

**RAINBOW WARRIORS:
STRATEGIES OF WAR IN THE INCLUSION OF
PERSONS OF DIVERSE SOGIE IN THE MAOIST
INSURGENCY IN THE PHILIPPINES**

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Abstract

In this thesis, readers are given a first-hand account of the lives of ten persons of diverse Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity and Expression (SOGIE) in the context of the Maoist insurgency in the Philippines with emphasis on their experiences as armed rainbow warriors. Their experiences are complimented with in-depth analysis of six CPP documents on how the movement should treat people of diverse SOGIE by looking at key frameworks of Maoist nationalism and military and militarized masculinities. In the perspective of the ten respondents, their position within the Maoist movement revolves around the ideology, institution, and subjective identities.

The author argues for a rethinking of essentialist view of hegemonic Western cultural product such as Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) in the understanding of the Filipino bakla and tomboy. The (re)construction of the bakla and tomboys as 'heterosexualized homosexuals' by the Maoist movement, that speaks of a different ontological experience of people who transgress heterosexual sexual norms, that is incomparable to their Western counterpart. And finally, the thesis looks at the gender hierarchy being created within the Maoist movement and how people of diverse SOGIE were positioned into it.

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List of Abbreviations

AFP	Armed Forces of the Philippines
APA	American Psychological Association
ARMAS	Artista at Manunulat Para sa Sambayanan (Artists and Writers for the People)
CEGP	College Editors Guild of the Philippines
CNL	Christians for National Liberation
CPP	Communist Party of the Philippines
CPP-MLKMZ	Communist Party of the Philippines – Marxism, Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought
EDCA	Enhanced Defence Cooperation Agreement
FQS	First Quarter Storm
KM	Kabataang Makabayan (Patriotic Youth)
LFS	League of Filipino Students
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender
MAKIBAKA	Makabayang Kilusan ng Bagong Kababaihan (Patriotic Movement of New Women)
MCC-Manila	Metropolitan Community Church, Manila
ND	National Democracy, National Democrats
NDFP	National Democratic Front of the Philippines
NPA	New People's Army
OPRS	On the Proletarian Relationship of the Sexes
ORS	On the Relations of the Sexes
PADEPA	Pambansa Demokratikong Paaralan (The National Democratic School of the Philippines)
PKP	Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas
PNP	Philippine National Police
Pro-Gay Philippines	Progressive Organization Gays in the Philippines
RCC	Roman Catholic Church
SOGIE	Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity and Expression
SPP	Socialist party of the Philippines
VFA	Visiting Forces Agreement

Chapter 1: The Road Less Traveled: An Introduction

This chapter lays out the description of this thesis. It starts with contextualizing the *bakla* and *tomboy* or homosexuality in the Philippines. It discusses the research objectives, the current research on the topic, reflections and methods of data collection and methodology. And finally, it will discuss why it is imperative for the author to use ‘people/persons of diverse SOGIE’¹ as a general description of people who transgress heterosexual sexual norms in the Philippines and not lesbians, gays, bisexuals and transgenders (LGBTs).

1.1. Homosexuality in the Philippines

The Philippines is distinct compared to its Southeast Asian neighbors for being predominantly Roman Catholic, counting “more than 80% of the population” (Ruiz-Austria, 2004: 96). This was a product of more than 330 years of Spanish colonization. The Roman Catholic Church (RCC) has molded the lives of many Filipinos by its interference in politics and law. Roman Catholic standards are inscribed in Philippine Laws specifically on sexual morality clauses (Ruiz-Austria, 2004: 100). This exemplified in the case of divorce, the Philippines is the only country in the world without it, primarily because of the RCC lobby (Associated Press, 2015).

There is a general tendency for foreign visitors to conclude that the Philippines is “tolerant” of homosexuality because of the presence of mainly effeminate cross-dressing (male) *bakla* and mannish (female) *tomboys*. However, much religious-moral stigma is still attached to homosexuality (Garcia 2004: 13). Both the Filipino representation of homosexuality, *bakla* and *tomboy*, according to Michael Tan (2001) “center on ‘inversion’ or in the sense of a male (*bakla*) taking on female mannerisms and way of dressing, and a female (*tomboy*) taking on male mannerisms and way of dressing” (Tan, 2001: 122). Tan added that “[o]ne could not be *bakla*, if he was not effeminate, and one could not be a *tomboy*, unless she was masculine... This way, a

¹ SOGIE is the abbreviation for ‘sexual orientation, gender identity and [gender] expression’

bakla is a 'girl', and as 'girls,' they will not have sex with other *bakla* (also considered as girls), as this was considered tantamount to lesbianism [or cannibalism]. The tomboy, meanwhile, is 'constructed as a man trapped in a woman's body'" (Tan, 2001: 120-123). This inversion is what one may consider as a form of "heterosexualized homosexuality" (see Legasto, 2008).

In the 1960s, the Philippine *bakla* culture has started to come out and emerge in urban areas, this was seen with the emergence of "swardspeak, gayspeak, gay lingo or baklese" (Ricordeau, 2009) among their circles. Swardspeak, gayspeak, gay lingo or baklese is considered to be "subcultural lingo' of urban 'gay' men, that uses elements from Tagalog, English, Spanish and Japanese, as well as celebrities' names and trademark brands" (Ricordeau, 2009). It was in the 1970s and 80s, that some Filipinos were exposed the Philippines to the Western notion of 'gay,' through media and in some cases visitation to western countries. Some Filipinos claimed this identity and started having relationships with other 'gay' men, instead of with 'straight' men, as the bakla used to do (Tan, 2001: 124). Since many of these modern and Western influenced 'gay' men belonged to the middle- or upper middle-class, this marked what Michael Tan described as the "Philippine society's class stratification being reproduced in the gay scene" (Tan, 2001: 124).

On 26 June 1994, to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Stonewall riots, ProGay Philippines together with the Metropolitan Community Church in Manila (MCC) led the first Gay Pride March in Asia. It challenged the Roman Catholic Church's stance on homosexuality and highlighted the lack of provision for them by the Philippine state. In 2005, mainstream newspapers in the Philippines reported that a same-sex marriage ceremony was conducted by the Maoist New People's Army (NPA) in the hinterlands of Southern Philippines for two gay guerillas effectively challenging the country's moral norms and by extension, contesting the notion of military masculinity.

This thesis is situated in the tensions that arise from these realities, in the context of the ongoing Maoist insurgency. The research is interested in examining the reestablished Communist Party of the Philippines, recognition and institutionalization of revolutionizing people of diverse

sexual orientations gender identities and expressions (SOGIE) through its united front – National Democratic front of the Philippines (NDFP) and its army the New People’s Army (NPA) and its general propaganda in both under and above ground mass movement from 1992 to 2014.

1.2. Central Research Question:

How are persons of diverse SOGIE positioned within the Maoist movement in the Philippines?

1.2.1. Secondary Research questions:

- a) Why are people of diverse SOGIE accepted in the Maoist movement as stipulated in its policy papers?
- b) What are the tactical responsibilities and performance of persons of diverse SOGIE in the ongoing civil war?
- c) How do ‘heterosexual’ guerillas react and assimilate to life in the jungle with people of diverse SOGIE?

1.3. Research Objectives

The intention for this research is to open up theoretical and practical discussions around sexuality, nation building, militarism, insurgency, rebellion and the application of the Maoist ideology in all of these.

The overall objective of this research is to open up and understand the processes and conditions of how the CPP (the political vanguard party), the NPA (the military armed wing), the NDFP (the revolutionary underground united front) and the legal national democratic (ND) mass movement have come to acknowledge homosexuality as written in their policy documents (from 1992 to present), how this translates into practice inside the insurgency movement, and how it affects lives and relationships of the members of the Maoist movement.

1.4. State of Research

The majority of theorizing on gender and sexuality in situation of wars and conflicts has been focused on the discussion of gender equality, rituals of masculinity, and women's involvement in wars and gendered symbolisms especially in connection to nationalism and liberation. Issues on sexuality were often subsumed under gender with emphasis on the sexual exploitation of women with a lot of scholarships focusing on war rape as observed by feminist scholar Dubravka Žarkov (2007).

1.4.1. Gender and Heteronormativity

The connection of gender and sexuality has been theorized by a number of feminist and 'queer' thinkers in contemporary times. The correlation in most studies in gender and sexuality are juxtaposed in the studies of gender and heteronormativity. There are many ways how gender is addressed in some studies, one stream look as the "relational concept, built on the presumption of relations between biological males and biological females" (Ingraham, 2006: 310). Another stream would look at the presence of only two sexes that are "fixed and stable categories" and another one is constructed on the "oppositeness" (Ingraham, 2006: 310) of these categories. American historian Joan Scott argued against the essentialist formulation of gender as a "fixed and permanent quality of binary opposition" (Scott, 1986: 1054). Scott's argument that gender as a product of history is socially constructed, and it is nothing more than an organizing principle that operates in multiple levels, that is a useful category for the analysis of this thesis (Scott, 1986: 1054).

Furthermore, sociologist Chrys Ingraham expanded Lisa Duggan's definition of heteronormativity to an "organized secured and ritualized – as a standard for legitimate and prescriptive socio-sexual behavior... [as] fixed in time and space universally occurring" (Ingraham, 2006: 311). Like gender, heteronormativity as a product of history is a social construct. Ingraham indeed showed how "gender is a central feature heteronormativity, but it is

the institutionalized heterosexuality that is served with the construction of gender” (Ingraham, 2006: 309). Ingraham’s observations were echoed by feminist sociologist Diane Richardson when she mentioned “the rise of queer theory in particular has led to a reappraisal of gender and sexuality categories,” making these categories inessential. She further claimed that gender and sexuality are “plural, provisional and situated” like in the case of the Filipino *bakla* and *tomboys* (Richardson, 2007: 458).

1.4.2. Masculinities

Masculinity as a gender expression according to Australian sociologist Raewyn Connell is a product of history in any given society (Connell, 2005: 71). Connell further introduced the concept of “hegemonic masculinity,” where one form of masculinity is referred to against other forms of masculinities and femininities at any given time, place and context (Connell, 2005:71). Arguably, the production, reproduction and creation of masculinities are diverse in different cultures, however according to Zarkov, they also have similarities such as “the need to negotiate certain roles and positions, the struggle to maintain continuity or introduce change, the frailty of established boundaries and differences” (Zarkov, 2007: 152).

Gender and military expert Paul Higate argues that military masculinities differ from masculinities in a “civilian environment” as the former are “assumed to have their own essence, linked ultimately with violence” (Higate, 2003:29). He further argues that this is a legitimate violence since armies were given the “authority to kill” (Higate 2003: 29). Looking on this argument, “institutionalized violence (e.g. by armies) requires more than one kind of masculinity. The gender practice of the general is different from the front-line soldier...training them separately” (Connell, Raewyn cited in Higate 2003:30) eventually producing a hierarchy of masculinities within a military institution. Another dominant point of discussion in the scholarship in military studies is the concept of ‘militarized masculinities,’ David Morgan describes it as:

[T]he sites where masculinities are constructed, reproduced, and deployed, those associated with war and the military are some of the most direct. Despite far-reaching political, social, and technological changes, the warrior still seems to be a key symbol of masculinity... The stance, facial expressions, and the weapons clearly connote aggression, courage, a capacity for violence, and sometimes, a willingness for sacrifice. The uniform absorbs individualities into a generalized and timeless masculinity while also connoting a control of emotion and a subordination to a larger rationality. (Morgan cited in Lopes, 2011: 3)

Most research on the military according to Annica Kronsell is not really interested with 'gender' even though it is a much gendered institution. However, she further claimed that militaries are "largely governed by men" creating and reproducing "norms and practices associated with masculinity and heterosexuality" such is the practice of the NPA in the Maoist insurgency in the Philippines (Kronsell 2005:281).

1.4.3. Gendered Nationalism

A nation according to Benedict Anderson is an "imagined community" or "it is imagined because it is not based on everyday face-to-face interaction between its members" (Anderson, 1991: 6). In the Philippines, there is a plethora of movements who identify as nationalists – from the nativists to the communists. The common belief that binds these movements together is a belief: nationalism "is a sentiment, a feeling or emotion, a consciousness, an inspiration, a commitment, a motivation, the nation's collective conscience, the primal virtue of the citizen, a manifestation of the national soul or spirit" (Abueva, 1999: ix). Social historian Thembisa Waetjen asserted that gender is the central issue in "nationalist mobilization, discourses and practices" (Waetjen, 2001: 121). Waetjen observation is well placed in the Philippine nationalist movements, where the country is referred as *Inang Bayan* or Motherland (Abueva, 1999: xx). American historian Alfred McCoy, observed that Filipino nationalists depicts the feminized nation of continuously being raped and plundered by foreign powers with the support of the local elites, therefore the nation must be defended by her sons, (McCoy, 1999: 44) which complements the observation of majority of gender and nationalist scholars in other contexts.

Another gendered construction that is being run by the nationalist movements in the Philippines, is the idea of a weak 'female victim' that must be defended at all cost, and the strong 'male perpetrator' that should be stopped, which is not uncommon undertaking of other nationalist movements elsewhere. The nationalists' movements, most specifically the Maoists have capitalized on this. They propagate a gendered line on the institutional state violence committed by the army. For example they emphasize military cruelty as masculine and the civilian suffering as feminine by focusing on women and children, even though not all in the army are men and not all victims are women (see Hilsdon, 1995).

1.4.4. Gaps and Challenges

The studies mentioned above are undoubtedly of great importance; however it seems that there are gaps in studies that look into the intersections of militarized masculinities, nationalism, sexual orientation, and communism.

This thesis is relevant as it highlights this gap, stressing the importance of examining concepts of masculinity and its relationship to identities in the study of revolutionary movement. Furthermore, this thesis would hopefully open interest in theorizing in the involvement of people who belong to indigenous gender categories that fall outside of the man and woman binary, who were involved in their countries' Maoist insurgency like the *Hijra*² of India and the *Meti*³ of Nepal.

1.5. Reflexive Interest in the Research

It was in 1990 at the height of the anti-US military bases campaign that I got involved with the national democratic movement in the Philippines. I joined the most militant of student

² "In South Asian cultures including India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh, *Hijras* are physiological males who adopt feminine gender identity, women's clothing and other feminine gender roles. In the past the term referred to eunuchs or those born intersex or with indeterminate genitalia" (A Map of Gender-Diverse Cultures, 2011)

³ "The term *Meti* is an indigenous term for a third gender in Nepal with a long and checkered history in the Himalayan region. They are born as males, but assume feminine dress and carriage" (A Map of Gender-Diverse Cultures, 2011).

organizations at that time – the League of Filipino Students (LFS),⁴ I was only twelve. On 26 June 1994, I heard that the Progressive Organization of Gays in the Philippines (PRO-Gay Philippines)⁵ together with the Metropolitan Community Church – Manila (MCC) organized the first Gay Pride March in Asia. I was still in the closet during the first Gay Pride March in Asia. I was recruited to *Kabataang Makabayan* (Patriotic Youth) or KM⁶ and finally came out as *bakla* in 1995.

In 2001, the leadership of KM and MAKIBAKA⁷ in the university asked some of us who were out as *bakla* if we were willing to organize a chapter of gay organization in the university, at the same time become part of the ‘NDFP⁸ Organizing Committee for Gay Men.’ I volunteered together with a handful of other *bakla* in the movement. That was the first time I met Daniel Imperial, a BA Music major. We were enthusiastic in our organizing and we were able to recruit more than twenty *bakla* students in the legal mass movement and couple more in the underground. After a few months Daniel asked if we could have a private talk. He told me that he decided to join the New People’s Army (NPA)⁹ and that he would be leaving soon. I did not dare to stop him, I was really proud that he found courage to do so, I told him it was okay even if he is leaving me with the responsibility of leading the organization in the university. In November 2011, I heard Daniel died in an encounter and his body was riddled with bullets. In

⁴ LFS is a militant and legal national democratic organization that was founded in 1977, as an alliance against tuition fee increases and school repression during the time of Martial Law (from 1972-1981).

⁵ PRO-Gay Philippines started out as an informal club of ‘gay’ writers of the College Editors Guild of the Philippines (CEGP). Initially it was known as Pink Collective. In 1993, during the height of the debate about homosexuality in the Maoist movement, the collective decided to embrace the ‘national democratic’ line and renamed the collective Progressive Organization of Gays in the Philippines.

⁶ KM is one of the member organizations of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) representing the youth and students that was founded in 1964. KM was instrumental in the reestablishment of the CPP in 1968 and the New People’s Army in 1969. It was considered a recruitment machine for the Philippine revolution that helped in the rapid nationwide expansion of the CPP-NPA especially after Marcos declared Martial Law in 1972.

⁷ MAKIBAKA or Makabayang Kilusan ng Bagong Kababaihan (Patriotic Movement of New Women) is a member organization of the NDFP that represents women.

⁸ The NDFP or the National Democratic Front of the Philippines represents the united front that is currently led by the Maoist Communist Party of the Philippines. It’s an alliance of 18 underground organizations that represents different sectors of Philippine society [see Appendix 1 for the list of member organizations, sector and scope of influence of the NDFP].

⁹ The New People’s Army or NPA is the armed military wing of the NDFP.

his wake, I learned how much he was loved by his comrades and the people he organized. He died offering his life so that many of his unit mates in the NPA would survive.

Having been part of the Maoist movement during the exclusion and then inclusion of persons of diverse sexual orientation and gender identity and expression (SOGIE) in the Philippines, both in the legal front as well as in the underground movement. I had seen how people, including myself, changed or tried to change because of our convictions. During the initial part of my membership to KM, I tried remolding myself to be a ‘heterosexual’ cadre of the revolutionary Maoist movement. I was dying inside then. I sacrificed my personal life for the movement. I was really happy when I learned that finally, the CPP agreed to accept persons of diverse SOGIE within the movement after some comrades were able to present their case why people like me, *bakla* are not a liabilities to the movement, and as an oppressed and exploited sector, we have the capacity to be mobilized and organized for the national democratic revolution. Sometime in 2012, I resigned from the Maoist movement due to some disagreement with some leaders with the direction of the group, but I never lost my awe and respect for Maoism in the Philippines, for they gave *bakla* like me a platform to fight for equality.

It was during Daniel’s death anniversary, after chatting with some mutual friends, that I figured I needed to write a thesis topic proposal. I was fascinated by the tension and contradictions of Daniel’s life, a petty-bourgeois leaving his privileged life to join an uncertain and presumably homophobic life in the mountains as a guerilla. However, I was initially filled with apprehension; research topics like this in the Philippines would normally catch the eye of the state. Eventually, I rose up to the challenge and went on to embark on doing this research.

The first question I asked myself in choosing this topic is not “how” but “why.” It took me a couple of days to come out with a justifiable answer. I know many would question the validity of a movement that is considered passé in many parts of the world. And then it dawned on me that mine and Daniel’s experience can contribute to the literature in understanding the connection between sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression, nationalism,

militarism, masculinity, and Maoism. I really wanted to explore and understand why a person of diverse SOGIE would join a revolutionary movement: Is it because of love of nation? Is it to find a place to contribute and belong?

1.6. Methods of Data Collection & Methodology

To reach the research objectives, a qualitative approach was applied in conducting open-ended interviews with fifteen individuals during April 2015 (7-9 April 2015 in the Philippines and 23-27 April 2015 in The Netherlands). Interviews were done with nine former NPAs who identified as homosexuals (4 *bakla*,¹ 1 *bayot*,¹⁰ 2 *tomboys*, 2 *lesbians* & one who identifies as *tomboy's ex-girlfriend*), one current *bakla* NPA soldier,¹¹ and five informants who were part of the formulation of the CPP's policy on sexual relations who are all based in Utrecht, The Netherlands as political refugees. For security reasons, as the armed conflict between the Maoists through its army the NPA and the Philippine Government is ongoing, I decided to interview only those who are no longer active in military service in the NPA and are now engaged in legal activities, though some of them have retained their underground connections. Real and revolutionary names have been withheld for their protection.¹²

The interviewees came from different socio-economic backgrounds. The majority (14 out of 15) started as university student activists who were later on recruited in the underground movement and then joined the NPA. One was a young peasant in origin. Their experience with the NPA varies from a few weeks to a few years. Each interview was usually an hour or more without any form of recording in the Philippines¹³ and video recorded in The Netherlands.

