

Talibang Anakpawis

₱10

“Ipagtanggol ang inaapi; labanan ang umaapi”

No. 1, 21 April 2025

Kagyat na Panawagan

Kontra-Trump na Kandidatura ng Anakpawis Itaguyod!

Mga Manggagawa! Mga Kasama! Mga Kababayan!

Isang matinding banta sa sambayanang Pilipino ang administrasyong Trump. Patitindihin ng mga bagong taripa ni Trump ang imperyalistang pananakmal sa mga industriya at sa kabuhatan ng masang pinapahirapan ng mataas na buwis para mabayaran ang utang at mataas na presyo ng imported na pagkain at petrolyo. Habang ibinubwelta sa hyperdrive ang opensibang anti-China ni Trump, tinutulak ng lumalaking presensya militar ng U.S. sa Pilipinas ang bansa palapit sa isang madugong komprontasyon sa Beijing sa bandang Taiwan at South China Sea.

Ngayong nakataya ang pagtatanggol sa bayan wala ni isa sa mga kandidato ng kaliwa at paggawa na tumatakbo sa eleksiyong 2025 ang naghahayag ng kanilang pagtutol sa imperyalismong U.S. Sa halip, tinalikuran ng mga kandidato ng kaliwa at mga unyon gaya ng Akbayan, Makabayan, FFW at PLM ang anti-imperyalistang pakikibaka para pagapang na makihanay sa lubos na maka-U.S. na liberal na oposisyong anti-Duterte. Ang estratehiya ng oposisyong ito ay umapela sa gobyernong Marcos na tuta ng mga Amerikano at sa International Criminal Court na kontrolado ng mga imperyalista para supilin ang mga populistang Dutertista, at ipamalas na kinukulang ang oposisyong Dutertista sa pagbigay-suporta sa kampanya ni Trump para sakalin ang China. Ang ugnayan ng kaliwa at oposisyong liberal ay kasiraang-ngalan ng kaliwa sa mata ng masa, na punung-puno na sa imperyalistang panginikil na pinangangasiwaan ng rehimeng Marcos at ng mga katuwang nitong mga blokeng liberal. Lumalawak ang suporta para sa reaksyonaryong oposisyong Dutertista dahil pinapalitan na sila lamang ang seryosong kumakalaban sa pang-aalipusta at pagpapahirap sa bayan.

Mga Kagyat na Tungkulin at Plataporma

Mahigpit ang pangangailangan na mapakilos ang uring manggagawa para pamunuan ang pakikibaka laban kay Trump at sa lahat ng paksyon ng burgesyang Pilipino. Ang kawalan ng isang independiyenteng sandigan ng uring manggagawa ay magbubunga ng pambansang kapahamakan. Ngayoy sinusupil ng gobyernong Marcos ang ating mga demokratikong karapatan sa ngalan ng pagsugpo sa bantang Dutertista. Kung pabagsakin naman ng mga Dutertista ang rehimeng Marcos, ihahalili lang nila ang isang mas malupit na kaayusang neokolonyal. Anuman ang resulta, mapipilayan ang abilidad ng masa na salagin ang opensiba ng administrasyong Trump.

Dapat magtunggalin sa loob ng kaliwa at kilusang manggagawa para itakwil ang mga liberal at kanilang mga kunsintidor, at i-porma ang militanteng oposisyong kontra-Trump na may programa para sa pambansang pagpapalaya. Iminumungkahi namin ang sumusunod na plataporma bilang saligan ng oposisyong ito:

- **Para sa pambansang pagpapalaya!** Buwagin ang alyansa ng U.S.-Pilipinas! EDCA at VFA durugin! U.S. troops layas!
- **Radikal na repormang agraryo ngayon din!** Mga komite ng magsasaka, itayo! Sakupin ang mga lupaing pag-aari ng mga oligarko at mga panginoong neokolonyal!
- **Para sa pambansang industriyalisasyon!** Expropriasyon ng mga imperyalista at ng Top 10 Bilyonaryo ng Pilipinas! Kanselahin ang utang sa mga imperyalista!

Kung sumasang-ayon kayo sa mga ideyang ito, kumilos! Palaganapin at talakayin ang pahayag na ito sa inyong partido, unyon o organisasyong masa! Hamunin ang inyong mga kandidato na buuin ang oposisyong anti-imperyalista ng manggagawa NGAYON!

