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## The Communist Party of the Philippines and its Role in Opposing the Marcos Government (1968-1972)

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### **Abstract**

*Purpose: The purpose of the research is to clarify the position of the Philippine government, which led to the government declaring martial law against the party and the arrest of its most prominent leaders. Theoretical framework: The initial origins of the formation of the Communist Party of the Philippines (Communist Party of the Philippines) date back to the early thirties of the twentieth century by (Chrysanto Evangelista) and some workers and intellectuals, but in 1932 the party was banned, and its members were imprisoned on sedition charges. Method: We adopted the historical, sequential approach of events, with the help of the analytical (philosophical) approach, to analyze what was report of historical events and facts during the study period (1968-1972). Results and conclusion: By reviewing the political role played by the Communist Party in the Philippines during the period (1968-1972), its adoption of the armed struggle, and the penetration of student demonstrations to promote it, this shows the extent of the party's strength that was able to attract its popularity. Research implications: The Communist Party posed a clear challenge to the Philippine government, as it established a special Constitution in which it outlined its goals, which included the armed struggle, during which it established an armed army opposed to the government, as it was one of the most confusing opposition parties to the government, it was able to attract some vulnerable groups to its side in the country*

**Keywords:** *Philippines, opposition, communist party, martial law*

### **Introduction**

Communism is considered one of the oldest historical ideas and theories, and its extension spreads in the third world, and the Philippines was one of those countries in which the Philippine Communist Party was founded, and it played a prominent role in the Philippine circles, as it arose early, but it was opposed by the Philippine governments, until it issued decisions In the presence of the party, until it was re-established in 1968, it received opposition that called on the government to declare martial law in the country. (Kim et al., 2023).

### **Research Importance**

The importance of the research lies in clarifying the role of the Philippine communist opposition to the government, which prompted the Philippine president to declare martial law,

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and the position of the Communist Party on it (Tanjung et al., 2022).

## **Research problem**

The Communist Party posed a clear challenge to the Philippine government, as it established a special constitution in which it clarified its goals, which included the armed struggle, during which it established an armed army opposed to the government, as it was one of the most opposing parties confusing the government, it was able to attract some vulnerable groups to its side in the country, and it was one of the most prominent Opponents of government policy, and to clarify the problem of the party, we raise a set of questions, trying to answer them during the research, including (Becker et al., 2023):

1. When was the Communist Party of the Philippines founded? What is its constitution and program?
2. What is the role of the Communist Party in opposing the government during the period (1968-1969)?
3. The Communist Party and its political activity during the period (1969-1972)?

## **Hypothesis of the Study**

To answer the research problem, the following hypothesis must be formulated: The Philippine Communist Party played a clear and major role in opposing the Philippine government, and was a major cause precipitating the declaration of martial law in the country (Bagazi, 2022),

## **Theoretical framework**

### **The first requirement: The Communist Party of the Philippines and its political role during the period (1968-1969)**

The initial origins of the formation of the Communist Party of the Philippines can be traced back to the early 1930s by Crisan to Evangelista.<sup>3</sup>Some workers and intellectuals,<sup>4</sup>But in 1932 the party was banned, and its members were imprisoned on charges of sedition. In 1937 the party re-emerged with a smaller formation confined mainly to Manila workers, and in 1938 the PWP merged with the Philippine Socialist Party, which was founded in 1929, in the formation of the Fusion Party (CPP-SPP), after this Amalgamation, the Communist Party changed from an urban party to a rural one, drawing on support in the central Luzon plains, when the Japanese captured Manila in 1942, Evangelista executed, and the party leadership assumed by Vicente Lava<sup>5</sup>Chairman of the Military Committee, and immediately undertook to unite the guerrilla forces, under the name of the People's Army against Japan. (Muthuswamy & Bayomei, 2022)<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup>Crisanto EvangelistaA Filipino politician, born in 1888 in Manila, entered the political field by establishing the labor union movement in 1913 and the Labor Party in 1924, and in 1930 he announced the establishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines. Shortly after, Evangelista and his comrades were exiled to remote islands, and Evangelista was executed in 1942. The leadership of the party was taken over by Vicente Lava. For more see:

François Godement, *The New Asian Renaissance from Colonialism to The Post-Cold War*, Translated, Elisabeth J. Parcell, Published with The Help of The French Ministry of Culture, 2005, P59.

<sup>4</sup>Jose Maria Sison with Rainer Werning, *The Philippine Revolution: The Leader's View*, Taylor Francis INC, Printed in The United States of America, First Published, 1989, P.41.

<sup>5</sup>Vicente Lava: He is the Secretary General of the Philippine Progressive Workers Party, and a professor at the University of the Philippines. He holds a Ph.:

Anthony James Joes, *Resisting Rebellion the History and Politics of Counterinsurgency*, The University Press of Kentucky, 2004, p.34.

<sup>6</sup>Jose Maria Sison with Rainer Werning, *OpCit*, P.45.

After World War II, the Fusion Party entered into an alliance with the National Party in the 1945 elections, and managed to win three seats in the Senate and six seats in the Philippine Congress (7), but they were not allowed to take their seats due to a decision issued by the Elections Commission stating that the party won by terrorist means, so some members of the party in 1950 began to organize armed rebellion against the government, the latter was able to suppress the rebellion in 1957 and forced some of its leaders to surrender and banned the party and membership was considered In the party is a crime, and the party was forced to organize itself as a secret party under the leadership of Jesus Lava (Hesus Lava)<sup>8</sup>Vicente's brother through youth, labor and agriculture organizations (Becker et al., 2023) (9).