¹⁰ *Bayot* is the Cebuano (a linguistic group from the Visayas in Central Philippines) term for *bakla*.

¹¹ I asked a former comrade/friend who helped me facilitate the interviews, to help me again to interview a *bakla* or *tomboy* who is active in the guerilla zone, since he will be joining them for at least two weeks. Since he was present during my interviews, I asked him to ask them the same questions I had with the others.

¹² See Appendix 7 for list of interviewees and profile summary

¹³ My interviewees refused to be photographed or recorded (in paper or voice), since they were afraid that if I was followed (by military agents) then this would implicate them to the insurgency.

Documentary research was also applied in looking at CPP documents related to this research such as: ‘On the Proletarian Relationship of the Sexes’ (1998) which talk about the formation of a revolutionary family including those by persons of diverse SOGIE; ‘Three Points of Discipline and Eight Points of Attention of the New People’s Army’ (1999) which confers the strict discipline a member of people’s army would know by heart; ‘The Party’s Stand on the Homosexual Question’ (2002) which presents the revolutionary potentials of LGBT people; ‘Gays and Lesbians in the Revolutionary Movement’ (2014) which discusses why person’s of diverse SOGIE should contribute to the revolution, and A Call to Revolution: The “Jennifer Laude” Case¹⁴ (2014) which calls on all persons of diverse SOGIE to take up arms in solidarity to find justice for the brutal murder of transwoman Jennifer Laude in the hands of a US serviceman.

1.7. SOGIE versus LGBT

In this thesis terms such as lesbian, gay, bisexual and/or transgender (LGBT) are not used unless provided in the official documents of the CPP or claimed by the respondents, since one should understand that on nearly every continent, countries have their own thriving cultures that have recognized, and in some cases revered, and integrated more than two genders. Terms such as lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) are strictly new constructs that assume the binaries: “that there are only two sexes (male/female), two sexualities (gay/straight), and only two genders (man/woman)” (A Map of Gender-Diverse Cultures, 2011).

Arguably, the acronym LGBT as some scholars from the global south posits is a colonial construct. Historian Joseph Massad (2002) for example called this the “Gay International,” which he described as “‘modernization’ projects, as well as the proliferation and hegemony of Western cultural products” (Massad, 2002: 371). Filipino gender expert J. Neil Garcia expanded on this and argued that the “colonized subject uncritically accepts the labels given [to them] by

¹⁴ There were two statements regarding the Jennifer Laude case. See Appendix 6 for the two documents.

colonialism” (Garcia, 2014: 99). Western hegemony as seen in the ‘gay international’ in the sexological discourse, “is in fact ‘heterosexualizing’ a world that is being forced to be fixed by a Western binary” (Massad, 2002: 383). However, appropriation, localization and transformation of the acronym LGBT to colonial and post colonial context, creates dis-identification. According to Garcia:

[D]is-identification implies that the subject unapologetically accepts and yet critically transforms, hybridizes and/or appropriates concept provided by colonialism. This process only affirms the fact that meaning doesn’t reside in ideas or in language per se, but is always a social event – a ‘situated accomplishment’ – and as such is eminently open to resignification and recontextualization (Garcia, 2014: 100).

The Philippines is one of the distinct societies around the planet that have their own long-established tradition for the ‘third gender’ an occurrence that there are some individuals who fall outside of the male and female binary, which in most Western societies has no direct correlation, nor for the many other communities without strict either/or conceptions of sex, sexuality, and gender. It is therefore “imperative to look into the local challenges to the western construct of being LGBT.” According to Filipino-American anthropologist Martin Manalansan: Indeed, while “bakla’ (effeminate male – homosexual) conflates the categories of effeminacy, transvestism, and homosexuality and can mean one or all of these in different contexts, the main focus of the term is that of effeminate mannerism, feminine physical characteristics...and gender crossing” (Manalansan, 1995: 196).

In the Tagalog-based Filipino language, referring to both males and females as ‘siya’ illustrates that “pronouns and indexicals are not gender marked; however, adjectives are usually categorized to male, female and non-gendered” (Manalansan 1995: 201). Massad argued that the Arabs and Muslims who have sex with other men, like the Filipino *bakla* have not subscribed historically to the LGBT categories (Massad, 2002: 383), though in some parts of the world, specifically in Brazil, the acronym LGBT was appropriated to accommodate indigenous

identities¹⁵ (see Kulick and Klein, 2009). I will use the phrase ‘people of diverse sexual orientation and gender identities and expression’ in this thesis as recommended by the Yogyakarta Principles (2007) to recognize other indigenous identities relating to sexual orientation, gender identity, and gender expression. The usage of ‘People of Diverse SOGIE’ was introduced in the Yogyakarta Principles as:

[A] way of including all individuals and groups to whom the provisions of international human rights law in relation to sexual orientation and gender identity apply... Where appropriate, indigenous identities such as hijras, metis, and kothi are referenced, as well as terms such as travesti and third gender (Quinn, 2010: 11).

This came about during a meeting at Gadjah Mada University Yogyakarta, Indonesia, in November 2006, by at least twenty-nine human rights experts to discuss “existing state and international human rights law in relation to issues of sexual orientation and gender identity” (Quinn: 2010: 7) after a few of the panel members criticize the usage of LGBT as a Western construct. Here the Yogyakarta Principles defined ‘sexual orientation’ as:

The capacity for profound emotional, affectional and sexual attraction to, and intimate and sexual relations with, individuals of a different gender or the same gender or more than one gender (2007: 6).

and ‘gender identity’) as:

The deeply felt internal and individual experience of gender, which may or may not correspond with the sex assigned at birth, including the personal sense of the body (which may involve, if freely chosen, modification of bodily appearance or function by medical, surgical or other means) and other expressions of gender, including dress, speech and mannerisms (Yogyakarta Principles 2007: 6).

The term ‘gender expression’ was only added by the American Psychological Association in 2008, here they defined it as “the way a person communicates gender identity to others through behavior, clothing, hairstyles, voice, or body characteristics” (American Psychological Association, 2011: 1).

To conclude, there are positive (see Manalansan, 1995; Garcia, 2014) and negative (see Massad, 2002) reasons to use the terms lesbians, gay, bisexuals, and transgenders (LGBTs) to

¹⁵ In Brazil LGBT means ‘Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and *Travesti*’

identify people who transgress heterosexual sexual norms. I strongly believe that the term LGBT as something provisional, as “identities involve[ing] a cultural and politico-economic milieu” (Manalansan 1995: 201) particularly in Western history whose conditions for emergence do not automatically apply to the Filipino *bakla* and *tomboy*. And to avoid confusion in the usage of LGBT, since the Filipinos have appropriated different meanings to them, I am using the local identities *bakla* and *tomboy*, to point out their ‘heterosexualized’ construction in Philippine society, or the more general expression persons of diverse SOGIE in this thesis.

In the next chapters, first, I will discuss the Philippine historical context as well as the history of communism in the Philippines. Secondly, I will review policy papers and statements of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) in relation to persons of diverse SOGIE, and finally I will analyze the experiences of person’s of diverse SOGIE in the Maoist movement in the Philippines.

Chapter 2: Historical Landscape

This chapter lays out a description and the context of this thesis. It is an attempt to present a broad sketch with a focus on resistance against colonial and imperial rule in the country by the inhabitants of the Philippines as well as the missing and neglected histories of persons of diverse SOGIE.

The first section starts with a brief description of the Philippines and an account of colonial conquest and rule by Spain and later the United States. The second section discusses the founding of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) in 1930 by Crisanto Evangelista, the invasion of Japan, and the reestablishment of the CPP in 1968 following the Maoist line. The chapter ends with the current situation of communism as well as the people's war that is ongoing in the Philippines.

2.1. Stories of Conquests and Resistance

The Philippines is an archipelago that consists of more than 7,100 islands. It's a country rich with natural resources with fertile agricultural lands, vast forest and mineral resources (Guerrero, 1970:2). Because of its beauty the Philippines was coined Pearl of the Orient by Spanish Jesuit missionary Fr. Juan J. Delgado in 1751. (Tope: 2002: 7).

Prior to the archipelago being colonized, it was first visited by Ferdinand Magellan on 16 March 1521, which started the Catholicization of some of its local inhabitants, those who embraced Catholicism pledged their allegiance to the King of Spain. On 27 April 1521, Magellan was killed by the local chief of Mactan, Lapu-Lapu a Muslim who refused to be converted to Christianity (Guerrero, 1970: 5; Tan, 2008). Spanish colonization began in earnest with the arrival of Miguel López de Legazpi on 13 February 1565, who christened the archipelago as *Las Islas Filipinas* after King Phillip II of Spain. Much of the archipelago came under Spanish rule due to

what is known to most Filipinos as divide and rule policy of the colonizers as the sword and Christian cross were employed to subjugate the populace. (Tan, 2008)

The Spanish colonial government in the Philippines created a unified political structure through the *encomienda*¹⁶ and *hacienda* (or plantation) systems (Anderson, 1976) that would later be the foundation of the municipalities and provinces. A number of resistance arose across the archipelago against the Spanish colonizers from the 16th century until the 31 August 1896 Philippine Revolution (Tan, 2008).

Notable to the pockets of resistance, were the *Babaylan*¹⁷ revolts. According to J. Neil Garcia, “women at these times had an almost complete monopoly over the prestigious office of the *Babaylan* [and] did not prevent men from becoming *Babaylan*, too. But it did necessitate their ‘transformation’ into women by taking on the dress and demeanor of female *Babaylan*, and, presumably, assuming their sexuality as well” (Garcia, 2008: 163). The *Babaylan* in Philippine pre-history were revered. With the capitulation of the local *datus* or chieftain to the Spanish colonial government, the *Babaylan* took over the leadership of their communities and became “the peasantry’s last recourse for their grievances” (Garcia, 2008: 162). The Spanish colonizers, recognized the power of the *Babaylans* and called them *Hechichera* or a witch and a *Diablesa* or a she-devil (Hardwick, 2010: 55). One of the most prominent *Babaylan* revolt is the ‘Tamblot Uprising’ in 1621- 1622 (Pugay, 2006) in the Visayan island of Bohol. Tamblot was a gender-crossing male *Babaylan* who waged a religious war against the imposition of Catholicism in their island.

Spanish rule ended with Spain’s defeat in the Spanish-American war. Through the ‘Treaty of Paris’ in 10 December 1898, Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States at the price of

¹⁶ Grant by the Spanish Crown to a colony conferring the right to demand tribute and forced labour from the native inhabitants of an area (Anderson, 1976)

¹⁷ “The *Babaylan* in Filipino indigenous tradition is a person who is gifted to heal the spirit and the body; a woman who serves the community through her role as a folk therapist, wisdom-keeper and philosopher; a woman who provides stability to the community’s social structure; a woman who can access the spirit realm and other states of consciousness and traffic easily in and out of these worlds; a woman who has vast knowledge of healing therapies” (Leny Strobel in Babaylan, 2014)

The narratives about the *Babaylan* were not generally integrated in Philippine history, their stories may be found in archives across the country.

\$20 million together with Cuba, Puerto Rico and Guam. As the archipelago became a US colony President McKinley issued the “Proclamation of Benevolent Assimilation” a sugarcoated war of aggression against the Filipino people (Guerrero: 1970: 11). American Rule was contested, even as the Filipino revolutionaries against Spain of 1896 formally proclaimed the 1st Philippine Republic on 12 June 1898 (Guerrero: 1970: 11).

American historian Alfred McCoy discovered a recorded revolt (1887-1890) about another gender-crossing *Babaylan* known as Dios Buhawi¹⁸ before the end of the Spanish Colonial government (Garcia, 2008: 184). Dios Buhawi led the peasantry of Negros against the Spanish colonial rule, until his death at the hands of the *Guardia Civil*. Dios Buhawi’s brother-in-law Valentin Tubigan continued the revolt even as the Philippine-American war ensued (see Aguilar, 1998). Significantly, “McCoy concludes that the first peasant nationalist ideologies were propagated by *Babaylan* with the use of syncretic Christian animist lore as they agitated to reform and/or overthrow the entire colonial social system” (Garcia, 2008: 163).

The Philippine-American war happened with extensive death and damages. After the capture of President Emilio Aguinaldo of the 1st Republic on 23 March 1901 by the American forces the Republic was defeated. The US continued its annexation of the islands pursuant to the Treaty of Paris. The Philippines was under US rule until 4 July 1946, until under the Treaty of Manila formal independence was granted to the country (Guerrero, 1970: 42-44; Tan: 2008).

2.2. The Hills are Alive with the Sound of Communism

Communism in the Philippines is closely associated with anti-colonial struggles and peasant rebellion. The first Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) following a Marxist-Leninist line was established on the 7th of November 1930 by Crisanto Evangelista when the Philippines were under US colonial rule. The CPP, before its 2nd anniversary, was banned by the Supreme Court (26 October 1932) and most of its leaders were arrested. However, the CPP was legalized again in

¹⁸Dios Buhawi's birth name was Ponciano Elope. Buhawi is the Visayan term for watersprout.

1937 due to the threat of fascism in Europe and militarism in Japan (Sison & Werning, 1989: 43). It was also this year that women in the Philippines were given the right to suffrage after thirty years of vigorous campaign for a plebiscite on the issue. The first feminist organization Asociacion Feminista Filipina (Association of Filipina Feminist) was formally established in 1905 while its affiliate from the Negros Islands Asociacion Feminista Ilonga (Association of Ilonga Feminists) under the leadership of Pura Villanueva Kalaw called for the right to vote in the colony (Taguiwalo, 2015). After the historic plebiscite, women were afforded the right to vote together with men for local leaders as well as representatives in the National Assembly (a legislative body that would prepare the Philippines for independence) and a president and vice-president for the executive branch of the Commonwealth Government.

During the Second World War and after merging with the Socialist Party of the Philippines (SPP), the CPP formed the *Hukbong Bayan Laban sa Hapon* (People's Army Against Japan) and started a guerilla warfare against the invaders. The CPP at this time like its counterpart in Vietnam according to Filipina historian Vina Lanzona (2008: 3) were among the first major political and military organizations that actively recruited women to join in the armed struggle. In the succeeding years after the war, the CPP would move to and fro from active participation in government to taking arms against the state, forming the *Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan* (People's Liberation Army). After strategic military losses, the party was criticized by some of its younger members led by a university English professor Jose Maria Sison (Sison & Werning, 1989: 43).

On the 26 December 1968, the young Sison and a handful of cadres left the party and reestablished a new communist party following Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the main ideological line. This came about after Sison gave a summing-up of the history and blunders of the CPP which would include: 1) that the party failed to develop an extensive peasant mass following, 2) capitulation of some leaders with the Japanese invaders, 3) lack of clear analysis against US imperialism after liberation, 4) the surrender of arms in favor of parliamentary legal

struggle, and 5) nepotism inside the party (Saulo: 1990: 123-126). The criticisms were mostly rejected by the leadership (Liwanag, 1988).

The formation of this new communist party was unknown to the members of the leadership of the CPP. The founding congress was formed in a small camp in the province of Tarlac and Sison was elected chairman of the new party. This reestablishment of the party became widely known only to members and allies as the ‘First Rectification Movement’ after the release of the paper *Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party*. A few months after, on 29th of March 1969 the New People’s Army was formed with a strategic line of “encircling the cities from the countryside over a protracted period of time” integrating armed struggle, land reform and mass base building (Liwanag, 1988). Of the two rival CPPs, only the new and reestablished CPP (Maoists) have a military wing, while the former decided to adopt a policy of legal and parliamentary struggle. To compliment the NPA, the CPP in an “effort to conceal subversive political activity from some combination of state authorities, social adversaries, and (even) political allies” (Boudreau, 2008: 5) organized the united front, National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) in April 1973. The NDFP is an alliance of different underground organizations representing the different sectors of Philippine society.

To further differentiate themselves from each other, the older CPP uses its Filipino acronym PKP¹⁹ or the acronym CPP (1930)²⁰ to distinguish itself from the reestablished party, which initially used CPP-MLKMZ²¹ then CPP-NPA and much later on just CPP.

The reestablished CPP sees the Philippines as semi-feudal and semi-colonial with “US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism²²” as the root of Philippine society’s ills (Guerrero 1970: 13). The semi-colonial characteristics of Philippine society were seen in the

¹⁹ PKP or *Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas*

²⁰ Date of the founding was added to CPP to distinguish itself from the more radical CPP-MLKMZ or CPP-NPA

²¹ MLKMZ would mean *Marxismo, Leninismo at Kaisipang Mao Zedong* (Marxism, Leninism and Mao Zedong’s Thoughts)

²² Bureaucrat Capitalism is understood in the CPP as the root of all corruption in the government and the phrase ‘bureocrat capitalism’ is used in all party documents.

continuous strangulation and domination of the US in the local economy, politics and culture in spite of the gaining official independence from the US in 4 July 1946 (Guerrero 1970: 13). Therefore, Philippine independence is seen as incomplete by the CPP and its allies. The CPP also asserted that ‘US Imperialism’ retained the old feudal mode of production that exploited the vast majority of Filipino peasants to keep them in poverty and to ensure cheap labor and raw materials, thus making the society semi-feudal (Guerrero 1970: 13). The CPP is waging a class war against big business owners and landlords as well as bureaucrat capitalists in government that collaborated with what they term as ‘US Imperialism.’

Both the CPP and the NPA grew in numbers as there was a flourishing mass discontent in the different cities in the country from 1970-1972, that was called locally the ‘First Quarter Storm (FQS),’ due to high tuition in schools and universities, unemployment and low wages. In 1972, President Ferdinand Marcos declared the entire state of the Philippines under Martial law, which outlawed urban-based organizations under the broad alliance ‘Movement for Democratic Philippines.’ Members of these organizations were absorbed by the revolutionary movement in the country side and fought against Marcos’ dictatorship. Even with the arrest of Jose Maria Sison in 1977, the Chairman of the CPP-NPA, the armed revolution continued and even grew in strength (Liwanang, 1988).

Many of the veterans of the FQS were persons of diverse SOGIE. Most prominent of these were film and theater directors Lino Brocka, Ishmael Bernal and Behn Cervantes. They were part of the core that created the underground organization ARMAS²³ and later on became active members of the Cultural Bureau of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) “who was tasked to consolidate the cultural groups of the national democratic movement under one program” (Sison, 2013). According to Jose Maria Sison (2013), “[these] comrades engaged in revolutionary studies and mass work... [they used their] expertise to create revolutionary art.”

²³ ARMAS or Artista at Manunulat ng Sambayanan (Artists and Writers for the People) is a member organization of the NDFP that represents artists and writers).

In the 1980s, the revolutionary movement rapidly expanded due to the injustices inflicted by Martial Law to ordinary citizens, such as the suspension of *habeas corpus* and the imposition of a national curfew. Guerilla fronts were established in almost all regions of the Philippines. The assassination of former senator Benigno ‘Ninoy’ Aquino Jr. by suspected government soldiers in 21 August 1983 fuelled more social unrest that strengthened the revolutionary movement. However, even with the growth of the movement, the sphere of influence of the party declined due to an imbalance of the deployment of forces, the contested purges that murdered suspected infiltrators within the movement, the regularization of the NPA as an army, and urban insurrectionism that went against the principle of protracted people’s war (Liwanag, 1988).

Since Aquino’s death in 1983 until 1986, civil resistance against the Marcos regime has intensified. Aquino’s widow Corazon Cojuangco Aquino, with the support of some prominent Maoists challenged the Marcos regime for a snap election. Electoral fraud were witnessed in many areas prompting the people to act up and protest, that culminated with the ouster of Marcos in what is popularly known in the Philippines as EDSA²⁴ People’s Power Revolution (Tan, 2008). Furthermore, many communist guerillas were released by the new Aquino government as a sign of good faith to start of the peace talks that included the founding chairman of the CPP, Jose Maria Sison (Liwanag, 1988).