Ipaglaban ang uri! Ipagtanggol ang bayan! Magsanib pwersa tayo!

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How to Fight Duterteismo

Communism vs. Liberalism

Trump is turning the screws on the Philippines while the masses stand disarmed and divided. Some are tied to Marcos and Wall Street through their leadership's support to the liberal anti-Duterte opposition. Others are looking to the Duterteistas as the only force standing up to imperialist oppression. These divisions will only lead to disaster! To defend the Philippines against the Trump administration, we need to join together in a solid anti-imperialist front.

The Duterteistas' hints about assassinations and coups portend nothing good. They are testing the waters, wondering if there is an opening to bring down the BBM regime and regiment the masses by crushing our democratic rights and unleashing brutal state repression. The BBM regime is confident it will be able to put down the Duterteista opposition because it has the backing of the Trump administration and the pro-American officer corps. But BBM is fueling the rise of Duterteismo by prostrating the country before the imperialists. The left is unable to stop the Duterte's rise because it is tied to BBM and the imperialists.

To break the hold of Duterteismo over the masses, the workers movement must reclaim the banner of anti-imperialism and take the lead in the struggle to liberate the nation. Defense of the victims of Duterteista terror must be fused together with a program to improve the conditions of the workers and the petty bourgeoisie at the expense of the imperialists. This requires taking up the fight to *cancel the imperialist debt* which is crushing the people, *opposing the U.S.'s military encirclement of China* and the use of the country as a barracks to defend the interests of American finance capital, and *raising the banner of national liberation* to rally the Southeast Asian masses being driven to the edge as the imperialist vice tightens on the region. Obviously none of this can be done while the left is tied to the liberals, the Marcos government and the imperialists.

As things stand now, no one is challenging the pro-imperialists liberals' claims to speak for the victims of the Duterte, for democracy and against police and AFP terror. Those looking to the liberals will have their hopes cruelly dashed. Corruption, brutality, the limited character of democratic rights and the dictatorial character of the regime—all these social scourges result from the poverty and backwardness of Philippine society, which is caused by imperialist enslavement. It is not possible to



Ezra Acayan/Getty

President Rodrigo Duterte's War on Drugs took the lives of tens of thousands of Filipinos.

fight any of these things in an alliance with the U.S.'s liberal lapdogs or the Marcos regime. Moreover, the opponents of Duterteismo will be isolated and have society turned against them as long as they are associated with the supporters of imperialism. The struggle for justice and democracy can only succeed if it is waged on an anti-imperialist basis that attracts the masses behind it and addresses the real source of the problem.

Akbayan and Makabayan are campaigning for Congress to convict Sara Duterte. But what about

the president? They aren't calling for the impeachment of that equally corrupt oligarch, the man in charge who is selling the country out to the imperialists and disappearing activists in the countryside (and moreover was almost banned from running in the last election for failing to pay taxes on his family's ill-gotten wealth). No: they're pleading with Marcos to take a firm stand against corruption and crack down on his competition. As a strategy to defeat the Duterte right-wing reactionaries, this is totally self-defeating. It only associates the movement more closely with the Marcos government. This backhanded support to the U.S.'s neoliberal henchmen in Malacañang is exactly the reason why the masses believe that the right-wing populists are the only serious opponents of the existing status quo.

Marcos distanced himself from the calls for Sara's impeachment, calling it a distraction from the real business of government—but his son was the first to sign the House impeachment order and the vote was pushed through by his allies in Congress. Both BBM and the liberal anti-Duterte opposition benefit from Marcos's hypocrisy on this question. By letting Akbayan, Makabayan and the liberals spearhead the drive against the Duterte, Marcos can appear respectable and put some distance between himself and the prosecution of his main political rival. And the liberals and the left can pretend that their high-minded struggle against corruption and state violence isn't serving as a tool of BBM and his imperialist masters. This pretense won't fool the masses—to rally them we must take a stand against *all* the political dynasties, from the Duterte to the Marcoses to the Aquinos!

