Nacpil, Jubilee South, named in AB “diagram”.

Nathan Quimpo, Akbayan.

Manuel Quiambao Pena, Akbayan.

Loretta Ann P. “Etta” Rosales, first Akbayan representative in the Congress (named in AB “diagram”).

Joel Rocamora, Transnational Institute, IPD (sentenced to death in 1993).

Gani Serrano, PRRM, named in AB "diagram". Ben Sumog-Oy, Akbayan (General Santos City, Mindanao)

**B. ORGANISATIONS**

Most of the organisations mentioned here are named in the December 7, 2004 Ang Bayan “diagram”. Some do not exist anymore, having merged with others. Focus is named in Ibon’s letter and various individual statements.

Akbayan! (Citizen Action Party)

AK: Alab Katipunan

ABB "bloc": Alex Boncayao Brigade “bloc”

Bisig (component of Akbayan)

BMP: Solidarity of Filipino Workers (trade-union center)

CPLA: Cordilleran People’s Liberation Army

Empowerment (peasant NGO, Nueva Ecija)

Focus on the Global South

IPD: Institute for Popular Democracy
KMPB: Peasant Movement of the Bondoc Peninsula.
Makammasa: Federation of small farmers (Bondoc Peninsula).
MLPP/RHB: Marxist-Leninist Party of the Philippines/Revolutionary People's Army.
Padayon (component of Akbayan)
Pandayan (component of Akbayan)
Peace Foundation (Bondoc Peninsula)
PKP: the "old" Communist Party of the Philippines
PopDems: Popular Democrats
PPD: Proletarian Democratic Party (joined PMP-merger)
RGK: Revolutionary Communist Group
PMP: Workers Party of the Philippines (later PMP "merger").
RPM-M/RPA: Revolutionary Workers Party-Mindanao / Revolutionary People's Army
RPM-P/RPA-ABB: Revolutionary Workers Party of the Philippines / Revolutionary Proletarian Army / Alex Boncayao Brigade
Sanlakas (coalition of mass organizations)
Siglaja
SMB (peasant association, Nueva Ecija)
SocDems
SPP: Socialist Party of Labour (joined PMP-merger)
Task Force Bondoc Peninsula
Unorka

Pierre Rousset is a member of Europe Solidaire Sans Frontiers (ESSF). He has been involved for many years in Asian solidarity movements