In 1992, six years after ousting Marcos and two years after the fall of the Soviet Union, the whole Maoist movement underwent a ‘Second Great Rectification Movement’ to address ideological, political and organizational errors. This eventually led to the splitting of the party, army and united front into the ‘reaffirmists’ and ‘rejectionists.’ The former now constitutes the party and the whole Maoist movement, since the reaffirmists were able to consolidate its ranks and still considered by the Philippine Government as the most potent threat (Dizon, 2014). While the rejectionist established political parties that would include but not limited to: Revolutionary Workers Party – Mindanao (RWP-M) and its armed wing the Revolutionary

²⁴ EDSA is the abbreviation name for the longest street in Manila - Epifanio de los Santos Avenue

People's Army (RPA); Marxist-Leninist Party of the Philippines (MLPP-RHB) and its armed wing the Revolutionary People's Army; Partido ng Mangagawang Pilipino (Filipino Workers Party) and its armed wing The Armed Partisans of Labor (APP); Revolutionary Workers Party – Philippines and its armed wing The Revolutionary Proletarian Army – Alex Boncayo Brigade (RPA-ABB); and the Cordillera People's Liberation Army (CPLA) (Philippines-CPP/NPA, 2014).

Chapter 3: Revolutionary Directives

This chapter presents and discusses pertinent documents that came out from the Pambansa Demokratikong Paaralan (The National Democratic School of the Philippines) or PADEPA²⁵ in the recognition of people of diverse SOGIE. The CPP set up PADEPA to provide a vigorous and continuous ideological and political education of its mass activists who are members and/or being recruited into or aspiring to be members of the party, the people's army and the revolutionary united front. I will discuss six CPP documents, selected because they set out how and why the Philippine Maoist movement treats person's of diverse SOGIE in its ranks as it does.

3.1. From Marx to Mao

According to American socialist Sharon Smith (1997), when Marx wrote *The Communist Manifesto* in 1848, the idea of “women’s liberation were already part of the revolutionary socialist theory.” Marx’s and Engels’ theory on women’s oppression culminated with the publication of Engels’ *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*²⁶ in 1884. Engels wrote *The Origin* after Marx’s death. Furthermore, Engels used “Marx’s detailed notes along with his own” (Smith, 1997), though it’s unclear how much Marx endorsed Engels’ ideas expressed in this book. In *The Origins* Engels developed a historical analysis and located the reason of women’s oppression which is within the framework of class societies and provided a strategy for ending that oppression (Smith, 1997).

Smith further explained that Engels based his theory on the pioneering work of anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan’s book *Ancient History*. According to Smith ‘Ancient History’

²⁵ PADEPA is structured according to the six major categories: 1) Studies on Philippines Society and Revolution; 2) Studies on the Major Policies and Programs of the Revolutionary Movement; 3) Studies on Current Political Events; 4) Studies on Marxism, Leninism and Maoism; 5) Studies on the Variety of Revisionist and Counter-Revolutionary Ideas and the Party’s Clarification on Them; and 6) On the Propagation of Revolutionary Culture. (National Committee on Education, n.d.)

²⁶ ‘The Origin’ would be used instead of ‘The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State’

was one “the first materialist attempt to understand the evolution of human social organization” (Smith, 1997). Morgan based his analysis on his contact with the Iroquois Native Americans of upstate New York. He witnessed how they followed a kinship system that is different from the ‘Western’ idea of a nuclear family. Morgan argued that Native Americans thousands of miles away from the Iroquois have a similar system where there is a relative equality between women and men. His anthropological experience with the Iroquois provided some evidence to support his basic evolutionary framework (Smith, 1997).

Smith argued that Marxist theory approaches oppression including that of women from the “materialist standpoint” and it is not “based on speculation, but upon piecing together what we actually know about the evolution of human society” (Smith, 1997). Historical and archeological accounts have proven (in some ways) that women and gays have not suffered oppression. Also these narratives generally showed that many cultures have treated men and women regardless of sexual orientation as equal. In the introduction of *The Origin*, Engels explains materialism as:

According to the materialist conception, the determining factor in history is, in the final instance, the production and reproduction of immediate life. This, again, is of a twofold character: on the one side, the production of the means of existence, of food, clothing and shelter and the tools necessary for that production; on the other side, the production of human beings themselves, the propagation of the species. (Engels, 1884)

Understanding Marxist theory as both materialist and dialectical, this is based on the belief that people are products of the natural world that is constantly acting through opposing forces (Smith, 1997).

The history of the Philippine communist struggle is a long one. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Maoists since the 1960s, adheres to the belief of a protracted people’s war, where the guerilla forces would surround the cities from the country side. While that was happening the mass movement in cities would be strengthened to prepare the people for a takeover by the insurgents of political power. The cities are also a notable place to recruit revolutionaries who are willing to join the people’s war in the countryside. The Maoist legacy in

the Philippines is the centering of the CPP and its armed wing the New People's Army (NPA) in the countryside to build organs of political power (Guerrero, 1970: 94-95).

According to Professor Jose Maria Sison the founder of the reestablished CPP in an interview last April 27, 2015 it was in the 1960s that Maoism became a “material force” in the Philippines. Where Maoism is the belief that a revolution in a semi-feudal and semi-colonial state “should gestate among the rural peasantry” as opposed to orthodox Marxism and Leninism where “urban workers should form the revolutionary vanguard” (Koerner, 2004). Later on, Maoist terms such as “semi-feudalism, semi-colonialism, mass line, serve the people and protracted people's war,” became popular in the universities as well as in urban and rural poor communities, added Sison. These categories gained more prominence during the anti-Marcos struggle of the 1970s to the 1980s.

The colossal Maoist contribution to the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggles is undeniable according to the spokesperson of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) Fidel Agcaoili in an interview last April 23, 2015 in the NDFP office in Utrecht, The Netherlands. He added that Mao Zedong led a fourth of humanity and has “stood up” to end feudal oppression and imperialist plunder with the victory of China's liberation army in 1949. He continued by saying: That is why Filipino activists and party cadres should systematically study Mao and Maoism.

In another interview in the Utrecht office of the NDFP last April 23, 2015, Ka Martin a former seminarian turned NPA rebel leader in Southern Tagalog now living as an exile in The Netherlands, said the CPP recognized that the party may also be “hounded by irrational beliefs that may be seen in general Philippine society.” That is why the leadership of the party called on its members and allies to wage a ‘Cultural Revolution,’ following Mao's Cultural Revolution within its sphere of influence to counter “unscientific” concepts and attitudes towards LGBTs. He further explained that the CPP has the ability to be introspective of its limitations with

regards to the inclusion of people of diverse sexual orientation gender identities and expressions or SOGIE.

Historically, the treatment of people who transgress heterosexual sexual norms differs from one Marxist movement to another. Marxism in general looks at human beings as “product of history,” but at the same time tends to view “gender and sexuality as biological givens and thus essentially ahistorical” (Hekma et al. 1995: 7). This idea has its roots from the Age of Enlightenment that looks at scientific reasoning as superior over religious beliefs. Sociologist Chrys Ingraham stated that appealing to the biological, like in the case of persons of diverse SOGIE, means having more “significant legitimating power” (Ingraham 2006: 310). In contrast, one can also use biology to argue that homosexuality is a pathological condition. Some Marxist thinkers believe that homosexuality is a “social form of ‘bourgeois decadence’ fundamentally foreign to ‘really existing socialism’” (Hekma et al. 1995: 24).

Many Marxist movements have treated people who transgressed ‘heterosexual’ sexual norms²⁷ with unwillingness at best and hostile treatment at worst. One example is the former Soviet Union after Stalin’s implementation of the Anti-Sodomy Statute in 1933, which invalidates Lenin’s decriminalization of homosexuality and made the socialist state “puritanical and homophobic” (Hekma et al. 1995: 22-23). Cuba’s “moral purges” in the 1960s are another good example of the building of a socialist state that persecuted homosexuals (Hekma et al. 1995: 4-5). Noting the historical and cultural relationship of Marxist movements with homosexuality, the recognition and active recruitment of persons of diverse SOGIE by the Philippine Maoist movement is something quite notable.

²⁷ Mostly persons of diverse SOGIE

3.2.1. On the Proletarian Relationship of the Sexes (1998)

*Hinggil sa Pag-aasawa: Mga Gabay at Tuntunin sa Pag-aasawa sa Loob ng Partido*²⁸

In March 1998 the CPP's Central Committee, during its 10th plenum, amended its original policy paper *On the Relation of Sexes* (ORS) to what is now known as *On the Proletarian Relationship of the Sexes* (OPRS). This policy paper supplied guidelines for how the party treats interpersonal and sexual relations of its members. It is divided into five sections: courtship, marriage, divorce, disciplinary action, and the recognition of 'homosexual relations.'²⁹

This section will focus on the parts of the OPRS dealing with courtship, marriage, divorce and 'Amendment E' as these are the main parts that provide insights to the party's understanding of romantic relationships and family, and how persons of diverse SOGIE are positioned in these constructions.

The OPRS opening statement is that in marriage, the party and the revolutionary interest of the people surpassed all other interests. Nothing much has changed from the ORS to the OPRS specifically on the adoption of the concepts of 'class love' which is political as the primary basis for a relationship and 'sex love' which is considered in the movement as shallow is the secondary reason in building a relationship. Both however that constitute what the movement calls 'proletarian love.' Marriage based on proletarian love for the CPP is the manifestation of what Engels predicted to be monogamy in the "individual sex love" of the proletariat (Engels, 1884). The CPP through the PADEPA emphasizes the necessity for all candidate and full party members to study the OPRS, since this policy paper will ensure that firstly, the interest of the revolution is upheld; secondly, the rights of individual members to found and be in a relationship are protected; and thirdly, to ensure healthy proletarian relationship is upheld by the couple regardless of their sexual orientation. The CPP believes with the study of the OPRS would guide

²⁸ This document is under PADEPA's section 2) Studies on the Major Policies and Programs of the Revolutionary Movement

²⁹ This part was added from the original ORS that produces the OPRS which would be discussed through the section as 'Amendment E'

the couples against bourgeois, feudal and Catholic views on love and marriage that may still influence any party member.

When one is either a candidate or full member of the CPP, the collective or the unit plays a huge role – in relation to personal, political and organizational decisions. Even though members are not discouraged to show independence and initiative, they are expected to abide by the party's principle of 'democratic centralism' or "centralism based on democracy and democracy guided by centralism" (Sison, 2008). The importance of the 'unit' is immeasurable in the life of a party member, specifically in courtship, marriage and even in the disillusionment of these partnerships. The OPRS states that if a party member intends to pursue someone, his/her 'unit' must be informed first:

Sec. A. 2. To court, a candidate or full member must get the permission of his/her collective or unit. If the person of interest is from another collective or unit, the person's unit head should ask the other unit and ask their permission for courtship, as long as the person of interest is willing (OPRS, 1998).

The unit is the responsible party organ in examining whether 'sex love' has evolved into 'class love' as a basis for any partnership or breaking of such partnership before the permission is granted. The document also allows party members to woo or accept courtship from someone who is not a party member as long as the other party is willing to become a candidate member within six months; is not a counter-revolutionary; and will not stop the party member from fulfilling his/her duties to the revolution.

The OPRS strongly bans any member of the party to court or accept courtship from more than one person at any given time. Another notable limitation in the guidelines is the restriction of NPA guerillas from entering a relationship in the first year of service. It also sets a minimum of one year engagement before a couple is allowed to get married.³⁰

The last part of the OPRS, 'Amendment E' is a very short addendum to the original ORS, with the title 'On Same-Sex Relations.' Here the party recognizes that each member of the

³⁰ See OPRS Section A: 5 & 6

party has the right to ‘choose’ their gender and that the whole OPRS is applicable to persons of diverse SOGIE.

Looking deeper into the OPRS would bring forward binary categories: the ‘proletariat’ and ‘bourgeois.’ The OPRS as a guideline asserts to represent the proletariats’ viewpoint and portrays the bourgeois as the other. NDFP peace consultant Fidel Agcaoili explains in the April 23, 2015 interview that a proletarian love combines freedom and discipline while bourgeois love is freedom to do what one wish that may lead to violation of the rights of their partners.

Also familiar binary category that is glaring in the guidelines is that party members, regardless of their status are subdivided into ‘men’ and ‘women.’ The CPP, like many in Philippine society still perceives a *bakla* as a ‘woman’³¹ and a *tomboy* as ‘man’ (see Tan, 2001). While forming relationships is a personal process, the CPP sees it is a collective experience. Though not explicitly expressed it may be argued that a third binary category is also present: ‘heterosexuality’ and ‘homosexuality,’ even though the party treats the *bakla* and *tomboys* as “heterosexualized homosexuals” (see Legasto, 2008) this construction needs to be scrutinized. The party’s emphasis on class love, as gleaned from the OPRS, would lead to the creation of a ‘revolutionary family.’³² Also in the part when the OPRS speaks against premarital sex, the reason mentioned is that this is done to protect ‘women’ from being exploited, thus reproducing ‘heterosexual’ notion of exploitation.

Moreover, the CPP’s concept of a revolutionary family falls into the ‘marriage for family’ discourse, which expects the married couple to produce future revolutionaries.³³ As the party is still striving to build organs of political power to counter and eventually replace the present structures found in Philippine society. The party still echoes the larger Philippine society’s emphasis on marriage and family. While there is a possibility for people of diverse SOGIE to form a revolutionary family, it is still unclear how they can participate in the party’s construction

³¹ In my involvement with the ‘NDFP Organizing Committee for Gay Men,’ we were under the direct supervision of the women’s bureau of the CPP.

³² See OPRS Section A: 10

³³ See OPRS Section B

of a family. It is also worth noting that the CPP was not able to notice or correct itself with the highly gendered language of the OPRS in relation to people of diverse SOGIE.

3.2.2. Three Points of Discipline and Eight Points of Attention of the New People's Army (1999)

*Ang Tatlong Pangunahing Alituntunin at Walong Puntong Dapat Tandaan sa Disiplina ng Bagong Hukbong Bayan*³⁴

The New People's Army (NPA) as the revolutionary army of the CPP adheres to strict military discipline as codified in the *Three Points of Discipline and Eight Points of Attention*, which is popularly known amongst the guerillas as *tres-otso* or the three-eight. The *tres-otso* is part of a bigger document the *Basic Rules of the New People's Army* (National Committee on Education, 2005). The code *tres-otso* is memorized and known by heart by all members of the NPA as well as those who aim to join the army based on their program of integration.³⁵

According to the *tres-otso*, the three main points of discipline are: 1.) to obey orders in all your actions; 2.) to not take even a single needle or piece of thread from the masses; and 3.) to turn in everything captured (Saulo, 1990: 229-230). These prescriptions of discipline apply to all members of the NPA regardless of sexual orientation or gender identity. They solidify the collective life of an NPA guerilla as part of a unit in its political and propaganda work in disseminating the revolution to the masses of people, especially in the country side where the people's army operates.

The three points of discipline are complimented by eight points of attention: 1.) to speak politely; 2.) to pay fairly for what you buy; 3.) to return everything you borrow; 4.) to pay for anything you damage; 5.) to not hit or swear at people; 6.) to not damage crops; 7.) to not take liberties with women; and 8.) to not ill-treat captives (Saulo, 1990: 229-230). The eight point of attention, except for point seven, are seemingly gender-neutral and applicable to all members of the people's army. Like the OPRS, the seven of the eight points of attention emphasizes the

³⁴ This document is under PADEPA's section 2) Studies on the Major Policies and Programs of the Revolutionary Movement

³⁵ The program of integration may last from a minimum of one week to a couple of months.

prevention of exploitation of women revealing a very heterosexual framework, hence the assumption that to be a warrior, one has to be a man. Though there is nothing wrong with that emphasis, these papers tend to see women as victims and men as perpetrators in absolute categories. In actual cases, *tomboys* are mostly treated as men, while the feminine lesbians are treated as women, while the treatment of the *bakla* does not necessarily correspond to be treated as possible ‘women victims.’

3.2.3. The Party’s Stand on the Homosexual Question (2002) *Ang Linya ng Partido sa Usaping Homosekswal*³⁶

To compliment the party’s stance in codifying the acceptance of same-sex relationships within the movement the party in 2002 came out with the document *The Party’s Stand on the Homosexual Question*, a two page briefer of the CPP that denounces all forms of discrimination, oppression and exploitation, including homophobia. The CPP defines homophobia (based on the document) as the “irrational or baseless fear/disgust for homosexuals and all things related to homosexuality.”³⁷ The CPP argues in this document that the key to eliminating homophobia is in the victory of the people’s war that would initially eliminate all homophobic laws. Like the struggle for women’s rights, the struggle for the rights of people of diverse SOGIE is subsumed under the overall struggle and objectives of the revolutionary movement, which is supposed to ultimately benefit all marginalized sectors. In other words, bourgeois society with its unscientific culture must be destroyed through the revolution, and only then can homophobia be eliminated.

It is then in the best interest of the party to arouse, mobilize and organize the largest number of people who transgress heterosexual sexual norms to join in the revolutionary movement against the three ills of Philippine society: imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. In waging the people’s war and a Cultural Revolution, the CPP is advancing the campaign for its members and allies in remolding their mindset by adhering to Marxism,

³⁶ This document is under PADEPA’s section 2) Studies on the Major Policies and Programs of the Revolutionary Movement

³⁷ See Appendix 4

Leninism and Maoism to change the prevailing culture. With the CPP's recognition that some of its members may still have bourgeois beliefs that may be seen in the general Philippine society, the leadership of the party calls on its members and allies to wage a Cultural Revolution within its sphere of influence to counter 'unscientific' concepts and attitudes towards people who transgress heterosexual sexual norms, here the document mentioned:

While we continuously struggle with our weaknesses, and indeed it seems impossible, any start of is serious and brings also qualitative change. Similarly, if we learned to love communism and look forward to it, how much more the issue of homosexuality that currently is around us? 'No communist is a chauvinist' (The Party's Stand on the Homosexual Question, 2002).

At the end of the document, the briefer stated that to struggle against bourgeois thinking, including homophobia, the party is serious in upholding the rights of people who transgress heterosexual sexual norms and that "[n]o communist is a chauvinist."³⁸

Three dominant categories emerged from 'The Party's Stand on the Homosexual Question' namely: homosexuality, bourgeois society as represented by the Philippine state, and the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP). Homosexuals and homosexuality were presented as victims of discrimination in a country dominated by decadent bourgeois culture. The bourgeois society was presented as unscientific, rotten and as producing an irrational culture. In contrast, the CPP was represented as scientific and non-discriminating institution, which promises emancipation for homosexuals in the country. It can be gleaned from the text that the best solution to combat homophobia in the Philippines is for persons of diverse SOGIE to join the party, people's army and other revolutionary mass organizations and take the revolution to victory. In other words, the bourgeois society must be destroyed at all cost to ensure a homophobia free society. Finally, there is recognition that the CPP is not free from unscientific beliefs that affect the wider Philippine society.

³⁸ See Appendix 4

3.2.4. Gays and Lesbians in the Revolutionary Movement (2014) *Ang Mga Bakla at Lesbian Sa Loob Ng Rebolusyonaryong Kilusan*³⁹

The party statement *Gays and Lesbians in the Revolutionary Movement* came into circulation in the underground movement in time for the commemoration of the 45th anniversary of the Stonewall Riots in New York. The CPP in this statement claims that it does not only support struggles against discrimination by persons of diverse SOGIE but also actively support these struggles within its ranks. Furthermore, the statement mentioned that:

The Party does not close its doors on gays, lesbians, bisexuals or transgenders (LGBT)⁴⁰ who wish to join it. Whatever his or her gender preference, anyone who is ready to embrace and advance Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the constitution of the Communist Party of the Philippines can become a member.⁴¹

In addition, the party is aware that the current levels of discrimination towards LGBTs are widespread in what it sees as decadent societies like the Philippines. The party's solution is to raise awareness through educational campaigns amongst the masses of people it is organizing as well as within its ranks.

The statement ended calling on revolutionary LGBTs to challenge and contribute to the party's rules and policies that would affect not just the persons of diverse SOGIE within the party, but also in organizing them in the legal movements.