The Filipino people have had enough of being taxed to death by corrupt politicians. Socialists do have an interest in Sara's impeachment—but not just Sara's. Real and effective measures are needed against all the politicians who swindle the people,



Eloisa Lopez/Reuters

National Democrats demand that the Philippines rejoin the imperialist-controlled International Criminal Court. This only discredits the left in the eyes of the masses.

but the real drain on the country's wealth is not the trapos lining their pockets. It's the imperialists draining the country. The political dynasties have grown rich by helping the imperialists plunder the nation. Obviously, they can't be trusted to combat this plague. They must be forced to open the nation's books to the people, so everyone knows how much of the nation's wealth is going into dodgy deals to attract imperialist investors, what land and resources are being used to enrich foreign finance capital at the expense of the development of the nation, who is taking bribes from the imperialists. If the political dynasties refuse, their assets should be seized and used to benefit the people!

The liberals in Congress will only take the most tepid and ineffective measures against corruption, because any real steps require a confrontation with the imperialists. And Makabayan isn't taking any real steps either, because to do so will alienate their liberal colleagues in Congress. *You can't paddle your bangka in two rivers at the same time! Either you support the imperialists' liberal lackeys or you serve the masses: you have to choose which side you're on!*

Duterte's war on drugs killed untold thousands. The victims' families and comrades burn for justice. Many leftists argue we can never get justice in the Philippines. When the Marcos administration executed the ICC warrant, arresting Rodrigo Duterte and deporting him to the Hague, most of the left celebrated this as a victory. From Akbayan to Makabayan and beyond, so-called socialists are demanding that the Philippines rejoin the ICC so the ICC can prosecute Duterte's henchmen who carried out mass slaughter under the banner of the war on drugs.

The ICC's business has always been prosecuting Third World leaders who fell out of favor with U.S. imperialism, from Africa to Serbia to Venezuela and beyond. The one exception—the arrest warrant for Netanyahu—remained a dead letter precisely because it went against American interests. The arrest and trial of Rodrigo Duterte is business as usual for the ICC: targeting a figure who's inconvenient for U.S. interests in the Philippines. This does nothing to help the struggle to avenge the victims of the Duterte regime. By associating the cause with the imperialist oppressors, it alienates the people and helps Dutertistas. It has allowed Duterte's former police chief Bato Dela Rosa, whose hands are covered in the masses' blood, to posture as the defender of the nation. We need a fundamentally different strategy, one that unites the masses and brings them to their feet,

instead of relying on Marcos and the pro-imperialist ICC.

The struggle for the justice for the victims of the war on drugs throws a spotlight on the shadowy machinery of torture and assassination which the oligarchs deploy to keep the Philippines in chains. The police and army officers who carried out these killings are the backbone of the whole system of neocolonial oppression, armed and trained by the imperialists. For that reason, it will take a determined mass struggle against the imperialists and their local flunkies to finally win justice for Duterte's victims. A first step to rallying the masses behind this cause is to expose the truth about the victims, who was killed and who was responsible for the killings. To the liberal politicians who pledge their loyalty to this cause, we demand that they take action themselves instead of insisting that nothing can be done in the Philippines. *Tell us the truth: open the archives of the police, the AFP and their torture centers!*

The Trump administration is cutting military aid around the world, but the Philippines is one place where the money is flowing in the other direction. U.S. Defense Secretary Pete Hegseth is promising to "share burdens," arming and training the Philippine military and developing infrastructure that will allow the U.S. to "defend the Philippines' sovereignty" against "China's aggression." This speaks volumes about the importance of the Philippines to U.S. imperialism's main strategic aim of strangling China. But instead of building an anti-Trump campaign to throw out the U.S. troops and bases, the Filipino left's main focus is...exposing Sara for not standing up to Chinese aggression in the "West Philippine Sea"!

Competing with the Dutertistas on the basis of Filipino nationalism does not advance the interests of the Filipino masses! It subordinates them to the Filipino capitalists who are subordinated to U.S. imperialism, and it divides the workers of the world. The Filipino nation and the hundreds of millions of Chinese workers and peasants have a common enemy in U.S. imperialism. These two nations currently stand divided because the leadership of each is capitulating to imperialism. The bureaucrats running the Communist Party of China reject the communist strategy of mobilizing the toiling masses of the world to struggle for the overthrow of imperialism. Their false perspective of developing socialism only in their own country surrounded by world imperialism leads them to look instead to alliances with reactionary politicians like the Dutertes and to a military strategy that tramples on the sensibilities of oppressed nations, like firing water cannons at Filipino fisherfolk to assert their control over the Southeast Asian Sea. For their part, the Filipino left's alliance with supporters of U.S. imperialism in a common campaign against China alienates the Chinese masses and binds them closer to the CPC. The struggle for the liberation of the Philippines will never go forward under the American boot. Likewise, as long as they see the Filipino left siding with the U.S. against China, the millions and millions of Chinese workers and peasants will never support leftist struggles in the Philippines.

