Date : Tuesday, November 3, 2020

Time : 10:00 a.m.

Venue : Session Hall
Senate of the Philippines
Financial Center, Roxas Boulevard, Pasay City
Via Hybrid Cisco Webex (Videoconference)

Agenda : PROPOSED SENATE RESOLUTION NO. 559 – DIRECTING THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL DEFENSE AND SECURITY, PEACE, UNIFICATION AND RECONCILIATION TO EXERCISE ITS OVERSIGHT AUTHORITY OVER THE DEFENSE SECTOR ON THE ISSUE OF RED-TAGGING/RED-BAITING OF CERTAIN CELEBRITIES, PERSONALITIES, INSTITUTIONS, AND ORGANIZATIONS (by Senator Lacson)

ATTENDANCE

SENATORS :

HON. PANFILO M. LACSON - Chairperson
HON. RONALD “BATÓ” M. DELA ROSA - Vice Chairperson
HON. GRACE L. POE - Vice Chairperson
HON. CHRISTOPHER LAWRENCE T. GO - Vice Chairperson
HON. EMMANUEL “MANNY” PACQUIAO - Vice Chairperson
HON. RISA HONTIVEROS - Member
HON. FRANCIS “KIKO” N. PANGILINAN - Member
HON. VICENTE C. SOTTO III - Senate President
GUESTS/RESOURCE PERSONS:

Hon. Delfin N. Lorenzana - Secretary, Department of National Defense (DND)
Hon. Reynaldo B. Mapagu - Undersecretary, DND
MGen. Benedict Arevalo - DND
Col. Rolando Nerona - DND
Hon. Eduardo M. Año - Secretary, Department of the Interior and Local Government (DILG)
Hon. Jonathan Malaya - Undersecretary, DILG
Atty. Bernadette Ongoco - State Counsel, Department of Justice (DOJ)
Gen. Gilbert I. Gapay - Chief of Staff, Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP)
BGen. Alex DC Luna - AFP
BGen. Ser-Me Ayuyao - AFP
MGen. Edgardo De Leon - AFP
MGen. Ernesto Torres Jr. - AFP
Lt. Gen. Antonio Parlade Jr. - AFP Southern Luzon Command
P/Gen. Camilo Pancratius P. Cascolan - Chief, Philippine National Police (PNP)
P/LtGen. Cesar Hawthorne Binag - PNP
P/MGen. Marni C. Marcos Jr. - PNP
P/MGen. Ferdinand O. Divina - PNP
P/BGen. Adolfo B. Samala Jr. - PNP
P/BGen. Matthew P. Baccay - PNP
Gen. Hermogenes Esperon Jr. - National Security Adviser, National Security Council (NSC)
Hon. Lorraine T. Badoy - Undersecretary, NSC
Gen. Vicente Agdamag - Deputy Director General, NSC
Gen. Rufino Lopez Jr. - Deputy Director General, NSC
Mr. Alex Paul I. Monteagudo - Director General, National Intelligence Coordinating Agency (NICA)

Ms. Marites Delos Reyes - Director, NICA
Mr. Francis Jude Lauengco - Director, NSA
Atty. Rowena Acudili - NICA
Atty. Jerome Abraham Reyes - NICA
Atty. Maneeka Asistol Sarza - Legal Counsel, Makabayan
Mr. Jeffrey Celiz - Former Rebel
Ms. Lady Desiree Miranda - Former Rebel
Mr. Noel M. Legaspi - Former Rebel
Ms. Joy James Saguino - Former Rebel
SENATE SECRETARIAT:

Ms. Charlyne Claire Fuentes-Olay  -  Committee Secretary
Mr. Rommel P. Alger  -  Committee Stenographer
Mr. Enrico G. Cruz  -  Committee Stenographer
Ms. Maybelle H. Balagne  -  Committee Stenographer
Ms. Jo B. Cadaing  -  Committee Stenographer
Ms. Ma. Rosalinda J. Catadman  -  Committee Stenographer
Ms. Rea P. Corpuz  -  Committee Stenographer
Ms. Jocelyn A. Dela Cruz  -  Committee Stenographer
Ms. Jennifer L. Flores  -  Committee Stenographer
Ms. Cindell B. Gealan  -  Committee Stenographer
Mr. Guillermo E. Sapinoso Jr.  -  Committee Stenographer

(For complete list, please see attached Guest List.)

cbg/jmb/agc
AT 10:01 A.M., HON. PANFILO M. LACSON, CHAIRPERSON OF THE COMMITTEE, CALLED THE HEARING TO ORDER.

THE CHAIRPERSON. ... Likewise, virtually present are the following members of the Committee: Senator Grace Poe, Senator Bong Go, Senator Risa Hontiveros and Senator Ronald “Bato” dela Rosa.

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Good morning, Chair.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Good morning, sirs. Good morning, ma’am.

Now, let it be said that your Committee on National Defense and Security, Peace, Unification and Reconciliation derives the pleasure in conducting this public hearing. Why? Kapag ang pagtutunggali ay nagaganap sa pagitan ng Pilipino at kapwa Pilipino, hindi lamang sa diskurso at ideolohiya at paniniwala kundi pati sa larangan ng pagkitil ng buhay ng mga Pilipino, armadong kawal man o gerilya ng New People’s Army, lalo na’t kung ang biktima ay inosenteng sibilyan na naipit lamang sa magkaiba at magkalayong adhikain at paniniwala ng magkabilang panig, simple lang at sigurado ang resultang kahihinatnan, Pilipino at Pilipino pa rin ang talo.

When no distinction is made between an activist and a terrorist, idealist and an extremist, a reformist and a subversive, we risk putting everyone under a cloud of suspicion and our society in a constant state of insecurity.
Today, by virtue of Senate Resolution No. 559, this committee hearing is convened to exercise its oversight authority over the defense sector on the issue of red-tagging or red-baiting of certain personalities, institutions and organizations.

To say the least, the alleged red-tagging is a crisis in itself. Rightly or wrongly, it steers public outcry and imperils our consensus effort to uphold and protect human rights in the country while strengthening our law enforcement measures. These issues most unfortunately transpire in the foreground of the passage of the Anti-Terrorism Act of 2020 and the vigorous efforts of the National Task Force to End Local Communist Armed Conflict, both of which give our military and police personnel the necessary tools to fight terrorism on one hand, as well as local communist insurgency on the other.

Hence, as I have repeatedly done in the recent past, let me be forthright by saying that as one of the authors and the principal sponsor of the Anti-Terrorism Act of 2020, we ensure that the same is applied correctly and appropriately with utmost respect for the rule of law and that the Bill of Rights under the 1987 Constitution will always be the backbone of this legislation.

This is the reason why we gather here this morning, with the end in view of crafting proper guidelines in order to prevent any misunderstanding between the public and our law enforcers and
ultimately, to ensure the protection of the constitutional rights of the people in general. We also need to be reminded that as we continue to struggle against the longest insurgency problem in the world, the CPP-NPA, while listed as a terrorist organization by foreign jurisdiction such as the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada and New Zealand and once supranational jurisdiction, namely the European Union, is not in the list of the United Nations Security Council by virtue of UNSC Resolution 1373. In the Philippines, there is a pending proscription case against the organization before the Manila Regional Trial Court.

For the record, aside from official notices delivered by the Committee Secretariat last October 30 to the different progressive militant groups—Bayan Muna, Alliance of Concerned Teachers, Kabataan, GABRIELA—while properly received, did not confirm their attendance for still unknown reason until now. We also sent an open invitation last week to the representatives of the Makabayan Koalisyon ng Mamamayan or Makabayan bloc of the House of Representatives to voluntarily attend this public hearing. The letter was coursed through the Speaker of the House, considering that the Committee cannot issue the said invitation directly to individual party-list representatives in view of the inter-parliamentary courtesy existing between the two chambers.
Having said that, we received a letter from former Congressman Neri Colmenares requesting that another hearing be held so he may be given an opportunity to attend but without the presence of the members of the security sector, particularly Lieutenant General Parlade. The Chair may have to discuss this with the members of the Committee.

With the presence of the leaderships of the Defense and Interior Departments, as well as the Armed Forces of the Philippines and the Philippine National Police, respective members of the Executive Department and the legal counsel of the progressive political party-lists—I understand Atty. Maneeka Sarza will act as the legal counsel for the Makabayan bloc—this hearing intends to deliberate on the root of the conflict on red-tagging and other related matters of national concerns, a raging complex issue between State actors and progressive groups.

To this end, let us begin.

Committee Secretary, kindly acknowledge the presence of our resource persons, physically and virtually.

**THE COMMITTEE SECRETARY.** Good morning.

The following resource persons are present physically with us here at the Session Hall: from the Department of National Defense, we have Secretary Delfin Lorenzana; from the Department of the Interior and Local Government, we have Secretary Eduardo Año, as well as Usec
Jonathan Malaya; for the Armed Forces of the Philippines, we have General Gilbert Gapay and Lieutenant General Antonio Parlade Jr.; from the Philippine National Police, we have Police Lieutenant General Cesar Hawthorne Binag; from the National Security Council, we have General Hermogenes Esperon Jr., together with Usec Lorraine Badoy, Deputy Director General Rufino Lopez Jr. and Deputy Director Vicente Agdamag; from the National Intelligence Coordinating Agency, we have Director General Alex Paul Monteagudo.