Reviewing the original Filipino version of the statement, however, one could see the tendency of the statement in creating the LGBT other. The quoted statement above is written originally in Filipino as:

³⁹ This document is under PADEPA's section 3) Studies on Current Political Events

⁴⁰ The CPP defines gays and lesbians in the document "as individuals who are attracted to the same sex (men attracted to men, and women attracted to women). Bisexuals are individuals, male or female, who are attracted to both women and men. Transgenders are individuals, male or female, who choose, or express the desire, to live outside of the usual norms for their biological sex (as women, if male and as men, if female). Unlike gays, lesbians and bisexuals, the main basis for being transgender is gender identity rather than sexual orientation. These four different genders are collectively known as the 'lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender' (LGBT) community." (Gays and Lesbians in the Revolutionary Movement, 2014)

⁴¹ See Appendix 5

Hindi nagsasara ng pinto ang Partido sa pagsapi ng mga bakla, lesbyan, bisekswal o transgender. Anuman *ang piniling kasarian*, maaaring sumapi sa Partido ang sinumang handang yumakap at magtaguyod ng Marxismo-Leninismo-Maoismo at saligang batas ng Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas.

(The Party does not close its doors on gays, lesbians, bisexuals or transgenders (LGBT) who wish to join it. Whatever his or her *gender choice*, anyone who is ready to embrace and advance Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the constitution of the Communist Party of the Philippines can become a member.)

And in another sentence the highlighted word was repeated:

Layunin nitong bakahin ang iba't ibang sektaryang pananaw at aktitud, prehudisyal na pakikitungo at baluktot na pananaw sa pagkatao ng mga indibidwal na may *ibang piniling kasarian*

(The Party does not close its doors on gays, lesbians, bisexuals or transgenders (LGBT) who wish to join it. The New People's Army has a similar rule recognizing the right of Red fighters to *choose their gender*).

Ibang piniling kasarian exactly refers to the chosen 'other' kind of sex or gender⁴² in relation to what is considered 'normal' sex or gender, also *ibang* comes from the word *iba* which literally means 'other' or 'different.' Also the term *piniling kasarian* or 'chosen sex or gender' would mean that the LGBTs' sexuality is something not natural. Consequently, labeling LGBTs as those having *ibang piniling kasarian*, stresses that LGBTs is out of the framework of what is considered a 'normal' sex or sexuality.

3.2.5. A Call to Revolution: The "Jennifer Laude" Case (2014)

[*Kundenahin at Parusahan ang Sundalong Amerikanong Pumaslang Kay Jeffrey "Jennifer" Laude! Ibasura ang VFA, EDCA at Palayasin ang mga Sundalong Amerikano sa Pilipinas!* and Katarungan Para Kay Jennifer Laude at Iba Pang Biktima ng Karahasang Militar!]⁴³

On 16 October 2014 the CPP Women's Bureau came out with a statement – *Kundenahin at Parusahan ang Sundalong Amerikanong Pumaslang Kay Jeffrey "Jennifer" Laude! Ibasura ang VFA, EDCA at Palayasin ang mga Sundalong Amerikano sa Pilipinas!* (Condemn and Punish the American Soldier Who Killed Jeffrey "Jennifer" Laude! Junk The VFA, EDCA and American Soldiers Leave The

⁴² Both sex and gender are referred to in Filipino as *kasarian*

⁴³ This document is under PADEPA's section 3) Studies on Current Political Events

Philippines!) narrates the death of the 26-year-old transgender Filipina Jennifer Laude on 11 October 2015 at the hands of a 19-year-old US marine PFC Joseph Scott Pemberton of the 2nd Battalion of 9th Marines. This document start by describing the brutality of Jennifer’s murder and the sorry state her body was in when found.

Further, the document stated that Jennifer’s murder was an attack on the whole Filipino LGBT community. The statement showed how system of power as represented by the Philippine government, US imperialism, entitlements of the American soldiers in the Philippines due to Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA)⁴⁴ and Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA)⁴⁵ signed by the Philippine government, and the oppression of victims like Jennifer are inextricably linked. The document further stated that the victim Jennifer would not find justice in the current system since historically there was never an American soldier incarcerated in the Philippines. Like the rape of the woman “Nicole” in 2005 by US Lance Corporal Daniel Smith, who was found guilty by a Philippine court in 2009, but remained under the custody of the US Embassy in Manila and was later freed in the US. There was no prosecution on the shooting of a guy named Buyong-Buyong Isnijal in 2002 by Reggie Lane, and the beating of a taxi driver named Marcelo Batistil in Cebu by three American servicemen in 2000. The statement ended with a call to all nation loving LGBTs and women to take up arms and join the revolution to find justice in the murder of Jennifer.

Three days after on 19 October 2014, the CPP Women’s Bureau came again with another statement: *Katarungan Para Kay Jennifer Laude at Iba Pang Biktima ng Karahasang Militar!* (Justice for Jennifer Laude and Other Victims of Military Violence!). This second document reiterated all that

⁴⁴“The Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA) signed by officials of the US and Philippine governments on 28 April 2014."Through the EDCA, the US will be enjoying unhampered rights to station an unlimited number of troops, military contractors, warships, jetfighters, weapons and other military equipment in so-called Agreed Locations without paying rent. The US military will also be allowed to use any seaport, airport and road in the Philippines that it may need” (Resist the EDCA, 2014).

⁴⁵“ The Philippines–United States Visiting Forces Agreement is a bilateral visiting forces agreement between the Philippines and the United States, which only applies to troops temporarily in a country. The agreements came into force on 27 May 1999, upon ratification by the Senate of the Philippines. The United States government regards these documents to be executive agreements not requiring approval by the United States Senat.” (Bayan vs. Zamora, 2000).

was said in the previous statement. However, this one used the phrase *may piniling kasarian* regarding the life and trans*⁴⁶ experience of Jennifer Laude. As mentioned in the paper *Gays and Lesbians in the Revolutionary Movement*, the usage of this phrase creates the LGBT other. Jennifer's case shows how the CPP capitalizes on zeal of the oppressed given Jennifer's intersectional disadvantaged position; the movement also hones the case as a narrative to benefit the revolution.

3.3. Conclusion

All six documents analyzed in this chapter show commonalities in how the Maoist movement through the party, the people's army and the revolutionary mass organizations thought about people of diverse SOGIE in relation to the ongoing Maoist insurgency in the Philippines. First, all documents use oppositional categorization or contrast. This categorization is represented by the corrupt, decadent, unscientific, and homophobic 'bourgeois society' represented by the Philippine government and by the population at large on one hand and the progressive, scientific, rational, liberational and emancipatory promises of the Maoist revolution led by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) on the other.

It is quite notable how the CPP has taken a stand against homophobia and have institutionalized recognition of the rights of persons of diverse SOGIE, from building relationships to integrating them into the revolutionary movement. The documents, however, fall short in challenging the peculiarities of homophobia, biphobia and transphobia in other words the documents does little to pin down the roots of SOGIE related phobias.

Finally, the documents fall short in truly revolutionizing the conceptualization of people of diverse SOGIE. They consistently use the phrase *ibang piniling kasarian* (other chosen gender)

⁴⁶“Trans* is an umbrella term that refers to all of the identities within the gender identity spectrum, which embraces significant diversity. Trans (without the asterisk) is applied to trans men and trans women, while the asterisk makes special note in an effort to include all non-cisgender gender identities, including transgender, transsexual, transvestite, genderqueer, genderfluid, non-binary, agender, non-gendered, third gender, two-spirit, bigender, and trans man and trans woman” (Schwenke, 2013).

that creates the LGBT other. Obviously the Maoist movement does not exist in a vacuum, and despite rejecting the feudal and capitalist systems that exist in the Philippines, the cultural values of mainstream society still permeate the movement.

Chapter 4: Voices from Below

This chapter presents the life experience of persons of diverse SOGIE in the Maoist insurgency in the Philippines. It looks at the motivations and struggles of ten present and former Maoist cadres in joining the movement. In the interviews, special attention was given to their lives in the underground, how nationalism played into their recruitment to the NPA, and how their conceptualization of masculinity and femininity changed their perspectives and how they act it especially during armed encounters against the Armed Forces of the Philippine (AFP).

The sections below look at the intersections of military and militarized masculinity, nationalism, and militancy at the level of positioning SOGIE in the Maoist insurgency in the Philippines.

4.1. Rainbow Warriors

For many Filipinos the term homosexual brings to mind an image of a cunning, sly, cowardly hip-swaying cross dressing bakla or an uber mannish tomboy, seemingly making the concept of a ‘rainbow warrior’ unrealistic. Though not unique to the NPA, presence (inclusion and exclusion) of homosexuals in world armies were well documented, like in the case of the US army’s ‘Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell’ (see Belkin, 2003) and the enlistment of gay men in the Israeli army (see Kaplan and Ben-Ari, 2000). Nevertheless, the NPA’s peculiarity as a revolutionary army is that it sanctions and recognizes same-sex attraction and relationships since 1998 when the OPRS was enforced.

People of diverse SOGIE who are active in the Maoist movement in the Philippines have no reason to suppress their identities and expression. Generally, the Philippine is tolerant of homosexuality as long as they “lived by their established stereotypes,” namely, as comedians, entertainers and beauticians for the *bakla*, and security guards and bus conductors for *tomboys* (Dela Cruz, 2015; see Tan, 2001). The experience of non-suppression of sexuality is a new experience for cadres in the Maoist movement. Before the Second Great Rectification Movement

in 1992 of the CPP, there was a perceived ban on homosexuality, since sectoral and regional formations of the Maoist movement were given the autonomy to interpret the party's position on homosexuality. In an interview last 23 April 2015 in the NDFP office in Utrecht, both Ka Martin and Fidel Agcaoili said that most of these formations looked at the examples of other communist parties and applied it to their jurisdiction though there were no official papers about homosexuality from the reestablishment of the CPP in 1968 to the rectification movement of the CPP in 1992.

4.2. Coming Out in the “Underground”

As mentioned there was a perceived ban on homosexuality in the Maoist movement before the Second Great Rectification Movement in 1992. Namnama and Luningning who all joined the movement in the 1980s recount how they changed for the revolution. They, were already ‘out’ since *bakla* and *tomboys* “do not cross-dress for special occasions: cross-dressing is a standard daily wear for the shop and for the street” (Tan, 2001: 122) in other words, to claim the identity of a *bakla* or *tomboy* one is expected to through the process of inversion not just for a day but as a form of lifestyle. Namnama narrated that when she first joined the legal mass movement she faced no problem, but when she went deeper and was recruited in the NDFP affiliated organization for students and youth, *Kabataang Makabayan* (Patriotic Youth) or KM, comrades started showing concern for her sexual orientation. They started telling her that homosexuality is a ‘bourgeois decadent’ culture and if she was serious in serving the revolution, then she needed to make some sacrifices. Namnama eventually changed and acted more masculine, and joined the NPA. The unit where she joined was told of her homosexual past. She was interrogated about it:

They would ask me, are you still attracted to men? I would reply, the revolution has changed me. And they kept telling me that was good, because the masses would not understand a gay NPA, and they were also fearful that in case of capture I might be tempted by a handsome interrogator.

Luningning had a slightly different story:

When I joined the KM, our leaders said it was okay to be a homosexual as long as I don't act on it, which was okay since a relationship was far from my mind then. But when I decided to join an exposure⁴⁷ with the NPAs, I was told that if I can hide my homosexuality to masses because they won't understand what I am doing there, of which I agreed.

Homosexuals especially the *bakla* were seen physically and emotionally weak by their fellow revolutionaries. Changing for the revolution, as was the experience of Namnama and Luningning, was a positive trait that their units (at that time) would say reflected the seriousness of their convictions.

From the start of the Second Great Rectification Movement to the release of the OPRS in 1998, debates, discussion and consultation on the inclusion of people of diverse SOGIE was going on all over the country. Namnama, Luningning, Marikit and Bituin all came out by dressing up in their 'chosen genders' to show that people like them were truly serious in their commitment to the revolution. However, it was a constant struggle as Marikit lamented:

Many of my fellow male NPAs would make fun of homosexuality in general and some of the amazonas⁴⁸ would laugh; they would sway their hips as if to imitate a bakla to ridicule the enemy. Some of them even asked me if I can really fight, I would normally retort "I know how to pull the trigger and shoot with my gun; I don't dance and sway hips when there is an encounter."

It was harder for the *bakla* than the *tomboys* in finding their place in the Maoist movement during this time. Some would just be quiet and show their worth in battle and in handling guns against the enemy, while many would confront the offending comrade, and if was a *masa*,⁴⁹ they would try to educate that person, but if all else failed, they would call the attention of the leadership of the unit where they belong.

Recognition and acceptance by the movement empowered individuals like Audris, Malaya, and Buwan to showcase their sexual orientation, as Audris mentioned:

I am so thankful to the movement for allowing me to be part of it, and to showcase myself, as an example of how truly revolutionary the movement is. I am a walking

⁴⁷ Exposure is the term used by Maoist cadres pertaining to a short integration program with the NPA, it normally last to two weeks to a month

⁴⁸ Amazonas is the term use pertaining to female NPA guerillas

⁴⁹ Masa is the term used for the unorganized (not a member of the CPP,NPA or the NDFP) persons

propaganda, a propaganda that tells the people that it's okay to be gay, and gays are not pests, we have a place in the revolution.

With the empowerment of the recognition of the rights of people of diverse SOGIE in the Maoist movement, individuals who at some point joined the NPA were tasked with infiltrating institutions, organizations, and even offices to arouse, mobilize and organize the greatest number of people who transgress heterosexual sexual norms. Most of the people interviewed are still active in the 'underground' movement.

The Maoist institutional sanctioning of homosexuality has opened up the opportunities for *bakla* and *tomboys* to assert their identity in the revolutionary movement without fear of being stigmatized and forced into the closet to come out as 'straight' later on. Though the movement opened new arenas, organizations of persons of diverse SOGIE in the legal mass movements are still struggling for full acceptance in the Philippine society, as it is still being revolutionized by the revolutionaries.

4.3. To Love thy Motherland (National Democracy)

The Maoist movement led by the CPP is waging a two stage revolution, first a national democratic revolution and second a socialist revolution (Guerrero, 1970: 78; Holmes cited in Abueva, 1999: 360). According to Jose Maria Sison the founding chairman of the reestablished CPP, "[n]ationalism means national democracy. It is a necessary stage in the struggle of our people for social justice, whereby the freedom of the entire nation is first secured so that the nation-state that has been secured would allow within its framework the masses of the Filipino people to enjoy the democratic rights to achieve their social emancipation" (Sison in Abueva, 1999: 353). National democracy is not unique in the Philippines, Mao Zedong during the Chinese revolution, created a united front of all sectors to fight against imperialism to create a 'new democracy' (Holmes cited in Abueva, 1999: 60). In this framework, individuals who are part of the movement can reaffirm their right to a belligerent space of what Anderson (1991) might call

“imagined community.” The CPP’s concept of national democracy like other anti-colonial and anti imperialist movements in the world can be defined as a form of ‘left-wing nationalism’ which is to struggle for social equality, popular sovereignty, and national self determination (Sa’adah, 2003). Also the Maoist position on nationalism is that it’s a political cause “a vigorous movement of human and material forces challenging the Old Establishment... [B]orn of the historical struggle of [the Filipino] people against Spanish colonialism and US imperialism. To be a nationalist is at once to be a political activist aware of the driving forces behind nationalism as well as those of anti-nationalism” (Sison in Abueva, 1999: 353).

Many Filipinos including those persons of diverse SOGIE have fought and died for their embrace of national democracy. Though national democracy is the central driving force at the moment for revolution, it is not however the main reason why individuals join the movement. Liwayway for example narrated that nationalism and revolution were far from her mind when she joined the movement:

My uncle just finished raping me, I have to get away from him, from my family who never believed my story when I told them what my uncle was doing to me whenever he gets drunk. There was a protest march, I was just walking, and I saw some classmates in college leading the march, they called to me and I joined. That was the start; eventually they invited me for educational discussions (EDs) about the country’s problem. In the succeeding meetings I told them what was happening to me since I was nine with my uncle. I was convinced that my uncle was a victim of a corrupt system, a system that allows men to rape *bakla* like me. The system has to change through a revolution.

Luningning on the other hand was motivated by religion:

Being a *bakla* church volunteer I helped in providing charity services to the indigenous people in our community. I volunteered then because I believed I was a sinner (being *bakla*) and have to save my soul from eternal damnation. One day, I was approached by one of the nuns. I remember her as a sweet and Godly women, I would have never suspected her part of the underground Christians for National Liberation (CNL).⁵⁰ But come to think of it, she never judged me based on my sexual orientation. But she was, first she asked me how I felt about the constant militarization in the indigenous communities that we served, about God’s plan, and what we can do as His disciples. I remember her saying a passage from the book of Matthew “what you do to the least of my brethren you do unto me” and told me to reflect on it. That opened many possibilities and opened my world outlook. When I was in college I joined a militant Christian Youth organization that eventually recruited me to KM. As part of the KM I joined exposures

⁵⁰ Christian for National Liberation (CNL) is one of the affiliate organizations of the NDFP working with Christian Church people

and there I met the nun again who opened my eyes. We talked about theology, and how Jesus was a revolutionary and the first known communist. I guess God showed me the way to be a revolutionary.

In Laarni's case however, he was motivated by liking a guy:

I saw this guy in the university; he seemed to be so intelligent and know a lot of political things. I followed him, and joined his activist organization. There we were taught about the three ills of Philippine society – imperialism, feudalism and beurocrat capitalism, and as I listened intently I felt that I should do more. My conviction changed when I joined an exposure to a picket line of striking workers. The things that they told us about the sufferings of people were suddenly present. I willingly joined KM when they invited me afterwards. I volunteered afterwards to integrate with the NPA. When I came back I heard that the guy I had a huge crush on lay low because of family problems. I decided to stay in the movement and continue working for change.

Namnama, Audris, Marikit, Malaya, Bituin, Banoy and Buwan all said that they know in their heart that activism was a calling, as Buwan eloquently explained:

Being a middle class, I've always known in my heart that I am a nationalist; I have read in history books how the Philippines and the Filipino people were exploited by foreigners, from the Spanish colonizers to US imperialism. I joined the Maoist movement because I felt it was meant to be, and I am really glad that my girlfriend Malaya introduced it to me. What I like about the movement is that it did not only provide a clear theory, but it's a theory based from practice. I remember when Malaya asked me to join her to a fact finding mission on the militarization of a peasant community in a hacienda owned by a prominent politician. I saw and heard their plight and fears, the hopelessness of their case prompted me to ask my girlfriend if I can stay, not just an observer, but part of the NPA, an army that protects and help these people.

Based on the interviews the Filipino Maoist movement raised the concept of the nation into a revolutionary project. It is a project that changes the way of thinking of those who joins it.

There were a number of reasons why individuals including persons of diverse SOGIE in joining the Maoist movement, even though nationalism is far from their mind. Case in point, Liwayway was trying to escape what she deemed a 'tragic' life; Luningning saw it as a religious vocation; and Laarni to impress the guy of her dreams. Moreover, all of these reasons have opened opportunities to escape their mundane lives, however by joining the movement; they have to be indoctrinated to the brand of nationalism that the Maoists espouse, national democracy, a brand that would unite all members and/or followers into a certain belief that the Philippine society is semi-feudal and semi-colonial and the three ills: feudalism; beurocrat

capitalism; and feudalism, the reason for the nation's suffering must be removed at all cost, including but not limited to the armed insurgency.

4.4. Revolutionizing Culture (Sexualized Regulation)

The Maoist movement especially the NPA follows a strict military discipline as presented in the 'Three Points of Discipline and Eight Points of Attention' or *tres-otso*. As the *tres-otso* applies to all members of the NPA including persons of diverse SOGIE, one may think that there should be no contradictions. In this sense, arguments made by scholars such as Ayşe Gül Altınay (2004) on the structure of military service as a "necessity" applies to persons of diverse SOGIE in insurgent groups such as NPA, since Maoist activist are obliged to undergo military service to the people's army before they are considered for full membership in the CPP. However, in reality according to the research informants of this thesis, discipline applies mostly to the regulation of sexual behavior. As Marikit explained:

The NPA is very strict in regulating sexual behavior; remember one of the points of attention in the *tres-otso* is to not exploit women. That was the reason why men and women in the people's army sleep separately. However some complications came when the party accepted the *bakla* and *tomboys*, initially some units put the *bakla* with the women and the *tomboys* with men, but some 'weak' comrades exploited this and committed sexual opportunism, now there are some special sleeping arrangements so none of these would happen again. And it differs from one unit to another, basically the units will decide based on the conditions on the ground.