After a period of armed struggle, severe unrest arose among the prominent members about the leadership of the party. Jose Maria Sison (Jose Maria Sison) presented<sup>10</sup>A proposal to establish a temporary central committee comprising the most prominent leaders of the workers, peasants and youth movements, the proposal was approved by Sisson unanimously and in the same session the majority of the members of the Executive Committee asked Jose Maria Sison to draft a general report on the merger party, in late 1965 he submitted a draft report that reviewed the history of the party, In it, he criticized the grave ideological, political, and organizational errors of the series of general secretaries, presenting the current party situation, national and international, and the party's tasks, but it was met with objection from the administrative secretary, Francisco Lava (Francisco Lava) (11)He promised a draft just a memorandum, and volunteered to submit another draft report, but did not submit any.<sup>12</sup>He acted excessively in his capacity as the leader of the Executive Committee, did not hold one-on-one meetings with members of the Executive Committee and individuals listed as potential members of the Provisional Central Committee, and began to put his signature in most executive orders as the highest member (Kornlert & Penvutikul, 2022). The Minister of Labor rejected his actions. The latter issued an ultimatum. Francisco got angry, and the conflict between them reached an armed clash, and in April 1967, Francisco Lava called for a meeting of seven people to discuss the local elections, and among those present was Jose Maria Sison, a member of the Executive Committee. Among those present were the election of a general secretary and trustees for organization and education. Jose Sison objected to the nature of the meeting because the executive committee and the four secretaries appointed by Jesus Lavao did not agree with it. Despite that objection, Francisco Lava was elected as general secretary. having any relationship with any descendant of the Lava family, and after a while José María Sison established the

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<sup>8</sup>Jesús Lava: a Filipino politician, became a prominent activist in the Philippine Labor Party, in which he held the position of Secretary-General, worked secretly with youth workers organizations, until he was arrested in 1964 on charges of subversion and incitement, it took him four years, he was released until he returned to work with the same party, until He died in 1989, for more see:

Ang Cheng Guan, *Southeast Asia's Cold War Oce India Nd Australia an Interpretive History*, University of Hawai'i Press, United States of America, 2018, p.110.

<sup>9</sup>Frederic H. Chaffee and Helen A. Barth and Another, *Area Handbook for The Philippines*, February 1969, p.198.

<sup>10</sup>Jose Maria Sison: He is the leader and founder of the Communist Party of the Philippines. He was born in 1939 from a middle-class family in the province of Icolos Sur. He was educated at the University of the Philippines. He became an activist and pioneer in student politics and a member of the Workers' Party of the Philippines. In 1954 he helped form the Kabatan Maccabean or National Youth Movement, an anti-American nationalist movement. Sison broke away from the Communist Workers' Party in 1967 and established an alternative policy inspired by the Chinese Cultural Revolution, which led to his initiative for an alternative party. His small group of radical students joined and founded in 1969, the New People's Army, which entered into armed clashes with the Philippine government, resulted in a massive campaign of arrests that included the most prominent leaders of the Communist Party of the Philippines, most notably Sison, who was arrested and imprisoned by the government authorities in 1977. He remained in prison until 1986, and died in 1969. For more see:

Joseph Chinyong Liow, *Dictionary of The Modern Politics of Southeast Asia*, Taylor Francis Group, Fourth Edition, 1995, p.341.

<sup>11</sup>Francisco Lava:A Filipino politician, nephew of Jesus Lava, a professor at the University of the Philippines who obtained a PhD in economics and a prominent member of the Philippine Workers' Party. He held the position of Secretary General of the party. His dispute with Sison arose, resulting in Sison's defection from the party and the formation of a new communist party. For more see:

Samantha Christiansen And Zachary A. Scarlett (Ed.), *The Third World in The Global 1960s*, First Published, Bergbahn Books, 2013, p.203.

<sup>12</sup>Jose Maria Sison with Rainer Werning, *Op.cit*, p.45.

faction of the Communist Party independent of the Fusion Party with the approval of the older party members<sup>(13)</sup>In addition to the emergence of a movement out of misery among the members of the Progressive Workers Party, which forms part of the merger party, and in particular among the radical students, they looked to Beijing more than Moscow, and they formed a faction that broke away from the Progressive Workers Party.<sup>(14)</sup>, the expulsion of the Lava group, and the re-formation of the party on the theoretical basis of Marxism-Leninism before the end of April 1967, after which they formed the temporary political bureau whose main objective was to correct mistakes and rebuild the Communist Party <sup>(15)</sup>(Becker et al., 2023).

After José María Sison broke away from the organized Workers' Party members of the Fusion Party, he tried to attract former PWP members who had been expelled from the party. In September 1968, Sison began preparing and editing documents for the founding conference of the new Communist Party of the Philippines, which was to be held in late September of the same year, but it was delayed for a week, because draft documents were leaked to the press, and Sison feared the situation because he had distributed the documents to a number of members of the Progressive Labor Party whom he considered discontented with the situation at the time, and who were likely to support him in founding the new party (Prasetya, 2021).<sup>16</sup>.

Among those to whom he presented the documents was Lazarocruz.<sup>17</sup>Who was closely related to Jose Maria Sison, who died of a heart attack, which led to the postponement of the conference to early January 1969. The party dated its documents and announced its establishment on December 26, 1969 to coincide with the seventy-sixth anniversary of Mao's birth. The party held its founding conference consisting of twelve secretly delegates <sup>(18)</sup>The party announced its establishment in a document entitled ((Manifesto from the Conference to Re-establish the Communist Party of the Philippines)) During which Sison was elected president of the party, and the party issued in its statement that the main base of the party is the popular democratic revolution in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal state, dominated by US imperialism, bourgeoisie, landowners and bureaucratic capitalists, and that the main problems are defined by US imperialism, which is dominated by feudalism. the local<sup>(19)</sup>The basic tasks of the revolution are represented in achieving national liberation by ridding the nation of American hegemony in the political, economic, cultural and other fields, and achieving democracy not only in fighting and suppressing the enemy, but in liberating the masses of peasants and the entire people from feudal and semi-feudal conditions (van Heerden & van Heerden, 2022).<sup>20</sup>.