And virtually, we are joined by Major General Benedict Arevalo and Usec Reynaldo Mapagu of the DND; Atty. Bernadette Ongoco from the Department of Justice; Police Major General Marni Marcos and Police Major General Ferdinand Divina from the PNP; and representing Makabayan, its legal counsel, Atty. Maneeka Asistol Sarza. Thank you.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Thank you.

Committee Secretary, kindly administer the oath to the resource persons, both physically and virtually.

THE COMMITTEE SECRETARY. Please stand.

Please raise your hand.

Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth in this Senate hearing?

[The following persons took their oath and replied in the affirmative: Mr. Lorenzana, Mr. Año, Mr. Malaya, Mr. Gapay, Mr. Parlade,
Mr. Binag, Mr. Esperon, Ms. Badoy, Mr. Lopez, Mr. Agdamag, Mr. Monteagudo, Mr. Arevalo, Mr. Mapagu, Ms. Ongoco, Ms. Marcos, Mr. Divina and Ms. Sarza.]

THE CHAIRPERSON. Thank you.

THE COMMITTEE SECRETARY. Thank you.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Please take your seats.

Let me find out from those present, who among you will make opening statements?

Yes. Secretary Lorenzana and then Secretary Año and then Secretary Esperon.

Yes. You may have the floor. And after that, we will open the floor for interpellation. And I will recognize my colleagues in order of their time of log-in, namely, of course, the Senate President, then Senator Grace Poe, Senator Bong Go, Senator Risa Hontiveros and Senator dela Rosa.

Yes, Secretary Lorenzana, kindly proceed.

MR. LORENZANA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Good morning to all the senators attending. Good morning to my colleagues, Secretary Esperon, Secretary Año, and all those staff who are here, General Parlade. Good morning to all.

Mr. Chairman, thank you very much for calling this hearing...
MR. LORENZANA. ... thank you very much for calling this hearing. We welcome this and my colleagues here will be presenting some presentations and to actually debunk the accusations of the Makabayan bloc that we are red-tagging them.

We will present evidences from the ELCAC, the vice-chairman of the ELCAC, Secretary Esperon. And also from the DILG, their appreciation of what is happening in the ground. I think this is very timely, Mr. Chairman, so that we can expose once and for all the true color of these people that are trying to destroy our democracy.

Thank you, sir.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Thank you.

Secretary Ed Año.

MR. AÑO. Senate President Vicente Sotto III, Senator Panfilo Lacson, sir, other members of the Senate, fellow public servants, good morning.

The government has been accused of some sectors of red-tagging people who have opposing views or are critics of the administration.

First, we would like to point out that this whole issue of red-tagging is not a product of our imagination or fancy merely to pin down the opposition as the leftist groups would want it to appear. In fact, it was Communist Party of the Philippines, Joma Sison, who red tagged
this left-leaning organizations, such as Anakbayan, Bayan Muna, GABRIELA, Kilusang Mayo Uno and all the front organizations.

This is a free and democratic country and free speech is constitutionally protected. However, given by their Marxist-Leninist ideology when these individuals and groups begin to plot and overthrow existing government, terrorize innocent civilians and take a punch to overthrow the government, that is a totally different story.

And second, we would like to emphasize that the government is duty-bound to protect its people. It will do everything within its authority to ensure that the people are safe and protected, most especially from the enemies of the people who are like wolves in sheep’s clothing taking advantage of the people’s weaknesses and vulnerabilities so that they would unwittingly join their cause. Sometimes, we wonder why these groups complain of red-tagging when they themselves admit to being ‘Red,’ meaning, communist. Their ideology is Marxist-Leninist-Maoist and their bible is Season’s *Philippine Society and Revolution*. Directs the waging of a revolution as a transition stage towards a communist state in the country.

Third, the government—the DND, the DILG along with PNP, AFP and other agencies are all for peace, and red-tagging is not part of our agenda nor is it our policy.
Our distinguished Senators, let me emphasize that we in the government are not the enemies here. We all know who the enemies are and they are the communist terrorist groups under the CPP-NPA-NDF and their allies who have been country’s pain(?) for the past five decades. Maraming pong salamat, Mr. Chair.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Thank you.

Secretary Jun Esperon, you have the floor.

MR. ESPERON. The Senate President, Vicente Tito Sotto, the Committee Chairman, Senator Panfilo Lacson and Honorable Members of the Senate, thank you for issuing Resolution No. 559 that called for this hearing and indeed as you can see, we are in full force.

We have come here to present the reason of the National Task Force to End Local Communist Armed Conflict—for peace and development, and later, explain in more detail, the duplicitous character of the CPP-NPA-NDF which we collectively call the communist terrorist group. They have stunted the growth and modernization not only of the countryside but of the whole country.

We may wonder why the NPA with about 5,000 active fighters have remained a threat. We know that the NPA is only the army; the CPP, the Communist Party of the Philippines, is the brain or the mastermind—more aptly called “mastermind;” and the National Democratic Front is the shield. Despite the successes of the security
sector and of the government in addressing the New People’s Army, they continue to recruit new members. The problem really is they resort to radicalization and recruitment of the youth to replenish their rank in a cycle.

Mr. President, Mr. Chairman, I would like to propose that I be allowed to present a briefing to this body on the national task force purpose, reason and organization and how it is envisioned to remedy the malady that has plagued the country for the past 52 years. We certainly cannot allow this generation and the generations to come to continue to suffer from the atrocities and the anti-people activities of the CPP-NPA-NDF.

After my briefing, a very short briefing will be given by Secretary Ed Año of DILG concentrating on the recruitment process. I further propose that a briefing be allowed for the director general of NICA for its briefing on the true nature, the duplicitous character of the CPP-NPA-NDF.

Mr. President, Mr. Chairman, we are ready also to present former cadres, if you would call them, to give their testimony. We are ready to present them.

After our presentation, we hope to have done the trumpet call for unity across the land in one whole nation and one government approach to finally end the communist insurgency in this land.
Thank you very much.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Before the briefing and presentation, the Vice-Chair of the Committee on National Defense and Security would like to make an opening statement, Senator Ronald “Bato” Dela Rosa.

Yes, Senator Dela Rosa, you are recognized.

**SEN. DELA ROSA.** Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Good morning to all our resource speakers.

Foremost, I would like to thank Senator Lacson for filing Senate Resolution No. 559 and spearheading to this hearing to shed light on the issue of red-tagging. This proceeding will pave a way, both to the AFP and PNP on one hand, and those allegedly red tagged on the other, for an opportunity to clarify their respective assertions.

Mr. Chair, to recall, the Senate Committee on Public Order and Dangerous Drugs joint with this Committee held two public hearings on Senate Resolution No. 38 last year. The Committees heard the plight of parents who lost their children to people and organizations whose purpose it seemed was to drive families apart and creating rebels out of children.

The Committee on Public Order and Dangerous Drugs submitted its findings and recommendations through Committee Report No. 10. It was signed by majority of the members of the concerned committees and is now pending in the Senate plenary for adoption. The said
Committee Report carefully considers the statements of resource persons, especially the testimonies or recruitment experiences of former rebels who have returned into the folds of the law. The Committee reported out, among others, the issue of recruitment of minors as combatants by the communist terrorist groups is an age-old problem. There have been numerous reports in the past that claimed the CPP-NPA terrorists deliberately recruit teenagers as their manpower for armed struggle against the government. And there are allegations that some party-list groups advocate communist ideologies. They espouse principles that give semblance to democratic values and doctrines, but with the real ultimate goal of overthrowing the government.

Mr. Chair, some of the party-list groups mentioned in Committee Report No. 10 are also the same groups which are allegedly being red tagged now. However, it was the group of parents invited during the Senate hearings who testified on the vicious cycle employed by the organizations in luring young students in joining underground activities as allegedly experienced by their children.

Bagama’t patuloy na kinakabit sa mga pangalan nila General Parlade, Usec Badoy, DG Monteagudo and other military and police personnel. .../rico/jmb/agc
SEN. DELA ROSA. ...and other military and police personnel, ang salitang "red-tagging," I believe, that one of their goals is to protect our countrymen from being recruited by the terrorist CPP-NPA-NDF. This communist terrorist group continuous to spread terror even during the time of pandemic. As such, the aim to do their best to prevent any form of recruitment by communist terrorist group from occurring. As the saying goes, prevention is better than cure. Mr. Chairman, it is about time we call a spade a spade. Tama na ang limampung-taong panloloko at panlilinlang na ginagawa itong terroristang grupong CPP-NPA-NDF sa ating mga kababayan. Sila ang hadlang sa pag-unlad ng ating bansa lalung-lalo na sa kanayunan. This has to stop, Mr. Chairman.

To the CPP-NPA-NDF legal fronts, I want to pose this question, which was already being asked by other people many times, what do you call an animal that quacks like a duck, walks like a duck and swims like a duck? Is it a chicken? Hindi iyan manok, Mr. Chairman, kundi it is a duck. Instead of complaining that the military and police are red tagging them, they should complain against Joma Sison because, in the first place, it was Joma Sison who red tagged BAYAN, KMU, KMP, GABRIELA, Alliance of Concerned Teachers, LFS, Cadena and others as a major component organizations of the NDF, one of the three inseparable organizations, the CPP-NPA-NDF, that aimed at overthrowing the government through violent means.
With the guidance of our distinguished Chairman, I am certain that after today’s hearing the issues between the military and law enforcement agencies of the government and the left-leaning organizations will be resolved for the benefit of the Filipino people which we all vowed to serve.