To undercut these divisions, the Filipino left must break its ties to the liberal lapdogs of U.S. imperialism. The struggle to defend Philippine sovereignty begins by opposing the U.S.! Building an anti-imperialist front of the workers and peasants of the Philippines and China is the best possible blow against U.S. imperialism, and also the best way to undermine the reactionary nationalist strategy of the CPC. *Don't be an imperialist running dog for Donald Trump's anti-China war drive! Joint defense of the Southeast Asian Sea against the imperialist oppressors! Rip out the fishing barriers! Share the waters! ■*

Eleksyon 2025...

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The Duterte must keep the masses under tight control, and their grip only becomes tighter as the conditions of the masses become more desperate. This is the reason the Duterteistas are manipulating the masses' legitimate fear of violent crime with law-and-order hysteria, demanding a return to the war on drugs that targeted social discontents, in particular the left and union militants, for extra-judicial killings. The Duterte chokehold cripples the fighting ability of the proletariat, the only force capable of pushing back the imperialists, and prepares the ground for further imperialist onslaughts.

The Trump administration is out for our blood. A fight-back is urgently needed, but all wings of the bourgeoisie are bound to the imperialists. Without an independent working-class pole, the outcome of this struggle will be a disaster. The Marcos government is clamping down on our democratic rights in the name of suppressing the Duterteista threat. If the Duterteistas manage to bring down the Marcos regime, they will replace it with a harsher neocolonial one. Either way, resistance to Trump's offensive will be crippled.

The defense of the nation requires building an anti-imperialist opposition that mobilizes the masses behind the leadership of the proletariat. But the left and union tops—Makabayan, Akbayan, Partido Lakas ng Masa (PLM), Federation of Free Workers, National Confederation of Labor, etc.—are rejecting this course. They have ditched the anti-imperialist struggle to crawl into the utterly pro-imperialist liberal anti-Duterte opposition. They're tailing haciendero BAM Aquino, green capitalist Kiko Pangilinan and Kakampink leader Leni Robredo, the many time recipient of imperialist NGO awards. The Philippine liberals have been closely tied to U.S. imperialism since it reconquered the country after World War II. This reflects the weakness of their class in a neocolony that is crushed under the boot of American imperialism, with little ability to push back against the real masters of the country.

The liberal opposition against Duterte serves the interests of the Trump administration. First, by pressuring President BBM to repress the Duterteista nationalists, this campaign sides with the wing of the political establishment that is more capitulatory to the U.S. Second, by begging the ICC to crack down on Duterte's human rights violations, the opposition is further subordinating



Philippine Collegian

Don't be a running dog for Trump's anti-China war drive! It's the U.S., not China, that occupies and exploits the Philippines. Build the alliance of the Filipino toilers and Chinese masses against U.S. imperialism!

the country to the imperialists. On top of that, the liberals are waving the banner of Chinese aggression, going after the Duterte for not being supportive enough of the main strategic interest of the Trump administration, the strangulation of China, when it is the U.S., not China, that militarily occupies the Philippines and plunders the country's resources.

The left's ties to this opposition are discrediting it in the eyes of the masses, who are fed up with the imperialist extortion being administered by the Marcos government and its liberal bloc partners. Support for the Duterteistas is growing because they appear to be the only serious opponents of national humiliation and pauperization. There must be a fight in the left and workers movement to split with the liberals and their enablers, for an anti-Trump opposition with a program to liberate the nation!

Imperialism and the UniTeam

The neocolonial bondage of the Philippines deepened when the U.S. emerged as the world's only superpower after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Globalization broke down the barriers to foreign finance capital and directly subordinated every aspect of the economy to the world market. Backward and unproductive domestic manufacturing was swept away almost entirely. Even steel production closed down, making the country totally reliant on imported materials. Rice, the staple food, is grown on small farms with backward methods, and at the same time relies on agribusiness for seed, fertilizer and pesticide. Dependence on imperialism combined with low yields has pauperized the peasantry, driving them into the cities, and transformed the country into the world's largest importer of rice, with the highest rice prices in the region.