In its program, the party emphasized the destruction of imperialist forces and American feudalism, whose main interests lie in national and class enslavement and exploitation of the people, and that

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid, p.46.

<sup>14</sup>An Asia Watch, The Philippines Violations of The Laws of War by Both Sidea, The United States Ofamerica Human Rights Watch, 1990, p.58.

<sup>15</sup>Jose Maria Sison with Rainer Werning, Op.cit, p.46.

<sup>16</sup>Joseph Paul Scalice, Op.Cit, p.364.

<sup>17</sup>Lazarocruz:A Filipino politician, and a member of the Progressive Workers' Party, known by the name Haraki (Paul) or the Bull, he was expelled from the Workers' Party and joined the new Communist Party, and he did not complete his work in the party because of his death from a heart attack, in 1969, for more see:

Joseph Paul Scalice, Crisis of Revolutionary Leadership Martial Law and The Communist Parties of The Philippines, 1959–1974, A Dissertation, University of California, 2017, p.364.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid, p.367.

<sup>19</sup>Ken Fullert, AM Ovement D Ivided Philippine Communism, 1957-1986, The University of The Philippines Press Diliman, Quezon City, 2011, p.69.

<sup>20</sup>(Armando Liwanag, Brief Review of The History of The Communist Party of The Philippines On The Occasion Of The 20th Anniversary Of Its Reestablishment, Communist Party Of The Philippines December 26, 1988, p.7).

the supreme interest of the Filipino people requires the struggle for democratic national liberation, and all patriotic and progressive classes, parties, groups, and individuals must be stirred up, mobilized to isolate power, and fight the armed struggle, which lies in building a unified national front, and as a revolutionary party, the Communist Party should not be restricted to legal and parliamentary struggle, and the party must focus on building popular democratic power in the countryside before the cities, and removing power from political parties that monopolized power such as the National Party and the Liberal Party, and in its program the party called for the establishment of a democratic state and a governmental alliance in a united front, with the aim of establishing a popular democratic state under the leadership of the working class and including the participation of all democrats.<sup>21</sup> He emphasized cooperation with all other organizations and armed movements fighting against imperialist oppression and benefiting from them in dispersing the ruling class and its affiliated armed forces (Alabady, 2023).<sup>22</sup>

The party made it clear during its program that it is not possible to decide on the formation of a coalition government at the state level, so the masses of workers and peasants under a revolutionary leadership can establish an armed and independent regime in the countryside, and they must learn to govern themselves and defend their independence, and the armed regime is the main nucleus of the formation of the Republic of the Philippines People's Republic, the main nucleus of the formation of the People's Republic of the Philippines, and the party emphasized the struggle for national unity and democratic rights, and work to create national unity based mainly on the class interest of workers and peasants, and on that popular basis, all patriotic and progressive classes, groups, and individuals should enjoy political rights. Individual initiatives and projects on the part of fishermen, artisans, intellectuals, the urban petty bourgeoisie, and the national bourgeoisie must be respected, encouraged, and assisted, and decent livelihoods are provided for all citizens, and all classes and groups enjoy democracy and its members with all democratic rights such as freedom of residence, thought, belief, religion, speech and assembly in a democratic charter of rights (Setyowati & Herianto, 2022) <sup>(23)</sup>.

And the interests and rights of Filipinos must be protected abroad, and they must be allowed to communicate on a large scale with their Filipino relatives or return from the United States or any other place to their country. In addition, the party followed the principle of democratic centralism, which it emphasized that the national government should have authority Central to local government at all levels, and to base its decisions on the needs and aspirations of the people.<sup>24</sup> and be guided by the central leadership at every level of government (municipality, city, county, province) and there must be elected representative bodies through which decisions are made democratically, and all government institutions must be subject to the People's Revolutionary Congress in elections or in any other matter. Because it represents the sovereignty of the Philippine people, and that the Philippine sovereignty does not lie without a popular army whose function is defense and defeating the forces of the reactionary Philippine government, which was established by imperialism.<sup>25</sup> It is supported by foreign imperialism, and the people's army must be a fighting force closely linked to the masses of the people, in addition to being organized ideologically,

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<sup>21</sup>Jose Ma. Sison, *Foundation for Resuming the Philippine Revolution Selected Writings 1968 To September 1972*, International Network For Philippine Studies The Netherlands, 2013, p.65.

<sup>22</sup>Constitution And Program Communist Party of The Philippines, Published by The Central Committee Communist Party Of The Philippines, June, 2018, p.92.

<sup>23</sup> Jose Ma. Sison, *Op.Cit*, p.66.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*, p.67.

<sup>25</sup> Joseph Paul Scalice, *Op.Cit*, p.368.

politically and organizationally on the basis of Mao Zedong.<sup>26</sup> Sisson emphasized that his party's program is based on three basic components: expanding the armed struggle, expanding rural bases, and implementing the agricultural revolution.<sup>27</sup>

The program of the Communist Party of the Philippines did not only include the political and economic aspect, but was beyond that, as the cultural revolution was one of the main pillars of the party, which believed that the popular democratic cultural revolution was necessary to rid the nation of the deceptive domination of imperialist and feudal culture and education, and that a national and scientific culture should be promoted. And mass education that truly serves the interests of the Filipino people, and the educational system and the media must be in the hands of popular democratic forces, and education in all its stages must be free, regardless of class, religion, creed, gender, or color, and work to support progressive student movements among students, teachers, and all intellectuals.<sup>28</sup> The party's program emphasized the strengthening of the national language as the primary means of communication in Philippine society, and it must be keen to give the national language, art and literature a revolutionary content, and to link the revolutionary struggle of the workers, peasants, soldiers and other participants in the revolution, and to adopt the old forms, as well as the forms Foreign arts and literature with revolutionary content commensurate with the national aspirations of the people. The program emphasized the leadership of the working class in the field of culture and education in line with its pioneering revolutionary role. It welcomes the sincere support of intellectuals for the revolution, and gives all democratic intellectuals every opportunity to serve the people and reformulate their thinking. In line with respect for freedom of thought and religion, and taking appropriate guarantees to prevent the systematic use of that freedom to resist the people's democratic revolution or harm the interests of the people, and Sisson stressed through his program that illiteracy must be eradicated, to promote culture among the masses through the supremacy of the scientific spirit of thought Marxist-Leninist-Maoist<sup>29</sup>.