Maraming salamat. Magandang umaga muli sa ating lahat.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Thank you, Senator Dela Rosa.

Senator Risa Hontiveros, would also like to make an opening statement. But before that, the Chair acknowledges the presence of Senator Manny Pacquiao and Senator Kiko Pangilinan.

Go ahead, Senator Risa Hontiveros.

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Salamat po, Mr. Chair.

Magandang umaga, Mr. Chair, fellow senators, resource persons.

I come to this hearing because of two things that are important to me. The first is the protection of women from threats both veiled and overt and malicious accusations, and the second, is national security. Iyong una, madali na po sigurong unawain, hindi po ba? Nagpakita ng kamulatan, critical thinking at pakikipag-kapwa tao sina Liza Soberano, Catriona Gray at Angel Locsin. Ano ang sinusukli sa kanila? Red-tagging at mayroon pang kasamang death threat.
I can’t begin to imagine the anguish and emotional toll this must have taken on these women who have been directly hit by these accusations as well as their families. I’m certain that it also caused a chilling effect on citizens who only want to weigh in on issues of national importance and hold government to account for its failures to the people. Free speech is essential to democracy and nation-building. It should not be suppressed and, least of all, by red-tagging.

The second point, however, Mr. Chairman, is equally disturbing. The National Task Force to End Local Communist Armed Conflict has been allocated a proposed budget of P19 billion for 2021; 16 billion of which has been earmarked for its barangay development program. This is a considerable amount of money. It’s more than the proposed budget for the Department of Housing, Settlements and Urban Development, P632 million; Office of the Ombudsman, P3.3 billion; Department of Budget and Management, P1.9 billion; and even the Department of Finance, P17.46 billion. Moreover, our officials are spending an inordinate amount of time, running after ordinary citizens using the communist boogeyman.

In the meantime, a former AFP Chief of Staff has stated that China would seize the Philippines by force if a war were to break out between Beijing and Washington. Is this not a more imminent and more compelling threat, Mr. Chairman? Todo naka-focus sa CPP at sa NPA, the
remnants of an insurgency facing imminent defeat in the battlefield pero
walang angal na papapasukin sa ating bansa ang isang dayuhang bayan.

Mr. Chair, I was a member of the GRP-NDF Peace Panel on the
side of the government. The issues of the communist insurgency are
not new to me. My party, Akbayan, historically has called for human
rights accountability also of non-state actors at kasama dito ang NPA. I
will not hesitate to speak against the violations of the NPA, as I have
done. But I will not sit idly by in the face of red-tagging and scare tactics
by uniformed agents of the state especially when they are perpetrated
against ordinary civilians including women and especially when there is
a bigger enemy that is not being confronted.

We’re holding this hearing on the heels of the strongest typhoon
in the world for 2020. Ito ay direktang tumama sa Bicol Region na isa
sa mga rehiyon na identified na may communist insurgency problem.
Ngayon pa lang sasabihin ko na po, Mr. Chairman, iyang P16 billion na
budget ng NTF-ELCAC Barangay Development Program, I will call for a
portion for it to be reallocated to typhoon rehabilitation. I have already
called for P8 billion to be reallocated to health. Magre-allocate din po
tayo para sa kababayan nating mga nasalanta.

Salamat po, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Thank you, Senator Risa Hontiveros.
Before I recognize Secretary Esperon and Director General, NICA, General Alex Monteagudo, to present before the Committee, I would just like to ask this very important question which is the meat of the hearing today.

Kay Lieutenant General Parlade, have you in any way red tagged Ms. Liza Soberano, Angel Locsin and Catriona Gray? Please answer. Just one question.

**MR. PARLADE.** No, Your Honor, I did not.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Thank you. You may expound on that later but, in the meantime, we will now listen to the presentation of Secretary Esperon.

If you are ready, Jun?

After Secretary Esperon, did I hear you right, na si Secretary Año will also make a presentation and then NICA Director General? Okay, in that order.

Please proceed.

**MR. ESPERON.** The President and members of the Senate, ladies and gentlemen, a pleasant morning to all of you.

It is with a great pleasure to present the National Task Force to End the Local Communist Armed Conflict (NTF-ELCAC) and the framework of good governance. The scope of my presentation is as
shown on the screen. I’ll start with the background, go to the strategic framework, the organization and, finally, on the issue red-tagging.

The communist terrorist threat for a long time has been a domestic challenge for the Philippines. In 2017, due to the CPP-NPA-NDF’s attacks on persons, who are not participants of the armed conflict, radicalization and recruitment to become child combatants, destruction of private and public properties, extortion against private entities and other abuses to include sexual opportunism, the President issued Proclamation 360, ending the peace negotiations with the communist rebels. Following this, the President signed Proclamation No. 374 to formally declare the CPP-NPA as a terrorist organization in conjunction with the provisions of the Anti-Money Laundering Act.

A year later, on December 4, 2018, the President signed the landmark Executive Order No. 70, creating the National Task Force to End Local Communist Armed Conflict (NTF-ELCAC) for a whole-of-nation approach in attaining inclusive and sustainable peace. The NTF-ELCAC has the following mandates: formulate and implement a whole-of-nation approach; ensure inter-agency convergence in the implementation of the framework.../mhb/leah/agc
MR. ESPERON. ...in the implementation of the framework in conflicted and vulnerable areas; and organize *ad hoc* interagency and multisectoral clusters and councils at all levels to fulfill its mandate.

On April 15, 2019, the President approved the National Plan to End the Local Communist Armed Conflict and the implementing plans of the 12 clusters. The National Plan-ELCAC is in line with AmBisyon 2040 and the Philippine Development Plan with its national vision of having a prosperous and predominantly middle-class society. The 12 clusters served as the mechanism to highlight the convergence among the different government agencies and private sectors that will harmonize, synchronize and integrate the implementation of the programs, activities and projects of the communities.

The National Task Force-ELCAC means serving the people through good governance, guided by transparency and accountability on the part of the government, participatory so that it will ensure people’s involvement in government decision-making process and rule of law that bring about impartial justice system. This serves as guiding framework in the implementation of the 12 clusters with primary consideration in the people’s mobilization as part of the whole-of-nation approach in addressing the communist-terrorist group or the CPP-NPA-NDF.

The NTF-ELCAC strategic framework is composed of two tracks: The first track is the political, economic and sociocultural track that will
address the primary issues and root causes of insurgency and the development of strong institutions. The other track is the peace engagement, law enforcement and military track that will entice the rebels to surrender, delegitimize the insurgents, and conduct sustained military operations. These two tracks shall be undertaken through the implementation of the 12 lines of efforts or clusters under the National Task Force. All these NTF clusters are mutually reinforcing through a whole-of-nation approach and good governance. As a result of these efforts, we expect influx of surrenderers, dismantled CTG alliances, CTG support structures will cease to function, and leaders and cadres get isolated. As the terminal options, the government will offer a genuine political settlement and policing which will lead to the defeat of the armed group, peace and security ensured, and development undertakings attained.

Let me show again the 12 clusters or programs with the corresponding agencies that are involved. Twelve clusters. Please take note that the Armed Forces of the Philippines and the Philippine National Police and security sector are on and only one of the 12 clusters.

And the composition of the NTF executive committee, no less than the President is the chairman and yours truly is the vice chairman. Shown is the organizational structure involving 19 Cabinet members plus the Chief of Staff, Chief PNP, DG NICA and NCIP plus two from the
private sector. We have successfully cascaded our mandate through the formation of regional, provincials, city, municipal and even barangay task forces all over the country.

Next slide, please. Next slide.

We take note, from this slide, that the Regional Peace and Order Council and the Regional Development Council are part of the Regional Task Force-ELCAC. Shown are 17 joint regional task forces nationwide led by a Cabinet Officer for Regional Development and Security. The CORDS spearheads the peace and development efforts to ensure that all programs, projects and activities of the national government in the region are well-implemented for the people through various mechanisms and strategies.

Let me have a quick rundown of the accomplishments of the NTF-ELCAC. The regional, provincial and local level task forces are critical for ELCAC to achieve its objectives. Shown are the updated tally of provinces, cities and municipalities that established task forces as of September 2020. Undoubtedly, these task forces have been key to the programs of many accomplishments.

The basic services cluster ensures the efficient delivery of housing, education, social protection, health and basic utilities services to our people. Shown is the actual handover of 300 housing units to the indigenous peoples at a Manobo tribe based in Kapalong, Davao del
Norte, as part of the effort to provide adequate housing facility to our indigenous peoples. ELCAC has also strengthened DSWD-led social programs such as the Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program or 4Ps, conditional cash transfers, senior citizen’s pension and others. Likewise, the Last Mile School is a major program of DepEd intended to provide new classrooms for communities in conflict-affected and geographically isolated and disadvantaged areas. A total of 13,769 declarations of *persona non grata* all over the country were initiated by various local government units, indigenous peoples and other sectors of our society.