As domestic manufacturing closed and peasants migrated to the cities, foreign investors moved in to take advantage of the low-wage, educated, English-speaking workforce in low-end industrial and service jobs. Foreign-owned light industry sprang up, in particular Japanese, South Korean and U.S. electronics assembly and semiconductor packaging plants that serve as a middle link in the global supply chain. Millions flooded out of the country to work abroad. Their remittances, the majority of them from the U.S., provide a crucial economic cushion and contribute nine percent of the Philippine GDP.

As globalization transformed the economy, the Philippine bourgeoisie acted more and more as a labor contractor for the



Daniel Ceng/Getty

Workers and poor protest violation of national sovereignty after the arrest of former president Rodrigo Duterte, now held in ICC detention center in The Hague.



Pamantik KMU

KMU-affiliated workers at Dutch Nexperia electronics plant confront private guards attempting to break their picket line. The unions must stand together against the imperialist bosses!

imperialists. At the same time, the proletariat grew as new layers were drawn into manufacturing. A large urban petty bourgeoisie emerged which, like the proletariat, is exploited by imperialist finance capital. The Filipino working people directly confront the imperialist bosses.

During globalization, the imperialists savaged the Philippines under the liberal watchwords of free trade, open borders, human rights, etc. The left and the labor bureaucrats fully embraced these bourgeois ideals and the NGOs, becoming heavily dependent on foreign aid money. They played no role independent of the liberals and became associated with the U.S.-dominated world order in the eyes of the masses. This paved the way for the rise of Rodrigo Duterte.

In the 2016 presidential election, the left did not offer an anti-imperialist alternative to Duterte's right-wing nationalist populism. The National Democrats have the allegiance of the most advanced layers of the working class because they have the reputation as militant fighters against imperialist oppression. They played a particularly disastrous role in this period. At first, the NatDems bought into Duterte's populist credentials, supporting him as an anti-imperialist modernizing nationalist and even entering his Cabinet. But when Duterte started imprisoning and assassinating leftists and kicked the NatDems out of the government, they zig-zagged into the pro-imperialist liberal anti-Duterte opposition. *Both positions were a betrayal of the masses' anti-imperialist aspirations.*

Because the communists failed to fight for leadership of the anti-imperialist struggle, Rodrigo Duterte left office with the highest approval ratings of any president since the 1986 People Power Revolution. In the 2022 elections, Bongbong Marcos and Sara Duterte worked together in the UniTeam coalition. Sara's selling point was continuity with her father's outgoing administration. BBM traded on nostalgia for his father's dictatorship as a golden age when the country had a domestic manufacturing base and built infrastructure, schools and hospitals. The left either supported Leni Robredo, the preferred candidate of Western imperialism or campaigned for PLM's Leody de Guzman and academic Walden Bello, who buried the question of imperialism. The UniTeam won the election decisively.

But the UniTeam began to break apart immediately after the election. The country came out of the pandemic with an unbearable debt burden which had almost doubled during the COVID pandemic, when Duterte imposed some of the longest and harshest lockdowns in the world. Rising interest rates meant the debt was

burning through a growing percentage of the country's income and global inflation was causing fuel and food prices to skyrocket. The imperialists were threatening to cut the country's credit, and the same year the country was hit by ten typhoons, causing U.S. \$38 billion in damage. With the Chinese economy stagnating after COVID, the infrastructure and aid programs China had promised to the Duterte administration fell through. Pressed by high prices and high taxes, the population was stretched to the breaking point. Under this pressure, Marcos swung into line and did whatever the imperialists told him.

Since the Trump administration came into office, the imperialist pressure has gone into hyperdrive.

Trump's tariffs are disrupting the economy, threatening trade war with China and hitting the Japanese and South Korean industries that invest in the Philippines. Foreign investment has fallen by 85 percent and the country's debt has reached its highest point since the collapse of the Soviet Union. Trump's war on immigrants is choking the flow of remittances. Inflation is crushing the masses. All the cracks in society are opening under the pressure of the imperialist offensive.

Build the Anti-Imperialist Front!