Among the issues dealt with by the party's program was the problem of national minorities that had been subjected to abuse and neglect, especially the minorities of Mindanao and the mountain provinces that had to participate in the revolution against US imperialism and feudalism, among the importance of the party, and the naturalized minorities of Chinese origin who were subjected to racism and were the target of reactionary attacks as described by the program. The party, and with regard to Philippine foreign affairs, its problem was that the foreign policy of the Philippine government is managed by US imperialism and the internal classes cooperating with it, and the party stressed that the solution to save the state is to overthrow the internal power of US imperialism and its local followers in the Philippines and to cancel all treaties and agreements in force and laws that define (special relationships (with the US government and its imperial allies)<sup>30</sup> The People's Democratic Government shall expand its foreign policy by opening diplomatic and commercial relations with its strong friend, the People's Republic of China, and all other countries willing to establish relations in the spirit of mutual respect for national sovereignty, on the basis of equality

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<sup>26</sup>Mao Zedong: Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, born on the twenty-sixth of the year 1893, Mao announced in 1949 the establishment of the People's Republic of China, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, strengthened his control through agrarian reform, in 1957 Mao launched an anti-right campaign. Thousands of innocent people were killed, and in 1963 Mao launched the Socialist Education Movement, which began with the Cultural Revolution in 1966. It lasted for nearly ten years. Mao continued to lead the Communist Party until he died of a heart attack in 1976. For more, see:

Howard L. Boorman, Mao Tse-Tung: The Lacquered Image, *The China Quarterly*, No. 16  
Cambridge University Press on Behalf Of The School Of Oriental And African, p.9-30.

<sup>27</sup>Joseph Paul Scalice, *Op.Cit.*, p.368.

<sup>28</sup>Constitution And Program Communist Party Of The Philippines, *Op.Cit.*, p.93.

<sup>29</sup>Jose Ma. Sison, *Op.Cit.*, p.70.

<sup>30</sup>Program for a People's Democratic Revolution (1968), published by the central committee communist party of the Philippines, p.9.



and mutual benefit, and the People's Democratic Government shall provide moral and material support to the movements. It should be inspired by the principle of proletarian internationalism, and guided by the policy of the united international front, as the People's Republic of China is an iron bulwark of the world proletarian revolution, and a reliable friend to all oppressed peoples, including the Filipino people)<sup>31</sup>.

The party stressed that its specific program will remain unchanged throughout the whole stage of the people's democratic revolution.<sup>32</sup> And based on the foregoing, it is clear that the Communist Party of the Philippines presented goals that included all levels, including the political, economic and social, as all its goals and plans reached a main point that is the overthrow of the government through the process of armed struggle and armed guerrilla warfare, following the revolutionary methodology through which it reaches a popular government. Democracy based on the working class, and getting rid of the American hegemony that dominated the local government and manipulated its economic capabilities. And in particular the People's Republic of China and the fight against US imperialism, and among the other aspirations of the party is the cultural revolution, the main content of which is the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology. It seems clear that the Communist Party of the Philippines was influenced by the ideas and principles of Mao Zedong, so the idea rooted in the founder of the party was to establish a popular democratic state through armed struggle. But since it is a revolutionary party, it believes in armed action as a way to seize power, and it is clear that the program of the Communist Party of the Philippines was a clone of the ideas and principles of the Chinese Communist Party in thought, behavior and method.

After the re-establishment of the Communist Party and the proclamation of its program and constitution, the other major step of the party was the establishment of the People's Army, which would serve as the executive organ in accordance with the principles that the Party came up with under the supreme guidance of Mao Zedong Thought, through which Comrade Tung indicated, "Without a people's army, the people have nothing." <sup>(33)</sup> Thus, Sison and his fellow politicians, especially the Tarlac district politician, invited some communist leaders from China to speak with Sison's group and some progressive liberal congressmen who call themselves (Young Turks) To establish the Communist People's Army, and they agreed that Sison would represent them in discussion with Bernabe Buscayno <sup>(34)</sup>, aka Dante who delivered it through Akeno <sup>(35)</sup> who was the arranger for most of the meetings between Sison and Dante <sup>(36)</sup> And during the last meeting between Dante and five of his companions and Sison and four of his companions from the Central Committee members of the People's Party in Santa Rita Cabaye, the two sides reached the establishment of the New People's Army officially on the twenty-ninth of March 1969 <sup>(37)</sup> Led by Bernabe Dante as a military commander of the army, he was a means of change according to the principles advocated by the party through its program, in which he showed that an independent regime in the countryside or a popular democratic state system could be established only by military force through which the counter-revolutionary forces, including the foreign aggressor and

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<sup>31</sup> Jose Ma. Sison, op.cit, p.72.

<sup>32</sup> Program for a People's Democratic Revolution (1968), op.cit, p.10

<sup>33</sup> Jose Ma. Sison, Op. Cit, P96.

<sup>34</sup> Brianbe Boschino: a Filipino politician born in Tarlac Province. He is a prominent member of the Hawk movement known as Dante. He joined the Communist Party of the Philippines in 1968 and played a prominent role in it by leading the military wing of the New People's Army. For more see: Joseph Paul Scalice, Op.Cit, p.378.