In this sense, the NPA as a revolutionary army creates obedient members who will not question the policies of the army laid down to them (see Altınay, 2004: 63). Transgression of such policies may even lead to death. Glaringly, the approaches of the NPA in disciplining possible transgression of its disciplinary policy were not exactly equal (see Altınay, 2004: 67), as Banoy narrated:

The NPA can be heartless when it comes to transgression of the *tres-otso*, especially on the rape of women. The usual penalty is death for rapists, but this policy does not apply to rapists who rape or molest a *bakla*. Though I would think that the NPA have high regards for women, they on the other hand don't have consistency when it comes to the *bakla*.

Generally, many NPA fighters still have a strong belief that homosexuals, especially the *bakla* are lewd. As Audris shared:

Many *bakla* in Philippine society have the tendency to be promiscuous. And many of our comrades expected this from us. That is why it is really a huge challenge for us to break this stereotype.

Another prevailing notion amongst NPA guerillas is the concept of ‘security risk,’ as commonly applied to people with homosexual orientation. The usual suspect for this are the *bakla* because of the prevailing belief that they are lewd and become weak or tempted when presented or interrogated by handsome men when captured. Even though, the *bakla* are treated as ‘heterosexualized’ women, heterosexual women, however, are not deemed security threats since they are still expected to preserve their virtues for their husbands and/or future husbands. In the case of the *tomboys* there is a strong notion that they are not weak. Ka Rose in an interview at the NDFP office last April 23, 2015 debunked this notion, stressing that not only people with homosexual orientation are prone to this ‘weakness,’ he said:

In my experience as an NPA guerilla I have never heard of a *bakla* divulging secrets to the enemy when captured. Though, I heard of some ‘straight’ comrades who did. Temptation is not limited to individual comrades who are homosexuals; all comrades are susceptible to this. And as a revolutionary movement, we need to correct this wrong assumption that only the *bakla* are weak.

Ka Rose further shared that even though heterosexual women in the movement are assumed not to have the weakness of being seduced by the enemy, in reality most of the cases that they heard was committed by these women. The Maoist insurgency in the Philippines adhere to the idea that it is not enough to develop the modes of production, there must be corresponding changes for the superstructure which can be sustained by radicalizing beliefs, institutions, and attitudes of the people. For this reason, a ‘cultural revolution’ must be waged. To put the revolution in the realm of ideas and culture, revolutionaries must adhere to strict disciplining of its rank.

With these reasons, the collective or units becomes the enforcer of discipline among members, not just in the party but also in the people’s army and the revolutionary front organizations. While it is true, that the Maoist movement is advocating for the respect of human

rights across the country and across sectors. Seemingly, however, members of the Maoist movement have less freedom than the non members. Ironically, while the movement professes equality in its advocacy, personal liberties of members are stifled to be accommodated in the unit.

4.5. Macho in Battle (Militarized & Military Masculinities)

To understand how the concept of masculinity is negotiated in the Philippines, one must see how both femininity and masculinity are discussed and presented. The dominant discourse in Philippine society is the construction that women are made to be care giving mothers. However, the only acceptable form of motherhood is intimately linked to marriage and sanctioned by the church, where the woman is expected to surrender her virginity or “greatest gift” to her husband on their wedding night (Lopez-Rodriguez, 1990: 21). In addition, this “maternal body is constructed through the iconography of the martyr...as mothers, women also protect the lives of others” (Hilsdon, 1995: 20). There is a prevailing notion that women are weak and men are strong, that plays well in the idea of the weak female victims versus the strong male perpetrators. This gendered notion has been analogized in the discussion of the current insurgency in the Philippines by Filipino scholars, specifically in studies on state violence in the country. For example, these studies shows the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) as cruel (masculine) versus the civilian suffering (feminine) with emphasis on the situation of women and children, neglecting the idea that not all people in the army are men, and not all ‘victims’ are women (see Hilsdon, 1995).

All of these constructions come together in nationalist symbolism. The Philippines is usually referred as *Inang Bayan* (Motherland) by many Filipinos. The country ergo the ‘mother’ is expected to provide nourishment to her children. Following this discourse, this feminized nation, is depicted of being continuously raped and plundered by foreign powers with the support of the local elites. Therefore, the female body of the nation is seen to need to be defended by her sons (McCoy, 1999: 44).

Revolutionary cultural workers like Ka George in an interview at the NDFP office in April 23, 2015 shared the way the movement can defend the honor of *Inang Bayan*:

We need to revolutionize the Filipino people, and the best way to do that is to present in terms they can understand. The rape of *Inang Bayan* by US Imperialism is something that the people can relate to. We usually encouraged them not just to sing songs, but write them as well. We provide the masses avenue where they can express themselves through plays or even skits. That is the essence of our work as cultural workers in the revolution.

Interestingly Ka George's narration of revolutionizing the masses is how the propaganda machinery of the Maoist movement works: Arouse, mobilize and organize. As they go from one poor community to another, cultural workers explain the need for a revolution that is understandable to mostly illiterate peasants, thru skits, dramas and songs. The movement arouses the emotions of the peasantry by showing how their *Inang Bayan* is being raped by Uncle Sam. And mobilizing them for political actions against the plunder of the nation by the three ills of Philippine society and finally to organized them within the Maoist movement as part of the underground revolutionary mass organizations of the NDFP, as NPA or as members of the CPP. Furthermore, this ritualized cultural work in propaganda by the movement may be seen as what feminist writer Anne McClintock (1993: 71) as a form of "national spectacle" where the movement's spectacles are marketed nationally to the Filipino people.

Nationalism for the Filipino Maoists is not just enforced through education; it is continuously performed and presented through different media available to the movement. So how do persons of diverse SOGIE reflect their subjective identities in the Maoist movement? The dominant answers from the respondents were referring to the inversion (see Tan, 2001) or the 'other' within. For the *bakla* it's the 'woman within' and for the *tomboys* the 'man within' (see Manalansan, 1995; Tan, 2001). As mentioned in the previous chapter, the party leadership claimed that no communist is a chauvinist, and that any person can join the revolutionary movement. However, the treatment of the *bakla* and *tomboys* inside the Maoist movement as 'heterosexualized homosexuals' (see Legasto, 2008) is still similar to the treatment of persons of diverse SOGIE in the general Philippine society. Liwayway narrated:

Having taken birth control pills⁵¹ at an early of nine, I know I can pass for a ‘real’ woman. That is why when I first joined the NPA many of our male comrades noticed me. Of course, I told them that I am *bakla*, and immediately I saw their reaction changed. I didn’t pay much attention to that, like them I trained, I showed willingness in learning Marx, Lenin, Mao, the situation in the Philippines, how to reach more people, and of course how to use my gun. One day, while we were investigating reports of military camps being build in the community we were organizing. I saw the head of the enemy soldiers, a major looking at me with a smile on his face. I know he liked me, so I befriended him, I asked how long they would stay, and what they were doing there, I allowed him to kiss me since he thinks I’m a ‘real’ women. Of course I was reporting all these to my unit. So we planned what would be the best strategy to eliminate them in the area. When we were finally in a gun battle with them, my team leader said it is time, so I stood up so that the major would be dis-oriented. And then I shot.

Conveniently, in the case of Liwayway and other ‘real’ women looking *bakla*, the NPA (depending on the unit) have capitalized on the perceived vulnerability of the members of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) and the Philippine National Police (PNP) to beautiful women. Though it is clear that women are not to be exploited as written in the *tres-otso*, there is still some confusion on how to treat the beautiful *bakla*. By protecting women and in some cases even *tomboys* and lesbians, the insurgent army appeals to the *bakla*’s love of the movement to present themselves as bait to the enemy. Liwayway later shared how proud she was that her ‘beauty’ helped win a victory in that battle. She further shared, that because of her selflessness other units have also used this strategy in winning their battles against the Philippine Army.

In Liwayway’s case like other persons who joined the movement and its armed component, bodies are not just biology or anatomy. Masculinity and femininity are contextualized, in the case of the Maoist guerillas; the notion that the male body and physique or their masculinity is far superior during battles persists in spite of its condemnation of ‘feudal’ thinking as manifested in misogyny. *Tomboys* who joined the NPA were welcomed because their core is a ‘man.’ While heterosexual women are treated with some forms of indifference, the *bakla* is caught in a liminal position of defending and defining themselves in the people’s army. The embodiment of masculinity is closely linked to heterosexuality (see Mishkind et. al, 2001) as

Audris shared:

⁵¹ Many *bakla* in the Philippines would take hormones without doctor’s prescription to enhance their femininity. Normally they take birth control pills that can be bought over the counter in most pharmacies.

During ordinary days, I may look and sound like a ‘real’ woman, but during battles I am a man. Nobody can deny that I can fight if not better compared to the other male comrades.

Gendered divisions of labor also continue to be experienced by persons of diverse SOGIE in the Maoist movement. The *bakla* being seen as ‘woman at the core’ were usually assigned to what may be considered ‘feminine’ tasks such as being medics, propaganda performers, instructors or finance officers. On the other hand, *tomboys* were given ‘masculine’ tasks such as military duties, carrying and watching over guns, etc. In other words, masculinity being the preferred gender would put heterosexual males on the top of the hierarchy, followed by the masculine *tomboys*, then heterosexual women, and finally depending on their inversion to femininity the *bakla*. This gender practice of the Filipino Maoists produces a hierarchy of masculinities (Connell in Higate 2003:30). Also, as Paul Higate argued that military masculinities, in this case of the NPA, constructed a different form from masculinities in contrast to *masa* they are organizing as the former are “assumed to have their own essence, linked ultimately with violence” (Higate, 2003:29). Masculinity in the case of the NPA as Audris narrated is proportional to the capacity of a member to be fearless and kill during armed encounters with the enemy.

4.6. Conclusion

The experiences of respondents as fighters, at least once in their lives, have a lot of similarities as well as differences. The *bakla* and *tomboys* who became rainbow warriors of the NPA are understood in the movement as someone who is trapped in a body that does not correspond what they feel in the core. Even with this complication, persons of diverse SOGIE, are welcome and were made to feel welcome inside the movement as long as they embrace its brand of nationalism and the willingness to be collectivized in a unit. However, by heterosexualizing the identities of persons of diverse SOGIE, the movement is complimenting the gender hierarchy that is already in place within the movement and in the ongoing civil war. Where the masculine trait of willingness to kill and get killed defines what a good guerilla is.

Chapter 5: Ending at the Crossroad

To answer the main research question: How are persons of diverse SOGIE positioned within the Maoist movement in the Philippines, analysis where done by looking at the intersection of Maoist nationalism or national democracy and masculinity that produced different levels of understanding. First, a quick look at how people of diverse SOGIE were placed in the ideological framework of communism; secondly, looking at the Maoist institutions that is being created and recreated by the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army (NPA), and the revolutionary united front – the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) in the integration of persons of diverse SOGIE within its ranks; and finally the subjective identities of persons of diverse SOGIE within the underground Maoist movement.

There was also emphasis in looking at the intersection of gender and sexuality in the context of the ongoing civil war in the Philippines. The recognition of gender and sexuality in the revolutionary movements in the Philippines is part of the country's historical development. For example, around the time that the first Communist Party of the Philippines was founded in the 1930s, the Philippine suffragists won the right to vote for women; another example, with the strengthening of the movement of people of diverse SOGIE resulted with the first Gay Pride March in Asia in 1994, which coincides around the time the CPP's inclusion of homosexuality in its discussion as part of the Second Great Rectification Movement. The evolution and development of the revolutionary movement is part of the debate within the wider Philippine society on gender and sexuality.

On the level ideology, the CPP's main basis on issues of gender and sexuality is *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* by Engels (1884). And like most Marxist readings of any struggle, the CPP's analysis put class and class struggle as its main category, subsuming other political issues such as homosexual issues, women's liberation, environmental degradation, etc. as secondary.

On the level of institution, the Maoists created the collective or unit as a form of disciplining body within the movement, a second family, which monitors the development of an activist within the movement's ranks. Another notable institution, with the inclusion of persons of diverse SOGIE in the construction of marriage and relationship by the Maoists reflects one of the most glaring examples of its recreation of an institution. With the aim to overthrow the current bourgeois structure in the Philippines, the Maoists through the OPRS included persons of diverse SOGIE in its campaign for a 'proletarian marriage.' However, how persons of diverse SOGIE play into this construction is still vague given that rules governing heterosexual relationships were just appropriated to homosexuals.

On the level of subjective identities, gender and masculine construction played a dominant role. Both the *bakla* and *tomboy* were treated as 'heterosexualized homosexuals' or looking at the *bakla* as women and *tomboys* as men. However, in cases of gun battles all fighters are expected to fight as a 'man.' Making the bodies of rainbow warriors as site of power were dominant discourse on gender and sexuality shows. These bodies are regulated as seen in the documents like the *tres-otso*.

Persons of diverse SOGIE position themselves in the Maoist movement, by challenging concepts of misogyny and chauvinism through available resources such as *The Party's Stand on the Homosexual Question*. The *bakla* rainbow warriors specifically continuously prove that they can be 'men' in times of battle to be accepted completely by the movement. However, *bakla* stereotypes like in the case of Liwayway were also used in the strategies of war.

Generally, this thesis unravels how the Maoists chose to be all-inclusive on its stance for marginalized sectors to capitalize on the zeal of the oppressed and hone it for the benefit of the revolution. This explains why the philosophy and ethics behind the Maoist movement's acceptance of people of diverse SOGIE was rooted on simple contrasts (or forced contrasts) between the alleged unscientific bourgeoisie against the progressive, scientific, rational proletariat. The movement however failed to notice how highly gendered and sexist some of the language

used in the official documents such as ‘The Homosexual Question’ and it has fallen short to pinning down the roots of SOGIE related phobias.

In conclusion, this thesis shows how militarized and military masculinities are linked to nationalist anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggles. Following the Maoist strategy of encircling the cities from the countryside, the NPA follows a gendered model in its struggle by constructing concepts of ‘heterosexualized homosexuals’ in understating persons of diverse SOGIE. Also, The Maoist provided an alternative to Philippine society by exercising the change it wants the nation to be.

This research is by no means exhaustive, the Philippines with its over one hundred million populations, that is divided to over one hundred seventy languages that can be found in at least seven thousand islands have different experience in dealing with revolution and inclusion of people of diverse SOGIE. This research could still be extended by looking at the ethno-linguistic as well as religio-cultural divisions that is dominant in Philippine society, since this divisions' fall into the political actions of the movement and the regional and sectoral organs of the Maoist movement can interpret this differently as seen in the perceived ban of homosexuality inside the movement.

There is an inherent complexity in studying masculinity and femininity, since they have to be looked at the specific context. The case of the rainbow warriors in the Philippines is just one of the many tangles of relations, meanings and negotiation, which this thesis has only, began to understand.

Appendices

Appendix 1: List of Organizations Under the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP)

Organization	Sector	Scope
Artista at Manunulat ng Sambayanan (ARMAS, Artists and Writers for the People)	Artists and Writers	National
Christians for National Liberation (CNL)	Church People including Priests, Nuns, Church Pastors and Ministers	National
Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP)	All	National
Cordillera People's Democratic Front (CPDF)	Indigenous Peoples	Northern Luzon
Kabataang Makabayan (KM, Patriotic Youth)	Youth and Students	National
Katipunan ng mga Gurong Makabayan (KAGUMA, Association of Patriotic Teachers)	Teachers	National
Katipunan ng mga Samahang Manggagawa (KASAMA, Federation of Labor Organizations)	Proletariats	National
Liga ng Agham para sa Bayan (LAB, League of Scientists for the People)	Scientists	National
Lupon ng mga Manananggol para sa Bayan (LUMABAN, Council of Lawyers for the People)	Lawyers	National
Makabayang Kawaning Pilipino (MKP, Patriotic Government Employees)	Government Employees	National
Makabayang Kilusan ng Bagong Kababaihan (MAKIBAKA, Patriotic Movement of New Women)	Women	National
Makabayang Samahang Pangkalusugan (MSP, Patriotic Health Association)	Health Workers including Doctors, Dentists and Nurses	National
Moro Revolutionary Organization (MORO)	Muslims	Mindanao Islands
New People's Army (NPA)	All	National
Pambansang Katipunan ng mga Magbubukid (PKM, National Association of Peasants)	Peasants	National
Revolutionary Council of Trade Unions (RCTU)	Proletariats	National
Revolutionary Organization of Lumads	Indigenous Peoples	Mindanao Islands
Revolutionary Organization of Migrant Workers (COMPATRIOTS)	Migrant Workers	Overseas

Appendix 2: On the Proletarian Relationship of the Sexes (1998)⁵²

March 1998

For the Communist Party of the Philippines, in the course of forming a family and committing to marriage, partners should anchor this to the revolutionary interests of the people. There is a prevailing assumption that 'sex love' is based on the subjective and personal experience. But as candidate or full members of the party, we should be willing to develop this into 'class love' guided by the revolution and the party.

A. On Courtship

1. Courtship is the right of every candidate or full members of the party who are without a spouse or partner. However, they should be willing to be guided by the directives of the party.
2. To court, a candidate or full member must get the permission of his/her collective or 'unit.' If the person of interest is from another collective or 'unit,' the person's 'unit' head should ask the other 'unit' and ask their permission for courtship, as long as the person of interest is willing.
3. If the person of interest is not a candidate or full member of the party, the one who would court should have enough political reasons for doing so to his 'unit,' and the party of interest should be recruited in the party at least within six months as a candidate member.
4. If a candidate or full member is being courted, he/she should immediately inform his/her 'unit' to ask for their permission. If the one courting is a non-member of the party, the one being courted should justify why he/she would accept this in political terms.
5. A candidate or full member of the party is not allowed to court or be courted by somebody who's been considered a revolutionary traitor or counter-revolutionary.
6. A candidate or full member who is working as part of a New People's Army (NPA) unit will not be allowed to court or be courted until they finish their mandated one year program.
7. No candidate or full member is allowed to court or be courted by more than one person in any given time.
8. Before getting married a candidate or full member should be in the relationship no less than one year.
9. A candidate or full member is not allowed to court or be courted until his/her application for divorce have been finalized by the party.
10. Pre-marital sex is discouraged at all times. This is done to protect women from exploitation and to give couples ample time to be ready in building a revolutionary family.

B. On Marriage

1. A marriage is a serious matter, the couple and their respective 'unit' or 'units' must be ready for this.
2. All the requirement for courtship also applies for marriage.
3. Marriage should be decided by all parties including 'units.'
4. After getting the permission for marriage, the couple should choose a comrade who would wed them. The comrade is obligated to facilitate the wedding ceremony, the pledges as well as the signing of the contract.
5. The wedding must be witnessed by at least three individuals including not less than two full members of the party.
6. Before the wedding the couple, the sponsors and the comrade who would facilitate the wedding must talk and narrate the political evolution of the couple and how their marriage can help them politically.
7. In the ceremony, the comrade who is facilitating the wedding would explain the rights and obligation of the couple in their relationship such as:
 - a. Their loyalty with each other should be similar to their loyalty to the revolution;
 - b. Their revolutionary obligation to their soon to be children;
 - c. And their promise to reach out to the party in case of problems within the marriage.
8. While the ceremony is being held, the red flag of the Party symbolizes linking them, they are following the oath specified in the Marriage Contract of the Party:

“We (provide the name use in the party) is voluntarily united as husband and wife today. As the members (or candidate members) of the Party, we wholeheartedly pledge not to fail in our duty to the revolution and vigorously strive to advance it. We swear to fulfill the obligations to each other and respect the marriage in accordance to the rules of the Party. None of us can separate from our marriage without just cause and without consent of the Party. We have the right to refer to the Party and seek advice on it if we have problems. We are also entitled to file any request in fulfilling our agreement as husband and wife. We swear that none of us would interfere with the overall interests of the revolution and the people.”
9. Our marriage will take effect after the signing of the marriage ceremony, the sponsor or the officiator will witness the marriage contract.