Sectoral unification, capacity building and mobilization cluster plays an important role in nation building to include as well the dynamic implementation of people-centered, community-focused human rights programs and advocacies of the government which will make the vulnerable sectors resilient against the communist-terrorist operations and infiltration.

Shown in this is the engagement of the NTF-ELCAC and the NCIP-IPs/ICCs regional action planning workshop to unify the efforts of the various government agencies in support of our indigenous peoples.

The infrastructure and resource management cluster aims to rationalize the utilization of natural resources. The National Greening Program, being implemented nationwide, is one of the NTF-ELCAC’s
priority programs to provide livelihood to our people while promoting the preservation of our natural resources.

ELCAC programs, conducted various livelihood trainings that have employed thousands of Filipinos were being undertaken by the poverty reduction, livelihood and employment cluster. Here are the highlights of the efforts of the member agencies of this cluster. Shown in the pictures are TESDA skills training graduates that are now manufacturing personal protective equipment that are being distributed to our frontliners in the fight against COVID-19.

Former rebels are also benefitting from the skills training as part of the assistance being provided by the government under the Enhanced Comprehensive Local Integration Program or ECLIP, another cluster.

For our international engagement cluster, we have engaged various organizations in the European Union in our effort to expose the fund generation scheme and terroristic activities of the CTG. As shown, the mission relayed valuable information such as the localized peace talks effort of our government, current programs on poverty alleviation, among others. The international engagement cluster also launched awareness campaigns through the ambassadors of truth composed of indigenous peoples who went around the United States and narrated their personal experiences on the atrocities and human rights abuses committed by the CTG against their tribes.
The legal cooperation cluster of the NTF-ELCAC provides legal assistance to the victims of CTG atrocities and recruitment of minors in armed conflict. Among the cases currently handled by the legal cooperation cluster is the case of Alexandra Pacalda for violation of RA 9156 for illegal possession of firearms and explosives. The case is pending in Quezon. Likewise, legal cases were filed against leaders of the CPP-NPA-NDF for their crimes committed when they killed their own comrades during the series of communist purging nationwide. One of which is the Inopacan massacre which is an ongoing case, Inopacan, Leyte.

The StratCom cluster of the NTF-ELCAC promotes the efforts of the government to win the peace. Public information campaign is being undertaken.../jo/imjv/agc
MR. ESPERON. ...Public information campaign is being undertaken using various media platforms for dissemination. Shown are some of the products of the information operations campaign in social media. Through this stratum, the NPA spokespersons were designated and we covered blue letter days and advocacy on capacity building efforts were sustained.

The situational awareness on knowledge management cluster or intelligence develops and implements a comprehensive national education awareness campaign, purposely for deeper understanding of the current situation, including the different aspects of the programs, strategies and tactics of the communist terrorists. They have conducted orientation for government executives and the various government agencies nationwide, as shown. They are also on-call by private institutions to lecture on the nature of the enemy. There have been a lot of engagements.

The peace, law and order and development support cluster, which are composed of the AFP and the PNP and the Coast Guard, primarily, and the security sector, is guided with the strict adherence for respect to human rights, international humanitarian law and rule of law.

To address the CPP-NPA recruitment of child combatants, provincial task force ELCAC of Davao Region, in partnership with DepEd, launched
its Bayanihan sa School Program and established five school buildings that will accommodate former students of Salugpungan schools. Salugpungan school is a CPP-affiliated school that is known to have recruited and trained students to become child combatants. The CPP-NPA-NDF is a highly organized outfit that has no boundaries in terms of their deviousness. In previous occasions, I have spoken before you about how they have set up alternative learning centers, more commonly known as “Salugpungan” schools, in attempt to radicalize children or yield them to Communism, expose them to anti-government activities and train them to be child combatants. These are clear violations of international norms and laws, particularly the UN Convention on the Rights of Children.

As of June 2020, we were able to close down 75 of the identified 97 communist-breeding institutions. Through inter-cluster operations, schools preserved as recruitment hubs were shut down. The schools involved are the Alternative Learning Center for Agricultural and Livelihood Development, the Tribal Filipino Program of Surigao Del Sur, (TRIFPS), Community Technical College of Southeastern Mindanao and the Salugpungan Ta’tanu Igkanugon Community Learning Center. May I also say that the Armed Forces and the PNP have dismantled 24 out of the existing identified guerilla fronts and another 24 guerilla fronts were
weakened. This actually represents the major accomplishment of the AFP-PNP in the security sector.

So far the outcomes of our ELCAC initiatives have been encouraging. A reduction in the CPP-NPA strength and collapse of guerilla fronts were noted, as indicated earlier. Thirteen thousand four hundred sixty former rebels and Militia ng BAYAN members have surrendered and were successfully reintegrated to society under the Balik Loob Program of the Department of Defense. Moreover, they received housing, education and livelihood benefits through our enhanced comprehensive local integration program.

Meanwhile, through various campaigns we were able to disrupt extortion activities of the CPP-NPA-NDF against local businesses, various industries and private citizens.

As of June 12, 2020, DILG provided financial assistance to 4,325 former rebels worth 314 million. This includes immediate assistance, livelihood assistance, reintegration assistance and firearms remuneration. The ECLIP provides the former rebels with financial and livelihood assistance to help them in their re-immersion to the mainstream of our society. In a show of importance to their allegiance to our government, no less than the President himself led the
distribution of ECLIP benefits to 262 former rebels in San Isidro, Leyte last January.

Since the ELCAC Program was implemented, we have devised various initiatives including the barangay development program. The barangay development program has the flagship program to dislodge the CPP-NPA from their guerilla bases through development efforts. The barangay development program aims to provide peace building and development interventions in conflict assisted barangays that have already been cleared of the CPP-NPA presence.

For the period 2016 to 2019, 822 barangays have been cleared and are now primed and ready for development. To fast-track the progress, we have proposed to Congress the inclusion in the Fiscal Year 2021 budget that said barangays will receive the much needed funds of 20 million each. The intent is to provide basic services to transform and free these barangays from NPA manipulation through the provision of a farm-to-market road, one kilometer concrete and local road projects, school building, water sanitation, health facilities, greening programs, livelihood opportunities, technical and vocational training, and social protection programs, and community electrification. And this is by the way supported by the League of Provinces of the Philippines
For 2020, we have cleared 502 barangays, and our intent to clear other vulnerable and affected barangays and apply the barangay development program. The bottomline is, the ELCAC Program has become an important facet of the government’s peace on development agenda. And as we speak, it continues to do one test for our Filipino communities. We are aware, of course, to defunct the ELCAC and discredit its programs. That is why I welcome this platform to straighten out some of the misinformation lodged against it.

On the issue of red-tagging. Red-tagging or red-baiting, regardless of the definition created and adopted by the front organizations, is unequivocally not a matter of policy within the ELCAC program. As a construct of these organizations, red-tagging has no actual basis and cannot be attributed to any past or current government policy, program or activity. Given the history of these organizations, one may regard such as part of their many ruses to deflect and distance themselves from the group. Red-tagging is wholly inconsistent with what ELCAC is all about. In my mind, Your Honor, in my humble mind, no benefit can be derived from it. That is why it is inconceivable to even consider engaging in such activity. ELCAC is a development centered undertaking. If anything, we have always supported the dissemination of truth. We have information campaigns to provide clarity to address circulating
misinformation or for purposes of discouraging our youth from falling prey to the enchantment of cause-oriented groups that actually funnel recruits for the CPP-NPA. If necessary, we exercise the State’s moral duty of *parens patriae* by warning or reminding our citizens, especially the youth, to be careful in dealing with these front organizations.

To be abundantly clear, today’s message is not about explaining or justifying the government’s position on the Makabayan bloc, the various groups under its umbrella and other coalition affiliates. The link to CPP-NPA are real, and not imagined. The basis of this actual role in communist terrorism are solid and well-documented. And their affiliations and links are, in fact, intimate and mutually supportive. Testimonies of former rebels and its disenchanted front organizations, along with details of observed patterns of cooperation between the CPP-NPA and front organizations, confirmed their connection with each other. From my perspective there is no need to justify our position that the Makabayan bloc, the various groups under its umbrella and other coalition affiliates, are linked to the CPP-NPA.

The briefing of the National.../mrjc/peg/agc
MR. ESPERON. ...The briefing of the National Intelligence Coordinating Agency after SILG’s briefing will further elaborate and cement the role of the Makabayan bloc in the communist movement and will prove that it has historical basis and well documented.

If you were able—many of us were able to live through the ’70s, ’80s and the ’90s, it is likely that you will share the same belief that these organizations and the CPP/NPA are probably cut from the same cloth.

Before I end, I must reiterate that the CPP/NPA/NDF is designated or listed as a terrorist organization by the United States, by European Union, the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada and New Zealand.

That ends my briefing, Mr. President, Mr. Chairman.

Thank you very much for your support.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Thank you, Secretary Esperon.

Before I recognize Secretary Año, the Chair would just like to state that Atty. Sarza who is representing the Makabayan bloc party-lists has requested to make a manifestation after all the presentations, and then afterwards she is requesting to leave.

So, yes, Secretary Año, you are recognized.