<sup>35</sup> Ken Fullert, Op.Cit, p.92.

<sup>36</sup> Joseph Paul Scalice, Op.Cit, p.381.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, p.381.

all kinds of murder gangs <sup>(38)</sup>.

After announcing its founding, the party clarified in a special statement the main mission of the new army, to carry out an agricultural revolution, to be a means of building rural areas, and to make it the basic basis for waging a long-term popular war, because the struggle of peasants for land is the main content of the people's democratic revolution, and it also indicated, it must The new people's army must launch an agrarian revolution and mobilize the peasant masses of the broad spectrum of the Filipino people for the people's democratic revolution, in addition to using the rural bases as a training stronghold for guerrilla warfare. Without the presence of the stable base, the people's army will not be able to wage a long-term war, and the task The urgency of the People's Army is to establish an independent armed regime in the countryside based on the agrarian revolution, and on that basis the Communist Party will build a united front with all the progressive classes, because they will not only get the support of the peasantry but also include the national bourgeois classes, also because the People's Army will export the goods of imperialism and deprive them of markets inprovinces, encourages the national bourgeoisie, and supports the revolutionary forces.<sup>39</sup>.

In the second founding statement of the People's Army in 1969, the party issued its second document, which included the basic rules of the People's Army, which stipulated that the People's Army would go through three strategic phases to wage a prolonged war. The first phase was defensive to maintain the initiative in launching tactical attacks against the force. other military; As for the second stage or what is called (the stalemate stage), that is, the two forces are equal to some extent, and the third and final stage is the development of the People's Army forces to be the stage of strategic attack inside the cities, and according to those basic rules, the army will be in control of public order.<sup>40</sup>.

In addition, the party clarified the most important tasks directed to the army, which included all political, economic and social levels. With regard to the political aspect, the party directed the formation of central and local committees, whose mission is to maintain the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines and maintain its good relations with the army and the masses and mobilize them in the fields of work. revolutionary military<sup>41</sup>And other military committees whose basic tasks are to hold national, regional and military conferences once a year at least, to discuss the political and military conditions and the basic tasks of the People's Army, and in the presence of all the regional leaders and military operations leaders and all party secretaries in the army headed by a representative of the party's president, and those may Conferences may submit recommendations to the Military Committee of the Central Committee to act accordingly.<sup>42</sup> Based on the above from the party's statement and its basic rules, it is clear to us that the future of the party has been given a negative character, in order for the government to impose a policy of partisan liquidation, to freeze the party, or to impose strict decisions, such as imposing military rulings and laws under the pretext of imposing security in the country, after the people's army revealed its goals and stages. And his steps, he equipped himself with armed elements whose nucleus started from sixty fighters equipped with thirty-five rifles, and organized his mass base through the peasants, whose number was estimated at about (80,000) people, organized through an association called (the Legal Peasants Association) and run by special organizing committees, and in the same year The New People's

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<sup>38</sup>David Glanz, confusion grows from the barrel i of a gun the communist party, A thesis, Monash University, Department of Politics, 2001, p.16.

<sup>39</sup>josephpaul scalece, op.cit, p.383.

<sup>40</sup>josephpaul scalece, op.cit, p.384.

<sup>41</sup>jose ma. season, op.cit, p.122.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid, p.127.



Army managed to assemble about 200 rifles in 1969.<sup>43</sup>

The first start was very difficult for the People's Army, due to its exposure to major setbacks, including the government forces' finding of the main base that they had taken as their stronghold, and the seizure of secret documents of the Communist Party. So the government launched a raid in the middle of 1969 on the base of the people's army in Sata Rita in Kapas Tarlac, during which they found two tunnels and some books and printed documents, and they failed to find the party leaders or soldiers <sup>(44)</sup>Subsequently, the Sisun fighters sought to permanently establish a solid base in the Cagayan Valley in northern Luzon, imitating the experience of Mao Zedong, but they were no match for the Armed Forces of the Philippines, which launched several attacks that forced the New People's Army to abandon the strategy of a fixed base, And opening fronts for guerrilla warfare in several remote and rural areas <sup>(45)</sup>.

### **The second requirement: the Communist Party and its political activity during the period (1969-1972)**

The positions of the workers' parties differed towards the political situation in the country, and in particular the issue of the presidential elections, as the Progressive Workers' Party followed a fragmented approach to the 1969 elections. The party leadership section supported the Marcos group <sup>(46)</sup>While others joined the boycott campaign, looking to retain support within the youth movement, MAN was a reliable supporter of Marcos since its founding in the first half of 1967 and at its second national conference, held on the 15th-16th of March 1969, it continued and deepened this support and played a leadership role. The PWP played a pivotal role in the congress, which he co-chaired and whose coordinating preparatory committee was composed mostly of party members. The congress platform called for a new Filipino association. The MASAKA labor federation endorsed Marcos' re-election at a rally organized in Miranda. Plaza <sup>(47)</sup>On the other hand, the elements of the New People's Army resorted during the elections to support Aquino and the Liberal Party candidates, Sergio Osmania Junior, who made a decision declaring support for the pro-imperialist line in his campaign <sup>(48)</sup>,

In the aftermath of the elections, elements of the Communist Party and the People's Army participated in student demonstrations and protest movements for the elections.<sup>49)</sup>, through support Kapating Maccabean or Nationalist Youth <sup>(50)</sup>At the time, it was noted that the Kapating Macabian or the nationalist youth was considered the main interface for the Maoists and under the leadership of Sisson participated in all the demonstrations led by the leader Dante, who publicly stated during a statement revealing the seriousness of the situation and said: "Any further student repression by the police will face severe retaliation from the people's army." the new <sup>(51)</sup>These events accompanied an escalation in the central Luzon region between the Monkees, a paramilitary gang force with strong ties to the Philippine police and the Marcos administration, and many links to the Progressive Workers Party, and the Beatles,

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<sup>43</sup>Jose Maria Season, *Filipinas Society and Revoluc oedic es Nova Cultura, Edic s Nova Cultura*, 2018, p.63.