Numerous unions and leftist tendencies are campaigning in the elections. They are campaigning against each other, but their campaigns all sound the same: end the political dynasties, higher wages, lower prices, fight corruption. Despite the left taking up these causes, the conditions of the masses have not improved. Prices are going up, wages are stagnating and the whole society is being polarized between two great political dynasties in their struggle for power.

To defend the masses' livelihoods today, much less improve their conditions and advance towards socialism, requires a struggle against the imperialists. But nobody is raising the question of imperialist domination in this election



Free Amanda Echanis Movement

Free Amanda Echanis!

Amihan organizer and poet Amanda Echanis with her baby in prison. Arrested during the anti-communist witch hunt in 2020 for standing up for peasant women, Amanda must not stand alone! Ang laban ng isa ay laban ng lahat!



Luke Espiritu

He's not against Leni now. PLM senate candidate Luke Espiritu seeks the political blessings of pro-U.S. liberal Leni Robredo. Ibagsak ang mga tuta ng kano!

campaign: all of the workers candidates have dropped this in order to crawl into the camp of the pro-U.S. bourgeois liberals. To play a progressive role, the left must cut its ties to the Marcos cronies and the liberals, and those elements in the workers movement who conciliate them. It is by fighting in their own defense against the imperialists that the Filipino workers can mobilize the peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie behind them. This is the way that we can take advantage of our place in the world economy by attracting the support of workers all along the supply chain, across the Global South, in China and into the imperialist centers, in struggle against our common oppressor. ***What is urgently needed is an anti-imperialist front that unites the oppressed masses under the bright red banner of the working class!***

The struggle for higher wages and lower prices is a struggle against the Trump administration's imperialist onslaught. It requires a common front against the imperialists and the bankers, speculators and parasitic middlemen. But the unions are organizing this struggle as a moral appeal, launching token, isolated strikes while counting on the liberals in Congress, the ILO, labor mediation and the DOLE to help the workers. All these forces are beholden to the imperialists! Instead of relying on them, the unions need to rally the support of the masses. The key to this is taking the lead in the anti-imperialist struggle, linking the struggle for higher wages and lower prices to cancellation of the debt, seizure of the imperialists' assets and renegotiation of foreign investment on terms favorable to the working people. Where unity is needed against the imperialists, the unions are currently divided. The union federations are separated by political affiliation and each one stabs the others' struggles in the back. Socialists must take advantage of the election campaign period to break down these divisions, not just with empty words but with funds, strike support action and defense of all those penalized for fighting for their class. Real solidarity actions will not only strengthen the existing unions, but help to attract younger workers who are overwhelmingly unorganized to rebuild the unions.

Likewise, the fight against the political dynasties can only go forward insofar as it is organized as a struggle against imperialism. All of the workers candidates are squirming to avoid this basic point. For example, PLM proposes to end the political dynasties by passing a law like the one drafted by BAM Aquino, himself the third generation of a leading political dynasty. The obvious question is: how will you get the political dynasties in

Congress to pass a law against themselves? PLM proposes to do this with a People's Initiative, by having ten percent of the electorate sign a piece of paper saying they want to ban the political dynasties. It's in the constitution—never mind the many democratic provisions in the constitution that are only ever honored in the breach. PLM insists that it's possible take political power away from the great families who have relied on imperialist support to lord over the masses since the Spanish occupation...by getting one-tenth of the population to sign a piece of paper. This is even crazier than Marcos's plan to develop the country with imperialist loans! The oligarchs will fight to the death for their power and privileges—as the masses know very well from their own real life experience. So why is PLM campaigning on such a ridiculous position? To actually break the power of the political dynasties in this country, you're going to have to take away their weapons and their property. And there's no possible way to do this while remaining respectable in bourgeois liberal circles. The root of the problem is PLM's commitment to "fight the forces of Darkness and Evil" together with BAM Aquino and Kiko Pangilinan.

The political dynasties exist as intermediaries between the imperialists and the impoverished masses. To get rid of the political dynasties requires revolution that overthrows the whole apparatus of neocolonial domination in the country. The left must stop using their election campaigns to mislead the masses and to promote illusions in the oligarchs' cronies in Congress. We must use the election period to strengthen the masses and weaken the great families by targeting the real source of their power: their imperialist masters. Building the independent fighting power of the working class as the leader of the nation is way to open the road to revolution.