MR. AÑO. Again, Senate President Vicente Sotto III, Senator Panfilo Lacson, our Chairperson of Committee on National Defense and Security, Peace, Unification and Reconciliation, Senator Ronald Bato
Dela Rosa, Senator Risa Hontiveros, Senator Emmanuel “Manny” Pacquiao, fellow public servants, magandang umaga po.

Ito po ay very brief presentation, three-minute presentation and two-minute video clip. This is also for the parents, for the youth and students and young rebels inside who have been sweet-talked with the CPP/NPA/NDF recruiters.

How are CPP front organizations recruiting idealistic Filipinos to join the revolution?

Distinguished members of this Chamber, allow me to give an overview on the CPP/NPA/NDF recruitment process.

First, they prey on the innocence or even ignorance of Filipinos, especially the youth/students by bringing up legitimate and cause-driven advocates or advocacies for the welfare of our countrymen through regular discussion groups. They convince recruits to join legal leftist organizations, to include party-list groups, to have an avenue to advance their personal advocacy, but hide the real agenda of boosting party-list membership.

Capitalizing on the recruit’s idealism, orientations and discussions on certain issues are then conducted to gain their sympathy and support. This stage likewise convinces them to air their grievances and take their actions and voices to the streets by participating in public mobilizations and rallies. Once they secured this empathy, the left now starts
education and radicalization. Selects progressive potential recruits, those with advanced thinking and urges these individuals to attend special lectures and undergo courses under the Pambansang Demokratikong Paaralan or PADEPA run by the CPP, and make them embrace communist ideology and eventually overthrow the government. In here, they begin to discuss national issues not related to their respective advocacies and tie these concerns to point out that these are faults of the government. Then, they will take the ESKUM or the Espesyal na Kursong Masa which is a sectoral organization focusing on peasants, youth, women, workers and indigenous people. This will then be followed by another course, the MKLRP or the Maikling Kurso sa Lipunan at Rebolusyong Pilipino which tackles agitation and introduction to revolution. Finally, they will be subject to take the ARAK or the Araling Aktibista which develops commitment to the party and leadership.

From the theoretical level of indoctrination, further radicalization now comes in the process of basic mass immersion. This is categorized into exposure which takes three to five days; immersion which lasts for a month; and the tour of duty which lasts three to six months. Recruits are brought to the guerilla zones to show them the real situation and concretize what have been in stored(?) for them during the PADEPA, the ultimate goal of which is to strengthen the resolve and embrace the communist primary form of struggle which is the armed revolution. They
are also required to take party courses to become a communist party member. It starts with a Basic Party Course and lecture on CPP Constitution which are prerequisites for the first oath as candidate party member. This would then be followed by Intermediate Party Course and a refresher of the CPP Constitution as a requirement for their second oath as full-time party member. Eventually, those who are programmed to higher positions are required to undergo Advanced Party Course to heighten their knowledge about the party.

Upon completion of the above aforementioned stages, new party members may opt to stay in the NPA unit where they were immersed and served as political guide and eventually become a cadre or choose to go back to the white areas as recruiter, organizer and member of a party branch that constitutes the core of the CPP front organization.

Indeed, the CPP-NPA-NDF system is intricate, so we must dig deeper into the process. Kailangang mabatid ng lahat kung papaano pinagsasamantala an ang ideyolohismo ng mga Pilipino habang hindi nila nalalaman na unti-unti na pala silang nalulubog sa kumunoy ng paglilininlang ng mga komunista.

So, as more and more individuals and groups are coming forward to denounce and invade the identity of the CPP-NPA-NDF front organizations, and as hearings like this exposed the truth behind the
CNN recruitment and endless propaganda, we hope that we will be in a better position against this predicament.

And so, I sincerely thank Senator Panfilo “Ping” Lacson for taking the initiative and I also thank everyone who heed the call of the good Senator to substantiate our position on the pervasive strategies of the CPP-NPA-NDF.

Ladies and gentlemen, with your indulgence, allow me to show this audio-visual presentation, a two-minute video presentation that will hopefully shed light on the communist scheme which starts from CPP front organization recruitment to their journey as full-time NPAs until their death.

Please show the video.

[video presentation]

.../rheiya/jmb/agc
[video presentation]

**MR. AÑO.** Marami pong salamat, Mr. Chairman. Iyon lang po.

**SEN. HONTIVEROS.** Mr. Chairman.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Thank you, Secretary Ed Año.

Yes, Senator Risa Hontiveros, please. You are recognized.

**SEN. HONTIVEROS.** Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Just a very brief comment. Speaking as a mother and speaking as a long-time peace advocate as well since the past three decades, but mostly speaking as a mother, tama po ba talaga, Mr. Chairman, na magpakita tayo ng ganyang mga video tungkol sa mga bata, mga anak ng mga kapwa magulang natin who are now dead and cannot speak for themselves? May I just make that of record, Mr. Chairman? Salamat po.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Yes, Senator Hontiveros, thank you. This is part of the discussion. This is part of the red-tagging issue raised against the Armed Forces of the Philippines and they are here to present their side of the issue.

So with that, Director General Monteagudo, you are now recognized.

**SEN. HONTIVEROS.** Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

**MR. MONTEAGUDO.** The Senate President, Senator Vicente Sotto III, the Chairman, Senator Panfilo Lacson, sir, the members of the
Mr. Chairman, would I be allowed to move for the presentation?

THE CHAIRPERSON. Go ahead.

MR. MONTEAGUDO. Thank you, sir.

In the book of John, Chapter 8, Verse 32, the Lord Jesus said, “And he shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free.”

As the director general of the National Intelligence Coordinating Agency and the head of the Situational Awareness and Knowledge Management Cluster of the National Task Force to End the Local Communist Armed Conflict, I am here, Mr. Chairman, to present the truth and nothing but the truth about the 52-year plague that is the CPP-NPA-NDF, how it has infiltrated the bureaucracy and the society and how it threatens the hope and future of our country while recruiting, radicalizing and exploiting the children and the youth.

We thank the Chairman for calling for this public hearing and for inviting us so that we can finally reveal the truth to the people. For several months now, the NTF-ELCAC has been accused of red tagging with no less than party-list representatives of Bayan Muna, Congressman Carlos Isagani Zarate; ACT Teachers Party-list Congresswoman France Castro; GABRIELA Party-list Congresswoman Arlene Brosas; and Kabataan Party-list Congresswoman Sarah Jane
Elago. They claimed that the NTF-ELCAC chaired by no less than the President of the Republic, has been fomenting lies and accusing the NTF of red-tagging and purveyor of false information. They accused the task force that all of the information revealing their connection to the CPP-NDF-NPA or the communist terrorist group is just a figment of our imagination. They even tried to silence us by bullying us, threatening us with cases and even to the extent of blocking our budget.

Mr. Chairman, the issue is red-tagging. But what is red-tagging? In his dissenting opinion in one case, Supreme Court Associate Justice Marvic Leonen cited a 2011 journal article that defined red-tagging or red-baiting as the “act of labeling, branding, naming and accusing individuals and/or organizations of being left-leaning, subversives, communists or terrorists used as a strategy by state agents particularly law enforcement agencies and the military, against those perceived as threats or enemies of the State.” Note however, that this is not a legal and binding definition nor is it considered a crime. We are aware that the CTG proxies want to make this act as a crime so that they can continue to repress any dissent or opposition to their plot of overthrowing our government through violent means and establishing a Godless communist system. At the outset, therefore, we at the NTF-ELCAC admit that we are exposing individuals and organizations which we have validated as CPP-NDF-NPA members and front organizations.
We, therefore, plead guilty not to red-tagging, but to truth-tagging. We have to tell the people who the CPP-NDF-NPA members or front organizations really are, not because we want to curtail their rights, but more importantly, to protect the rights of the general public, the Filipino children and their families, the indigenous people and their communities, to their veiled lies, deception and exploitation by the CTGs. All the information we have revealed about the CPP-NDF-NPA and their connection with groups such as the Makabayan bloc are standing on solid ground. They underwent a rigorous process of evaluation and have been vetted to revelation of surrendered, arrested and captured communist terrorist group personalities, as well as documents and videos. Also used as references are published books by former members of the CPP-NPA-NDF such as the book *Debunked* written by Rigoberto Tiglao and *The Wars Within* based on the life of alias Eric Almendras.

At the outset, it is imperative that we all understand that the Communist Terrorist Organization in the Philippines is a single entity which, over the year, has successfully convinced everyone that it is three distinct organizations, the CPP, NPA and the NDF. The truth is, as far as their own organizational structure will show, it is just one single organization, the CPP with two main branches: its army, which is the NPA; and its united front, the NDF. In the interest to trying to forge peace with the CPP, even the Philippine government has accepted the
CPP scheme that the NDF is separate and distinct from the CPP. My presentation and the presentation of the other resource persons of the NTF will show, however, that the NDF is an integral part of the CPP and top NDF members are CPP members.

In this connection, please allow us to show a video of CPP chairman Jose Maria Sison himself taken in 1987 or 30 years ago when he both fully identified the front organizations like Bagong Alyansang Makabayan or BAYAN; the Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas or KMP; the General Assembly Binding Women for Reforms, Integrity, Equality, Leadership and Action (GABRIELA); the League of Filipino Students; and Alliance of Concerned Teachers; and several others as integral part of their network in advancing the interest of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

Please watch this video.