⁵² Translated by the author

10. It is preferred that the Party members who first married outside the Party be married in accordance with the ceremony as stated in Numbers 5 – 8 above.

C. On Divorce

1. Since serious thought and preparation was done for the wedding, the Party is trying to prevent divorce and try to solve the problems of the couple
2. Provided divorcing one spouse is found consistently prevents his revolutionary activities or become a traitor or a rabid counter-revolutionary one.
3. Divorce can be allowed provided when required by one of the spouses and there is evidence that the husband committed infidelity, bigamy, cruelty or attempts on the life of the husband.
4. The divorce is granted in cases where one of the spouses does not fulfill duties as a husband for more than five years, due to obstruction of the enemy or permanent physical disability, upon agreement of the spouses. If the disability is the brain and does not heal, divorce can be granted after three years.
5. The divorce is granted when one spouse voluntarily withdrew two years of responsibility or is lost and no contact for five years.
6. The divorce is granted when the couple insists or because of personal disagreements that resulted in the deterioration of relations, and the relationship becomes a big burden to the couple and their activities in the Party. However, the most thorough examination of these cases, ensures the seriousness for actually asking for a divorce and the conditions thereof, and proves unsuccessful after these steps to try to save the relationship.
7. When there is a divorce, the Party shall ensure the welfare of the children.
8. When one of the spouses granted divorce is not a member of the Party – members will try to explain to him the grounds for divorce. Evaluation and application of divorce proceedings, should take the side of his wife outside the Party, as long as security conditions permit.
9. The application will be heard and determined by the divorce committee of three to create the leading team to face couple, but the committee of three cannot be dropped to the level of the Party committee section. If penalties need to be imposed in connection with the case of divorce, the three committees make recommendations about the appropriate team of the Party.

D. On Disciplinary Actions

The following are the serious violations of this rule that will be dealt with disciplinary action:

1. The denial of married status shall be dealt with a disciplinary action which is demotion in office.
2. The serious threats and intimidation in courtship shall be dealt with disciplinary action ranging from a maximum suspension of Party membership to a maximum of expulsion.
3. The use of force in courtship shall be dealt with a disciplinary action ranging from a minimum suspension of Party membership to the deposition.
4. The commitment of position, using the position and pretending to have a high position, while courting shall be dealt with disciplinary action ranging from a minimum demotion in office to one year suspension of membership in the Party.
5. The courtship of married or girlfriends/boyfriends of another will be dealt with a warning disciplinary action and preaching.
6. In the case of courtship without prior approval, when courting or courted must know the major security problems and political action that shall be dealt with disciplinary warning and preaching. The courtship without permission of a person with authority shall not be dealt with disciplinary action.
7. Having two or more girlfriend/boyfriend shall be dealt with disciplinary action ranging from a minimum demotion from office, transferring the work to a maximum suspension of membership in the Party.
8. Grave abuses of marriage such as infidelity, duplicity spouse, cruelty or attempts on the life of the husband shall be dealt with disciplinary action ranging from a minimum suspension of Party membership to the deposition.

In cases of no certain suspension of Party membership, it shall be dealt with someone from the respective committees setting its evaluation in accordance with the gravity of the violation committed.

In case of criminal and with sufficient basis for the court, ensure disciplinary action invoked by the Party and clarified the status by the Party before formally filing criminal charges in court.

The necessary disciplinary action in particular cases will be decided by the respective committees in accordance with the general process defined in the constitution of the party.

The party should ensure the thorough examination of the case and weigh the mitigating circumstances of the case.

In other cases of violations not covered of the terms of marriage within the Party, it shall be aligned to the appropriate committees that will deal with them. Required to document and report them to be dealt with appropriate disciplinary action.

E. On Same-sex relationships

1. The Party recognizes the right of each individual member to choose their gender or sex.
2. The basic principles and guidelines for marriage inside the Party are applicable to their case.

Amended

10th Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPP

Hinggil sa Pag-aasawa: Mga Gabay at Tuntunin sa Pag-aasawa sa Loob ng Partido ***(Original Filipino version of "On the Proletarian Relationship of the Sexes")***

March 1998

Sa Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas, nananaig sa pag-aasawa at labat ng bagay kangnay nito ang rebolusyonaryong interes ng mamamayan. Ipinapalagay na may pag-ibig (sex love), bagay na may batayang personal. Ngunit bilang mga kasapi o kandidatong kasapi ng Partido, nagkukusa tayong ipailalim ito sa pagmamahal sa kanuri (class love), ibig sabihin, sa pananalig at pagtataguyod sa rebolusyonaryong mithiin ng Partido at ng proletaryado.

A. Pagliligawan

1. *Ang panliligaw ay karapatan ng mga kasapi o kandidatong kasapi na walang asawa o kasintahan. Gayunman, kusang ipinapailalim ang karapatang ito sa pagpatnubay at disiplina ng Partido.*
2. *Para makapanligaw, ang kasapi o kandidatong kasapi ay kailangang kumuba muna ng tabasang pahintulot ng yunit ng Partido na namamahala sa kanyang gawain. Kung ang liligawan ay kabilang sa ibang yunit ng Partido, ang yunit ng manliligaw ang magpapaabot sa kabilang yunit at hihingi ng pahintulot sa panliligaw basta't payag ang liligawan.*
3. *Kung ang isang kasapi o kandidatong kasapi ay nais manligaw sa isang di kasapi, minamabuting may sapat na batayan na ang liligawan ay maaaring maging kandidatong kasapi man lamang sa loob ng anim na buwan matapos ibigay ang pahintulot.*
4. *Kung ang isang kasapi o kandidatong kasapi ay nililigawan sa loob o labas ng Partido, kanyang ipagbibigay-alam ito sa yunit na kanyang kinabibilangan na siyang magbibigay ng pahintulot. Kung ang nais manligaw o nanliligaw ay hindi kasapi ng Partido, minamabuting may sapat na batayang siya ay maaaring maging kandidatong kasapi man lamang sa loob ng anim na buwan matapos ibigay ang pahintulot.*
5. *Ang kasapi o kandidatong kasapi ay hindi pabibintulatang lumigaw o magpaligaw sa sinumang itinuturing na traydor o sagadsaring kontrarebolusyonaryo o di kaya'y may balak na maglayo sa kanya sa rebolusyonaryong gawain.*
6. *Ang kasapi o kandidatong kasapi na nakatalaga sa yunit ng Bagong Hukbong Bayan at iba pang gawaing buong-panahon ay hindi pabibintulatang lumigaw o ligawan hanggang hindi nakatatapos ng isang taon sa serbisyo.*
7. *Walang pabibintulatang manligaw o magpaligaw sa bigit sa isa sa isang panahon. Kung may magkasabay na nagpapaalam sa panliligaw, ang liligawan ang magpapasya kung sino ang mauuna. Kung may nais manligaw sa isang nililigawan na, pwedeng ipaabot sa nais ligawan at sa nanliligaw na ang gayong intensyon-sa pamamagitan ng kinaaukulang mga organo; pero hindi pa siya pwedeng manligaw hangga't hindi pa nagpapasya ang nais ligawan.*
8. *Bago magpakasal, minamabuting hindi iigsi sa isang taon ang panahon ng pagkakasintahan. Isasaalang-alang kangnay nito ang tagal ng pagkakaakilala o edad ng magkasintahan.*
9. *Walang pabibintulatang manligaw o magpaligaw sa sinumang hindi pa itinuturing ng Partido na lusaw na ang kasal sa iba.*
10. *Dapat iwasan ang pagtatalik bago makasal. Layunin nitong pangalagaan ang kababaihan laban sa pagsasamantala at bigyan ng sapat na panahon ang pagbahanda para sa mga responsibilidad sa pagpapamilya habang nagrerebolusyon.*

B. Kasal

1. *Ang kasal ay seryosong bagay na dapat mahusay na paghandaan ng mga nais magpakasal at ng kinaaukulang yunit o mga yunit ng Partido.*
2. *Tulad ng mga rekisito sa ligawan ang mga rekisito para ibigay ng kinaaukulang mga yunit ng Partido ang pahintulot sa pagpapakasal.*
3. *Ang kabilingan sa pagpapakasal ay tatalakayin ng yunit o mga yunit ng Partido na kinabibilangan ng magkasintahan at pagkakaisaban kung pabibintulatan.*
Ang seksyon ang pinakamababang organo ng Partido na pwedeng magbigay ng pahintulot sa pagpapakasal.
4. *Matapos ibigay ng kinaaukulang namumunong organo ang pahintulot, pipili ang mga magpapakasal ng isang kadreng magkakasal mula sa yunit nila o sa yunit na nakatataas. Ang kadreng magkakasal ang mangangasiwa sa seremonya sa kasal, panunumpa sa kasal at pirmahan ng kontrata sa kasal.*

5. Kailangan ang tatlo o bigit pang saksi o isponsor na pipiliin o iimbitabin ng pares na magpapakasal upang dumalo sa seremonya ng kasal. Sa mga saksi o isponsor, hindi dapat bumaba sa dalawa ang ganap na kasapi ng Partido.
6. Bago ang kasal, mag-nusap ang mga magpapakasal, isponsor at kadreng magpapakasal at doon ay isasalaysay ng mga magpapakasal ang kasaysayan at katuturang pampulitika ng kanilang relasyon, susuriin nila ang isa't isa at pupunabin ang sarili at ang isa't isa. Maaaring tanungin sila ng mga kabharap nila tungkol sa kanilang relasyon o mga bagay na may kaugnayan doon, at papayuban sila tungkol sa pagpapaunlad ng kanilang relasyon.
7. Sa seremonya sa kasal, isasaad at ipaliliwanag ng nagkakasal ang mga karapatan at obligasyon ng mag-asawa tulad ng sumusunod.
 - a. Ang katapatan sa isa't isa'y kaalinsunod ng katapatan sa rebolusyonaryong simulain.
 - b. Ang rebolusyonaryong pagpapalaki at pagpapaaral sa mga anak;at
 - c. Ang paglapit ng mag-asawa o sinuman sa kanila sa mga isponsor sa kasal, mga organo ng Partido o nagkasal tungkol sa anumang problema ng mag-asawa o pamilya.
8. Habang ang ikinakasal ay pinag-iisa ng pulang bandila ng Partido bilang kapang nag-uugnay sa kanila, bibigkasin nila sa pamumuno ng nagkakasal ang sumusunod na sumpa na nasa Kontrata sa Kasal sa Loob ng Partido:

"Kami (banggitin ng isa't isa ang pangalan sa pakikibaka) ay kusang loob na nagkakaisang dibdib bilang mag-asawa sa araw na ito. "Bilang mga kasapi (o kandidatong kasapi) ng Partido, buong puso kaming nakatalagasa pagtupad sa aming tungkulin sa rebolusyon at puspusang magsisikap upang ito'y isulong. "Nanunumpa kaming tupdin ang mga tungkulin sa isa't isa at igagalang ang karapatan ng isa't isa alinsunod sa mga tuntunin ng Partido tungkol sa kasal."Walang sinuman sa amin ang maaaring humiwalay sa aming relasyong magasawa nang walang makatarungang dahilan at nang walang pahintulot ng Partido. "May karapatan kaming sumangguni sa Partido at humingi ng payo rito kailanma't may suliranin kami. May karapatan din ang bawat isa sa amin na magharap ng anumang kabilingan sa ikatutupad ng aming kasunduan bilang mag-asawa.Kami ay nanunumpa na walang sinuman sa amin ang magiging hadlang sa pangkalabatang kapakanan ng rebolusyon at ng mamamayan."
9. Magkakabisa ang kasal matapos pirmahan ng ikinakasal, mga isponsor o saksi at ng nagkakasal ang kontrata sa kasal.
10. Minamabuti na ang mga kasapi ng Partido na unang ikinasal sa labas ng Partido ay muling magpapakasal sa loob ng Partido alinsunod sa seremonyang nakasaad sa Blg. 5 hanggang Blg. 8 sa itaas.

K. Diborsyo

1. Dabil una'y binihingi ang pinag-isipan at seryosong pagbabanda sa kasal, sinisikap ng Partido na pigilan ang pagbaling sa diborsyo sa paglutas sa mga suliranin ng mag-asawa.
2. Ipagkakaloob ang diborsyo sa isa sa mag-asawa kapag napatunayang tuluy-tuloy na humahadlang sa kanyang rebolusyonaryong gawain o naging traydor o sagadsaring kontra-rebolusyonaryo ang isa pa.
3. Ipagkakaloob ang diborsyo kapag binihingi ng isa sa mag-asawa at may katibayan na ang asawang gustong diborsyohin ay may kaso ng pagtataksil sa asawa, pagdadalang-asawa (bigamya), pagmamalupit o pagtatangka sa buhay ng asawa.
4. Ipagkakaloob ang diborsyo sa mga kasong ang isa sa mag-asawa ay hindi na makatupad sa tungkulin bilang asawa nang mabigit sa limang taon, dahil sa paghadlang ng kaaway o permanenteng kapansananang pisikal, kung pagkakasunduan ng mag-asawa. Kung ang kapansanan ay sa utak at hindi gumagaling, pwedeng ipagkaloob ang diborsyo pagkaraan ng tatlong taon.
5. Ipagkakaloob ang diborsyo kapag ang isa sa mag-asawa ay kusang lumisan nang dalawang taon sa kanyang pananagutan sa kasal o kaya'y nawala at walang ugnay nang limang taon.
6. Ipagkakaloob ang diborsyo kapag iginigiti ng mag-asawa o ng sinuman sa kanila dahil sa mga personal na di pagkakasundo na naghunga ng pagkasira ng relasyon, at ang relasyon ay nagiging malaking pabigat na sa mag-asawa at sa mga gawain nila sa Partido. Gayunman, kailangan ang pinakamasusing pagsusuri sa mga kasong ganito, ang pagtiyak na seryoso talaga ang paghingi ng diborsyo at ang mga batayan nito, at pagkaraan ng mapatunayang nabigo ang mga bakbang para subukang iligtasang relasyon.
7. Kapag may diborsyo, titiyakin ng Partido na mabusay na napangalagaan ang mga anak.
8. Kapag ang isa sa mag-asawang pinagkalooban ng diborsyo ay hindi kasapi ni kandidatong kasapi ng Partido, sikaping ilinaw sa kanya ang batayan o mga batayan ng diborsyo. Sa pagsusuri at pagdinig ng aplikasyon sa diborsyo, dapat kunin ang panig ng asawang nasa labas ng Partido, basta't pinahihintulutan ng kalagayan sa seguridad.
9. Ang aplikasyon sa diborsyo ay pakikikingan at pagpapasyaban ng komite ng tatlo na lilikbain ng namumunong organo na nakasasaklaw sa mag-asawa, subalit ang komite ng tatlo ay hindi maaaring bumaba sa antas ng komite ng Partido sa seksyon. Kung may parusang kailangang igawad kaugnay ng kaso sa diborsyo, ang komite ng tatlo ay gagawa ng rekomendasyon tungkol dito sa kinanuukulang organo ng Partido.

D. Aksyong Pandisiplina

Ang sumusunod na mga malubhang paglabag sa mga tuntunin na ito ay magagawaran ng karampatang aksyong pandisiplina:

1. Ang pagkakaila sa katayuang may-asawa ay magagawaran ng aksyong pandisiplinang demosyon sa katungkalan.
2. Ang malubhang pagbabanta at pananakot sa panliligaw ay magagawaran ng aksyong pandisiplinang mula sa minimum na suspensyon sa pagiging kasapi ng Partido hanggang sa maksimum na pagtitawalag.
3. Ang paggamit ng dabas sa panliligaw ay magagawaran ng aksyong pandisiplina na mula sa minimum na suspensyon sa pagiging kasapi ng Partido hanggang sa pagtitawalag.

4. *Ang pangangako ng posisyon, paggamit sa posisyon at pagpapanggap na mataas ang posisyon, para mapasagot ang nililigawan ay magagawaran ng aksyong pandisiplinang mula sa minimum na demosyon sa katungkulan hanggang isang taong suspensyon sa pagiging kasapi sa Partido.*
5. *Ang panliligaw sa may asawa o kasintahan na ay magagawaran ng aksyong pandisiplinang babala at pangangaral.*
6. *Ang mga kaso ng panliligaw nang walang pahintulot kapag wala pa sa katayuan ang nanliligaw o nililigawan at nagbunga ng malalaking problema sa seguridad at sa pulitika ay magagawaran ng aksyong pandisiplinang babala at pangangaral. Ang panliligaw na walang pahintulot kapag nasa katayuan ang nanliligaw at nililigawan ay hindi gagawaran ng aksyong pandisiplina bagamat pupunahin.*
7. *Ang pagdadalawa o higiti pang kasintahan ay magagawaran ng aksyong pandisiplinang mula sa minimum na demosyon sa katungkulan, paglilipat ng gawain hanggang sa maksimum na suspensyon sa pagiging kasapi sa Partido.*
8. *Ang malulubhang paglabag sa kasal tulad ng sukdulang pagtataksil sa asawa, pagdadalawang-asawa, kalupitan o pagtatangka sa bubay ng asawa ay magagawaran ng aksyong pandisiplinang mula sa minimum na suspensyon sa pagiging kasapi ng Partido hanggang sa pagtitimalag.*

Sa mga kasong walang tiyak na tining ang suspensyon sa pagiging kasapi ng Partido, ipinapaubaya sa kinauukulang mga komite ang pagtatakda nito alinsunod sa pagsusuri sa bigat ng nagawang paglabag.

Sa mga kaso na may katangiang kriminal at may sapat na batayan para ipagsakdal sa hukumang bayan, titiyaking naigagawad ang karampatang aksyong pandisiplina ng Partido at nalilina ang katayuan sa Partido bago pormal na isampa ang kasong kriminal sa hukumang bayan.

Ang karampatang aksyong pandisiplina sa mga partikular na kaso ay pagpapasyahan ng kaukulang mga komite alinsunod sa pangkalahatang mga prosesong itinatakda sa Saligang Batas ng Partido.

Dapat tiyakin ang masusing pagsusuri sa kaso at pagtitimbang sa mga sirkunstanyang nagpapabigat at nagpapagaan sa kaso.

Sa iba pang mga kaso sa paglabag sa mga tuntunin sa pag-aasawa sa loob ng Partido na hindi nasaklaw ng paghahanay dito, ipinapaubaya sa kinauukulang mga komite ang pagharap sa mga ito. Hinihinging iulat ang mga ito upang maidokumento at masaklaw ng istandard na gabay sa paglalapat sa aksyong pandisiplina.

E. Paglalapat sa Relasyon ng Magkaparehong Kasarian

1. *Kinikilala at iginagalang ng Partido ang karapatan sa pagpili ng kasarian ng indibidwal na kasapi ng Partido.*
2. *Ang mga saligang prinsipyo at tuntunin sa pag-aasawa sa loob ng Partido ay aplikable sa kanilang mga kaso.*

Inamyendahan ng:

KTKS

Alinsunod sa mga susog ng:

Ika-10 Plenum ng Komite Sentral

Appendix 3: Three Points of Discipline and Eight Points of Attention of the New People's Army (1999)⁵³

A. Three main points of discipline

1. Obey orders in all your actions.
2. Do not take even a single needle or piece of thread from the masses.
3. Turn in everything captured.

B. Eight Points of Attention

1. Speak politely
2. Pay fairly for what you buy.
3. Return everything you borrow.
4. Pay for anything you damage.
5. Do not hit or swear at people.
6. Do not damage crops.
7. Do not take liberties with women.
8. Do not ill-treat captives.