In the recent period, the left has been unable to influence events in the country or improve the conditions of the masses. An election campaign that aims to mobilize the masses to fight against imperialist oppression with the methods of the class struggle would be an excellent step towards rescuing the left from irrelevance. To this end, we propose that the left break with the pro-imperialists liberals and unite behind this platform to build an anti-Trump workers opposition:

- **For national liberation!** Break the U.S.-Philippine alliance! Smash EDCA and VFA! U.S. troops out!
- **Radical agrarian reform now!** Form peasant committees! Seize the lands of the oligarchs and the neocolonial masters!
- **For national industrialization!** Expropriate the imperialists and the Philippines' Top 10 Billionaires! Cancel the imperialist debt!

The main obstacle to rebuilding the anti-imperialist movement is not the power of the imperialists, the brutality of the AFP or Marcos's police powers. Contrary to what a lot of leftists argue, it's not the "backward colonial mentality" of the Filipino masses. ***The main obstacle is within the left and workers movement.*** The leadership is tied to the liberal bourgeoisie who themselves are dependent on the imperialists. To begin to turn this situation around, the left must break its ties with the liberal bourgeoisie and their imperialist patrons. As comrade Lenin put it: "Unity with opportunism means unity between the proletariat and its national bourgeoisie, i.e., submission to the latter, a split in the international revolutionary working class. We do not say that an immediate split with the opportunists in all countries is desirable, or even possible at present; we do say that such a split has come to a head, that it has become inevitable, is progressive in nature, and necessary to the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat" ("Opportunism, and the Collapse of the Second International," 1915). ■

Eleksyon 2025

Rebuild the Anti-Imperialist Movement!

The Trump administration is devastating the Philippines. Foreign investment has plummeted while the country's debt has reached record levels. The Filipino people are being crushed by the burden of high taxes to pay the debt and high prices for imported food and fuel. At the same time, the country is on the front line of Trump's anti-China offensive and the U.S. troop presence is expanding, bringing the American boot down on the archipelago.

The Philippines is being ravaged in order to maintain U.S. hegemony over the whole world. With their economic dominance eroding, the American imperialists are determined to reverse China's economic rise and intensify the exploitation of the Global South. The Filipino bourgeoisie is trapped between the relentless pressure of the Trump administration and the increasingly desperate masses. This is provoking a furious struggle within the country's ruling elite over how to defend the shrinking rations they collect from the imperialist table while keeping the masses under foot. The two sides in this struggle are represented by the Marcos and Duterte political dynasties.

Bongbong Marcos's government is appealing for U.S. backing by being the best possible *tuta* for American interests. Faced with harsher demands from imperialist investors, the Marcos government is frantically offering more and more tax incentives, more and more public private partnerships, taking out more and more foreign loans to build infrastructure to attract investment. As imperialism drains the Filipino nation, BBM is struggling to pacify the population, rolling out new government aid and development programs and paying for them with foreign loans, putting the country deeper into debt and deeper in the pockets of foreign finance capital. BBM has prostrated the Philippines before Trump's anti-China offensive, converting it into a barracks for the American military. He packed the government with pro-American anti-China hawks, opened more bases to U.S. forces and is reconfiguring the Armed Forces of the Philippines to fit the needs of American containment of China. BBM has the American troops behind him in the event the masses push back against their enslavement.



Jes Aznar/Getty

President Bongbong Marcos at Balikatan war games. U.S. military build-up aims to maintain world domination by throttling China.

The Dutertes rage against Marcos for being weak and capitulating. To shore up the bourgeoisie's rapidly eroding position, they are looking to pressure the imperialists for better terms by tapping the masses' hatred of national oppression and maneuvering between the U.S. and China. These counterfeit anti-imperialists have no intent of mounting a real struggle for national liberation! The Dutertes and their allies like Bato Dela Rosa and Vic Rodriguez do have an interest in pushing back against the imperialists in order to improve their position. But they will be the first to abandon the struggle when things get hot, because any serious challenge to the neocolonial order also threatens the business and narrow clan interests of these parasitic oligarchs. It sends them right back into the arms of the imperialists for arms and aid to put down the masses. This is exactly what happened when Duterte welcomed U.S. troops to crush the Moros in the Battle of Marawi.

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IBAGSAK ang mga Tuta ni Trump!