[video presentation]
[video presentation]

MR. MONTEAGUDO. Sound, please. Sound—

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Yes, Mr. Senate President.

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. May we have this restarted?

Because we’re missing few minutes already of the presentation.

THE CHAIRPERSON. There’s something wrong with your video raw—video file.

Yes, sige, if you have another source.

MR. MONTEAGUDO. This is actually very important video, Mr. Chairman. We’d like to really show this. This is the premise of our presentation.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Yes. While waiting for the video, gusto ko lang ipagbigay-alam kay Senator Risa Hontiveros na naintindihan ng Chair iyong pinaghuhugutan niya kanina, iyong kanyang pag-aalala bilang isang ina. Pero sa kabilang dako, mainam na ring napapaalalahanan iyong mga magulang, lalo na ang mga ina, na tingnan nila ang kapakanan ng kanilang mga anak, na huwag nilang pabayaan na ma-expose sa—kung totoo man iyong mga video na pinakita ng Defense sector.

It’s unfortunate and it’s sad that the militant groups are not present here this morning, so they can easily—or rebut immediately
what is being presented by the Security sector. Iyon lang iyong nakakalungkot dito kasi wala sila rito except, of course, the one representing them, Atty. Sarza, na nag-represent sa Makabayan bloc.

So, ano? Ready na ba iyong video ninyo?

**MR. MONTEAGUDO.** Yes, sir. I will play the sound here, sir, in my microphone simultaneously with the video, sir.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Yes, okay. Please proceed.

**MR. MONTEAGUDO.** Please play the video.

Please play the video. Ako na ang bahala sa sound. Okay, please.

[video presentation]

**Mr. Jose Maria Sison:** There are three processes by which the Philippine revolution is to be advanced. These include the building of the Communist Party of the Philippines, the building of the New People’s Army and the building of the National Democratic Front.

The Communist Party of the Philippines was established on December 26, 1968 as the Marxist-Leninist Vanguard Party of the working class. This party is supposed to be the standard bearer of the working class which is the class that is the most progressive, productive and political force in the Philippines.

It is true that a minority class especially only the Party which represents it cannot win the Philippine revolution all by itself. At any rate, even while there are the forces of armed revolution, there are the legal democratic forces in the Philippines. The biggest of these is Bagong Alyansang Makabayan or BAYAN, in
short. It has a membership of more than two million members and more than 1,000 member organizations. Its biggest component organizations are Kilusang Mayo Uno which is the labor center, the Pambansang Kilusang Magbubukid which is the—or the Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas or KMP, GABRIELA, the Women’s Alliance, League of Filipino Students, Alliance of Concerned Teachers, KADENA, and so on.

As I have earlier pointed out, Partido ng Bayan, founded last August 30 and 31...

**MR. MONTEAGUDO.** May I continue, Mr. Chairman?

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Yes. Please continue.

**MR. MONTEAGUDO.** We would also like to submit documents to show that the European Union, the United States, United Kingdom and Canada, all declare the CPP-NPA and Sison as terrorists. A regional trial court has also issued a warrant of arrest for Sison for his involvement in the Inopacan, Leyte, massacre where hundreds of the CTG members were murdered to purge their ranks of suspected informers.

Since 1987, the Philippine government has been engaged in several peace talks with the CTG, hoping that this will be the shortcut to bringing peace to our land. But while the Philippine government was hoping to reach a final agreement, the CPP saw this as an opportunity to undermine the government. They made demands that were short of
the Philippine government surrendering to the CPP. All the while, the military, police and security sector’s hands were tied behind their backs, lest they be accused as spoilers of peace.

The CPP-NDF-NPA even have its established peace talks advocates, religious groups, academe and politicians from the legislative branch to pressure the government to engage in peace talks. Despite the absence of any progress, different administrations engaged in peace talks in the hope that this will be the solution to the decades-long problem of communist insurgency. But as a task always turnout, the CPP-NPA does not want peace. It wants to seize power.

Mr. Chairman, allow us to prove this through the statement of Luis Jalandoni, a disillusioned former Catholic priest turned atheist who was the chairman of the NDF negotiating panel and a CPP Central Committee member based in Europe.

In this video, Jalandoni explicitly stated that their real intention to the peace talks is to support their so-called “revolutionary struggle,” a euphemism for violently overthrowing the government. To them, peace talks is just one of the means to an end.

Please watch this video.

[video presentation]

MR. MONTEAGUDO. Excuse me, sir, pakiulit. Isasabay ko lang dito, wala uling sound.
[video presentation]

**Mr. Luis Jalandoni:** ...another form of legal struggle which is possible” .../jlf/imjv/agc
Mr. Luis Jalandoni. ... another form of legal struggle which is possible to be used by the revolutionary forces in order to advance the revolutionary armed struggle and the revolutionary mass movement. This other form of legal struggle, the peace negotiations, does not replace the revolutionary armed struggle nor the revolutionary mass movement. In fact, it should advance, it should support this revolutionary armed struggle as the main form of struggle and the revolutionary mass movement, which is a more important struggle than the peace negotiations.”

MR. MONTEAGUDO. But what has this got to do with the issue on red-tagging? We showed the video because this strategy clearly demonstrates the duplicitous nature of the CTG, employing what they call as dual tactics. They engage in peace talks so that they will earn the support of civil society personalities and organizations who are peace advocates. They use rogue priests to represent the CPP-NPA and the NDF so that they will appear righteous, maybe even holy, which works for the Filipino public who are generally religious.

Ito po ang tunay na anyo ng CPP-NPA-NDF. Sa madaling salita, sila ay doble kara, a two-faced monster. One face looks like an angel, righteous and morally upright; while the other face is a deceiver... [intermittent audio] ...of families... a permanent and lasting peace in our land. But typical of the CPP-NDF-NPA dual tactics, they demanded
power sharing from the President who said that is not for him to give. They then launched simultaneous attacks all over the country while the government security forces were on stand-down. The CTG attacks forced the President to terminate the talks, and in December 2017 declared them as terrorists.

Meantime, in order to attain an inclusive and sustainable peace and adopt a national peace framework, the President, in 2018, signed Executive Order 70 creating the National Task Force to End the Local Communist Armed Conflict or NTF-ELCAC with himself at the helm.

The NTF-ELCAC is guided by the principle of good governance that adopts a whole-of-government and a whole-of-nation approach. As such, the situational awareness and knowledge management cluster headed by the NICA not only provides information to the NTF leadership and regular members but also to the different agencies of government and various sectors of our society so that they will be made aware and enlist their support to end the communist terrorist scourge.

Dumating na oras upang wakasan ang panloloko at karahasan ng CPP-NDF-NPA. Lahat po tayong mga Pilipino ay kasali sa adhikaing ito. It is for this reason that the NTF needs to inform our people, everyone, and educate them about this 52-year old problem. Because the only way we can resolve the CTG problem is to harness the support of the people. It may sound clichéd, but in our fight against the CTG, the battle
is not anywhere else but in the hearts and minds of our people. Whoever wins the people wins the war. That is the only way we can end the local communist armed conflict.

But how can we win the minds of our people if we do not inform them of the truth? If we do not speak out, who will deliver the message of truth?

During the State of the Nation Address in 2018, the President, in exasperation, said, “I have met the enemy face to face and sadly, the enemy is us.” We are our worst enemy. Oftentimes, our apathy and indifference prevents us from solving our problems. But many of our people are apathetic to the CTG problem because they are unaware of what the problem is and who the enemies are. Indeed, how can parents protect their children from CTG recruitment if they do not know that an ACT member is teaching and radicalizing their children inside their classrooms? If they do not know that the books being used in schools have portions that teach their children to hate everything about their government? How can our innocent children and the youth discern what CPP front organizations they need to stay away from if we do not warn them and identify the CPP-NDF-NPA front organizations? Who will protect our children?

Honorable members of this Committee, we wish to inform you that based on the five-year program of the CPP, a copy of which we are
submitting, the central committee has directed the lower organs to recruit children less than 15 years old. So now we have seen an increased number of child combatants from the NPA whom the NPA started to train as early as eight and 10 years old. Former indigenous people’s child warrior Datu Awing and Bae Magdalina, both from Mindanao, can attest to this child warrior program of the NPA. A comics about their story, printed with the help of NGOs, is also submitted to this Committee.

To note, the CTG brought indigenous people or so-called lumads housed at the UCCP Haran Center in Davao City to Metro Manila through a Lakbayan to participate in CTG-led anti-ASEAN protests in 2017. Since some of them were minors, they were housed at UP Diliman in Quezon City where they stayed for several months even after the culmination of the ASEAN Summit and related summits in November of that year.

How can we then empower our people if they do not know the truth? Thus the need to inform them the truth about the extent of the problem because an informed people is an empowered people. The great general and strategist Sun Tzu said, “If you know the enemy and know yourself, you need not fear the result of a hundred battles.”