Ang Tatlong Pangunahing Alituntunin at Walong Puntong Dapat Tandaan sa Disiplina ng Bagong Hukbong Bayan (Original Filipino version of "Three Points of Discipline and Eight Points of Attention of the New People's Army")

A. Ang Tatlong Pangunahing Alituntunin sa Disiplina ay:

1. *sundin ang utos sa labat ng pagkilos*
2. *huwag kumuba ni isang karayom o bibla ng sinulid mula sa masa*
3. *ibigay sa kinaukulan ang labat ng nasamsam*

B. Ang Walong Puntong Dapat Tandaan ay:

1. *magsalita nang magalang*
2. *magbayad nang tama para sa binili*
3. *isauli ang labat ng hiniram*
4. *magbayad para sa anumang nasira*
5. *huwag manakit o magmura sa masa*
6. *huwag manira ng pananim*
7. *igalang ang kababaihan*
8. *huwag pagmalupitan ang mga bihag*

⁵³ Translation from Saulo, 1990: 229-230

Appendix 4: The Party's Stand on the Homosexual Question (2002)⁵⁴

The party is opposed to any form of discrimination, oppression, and exploitation that exists in class society. The fight against homophobia and its ultimate abolition was based on and part of the total against changing the exploitative and oppressive system and the last is terminating the type and societies. The first is part of and subordinate to the latter. As important lessons in terms of the liberation of women, cannot be separate, as it addresses the issue of class and family. The disintegration of modern monogamous family is a process that happens in the framework of the abolition of exploitation and oppression, which removed the family's responsibility in meeting basic human needs.

Also to address the abolition of homophobia which is the key to allow more effective resistance in victory of the national democratic revolution which would be more favorable condition – remove the laws of homophobia and instead create a framework and ensure the equal rights of homosexuals in all spheres of society (economic, social service,, and cultural) as well as combating discrimination against them.

Decisive step for the victory of the national democratic revolution, abolition of homophobia is to be a permanent and a struggle for the socialist revolution to complete and achieve the full abolition by its cultural revolution. So to completely solve the unique discrimination of homosexuals with and in the framework of full liberation in society, we must rid ourselves of all forms of exploitation and oppression.

Therefore in the interests of the Party and the entire revolutionary movement to arouse, organize and mobilize the most lesbians (and homosexuals as part of special sectors of homosexuals) to participate in the movement of the people against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. Subject and adheres to the line of the national democratic movement and women's liberation movement of the overall task.

While we carry out a protracted people's war, the Party is advocating the full remolding campaign. As a movement that believes in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, we are changing our world from corruption caused by monopoly capitalism. And these changes, fighting against us, even now, are not the scientific look at our society and ourselves. As we are trying to remedy, corruption is a part any kind of discrimination of person to person and also include the discrimination of homosexuals.

While we continuously struggle with our weaknesses, and indeed it seems impossible, any start of is serious and brings also qualitative change. Similarly, if we learned to love communism and look forward to it, how much more the issue of homosexuality that currently is around us?

"No communist is a chauvinist."

Ang Linya ng Partido sa Usaping Homosekswal (Original Filipino version of "The Party's Stand on the Homosexual Question")

Tutol ang Partido sa anumang uri ng diskriminasyon, pang-aapi, at pagsasamantala na umiiral sa lipunang may mga uri. Ang paglaban sa homophobia at ang pagpawi nito sa ultimo ay nakabatay sa at bahagi ng kabuuang laban sa pagbabago ng sistemang mapagsamantala at mapang-api at sa ultimo ay pagwawakas sa mga uri at lipunang may uri. Ang una ay bahagi ng kabuuan at nakapailalim sa huli. Katulad ng mahalagang aral sa usapin ng pagpapalaya sa kababaihan, hindi maaari ang magkahinalay na pag-adres sa usapin ng uri at pamilya. Ang disintegrasyon ng modernong monogamous na pamilya ay isang proseso na mangyayari sa balangkas ng pagpawi sa pagsasamantala at pang-aapi, kung saan aalisin sa pamilya ang responsibilidad sa pagtugon sa mga saligang pangangailangan ng tao.

Gayundin ang pag-adres sa pagpawi ng homophobia kung saan ang susi, mapagpasya at magbibigay-daan sa mas mabisang paglaban ay ang pagtatagumpay ng pambansa demokratikong rebolusyon kung saan bigit na magiging paborable ang kalagayan – maaalis ang mga batas na nagiinstitusyunalisa sa homophobia at sa halip ay mababalangkas at matitiyak ang pantay na karapatan ng mga homoseksual sa labat ng larangan ng lipunan (sa ekonomya, panlipunang serbisyo, at kultura) pati na pagbaka sa diskriminasyon sa kanila.

Mapagpasyang bakbang ang tagumpay ng pambansa demokratikong rebolusyon sa pagpawi sa homophobia bagama't kailangang ang permanenteng rebolusyong sosyalista para makumpleto at matamo ang ganap na pagpawi nito sa pamamagitan ng rebolusyong

⁵⁴ Translated by the author

pangkultura. Kayat lubusang malulutas ang natatanging diskriminasyon sa mga homosekswal kasabay at sa balangkas ng ganap na pagpapalaya sa lipunan sa labat ng anyo ng pagsasmantala't pang-aapi.

Kung gayon, nasa interes ng Partido at ng buong rebolusyonaryong kilusan na pukawin, organisahin at mobilisahin ang pinakamaraming lesbyana (at maging mga bakla bilang bahagi ng espesyal na sektor ng mga homosekswal) para lumabok sa kilusan ng sambayanan laban sa imperyalismo, pyudalismo at burukrata kapitalismo. Nakapailalim at umaayon sa linya ng pambansa demokratikong kilusan at kilusang mapagpalaya ng kababaihan ang pangkalahatang tungkuling ito.

Bagamat isinusulong natin ang isang matagalang digmang bayan, sinusulong na rin ng Partido ngayon pa lang ang puspusang kampanya ng pagpapanibagong-bubog. Bilang isang kilusang naniniwala sa Marxismo- Leninismo-Maoismo, binabago batina ang ating mundo mula sa kabulukang bunga ng monopolyo kapitalismo. At sa pagbabagong ito, binabaka natin, ngayon pa lang, ang mga hindi syentipikong pagtingin sa ating lipunan at sa ating mga sarili. Bahagi ng ating mga iwinawaksing kabulukan ay ang anumang uri ng diskriminasyon ng tao sa tao at kanilang din dito ang diskriminasyon sa mga homosekswal.

Bagamat tuloy-tuloy tayong nakikibaka sa ating mga kabinaan, at tunay ngang napakabirap nito, anumang sinisimulan at seryosong itinutuloy ay nagdudulot din naman ng kalitatibong pagbabago. Gayun din na kung ang komunismo at natutunan nating mabalin at asamin, paano pa kaya ang isyu ng homosekswalidad na sa kasalukuyan ay nakikita at nararamdaman sa paligid natin?

“Walang komunistang tsobinista.”

Appendix 5: Gays and Lesbians in the Revolutionary Movement (2014)⁵⁵

“The Party recognizes and respects the right of individual Party members to choose their gender. The basic principles and rules on marriage within the Party are applicable in their case.”

— On same-sex relationships, excerpted from Rules and Guidelines on Marriage within the Party, March 1998

On June 28, the 45th anniversary of the Stonewall uprising in New York City, USA will be commemorated in various parts of the globe, bringing together hundreds of gays, lesbians and anti-discrimination advocates. The incident, more commonly known as the “Stonewall riots” stemmed from a series of raids by New York City police on Stonewall Inn, a bar then frequented by gays and lesbians. The “Stonewall riots” pushed the emergence of groups advocating the rights of gays, lesbians, bisexuals and transgenders against discrimination in the economic, political and social arenas. The event is commemorated annually through “gay pride parades.”

In the Philippines, progressive groups have long been waging struggles against discrimination targeting gays, lesbians, bisexuals and transgenders. This struggle is not only fully supported by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) but is likewise being actively waged within its ranks.

The provision cited above is proof of the CPP’s recognition of their rights and welfare. It has been included as an amendment to the “Rules and Guidelines on Marriage within the Party” in accordance with a decision by the Central Committee’s 10th Plenum in 1992.

The Executive Committee of the Central Committee explained that the Party has long been opposed to any form of social discrimination, oppression and exploitation, including discrimination against women and discrimination based on gender preference. The Party is opposed to oppressing and depriving anyone of rights or opportunities solely because of his or her gender preference.

The Party does not close its doors on gays, lesbians, bisexuals or transgenders who wish to join it. Whatever his or her gender preference, anyone who is ready to embrace and advance Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the constitution of the Communist Party of the Philippines can become a member. The New People’s Army has a similar rule recognizing the right of Red fighters to choose their gender.

Alongside the Party’s recognition of the right to choose one’s gender is its all-out efforts to resist prevailing erroneous views or behavior against individuals who have different gender preferences. Discrimination against gays, lesbians, bisexuals and transgenders—ranging from humorous commentaries that reek of contempt to outright homophobia—is widespread in decadent societies. The revolutionary movement addresses this through education conducted among both the revolutionary forces and the masses. The movement exposes and assails the oppression suffered by gays, lesbians, bisexuals and transgenders. Its goal is to struggle against various sectarian views and attitudes, prejudicial treatment and distorted views on the character of individuals with different gender preferences.

The Party is aware that the acceptance, recognition and defense of the rights of gays, lesbians, bisexuals and transgenders are reflective of the level of political consciousness of the revolutionary forces and the people. Thus, if the Party does not firmly adhere to the basic principle of recognizing the right to gender preference, subjective sectarian views and behavior will keep on rearing their ugly heads.

Because the Party has clear policies against discrimination, all its cadres and members must be ready to treat every individual equally, regardless of gender preference. The revolutionary movement is thus able to pave the way for everyone to give their all to the revolutionary struggle for social change.

On the other hand, revolutionary gays, lesbians, bisexuals and transgenders are challenged to contribute studies to enrich the Party’s rules and policies. Among their responsibilities is to sum-up their experiences in order to further develop the Party’s views on revolutionary homosexual marriages.

Gays and lesbians are individuals who are attracted to the same sex (men attracted to men, and women attracted to women). Bisexuals are individuals, male or female, who are attracted to both women and men. Transgenders are individuals, male or female, who choose, or express the desire, to live outside of the usual norms for their biological sex (as women, if male and as men, if female). Unlike gays, lesbians and bisexuals, the main basis for being transgender is gender identity rather than sexual orientation. These four different genders are collectively known as the “lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender” (LGBT) community.

⁵⁵ Translation is provided in Gays and Lesbians in the Revolutionary Movement, 2014

Ang Mga Bakla at Lesbyans Sa Loob Ng Rebolusyonaryong Kilusan (Original Filipino version of “Gays and Lesbians in the Revolutionary Movement”)

“Kinikilala at iginagalang ng Partido ang karapatan sa pagpili ng kasarian ng indibidwal na kasapi ng Partido. Ang mga saligang prinsipyo at tuntunin sa pag-aasawa sa loob ng Partido ay aplikable sa kanilang mga kaso.”

—Paglalapat sa relasyon ng magkaparehong kasarian mula sa Mga Gabay at Alituntunin sa Pag-aasawa sa Loob ng Partido, Marso 1998

Sa Hunyo 28, gugunitain sa iba’t ibang bahagi ng mundo ang ika-45 anibersaryo ng pag-aaklas sa Stonewall sa New York City, USA ng daan-daang mga bakla, lesbyan at kanilang mga tagasuporta laban sa diskriminasyon. Ang insidenteng ito, na tinawag na “Stonewall riots,” ay bunga ng walang pakundangang pananalakay ng mga pulis ng New York City sa Stonewall Inn, isang lugar kung saan madalas magtipun-tipon noon ang mga bakla at lesbyan. Itinulak ng “Stonewall riots” ang pag-usbong ng mga grupo na nagtataguyod ng mga karapatan ng mga bakla, lesbyan, bisekswal at transgender laban sa diskriminasyon sa larangan ng ekonomya, pulitika at relasyong sosyal. Taun-taon itong ginugunita sa isang parada na kilala bilang Gay Pride Parade.

Sa Pilipinas, malaon nang dinadala ng mga progresibong grupo ang pakikibaka laban sa diskriminasyon sa mga bakla, lesbyan, bisekswal at transgender. Ang pakikibakang ito ay hindi lamang lubos na sinusuportahan ng Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (PKP), aktibo itong itinatataguyod sa loob ng PKP.

Patunay ng pagkilala ng PKP sa kanilang mga karapatan at kagalingan ang probisyong nakasaad sa itaas. Ang mga ito ay kabilang sa mga idinagdag sa dokumentong “Mga Gabay at Tuntunin sa Pag-aasawa sa Loob ng Partido” alinsunod sa mga desisyon ng ika-10 Plenum ng Komite Sentral noong 1992.

Palimang ng KTKS, malaon nang tutol ang Partido sa anumang uri ng diskriminasyon, pang-aapi at pagsasamantala sa lipunan. Kabilang dito ang diskriminasyon laban sa kababaiban at yaong nakabatay sa piniling kasarian. Tutol ang Partido sa pang-aapi at pagkakaat kaninuman ng mga karapatan at oportunidad dahil lamang sa pinili nilang kasarian.

Hindi nagsasara ng pinto ang Partido sa pagsapi ng mga bakla, lesbyan, bisekswal o transgender. Anuman ang piniling kasarian, maaaring sumapi sa Partido ang sinumang handang yumakap at magtataguyod ng Marxismo-Leninismo-Maoismo at saligang batas ng Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas. May katulad na patakaran ang Bagong Hukbong Bayan na kumikilala sa karapatan ng mga Pulang mandirigma sa pagpili ng kasarian.

Kaakibat ng pagkilala ng Partido sa karapatan sa pagpili ng kasarian ay ang puspusang pagsisikap nito na labanan ang umiiral na maling mga gawi o pananaw kontra sa mga indibidwal na may ibang piniling kasarian. Laganap sa bulok na lipunan ang diskriminasyon laban sa mga bakla o lesbyan, mula sa mga pabirong komentaryong mapangutya hanggang sa walang batayang takot o pagkasuklam (homophobia). Hinaharap ito ng rebolusyonaryong kilusan sa pamamagitan ng edukasyon kapwa sa hanay ng mga rebolusyonaryong pwersa at masa. Inilalantad at binabatikos ang kinakaharap nilang pang-aapi. Layunin nitong bakabin ang iba’t ibang sektaryang pananaw at aktitud, prehudisyal na pakikitungo at baluktot na pananaw sa pagkatao ng mga indibidwal na may ibang piniling kasarian.

Batid ng Partido na ang pagtanggap, pagkilala at pagtatanggol sa mga karapatan at kagalingan ng mga bakla, lesbyan, bisekswal at transgender ay nakabatay sa antas ng pampulitikang kamulatan ng mga rebolusyonaryong pwersa at mamamayan. Kung hindi matatag na pangabawakan ang mga batayang prinsipyo sa pagkilala sa karapatan sa pagpili ng kasarian, lilitaw at lilitaw ang subetibong sektaryan na pananaw at pakikitungo.

Dabil malinaw ang patakaran ng Partido laban sa diskriminasyon, dapat handa ang labat ng mga kadre at kasapi nito na pantay-pantay na pakitunguhan ang labat ng indibidwal nang walang pagtatangi sa kanilang piniling kasarian. Sa ganitong paraan, natitiyak ng rebolusyonaryong kilusan na nabihigyang-daan ang labat na mag-ambag ng labat ng kanilang kayang iambag sa rebolusyonaryong pakikibaka para sa pagbabago ng lipunan.

Sa kabilang banda, hamon sa mga rebolusyonaryong bakla, lesbyan, bisekswal at transgender na mag-ambag ng mga aral na makapagpapayaman sa mga patakaran at alituntunin ng Partido. Kabilang sa mga responsibilidad nila ang paglalagom sa kanilang mga karanasan upang ibayo pang mapaunlad ang pananaw ng Partido sa rebolusyonaryong pag-aasawang homosekswal.

Ang bakla at lesbyan ay mga indibidwal na nagkakagusto sa pareho nilang kasarian (lalaki sa lalaki o babae sa babae). Ang bisekswal ay isang indibidwal, lalaki o babae, na nagkakagusto pareho sa babae at lalaki. Ang transgender ay isang indibidwal, lalaki o babae, na pumipili o nagpapabayag ng kagustuhang mamuhay nang hindi naaayon sa kanilang biolohikal na kasarian (bilang babae kung lalaki o bilang lalaki kung babae). Kaiba sa bakla, lesbyan at bisekswal, pangunahing batayan ng pagiging transgender ang “gender identity” at hindi sekswal na oryentasyon. Ang apat na magkakaibang kasarian ay kolektibong kinikilala bilang komunidad ng mga “lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender” o LGBT.

Appendix 6: A Call to Revolution: The “Jennifer Laude” Case (2014)⁵⁶

6.1. Condemn and Punish the American Soldier Who Killed Jeffrey "Jennifer " Laude ! Junk the VFA, EDCA and American soldiers leave the Philippines!!!

16 October 2014

Rosa Barros
Spokesperson
MAKIBAKA - Mt. Sierra Madre Southern Tagalog

Animalistic and brutal, that is how American soldier Pemberton murdered Jennifer Laude based from medico legal report. PFC Pemberton dragged Laude in the toilet and drowns her there. There were also signs of bruises as proof that she was beaten also.

PFC Pemberton's murder of Jennifer Laude is an attack to all Filipino Lesbian, Gays, Bisexuals and Transgenders (LGBTs) and women who they used as part of their rest and recreation. US soldiers made the lives of innocent civilians miserable. This shows a lack of respect and appreciation for the lives of innocent civilians on the part of the troops, which serves the decree of our Imperialists, and trained to kill. Thus is the moment in Jennifer's life in the hands of US soldiers.

PFC Pemberton is from the 2nd Battalion of the 9th Marines based in Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, USA, and was among more than 4,000 soldiers who participated in the annual "Phiblex Navy Exercise", a part of BALIKATAN Exercise, held from September 29 until October 10, 2014 in the province of Palawan and Zambales as part of military exercises under the Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA). Pemberton was aboard the battleship USS Pelelie that temporarily docked in Subic, Olongapo City for rest and recreation."

Sexual violence and other crimes against the Filipino people by American soldiers will only get worse because of agreements like the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA) and VFA that allow the growing presence of American troops in the Philippines. In previous years to the sovereignty of the Philippines was challenged because of the entry of American troops in accordance with the unequal agreements between the Philippines and the United States such as the Mutual Defense Treaty, VFA and EDCA. Still fresh in our experience is the rape of "Nicole" by US Lance Corporal Daniel Smith in 2005, who was convicted in 2009 but allowed to escape back to the US under the US-Arroyo regime. Other crimes that the US troops committed includes shooting by US soldier Reggie Lane of Buyong Isnijal on July 24, 2002 in Basilan, Lane was never tried and who immediately fled to the United States. Even the taxi driver in Cebu, Marcelo Batistil who was beaten by three US soldiers never saw justice. Prostitution is also widespread in Olongapo, Zamboanga and in any town frequented by American soldiers.

Under the US-BS Aquino, up to nearly 300 warships entered the waters of the Philippines. The Filipino people witness the damage of our marine resources by the US warships, the USS Guardian, the Tubbataha Reef. Silently but openly unconstitutional construction of the Philippines to American military bases in Ulugan and Oyster Bay in Palawan, flying in the sky are spy planes of American Soldiers and their integration and directing the Filipino soldiers during combat operations.

We also condemn the clearly pro-American stance of the US-Aquino regime. Rather than immediately help and support the family of Jennifer Laude to find justice for the brutal murder. The pronouncements of the palace spokesman, the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA), AFP, and the militarist Senator Antonio Trillanes who all defended VFA, EDCA and not demand to get the custody of US Marine PFC Pemberton.

Therefore we call on the Filipino people to provide support to the family and friends of Jennifer Laude in their struggle for justice. No one expects the families of the victims of BS Aquino government and US military forces to find justice. We support the position of Senator Miriam Santiago and the progressive legislators who would defend the sovereignty of the Philippines by junking the VFA and the US soldiers must be held accountable for their crimes.