<sup>44</sup>Joseph Paul Scales, *The Crisis of Revolutionary Leadership: Martial Law and The Communist Parties Philippines, 1959-1974*, Thesis, University of California, 2017, p.390.

<sup>45</sup>Special National Intelligence Estimate, *The Philippine Communist Insurgency: Its Accelerating Growth and Implications for the United States*, Secret, Snie 36-2-85, No 285, August 1985, p.7.

<sup>46</sup>Special National Intelligence Estimate, *Op.Cit.P.7*.

<sup>47</sup>Joseph Paul Scales, *Opcit*, p.423.

<sup>48</sup>Ken Fullert, *Op.Cit*, p.97.

<sup>49</sup>Joseph Paul Scales, *Opcit*, p.395

<sup>50</sup>Joseph Paul Scales, *Opcit*, p.396).

<sup>51</sup>FCO, *Civil Disturbances in Philippines, Student Disorders*, Secret, File No. FAP 1/5, South East Asia Department, British Embassy Of Manila,9, March,1970, P15.

Dante's forces of the newly formed New People's Army (NPA).<sup>52</sup> The people of central Luzon suffered from shootings, assassinations, and massacres that were taking place in some villages because of the conflict between the Beatles and the Monkees, which were armed wings of the ruling political parties. Fascism (SAF) passed a resolution denouncing the increasing militarization in central Luzon, which they declared to be a harbinger of the advent of a fascist regime and declared ((that militarism was a plot of the ruling oligarchy and American imperialism to destroy the national movement on the occasion of our national elections, and summarized the resolution that all the resources called for by the representatives of Reaction will not prevent millions of peasants, workers, progressive intellectuals, students and bourgeoisie from protesting.<sup>53</sup> after the wave of unrest between the supporters of the Labor Party and the People's Army, Sisson was subjected to a failed assassination attempt, in which he accused the pro-Marcos Lava group, and Sisson mentioned in an interview that the assassination attempt was one of the plans of the Lava group with Agence France-Presse, especially the counter-espionage unit of the Philippine Foundation (<sup>54</sup>).

Meanwhile, Marcos allowed the armed forces to launch an intense propaganda campaign about the danger of communism in the Philippines by publishing a number of party documents, and accusing the Maoists of inciting the demonstrations that began on the thirtieth of January 1970 against the minors, during which Marcos denounced that he should announce the rulings. Al-Urfiyyah, the party did not stop its activity to the party (<sup>55</sup>)During those protests, the party strengthened its position and gained momentum by joining many of the participants in the protests to the party and the New People's Army, which made it outnumber the Progressive Workers' Party in popularity. In 1970, Sisson outlined the guidelines for the People's Army in a book entitled (Society and Revolution). Filipino) identified three main problems in the Philippines: bureaucratic capitalism, feudalism, and American imperialism. Sisson called for a major transformation in Philippine society and defended the Maoist concept of popular war to achieve this. Tarlac and Pampanga provinces to Isabella province in northeastern Luzon after the New People's Army suffered heavy losses with the Armed Forces of the Philippines during the period 1969-1970, but at the same time it suffered another setback in 1970 caused by Dante's separation from the People's Communist Party clearly after a year who joined the party<sup>56</sup>Leader Dante may have separated from the Communist Party due to a disagreement with the party leadership, or his perception that the party collapsed due to suffering great losses during armed clashes with the government and the factions loyal to it, or perhaps the decision to separate was taken under pressure and threat, or any party whose interests would be the collapse of the party.

In the meantime, the Progressive Labor Party resumed its organizational work, trying to attract the masses and their attention, and the party launched a national campaign to liberate political prisoners through the formation of a labor federation with trade unions called the National Labor Movement, which brought together the workers of the Printing Syndicate and other mass organizations led by the Progressive Labor Party. That campaign had seventy thousand signatures, and resulted in the release of Jose Lava and other party figures.<sup>57</sup>Meanwhile, the second conference of the new youth organization, led by the Progressive Labor Party, was held

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<sup>52</sup> *ibid*, p.16.

<sup>53</sup> Joseph Paul Scales, *Opcit*, P421.

<sup>54</sup> Jose Maria Sison With Rainer Werning, *The Philippine Revolution: The Leader's View*, *Op.Cit*, P63.

<sup>55</sup> FCO, *Civil Disturbances in Philippines, Student Disorders*, Secret, File No. Fap 1/5, South East Asia Department, British Embassy Of Manila, April 13, 1970, P.2.

<sup>56</sup> A Staff Report Prepared For The Committee on Foreign Relations United States, *The Situation In The Philippines*, Foreign Relations US Government Printing Office 38-929 O Washington, October 1984, p.23.

<sup>57</sup> Ken Fullert, *Op.Cit*, p.103.

in late 1970, which was marked by the presence of (800) delegates, most of whom were workers and peasants.<sup>58</sup> And then Francisco sought to form the Communist Youth League to be affiliated with the Progressive Workers Party, whose membership, according to their claim, increased (60,000) members, and it was decided to put all the armed groups led by the Workers' Party under one central command at a meeting held in January 1970 <sup>(59)</sup>

On the other hand, the Communist Party took advantage of the student demonstrations to promote the communist revolutionary line, especially the February 12 demonstrations in Plaza Miranda Square. Sison described in his book (*The Revolution in the Philippines*) their strong position and presented the Marxist-Leninist proletariat and the thought of Mao Zedong, which had never happened before, despite what they were subjected to in terms of repression, but it made the party gain great momentum.<sup>60</sup> In addition, the New People's Army took the initiative, launching a military campaign on the twenty-ninth of December 1970 against the armory of the Philippine Military Academy, led by Lieutenant Victor Corpus.<sup>61</sup> Who defected from the Philippine Army to the New People's Army, joined the main group of the New People's Army in Isabella Province, and played a role in organizing, building and training the People's Army, and Corpus became the leader of the People's Army <sup>(62)</sup> And the Communist Party was able to expand its military base, after it was less than five hundred fighters, and by 1971 it doubled to more than a thousand fighters, and through it it was able to open a new front in Isabella, describing it as "the popular base."