Allow us, therefore, Mr. Chairman, to explain how extensive our problem with the CTG is, who this enemy really is, and how they have mastered the art of deception for 52 years.
The three powerful arms of the revolution. The CTG adopts the so-called three powerful arms of the communist terrorist revolution in this framework. The CTG uses three weapons: the party, personified by the CPP, provides the direction and political leadership, and that remains the general line and direction of the group; the army, represented by the NPA, serves as the military arm of the communist movement, generally assists the party in creating atmosphere of instability by waging the protected people's war to overthrow the government through violent means; the united front represented by NDF, the umbrella organization consisted by several above-ground and underground mass organizations that represent various sectors such as peasants, workers, women, student, youth, religious, indigenous people, government employees, health workers, teachers, artists, journalists and other professionals.

How do they indoctrinate and deceive the different sectors of society? They do this through a process called Arouse, Organize and Mobilize. It starts with a statement, “Mayaman ang Pilipinas pero naghihirap ang sambayanang Pilipino.” They then cite poverty as the main reason why there is insurgency. This narrative is so easy to sell because it is close to the heart of the people and the recruits have no way of refuting this assumption or statement. How can an ordinary farmer or a child know that there are many other countries which have
higher poverty index than the Philippines but have no communist insurgency. That even the US, China and Japan have poverty incidence. How can an ordinary fisherman argue with a UP student leader and say “communism is obsolete”?

The united front efforts of the CTG is generally the root cause of this red-tagging issue as it is in these united front efforts that they put to full force/full use their dual tactics. The united front work is being orchestrated by the CPP’s National United Front Commission. It includes the mobilization of the various CTG affiliated left-leaning organizations and establishments of alliances with other anti-government groups and unsuspecting advocacy groups. Based on their own manuals and publication, the principal function of the NUFC is to raise the ideological consciousness of the target groups and forge a broad united front against the government and pave the way for the so-called people’s democratic revolution.

The NUFC operates at the regional and provincial committee levels through regional united urban front committees and provincial united urban front committees. The importance of the united front building was highlighted in the new CPP constitution published by the party in June of 2018. A new article, Article X, was dedicated solely to the role of the party in the united front. According to the updated CPP constitution, the CPP serves as the advanced.../cbg/peg/agc
MR. MONTEAGUDO. ...the CPP serves as the advanced detachment of the national democratic revolution. To quote, “...the comprehensive leader and center of the Philippine revolution in both national democratic and socialist stages. It leads the armed struggle, the united front, mass movement, the local organs of political power and eventually the People’s Democratic Republic of the Philippines.”

It is the united front-building of the CTG that fully apprise its dual tactics. Regular members of the party assuming legitimate personalities as advocates of human rights or women’s rights. However, as regular members, they only use their legal advocacy as cover to continue to plot and undermine the government, and that is because their ultimate objective is to violently overthrow the government.

The Echelon of Alliances. The National United Front is continuously being built by the CTG through the so-called “echelon of alliances.” The echelon of alliances has four levels—the basic alliance, the progressive alliance, the patriotic alliance and the broad united front.

The first level of alliance, the basic alliance of the masses, of workers, of laborers, of peasants or farmers provides leadership and manpower to the CPP. Their workers of so-called proletariat are leading force—or the peasantry is the backbone of their revolution.

The second level alliance, the progressive alliance of the toiling masses and the urban middle-class, forms the bulk of the united front.
It is also responsible for shaping the public opinion to propaganda. This alliance is where some of the complaints on red-tagging emanate from.

The third level alliance, the patriotic alliance and the progressive forces on the national bourgeoisie, is used to weaken the political system. This is where the Makabayan bloc and the CPP proxies actively undermine the government with the use of their clout and power.

Lastly, the fourth alliance, the broad united front and the patriotic forces and sections of the reactionary classes, is an alliance aligned against the core reactionaries of the government. The alliance is only temporary and can be dissolved once the CPP gains the upper hand in the revolution. This is where the CPP will force alliances with groups such as opposition political parties to generate the number and support.

The idea of the creation of a broad united front led the CTG to create BAYAN (Bagong Alyansang Makabayan). BAYAN serves as the umbrella organization of all CTG-linked organizations representing various sectors of society, workers, peasants.

The CPP’s revolutionary dual tactics. According to alias Ka Eric Almendras, who is here present, as stated in the book The Wars Within, the CPP tries to win the hearts and minds of the people. They also work in the socio-political sphere over the aboveground organizations as part of the so-called “white” or “urban area operations” while continuing underground subversive activities in “red” or rural areas.
Alias Ka Eric added in the book that the CPP has long operated in the legal spectrum by being part of a progressive party-list in Congress, such as those of the Makabayan bloc or other progressive sector organizations, that while they have been working with the bureaucratic institutions of the government, they are never detached from the entire communist movement. Instead, they are part and parcel of a communist movement which advocates for the primacy of armed struggle and the violent overthrow of the duly constituted government. Though they are now seen as part of the legal and aboveground organizations. They could not and never will openly denounce their violent and armed struggle embraced by the CPP. This is why despite calls for the Makabayan bloc to denounce the CPP-NPA atrocities, they never once heeded the call.

The CTG puts emphasis on infiltration and united front-building in pursuing its objectives of overthrowing the government. For the CPP, the infiltration of various sectoral groups along with united front efforts and the conduct of education propaganda in the urban centers complement the CTG’s thrust in the countryside. For the CPP-NPA-NDF, the government sector is an invaluable part of their overall objectives because just like the youth, the public sector is a lucrative source of recruits to support its united front activities.
As Sison stated during *Pinoy Weekly Interview* on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of COURAGE, “Mahalaga ang papel na ginagampanan at dapat gampanan ng mga kawani ng pamahalaan. Sila ang nag-uugnay sa mga mamamayan upang tutulan ang mga patakaran, opisyal at kilos ng gobyerno.” The CTG front organization that undertake infiltration of the government include the Confederation for Unity Recognition and Advancement of Government Employees (COURAGE), the Alliance of Concerned Teachers (ACT), the Alliance of Health Workers (AHW). These groups form part of BAYAN. As you have seen in the video, it’s the CPP-NPA-NDF’s biggest umbrella organization.

The infiltration of the government is undertaken by the Makabayang Kawaning Pilipino, an underground organization under the national government employees’ bureau of the CPP, National United Front Commission. COURAGE claims to have a total of 200 unions, associations, federations and regional formations affiliated with the mass base of around 300,000 workers from the national government agencies, local government units, state colleges and universities and government-owned and controlled corporations.

The youth and student sector. Our youth and our children are under siege. Sison pointed out the importance of recruiting the youth in his book *The Philippine Society and Revolution*. It is the first book that a new recruit is made to read or is indoctrinated on. To quote, Joma
Si
Sison said, “The majority of the Party cadres and regular NPA members are as a matter of course from the youth. The mobilization of the youth ensures the continuous flow of successors in the revolutionary movement.” Sison emphasized that if the youth will not be organized, the CPP and its goals will slowly diminish as its leaders grow old.”

In the book Wars Within, Ka Eric explained why the CPP targets the youth for recruitment. The CPP targets the recruitment of the youth because they have more capacity for ideological formation and organizing….it takes very hard for the CPP to develop cadres from peasants and workers because it will take five to 10 years. But for the youth, it will only take two to three years to develop a cadre.” Shown in this previous typical CPP youth recruitment process.

Among the groups that undertake recruitment of the youth and student are the League of Filipino Students, Anakbayan, Kabataan Party List, the College Editors’ Guild of the Philippines, the Student Christian Movement of the Philippines, the National Union of Students of the Philippines. These groups operate under the CPP underground organization called “Kabataang Makabayan.”

According to Ka Eric, the KM is the backbone of underground movement in the youth sector. It is where the armed struggle starts to be introduced to the youth recruits. A seized CPP document shows the objective of the KM, most salient of which is its role in strengthening of
the NDF and the NPA which is stated in Filipino, to quote, “Lumahok sa armadong pakikibaka at sumapi sa Bagong Hukbong Bayan” at “Tumulong sa pagpapalakas ng National Democratic Front.”

Pero paano nga ba nila nire-recruit ang mga kabataan?

Sa una, iyong mga front organizations, katulad ng LFS, Kabataan, CEGP ay nakikipagkaibigan at kasali sa study o social groups. Ito ang unang hakbang kung saan sila ay nag-i-spot ng mga pwede nilang ma-recruit. Prospective recruits are later invited to symposia, fora and lectures as well as educational discussions and simple teach-ins. During discussion, the CPP-NPA recruits will insert hints of socialism and communism. The indoctrination of the communist ideology technically begins here. In the course of the engagement with these prospective recruits, tuturuan sila na maging kritikal sa mga nangyayari sa ating lipunan. Ang unang kataga na itatanim sa kanilang isip, “Mayaman ang Pilipinas, pero naghihirap ang sambayanang Pilipino.” Nakapaloob ito doon sa tinatawag na general mass course, isa sa unang hakbang na pagbi-brainwash nila sa mga kabataan.

Once the CPP-NDF-NPA recruiters get the sympathy and support.../jun/jmb/agc
MR. MONTEAGUDO. ...get the sympathy and support of their targets for recruitment, the victims are invited to join in more discussions and participate in anti-government demonstrations until they’re exposed to other CPP-NPA front organizations such as BAYAN, COURAGE, ACT and many others.