The current government must pay for being lapdogs of US imperialists by allowing them to trample the sovereignty of the Philippines. The sexual violence and abuse by American soldiers would end only when terminated to the rule of US imperialism and its lackeys in the Philippines. At the current time, appropriate and timely action to overthrow the US puppet regime of BS Aquino and replace it with a government that puts the interests of women, the LGBT and the entire Filipino people. We are calling all oppressed sectors of society especially the women and LGBT to join

⁵⁶ Both translations was provided by the author

the New People's Army (NPA) and work assiduously to junk the VFA, EDCA, MDT and overthrow the US-BS Aquino.

JUSTICE FOR JEFFREY "JENNIFER" LAUDE!
JUNK THE VFA, EDCA, MDT!
YANKEES GO HOME!
DOWN WITH THE US-AQUINO REGIME!

***Kundenahin at parusahan ang sundalong Amerikanong pumaslang kay Jeffrey "Jennifer" Laude! Ibasura ang VFA, EDCA at palayasin ang mga sundalong Amerikano sa Pilipinas!
(Original Filipino version of "Condemn and Punish the American Soldier Who Killed Jeffrey "Jennifer" Laude ! Junk the VFA , EDCA and American soldiers leave the Philippines!!!")***

16 October 2014

Rosa Barros

Spokesperson

MAKIBAKA - Mt. Sierra Madre Southern Tagalog

Makabayop at napakabrutal ng pagpaslang ang ginawa ng sundalong Amerikano si Pemberton kay Jennifer Laude na ayon sa ulat sa resulta ng medico legal examination ay namatay sa pagkalanod sa inodoro. Inginudngod sa inodoro ni Pemberton si Laude hanggang sa ito ay malunod at mamamatay. Marami ring pasa sa katawan si Laude, palatandaan na siya ay binugbog muna bago nilunod sa inodoro ni Pemberton.

Ang ginawang pagpaslang ni PFC Pemberton kay Jennifer Laude ay atake sa sektor ng Lesbian, Gays, Bisexual at Transgenders (LGBT) at maging sa labat ng kababaihan na ginawang libangan ng mga sundalong Amerikano sa kanilang "rest and recreation" sa Pilipinas. Ginawang larian ng sundalong Amerikano ang buhay ng inosenteng sibilyan at malang-kagatul-gatul na inutas si Jennifer. Pagpapakita ito ng kawalan ng respeto at pagpapabalaga sa buhay ng mga inosenteng sibilyan sa panig ng mga tropang militar, na naglilingkod sa atas ng among Imperyalista, at sinamay para pumatay. Kaya naging saglit lang ang buhay ni Jennifer sa kamay ng sundalong Amerika.

Si PFC Pemberton ng 2nd Battalion, 9th Marines na nakabase sa Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, USA ay kabilang sa mahigit 4,000 mga sundalong Amerikano na lumabok sa taunang "Phiblex Navy Exercise", isang bahagi ng BALIKATAN Exercise, na ginanap mula Setyembre 29 hanggang Oktubre 10, 2014 sa lalanigan ng Palawan at Zambales bilang bahagi ng ebersisyong military sa ilalim ng Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA). Si Pemberton ay lulan ng barkong pandigmang USS Pelelie na panasamantalang nakadaong sa Subic, Olongapo City para sa rest and recreation".

Ang sekswal na karahasan at iba pang krimen laban sa mamayang Pilipino ng mga sundalong Amerikano ay lalo pang lalala dahil sa kasunduang Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA) at VFA na nagbigay pahintulot sa lumalaking presensya ng mga sundalong Amerikano sa Pilipinas. Sa nakaraang mga taon ay nasalaula na ang soberanya ng Pilipinas dahil sa pagpasok ng mga sundalong Amerikano alinsunod sa mga di-pantay na kasunduan sa pagitan ng Pilipinas at Estados Unidos tulad ng Mutual Defense Treaty, VFA at EDCA. Sarina pa sa atin ang karanasang pangaghabasa ni US Lance Corporal Daniel Smith kay "Nicole" ng 2005 at nabatulan noong 2009 subalit hinayaan makatakas pauwi sa US ng ilalim ng Rehimeng US-Arroyo. Saksi din tayo sa di pagpapanagot sa kanilang krimen sa Pilipinas ng mga sundalong amerikano. Kabilang dito ang pagkabaril ng sundalong Amerikano na si Reggie Lane kay Biyong-biyong Isnijal noong July 24, 2002 sa Basilan na hindi naipasailalim sa paglilitis at kagyat na pinatakas patungo sa Estados Unidos. Maging ang drayber ng taksi sa Cebu na si Marcelo Batistil na binugbog ng 3 sundalong Amerikano ay hindi nakatikim ng katarungan dahil kagyat na pinatakas ang nasabing mga sundalong Amerikanong nambugbog sa kanya. Napaulat din ang mga krimeng kinasasangkutan ng mga sundalong Amerikano na nakabase sa Zamboanga City na hindi napaparusahan. Lumalaganap din ang prostihsyon sa Olongapo, Zamboanga at sa alinmang bayan na madalas puntahan ng mga sundalong Amerikano.

Sa ilalim ng Rehimeng US-BS Aquino, aabot na sa halos 300 barkong pandigma ang pumasok sa karagatan ng Pilipinas. Saksi ang sambayanang Pilipino sa malalang pinsala ng ating yamang-dagat nang sudsurin ng barkong pandigma ng US, ang USS Guardian, ang Tubataba Reef, ang palihim pero lantad na pagtatayo ng labag sa Konstitusyon ng Pilipinas na baseng militar ng Kano sa Uluhan at Oyster Bay sa Palawan, bukod sa malayang paglipad-lipad sa ating kalamakan ng mga spy planes ng mga Amerikano Sundalo at mga pagsanib at pagdidiribe nila sa sundalong Pilipino habang nasa operasyong kombat.

Kinukundena rin namin ang malinaw na maka-amerikanong tindig ng rehimeng US-Aquino na sa halip na kagyat na tulongan at suportahan ang pamilya ni Jennifer Laude para magkaroon ng hustisya ang brutal na pagpaslang dito ay nagkokorus sa mga tagapagsalita ng Malacanang at mga alipores nito sa Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA), AFP, at maging ang militaristang si Sendor Antonio Trillanes sa pagtatanggol sa VFA, sa EDCA at sa hindi pagpursige sa pagkuha sa kustodya ni US Marine PFC. Pemberton.

Sa ganito ay nananawagan kami sa buong sambayanang Pilipino na ibigay ang labat ng suporta sa pamilya at mga kaibigan ni Jeffrey Laude sa kanilang pakikibaka para sa pagkakaroon ng katarangan. Walang aasahan ang pamilya ng biktima sa gobyernong BS Aquino at sa Gobyerno at pwersang military ng US na tiyak na gagawin ang labat upang mailibre ang kanilang tauban at hindi maparusaban sa kanyang kasalanan. Sinusuportahan namin ang pusisyon ni Senador Miriam Santiago at ng mga progresibong mambabatas na nagmamahal sa soberanya ng Pilipinas na dapat nang ibasura ang VFA at dapat panagutin sa kanilang krimen ang mga sundalong Amerikano.

Dapat ding managot ang Rehimeng US-BS Aquino sa pagkatuta sa among Imperyalistang US na pinapayagang jurakan ang soberanya ng Pilipinas. Dapat gawin ng labat ng kababaihan at LGBT kasama ang sambayanang Pilipino na patuloy na ilantad at labanan ang pagiging tuta ng Kano ng Rehimeng Aquino. Ang mga karahasang sekswal at pang-aabuso ng mga sundalong Amerikano ay mawawakasan lamang kapag nawakasan na ang paghabari ng imperyalismong US at mga Alipores nito sa Pilipinas. Sa kasalukuyang panahon, nararapat at napapanahon na kumilos para patalsikin ang tuta ng US na rehimeng BS Aquino at palitan ito ng isang gobyernong nagtataguyod sa interes ng kababaihan, ng mga LGBT at ng buong sambayanang Pilipino. Kaisa niyo ang labat ng kababaihan sa saklaw ng Bundok Sierra Madre sa Timog Katagalugan. Kasama ang iba pang aping sektor ng lipunan ay nanawagan ang kami sa labat ng kababaihan at LGBT na sumapi sa Bagong Hukbong Bayan (NPA) at masigasig na kumilos para ibasura ang VFA, EDCA, MDT at ibagsak ang Rehimeng US-BS Aquino.

**KATARUNGAN PARA KAY JEFFREY "JENNIFER" LAUDE!
IBASURA ANG VFA, EDCA, MDT!
PALAYASIN ANG MGA SUNDALONG AMERIKANO SA PILIPINAS!
IBAGSAK ANG REHIMENG US-AQUINO!**

6.2. Justice for Jennifer Laude and Other Victims of Military Violence!

19 October 2014

Rosa Barros

Spokesperson

MAKIBAKA - Mt. Sierra Madre Southern Tagalog

MAKIBAKA - Laguna is conveying its sincere condolences and militant to the family and friends of Jeffrey "Jennifer" Laude who showed bravery in seeking justice. We also extend the salute to all people who love somebody who have chosen a different kind of love.

Only in a free and fair society shaped by revolutionary changes will eliminate the violence experienced by Jennifer, "Nicole" and other women and people who became victims of state terrorism and US imperialism.

As a result of pro-US agreement and militarist Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA) and the last year signing of the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA) between the puppet regime of BS Aquino and President Obama, they made the Philippines the training ground for US soldiers who treats the Filipino people as toys and equipments.

We strongly condemn the behavior of the state in defending US imperialism, bureaucrat capitalism feudalism; and adding "machismo" and the current decadent culture that further degrade the dignity of women and LGBT's (lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transgenders) or those with different sexual orientation. We remember how during Gloria Arroyo's regime the rape of Nicole by Lance Corporal Daniel Smith Filipina Nicole found no justice, Smith was released after being convicted.

Animalistic and brutal, that is how American soldier Pemberton murdered Jennifer Laude Last October 11. PFC Pemberton dragged Laude in the toilet and drowns her there. There were also signs of bruises as proof that she was beaten also, such are the mercenary mindset of these soldiers.

Knowing the high appreciation of the revolutionary movement to people who have chosen a different gender. Their contribution to the advancement of protracted people's war under the leadership of the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines (Marxism-Leninism-Maoism) is undeniable. The LGBT's must continue to engage and consolidate their sector for the revolution and the spirit of serving the people.

**DOWN WITH THE US-AQUINO PUPPET REGIME!
WOMEN AND LGBT'S JOIN THE NPA!
JOIN THE PEOPLE'S WAR!
JUNK THE VFA, EDCA, MDT!
YANKEES GO HOME!**

**Katarungan para kay Jennifer Laude at iba pang biktima ng karahasang militar!
(Original Filipino version of "Justice for Jennifer Laude and Other Victims of Military Violence")
19 October 2014**

Rosa Barros
Spokesperson
MAKIBAKA - Mt. Sierra Madre Southern Tagalog

Ang Makabayang Kilusan ng Bagong Kababaihan (MAKIBAKA)-Laguna ay taos-pusong nakikiramay sa pamilya't mga kaibigan ni Jeffrey "Jennifer" Laude, at taas-kamaong nagpupugay sa kanilang katapangan – kabilang ang mga testigo at iba pang gumagalang at nagmamahal sa mga "may piniling kasarian" – para ipaglaban ang katarungan sa pagkamatay nito.

Tanging sa isang malaya at makatarungang lipunang hinubog ng rebolusyonaryong pagbabago mapapawi ang karahasan tulad ng dinanas nina Jennifer, "Nicole" at iba pang kababaihan at mamamayang naging biktima ng terorismo ng estado at Imperyalismong Kano (United States).

Bunga ng maka-US at militaristang kasunduang Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA) at ang huling nilagdaan nitong taon na Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA) sa pagitan ng papet na rehimen ni BS Aquino at Presidente Obama ng US, garapalang ginagawang training ground ang Pilipinas ng mga mersenaryo na tinatrat ang mga sibilyan na parang ibon at baboy-damong sinisipat upang barilin, o di kaya'y mga laruan at kagamitan na kapag kinainisan ay basta na lang ibabalibag at alisan ng dangal hanggang sa mantas.

Mariin nating kondenabin ang mga asal-hayop na sundalo ng estadong nagtatanggol sa Imperyalismong US, Pyudalismo't Burukrata Kapitalismo; idagdag pa ang "machismo" at dekadenteng kulturang yumuyurak sa dangal ng kababaihan at LGBT (lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transgenders) o 'yung mga may piniling kasarian.

Pumutok sa panahon ni Gloria Arroyo ang panggagahasa ng sundalong Kano na si Lance Corporal Daniel Smith sa Pilipinang si Nicole. Sa pagmamaniobra sa kaso at panggigipit sa biktima, nalantad ang garapal na sabwatan ng papet na rehimensing Arroyo at Imperyalismong US nang pinakawalan at alisan ng kriminal na pananagutan ang hinatulang maysala na si Smith.

Pinakabuli ang sinapit ni Jennifer noong Oktubre 11. Pinaslang siya ng sundalo ng US Navy na si Joseph Scott Pemberton nang matuklasan ang ka-date ay may piniling kasarian at hindi pala tunay na babae. Ang ganitong brutalidad na inihulal ng labis na pagkamubi sa mga katulad ni Jennifer ay patunay na utak-berdugo ang mga sundalong sinasanay sa pasistang panunupil.

Mataas ang pagkilala't pagpapabalaga ng rebolusyonaryong kilusan sa mga may piniling kasarian. Hindi mapasusubalian ang naging ambag nila sa pagsusulong ng matagalang digmang bayan sa ilalim ng pamumuno ng muling tatag na Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (Marxismo-Leninismo-Maoismo). Patuloy na lumalabok ang sektor na ito sa rebolusyon at nagkokonsolida sa diwa ng paglilingkod sa sambayanan.

Sa kabilang banda, pinapatatag ng Imperyalismong US ang kontra-mamamayang Oplan Bayanihan ni BS Aquino sa pamamagitan ng kasunduang VFA at EDCA. Sa Laguna, sa tabing ng kampanyang "peace and development", isinasagawa ng 1st IB at 202nd Brigade sa ilalim ng 2nd ID na nakabase sa Tanay, Rizal ang Civil-Military Operations (CMO) sa paanan ng Bundok Sierra Madre at balisbisan ng Bundok Banahaw na batbat ng karahasang militar at malawakang paglabag sa karapatang pantao.

Simula noong 2012, ipinapatawag sa detatsment ng Philippine Army ang mga lokal na opisyaes at taumbaryo upang takutin at pagbintangang mga NPA o supporter nito. Binabastos ang kababaihan at sapilitang dinadala sa mga detatsment nang labag sa kalooban nila, lalo't higit ng mga asawang tumutupi sa harap ng mga armalayt at masinggan ng sundalo. Pinakamasabol ang pagmasaker sa ilang kabataang namamaniki at namamalaka sa may hangganan ng Magdalena at Majayjay. Sa isang operasyong kombat, niratrat ng Special Forces hanggang mamatay sina Jessie Perez at Christian Noceto habang sugatan sina Francis Abanilla at Geno Banez na pawang mga menor de edad. Nang walang matunton na NPA sa kabundukang ito, pinaglaruan ang mga inosenteng sibilyan na inibihingi ng katarungan hanggang sa kasalukuyan ng mga ina at kapamilya ng mga biktima.

Katulad ng kababaihan sa balisbisan ng Bundok Sierra Madre at Banahaw na dumarunas ng kawalang kapayapaan at naghubumiyaw ng hustisya, dapat ilantad at labanan ang pandarabas kay Jennifer at iba pang kabaro at kababayang biniktima ng pasismo ng estado.

*Ibagsak ang Rehimeng US-BS Aquino!
Kababaihan at LGTBs, sumapi sa NPA! Lumabok sa Digmang Bayan!
Ibasura ang VFA, EDCA at Oplan Bayanihan!
Tropang militar ng US at AFP, palayasin!*

Appendix 7: List of Interviewees and Profile Summary

To protect the identities and ensure the safety of my informants in the Philippines, both their real names and revolutionary identities were not given. However, I provided them with traditional Filipino names (for this table a corresponding English meaning) to represent them in the thesis. While the identities of the Filipino exile community would be provided (two agreed to use their birth names and the other three requested that I use their revolutionary names).

Name and Date of Interview	Age	Sexual Orientation ⁵⁷	Gender Identity ⁵⁸	Gender Expression ⁵⁹	Profile
Namnama (Hope) 9 April 2015	55	Homosexual	<i>Bayot</i>	Feminine	Active in the revolutionary movement since the early 80s. Been in and out of the guerilla zone in Mindanao. Now working for a prominent politician.
Luningning (Spark) 7 April 2015	44	Homosexual	<i>Bakla</i>	Masculine	Active in the revolutionary movement in the late 80s. Been in and out of the guerilla zone of Northern Luzon. Now living as a religious leader.
Laarni (The Dream) 7 April 2015	24	Homosexual	<i>Bakla</i>	Masculine	Integrated in the guerilla zone for two months. Now active in building a progressive LGBT oriented political party.
Liwayway (Dawn) 8 April 2015	30	Homosexual	<i>Bakla</i>	Feminine	Integrated in the guerilla zone five times (all for 2 months). Now working as a union organizer for the call center industry.
Audris (Lucky) 10 April 2015	25	Homosexual	<i>Bakla</i>	Feminine	Currently an active guerilla fighter in Southern Luzon.
Marikit (Pretty) 8 April 2015	39	Homosexual	<i>Tomboy</i>	Androgynous	Integrated in the guerilla zone at least four times (integration varies from 2 weeks to 2 months). Now working as a University Professor.
Malaya (Free) 8 April 2015	26	Homosexual	<i>Lesbian</i>	Feminine	Integrated once in the guerilla zone for 3 months. Now working as a human right lawyer.
Buwan (Moon) 9 April 2015	24	Homosexual	<i>Lesbian</i>	Feminine	Integrated once in the guerilla zone for 3 weeks. Now active in a lesbian organization.
Bituin (Star) 9 April 2015	39	Homosexual	<i>Tomboy</i>	Masculine	Integrated multiple times in the guerilla zone. Currently an artist and now working as an organizer in the urban poor communities.
Banoy (Eagle) 9 April 2015	42	Bisexual/ Heterosexual	<i>Tomboy's (ex) Girlfriend</i> ⁶⁰	Feminine	Joined the NPAs in the 1980s. Currently a PhD student in Europe. She now calls herself a Maoist rejectionist.

⁵⁷ The respondents were asked to identify their sexual orientation after providing them the definition of it from the Yogyakarta Principles (2007:6).

⁵⁸ The respondents were asked to identify their gender identity after providing them the definition of it from the Yogyakarta Principles (2007:6).

⁵⁹ The respondents were asked to identify their gender expression after providing them the definition of it from the American Psychological Association (2011:1).

⁶⁰ In the Philippines, it is understood that a heterosexual person can have a relationship with somebody of the same sex without losing their heterosexual identity.

Jose Maria Sison 27 April 2015	76	Heterosexual	<i>Lalaki/ Man</i>	Masculine	Founding chairperson of the re-established Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), a former NPA guerilla, political prisoner 1977-1986. Currently in exile in Utrecht, Netherlands, working as the chief-political consultant of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines and international chairman of the International League of People's Struggle (ILPS).
Fidel Agcaoili 23 April 2015	70+	Heterosexual	<i>Lalaki/ Man</i>	Masculine	One of the highest ranking officers of the CPP, former political detainee. Currently in exile in Utrecht, Netherlands, working as the Chief Negotiator for peace on the side of the NDFP.
Ka Martin 23 April 2015	64	Heterosexual	<i>Lalaki/ Man</i>	Masculine	Former NPA commander in Southern Luzon. Currently in exile in Utrecht, Netherlands, working as one of the coordinators of the ILPS.
Ka Rose 23 April 2015	52	Heterosexual	<i>Lalaki/ Man</i>	Masculine	One of the expansion leaders of the Southern Luzon Command of the NPA to Mindoro Island. Currently in exile in Utrecht, Netherlands.
Ka George 23 April 2015	50+	Heterosexual	<i>Babae/ Woman</i>	Feminine	A revolutionary cultural worker who integrated with different guerilla zones of the NPA. Currently in exile in Utrecht, Netherlands. Wife of Ka Rose.

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