It is clear that the communists in the Philippines were working with two wings, the first being political, represented by the Communist Party, although it was secret from the government, but it was effective in some rural areas, as its military bases, and the second was military, embodied in the New People's Army, which was a military arm of the Communist Party. A strategic dimension for the communist maneuvers with the Philippine government.

With the beginning of 1971, the position of the Communist Party appeared in support of the student demonstrations that took place at Diliman University, located in the municipality of Diliman, through the contribution of the head of the Communist Party, Sison, with an article published in the Student Council, in addition to the publication of posters of the New People's Army on campus by students affiliated with the party called the Leftist student activists name (National Democracy Schools) or (Education People Movements) On the other hand, elements of the People's Party, along with some organizations, most notably the Nationalist Youth, campaigned in support of the Liberal Party during its election campaign and granted the Liberal Party candidates a prominent position in the *Kabatang Makbean* gatherings. In turn, the Communist Party issued declarations in support of China, supporting trade and diplomatic relations with Beijing, in the wake of diplomatic diplomacy. New and Richard M. Nixon Declaration<sup>63</sup> Regarding

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid, p.104.

<sup>59</sup> Ken Fullert, Op.Cit, p.105.

<sup>60</sup> Jose Ma. Sison, *The Philippine Revolution, Selected Writings 1968 To September 1972*, Foundation for Resuming, International Network for Philippine Studies, The Netherlands, 2013, p.176.

<sup>61</sup> **Victor Corpus** A lieutenant in the Philippine Army and an instructor at the Philippine Military Academy, he defected to the New People's Army in 1970 after leading a People's Army raid on the academy's armory. From 1970 to 1976, Corpus remained a member of the New People's Army until it surrendered in 1976, after which Corpus returned to the Armed Forces of the Philippines in 1987. For more see:

Human Rights Watch, *The Philippines Violations of The Laws of War by Both Sides*, Printed in *The United States of America*, 1990, p.51.

<sup>62</sup> Ryan Nebres Severo, *Philippine Counterinsurgency During the Presidencies of Magsaysay, Marcos, And Ramos: Challenges and Opportunities*, A Thesis, The Faculty of the US, 2016, p59.

<sup>63</sup> Richard Nixon: - He is the thirty-seventh president of the United States, I assumed the presidency during the period (1969-1974), he was born on the ninth of January 1913 in California, he entered politics and held many political positions as the American vice president during the period (1953-

relations with China, and in contradiction to the position, Ferdinand Marcos accused the Communist Party of bombing the Plaza Miranda Square, in which the majority of the members of the Liberal Party were killed.<sup>64</sup>

On the other hand, the Communist Party denounced the bombing and blamed Ferdinand Marcos.<sup>65</sup> As a reaction to the subpoena order, the Communist Party formed a group called (Anti-Terrorism) to protest against the subpoena, and it was the widest unified group established by the Communist Party, which strengthened its position and tried through it to attract all organizations, except those loyal to Marcos and the Labor Party.<sup>66</sup>

Although the Sisson wing adopted armed struggle, guerrilla warfare, and the use of violence, it is unreasonable for it to bomb members of the Liberal Party while at the same time supporting its election campaign. In addition to Marcos' lax position in exposing the perpetrators, it may be that Marcos played a role in the bombing.

Following the Plaza Miranda incident that occurred on August 21, 1971, the Communist Party activated its military actions in central Luzon, and through clashes between government forces and the People's Army, eight members of the People's Army infiltrated to bomb the oil storage facility in the city, in addition to seizing two trucks. Loaded with government weapons upon entering the city as a result, the government conducted searches to identify the elements of the People's Army and focused heavily on arresting or killing the main leaders of the party. Rewards were provided for those who testified about the communist leaders. With the engagement moving from central Luzon to the northeastern part of the island, the Philippine Armed Forces achieved a series of military successes led to the disintegration of the Communist Party's alliance with some of the Hawk leaders, weakening the movement and giving the Armed Forces of the Philippines the greatest control, which continued to pressure in an effort to arrest or kill any remaining elements.<sup>67</sup> In the meantime, some members of the Communist Party were subjected to assassinations in 1971, in which a member of the Central Committee of the People's Party and Francisco Sisson (brother of Jose Sisson) were killed, who accused the latter of the Workers' Party, the Lava Group and the CIA of assassination.<sup>68</sup> And during the statement of the Minister of Defense that the operations to acquire weapons, what is the plan studied by the Communist Party in order for the party to declare open war in Manila and its environs, and in light of these events, the Communist Party sent in late April 1971 a delegation consisting of nine people led by Fidel Agcaoili (Fidelv. Agcaoili) (<sup>69</sup>) to Beijing on behalf of the Cambodian People's Party to negotiate an arms shipment from China, carrying Sisson's request that the CPC supply the party with M-16 assault rifles and delivering the weapons by

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1961) and after He assumed the presidency in 1969, which lasted until 1974. He resigned from the government and became the first president of the United States to resign. He died on the twenty-second of April 1994 in New York. For more, see:

Asri Abdullah Osbat Al-Mustafa, Kota Para Demonstran, Irlangga University Press, Cetakan Pertama, 2019, p.21.

<sup>64</sup>Douglas S. Tung and Teresa K. Tung TRAFFORD, 36 Stratagems Plus: Illustrated by International Cases, Douglas S. Tung and Teresa Tung, Canada, 2010, P106.

<sup>65</sup> Douglas S. Tung And Teresa K. Tung TRAFFORD, Op.Cit, p.106.

<sup>66</sup> Joseph Paul Scalice, Op.Cit, P684

<sup>67</sup> A Staff Report Prepared for The Committee on Foreign Relations United States, The Situation in The Philippines, Foreign Relations US Government Printing Office 38-929 O Washington, October 1984, p.24.

<sup>68</sup> Joseph Paul Scalice, Op.Cit, p.684.

<sup>69</sup> Fidel Agcawilli: a Filipino activist and politician, and a member of the Communist Party of the Philippines affiliated to the Central Committee of the Philippines. He was arrested and imprisoned for eleven years. Among his political activities was his participation in peace negotiations with the Philippine government in 1989, and he had an effective role in signing the Convention on the Respect of Human Rights. In 1998, he became Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in 2004, and remained a member of the Communist Party until he died in 2020. For more see:

Bayan, Pahayagan Ng Partido Komunista Ng Pilipinas Pinatnubayan Ng Marxismo-Leninismo-Maoismo, English Edition, Vol. LI No. 15 August 7, 2020, p.3.

submarine, the CPC leadership replied that it would supply M-14s. In addition, the Communist Party will be responsible for receiving the weapons in the Philippines themselves. Then Agkawili traveled to Japan and bought a fishing ship in somewhat poor condition as a ploy to ship the weapons. Indeed, on 4 July 1971, the ship arrived in Isabella, and in the meantime the ship was spotted by a plane run by an official. An executive in the logging company, who informed the army directly of this matter, the government in turn sent a boat to investigate, which resulted in a clash and an exchange of fire between two forces on the beach, the New People's Army managed to land the cargo of weapons and supplies to the beach, but it was not transferred, and the next day The army deployed F-5 jets and helicopter gunships that bombed the beach And bombed it, and as a result the New People's Army was forced to retreat, and the government forces seized (738) (14M) rifles and (150,000) rounds (500) rocket-propelled grenades. As a result of this incident, the story of the Karajatan arms shipment spread in the Philippine press over two days. Consecutive <sup>(70)</sup>In the same year, the government army carried out operations (c). <sup>(71)</sup>, followed by the Karacatan Affair The widely publicized campaign against the NPA, Manila struck sixteen mysterious bombings, and the NPA was accused of doing so, and the government once again highlighted the communist threat. (Although Senator Aquino declared the communist threat to be exaggerated.) <sup>(72)</sup>And after those mysterious bombings, Marcos held on the twentieth of September 1972, Marcos held a televised press conference in which he announced that Aquino had met Sison on the seventh of September and cited Enrile, who claimed that Aquino revealed this to him personally in a meeting and that he in turn informed Marcos of that, and Aquino responded In a speech he gave in the Senate on the 21st of 1972, he denied having met with the Communist Party, and claimed that the Marcos administration was fabricating this matter as a pretext to assassinate him, after which he blamed the Communist Party.<sup>(73)</sup>

Thus, the Communist Party of the Philippines was one of the main reasons that prompted Ferdinand Marcos to declare martial law on the twenty-third of September 1972, and the military force of the People's Army became active during the year 1972, according to the statement of the party's president, Sison, by saying: ((The number of members of the Communist Party reached (2000) in 1972, and this was mainly attributed to the rise of the urban mass movement in the period (1970-1972) and beyond, the spread of the armed revolutionary movement in central Luzon and the Gayan Valley, and the Communist Party was practically a party of staff and capable members To lead not committees and teams but also large mass organizations, and expand the party on the basis of the rapid growth of the mass movement in both urban and rural areas through the formation of regional party committees and various regional army commands, and due to government pressure the formation of regional party committees for the regions of Manila, Rizal, Northern and Central Luzon Luzon and its south, Western Visayas, Eastern Visayas, and Mindanao, and the regional party committees formed directly the regional army commands, and most of those regional organizations were structural, because they covered large areas <sup>(74)</sup>.

## Conclusion

1. By reviewing the political role played by the Communist Party in the Philippines during

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<sup>70</sup> Joseph Paul Scalice, Op.Cit, p.744.

<sup>71</sup> Henry S. Totanes Research (ED) Op.Cit, p.231.

<sup>72</sup> Nena Vreeland Geoffrey B. Hurwitz Peter Just Philip W. Moeller RS Shinn, Area Handbook for The Philippines, Second Edition, Np, 1976, P. 220.

<sup>73</sup> Joseph Paul Scalice, Op.Cit, p.742.

<sup>74</sup> Jose Maria Sison with Rainer Werning, The Philippine Revolution, The Leader's View, Opcit, p.63.



the period (1968-1972), its adoption of the armed struggle, and the penetration of student demonstrations to promote it, this shows the extent of the party's strength that was able to attract its popularity.

2. The Communist Party is one of the most prominent opposition parties in the Philippines, which played a prominent role in inciting against the Philippine government.
3. On the basis of every action there is a reaction, in response to the government's policy, many political parties were established, and the Communist Party was the most prominent of them, to stand up to the Philippine government.

## Conclusions

1. The danger of the Communist Party was one of the main reasons that the government declared martial law in the country.
2. Despite the negatives of Marcos and his government, but he had to work to achieve security and stability in the country, and therefore it cannot be achieved unless the Communist Party confronts its military arm, the new People's Army, and whatever the Communist Party's justifications for patriotism, it can be said that its movements, military activity and foreign deals, It pushed Marcos, who wanted to remain in power for the longest possible period, to create sufficient pretexts to declare martial law, under the pretext of maintaining security and stability and facing communist and other challenges that try to tamper with the security and safety of the state.

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