The CTG recruiters also conduct courses designed by their academy underground organization called “Pambansang Demokratikong Paaralan,” which is embedded in schools or PADEPA. Once a student becomes a hardcore member of their organization, the recruit will undertake revolutionary courses. The following are some of the manuals and courses they have produced to indoctrinate and brainwash the recruits: Espesyal na Kursong Masa o ESKUM, Araling Aktibista (ARAK), Maikling Kurso sa Lipunan at Rebolusyong Pilipino (MKLRP). After undergoing these basic courses, the students are asked if they are willing to make a pledge of allegiance. This could be to the LFS, KM or just CEGP. But by doing so, they move closer and closer to pledging allegiance to the CPP. If we look at their manuals, they do not mention revolution. But they plant ideology and seeds of hatred, to hate everything about the government, being a puppet of US imperialism, about society that we are a semi-feudal system and about you who are in Congress. They claim that being owners of vast properties, people in Congress will perpetuate feudalism and they are bureaucratic capitalists
who will only pass laws to benefit their business interests. Even worse, they indoctrinate these children to hate their families, brainwashing them to question the authorities of their parents over them, making them believe they are not of their parents but they are child of the revolution, which is a romanticized term for a communist terrorist. These are taught in the courses they teach children and women. Courses so expertly designed that after I personally read one 35 years ago, I almost got converted myself. Sabi ng CPP-NDF-NPA, aktibismo lang daw ito, freedom of expression. Subalit bakit pagkatapos nilang maging miyembro ng grupong ito, many of them turned out as NPA members. The national spokesperson of LFS, Kara Tagawa, has admitted and even proud that many of their members have become NPA.

Please watch this video.

[video presentation]

**MR. MONTEAGUDO.** If these children are mere activists in citing their rights and freedom of expression, why do many of them turned out to be NPA members who are either arrested or killed during encounters with military elements such as Josephine Anne Lapira, GABRIELA Youth member. Josephine was a doctor aspirant of UP who joined the NPA believing that taking arms instead of being a doctor is the way to help the people. Josephine was killed during encounter with—
MS. DELOS REYES. Josephine was killed during an encounter with military forces in Nasugbu, Batangas on November 28, 2017. John Carlo Alberto Capistrano, Anakbayan Youth member. He was a veterinary medicine student of the UP Los Baños, killed on 14 February 2019 during an encounter in Luisiana, Laguna. Malvin Christian Cruz, LFS member. He was killed on June 29, 2020 during an encounter with military elements in Miagao, Iloilo. Kimberly Jul Luna, LFS member. She was killed on December 15, 2009 during an encounter in Concepcion, Bukidnon. Rendell Ryan Caguda, LFS member. He was killed on November 14, 2014 during an encounter in Maasim, Saranggani Province. Remy Beraye, LFS member. He was killed on November 7, 2017 in San Antonio Cuartero, Capiz. Justine Ella Vargas, GABRIELA member. She was killed on September 14, 2020 during an encounter in Magsaysay, Occidental Mindoro. Ren Manalo, GABRIELA member. She was killed on September 3, 2020 during an encounter in Palawan. These are some of the youths who have been deceived by the CTG. They started as so-called activists but ended up dead in a place so far away from home. Some, on the other hand, are now languishing in jail while others remain missing. Their whereabouts unknown, just like the children of the parents from the hands of our children.

The objective of the indoctrination of the youth and the children is to brainwash them and make them hate everything about the
government, hate everything about the society, hate the authorities and teachers who do not agree with their ideology and hate even their own parents. Once they are detached from the social orders, they become puppets of the communist terrorists, willing to do anything for the CPP to kill and even give up their lives.

Undersecretary Joel Egco of the PCOO narrated to me that he was once a member of the CTG front organization. And when his father tried to stop him, he threatened to kill his own father arguing that he is no longer his father’s son as he is now a child of the revolution.

For the teacher sector, the CTG sees the teachers/educators as the people who can deliver revolutionary propaganda to the students. The party also sees the potential of the teachers to shape the mindset of the future generation and advance the cultural revolution. The legal organization that coordinates the infiltration of the teacher sector is the Alliance of Concerned Teachers or ACT which now has a Party-list, the ACT Teachers under the MAKABAYAN Bloc, the National Federation of Teachers and Employees’ Union and the Congress of Teachers and Educators for Nationalism and Democracy or CONTEND.

There are two ways on how the CTG infiltrates the teacher sector with regard to the school where they teach, namely: ideological infiltration through the creation of discontentment through propaganda, agitating teachers to push for reforms and introduce revolutionary ideas
or physical infiltration by serving as faculty, school workers or administrators to exploit school publications and other forms of influencing the student body through academic instruction.

For the women sector, the CTG does not define women as a gender but rather in their role as a class in the advancement of their rights in society in the attainment of their struggle in the revolutionary movement. The party taps into issues such as inequality against women and violence against women, among others. Women who seek empowerment and see the communist movement as a key to catalyst in achieving their goals are thus exploited. The party looks into social problems encountered by women such as social violence, poverty, discrimination and patriarchy as motivation for the women sector to embrace communism as a way of life to abolish sexism and gendered discrimination. Moreover, since women possess unique qualities, resources and linkages, they are exploited for armed and legal struggle by filling up their ranks through mobilization and for espionage and security operations. The GABRIELA Women’s party headed by Congresswoman Arlene Brosas serves as the primary front organization responsible for organizing the CTG in the women sector.

This is how the CPP-NDF-NPA infiltrates the various sectors of our society. Shown on the screen is the organizational structure of the CPP-NDF-NPA detailing the relationships between and among its functional
units, including the above ground and underground organizations serving as fronts for this terrorist group.

Mr. Chairman, as you have seen, the CPP-NDF-NPA has infiltrated almost all sectors of our society. They are in our schools, in the church and certainly in the halls of Congress. The CTG and its front organizations claiming to champion the rights of our people are actually the biggest human rights violators of all. They hide under the cloak of legality but are actually two-faced liars that have deceived the Filipino people, brought pain to the hearts.../rpa/leah/agc
MS. DELOS REYES. ... brought pain to the hearts of many grieving parents and robbed us of the peaceful and prosperous life we all dream of.

Ruben Guevarra who once served as the head of the CPP Military Commission in the ‘60s and ‘70s aptly explained why the Filipino rejects the CTG and why the God-fearing, family-oriented Filipinos will never embrace a godless communist ideology.

Please watch this.
[video presentation]

Mr. Guevarra: Nakita ko na na hindi ito ang kalutasan. Mayroon nga tayong idelohiya, idelohiyang Pilipino. Likas na idelohiya na naniniwala tayo sa Diyos at tayo ay makatao, may pagpapahalaga tayo sa buhay, may—pangunahin natin, nakabase tayo sa pamilya. Ito’y wasak lahat sa komunista. Huwag na tayong magpatangay diyan sa sinasabi ng mga komunista. Limangpung taon na ito, My God. Perpetual war na ito. At kung ito ang talagang kasagutan noon pa—ang sabi nga ni Marx, kung pinakikinggan pa nila si Marx, ang sabi, ito ay pakikidigma ng mamamayan na magtatagumpay lamang kung lalahukan at susuportahan ng mamamayan. In 50 years na hindi ito nagtagumpay, ibig sabihin, ayaw ito ng mamamayan. Itigil na natin at ang kawawa ay susunod na lahing Pilipino.
MS. DELOS REYES. Ruben Guevarra is actually right. The Filipinos will never accept this godless ideology, built on violence and deception.

Results of an independent survey showed how the Filipinos perceive the CPP-NPA and Jose Maria Sison, indicating that our people have already rejected this foreign ideology imposed on us by the CTG. On the CPP-NPA, there was a negative 31 percent trust rating, which means that the respondents do not trust the CTG. On Sison, there was a negative 21 percent trust rating, which means that most of the respondents do not trust him and about half of the respondents or 51 percent are angry and scared of the CPP-NPA because they are perceived as violent criminals and terrorists.

Our conclusion—

MR. MONTEAGUDO. Conclusion, Mr. Chairman, we would like to reiterate three points to summarize our narrative and these are the following: First, we reiterate that we stand by our statement that the party-list groups under the Makabayan bloc, Bayan Muna, ACT Teachers, GABRIELA and Kabataan are all CPP-NDF-NPA member organizations and all their representatives are CPP members. Alias Ka Eric or alias Victor explained this when they revealed that the CPP has nevertheless been successful in installing its members in seats of power, particularly in the halls of the legislative body of Congress.
As we have earlier shown and as well-explained further by Ka Eric and other resource persons, the party policy is that no one gets a post to represent the CPP unless he or she is a former member or a cadre of the party. And that is because this is all part of the party’s revolutionary dual tactics that allows them to openly and legally mobilize their supporters and allies to serve their true intent to advance the CPP-NDF-NPA’s objective to undermine and topple the government in the guise of parliamentary exercise.

These party-list groups under the Makabayan bloc, which are represented by Congressman Carlos Isagani Zarate, Congresswoman Eufemia Cullamat, Congressman Ferdinand Gaite, Congresswoman France Castro, Congresswoman Arlene Brosas and Congresswoman Sarah Jane Elago, are all now crying that we have red tagged them, have been cited multiple times in testimonies of former rebels, documents and publications on the CTG. No matter how much they try to deny it or use euphemistic terms in trying to justify their involvement in these terrorist groups, the fact remains that their prints are all over this overwhelming evidence which we are now respectfully submitting for consideration to this honorable Committee.

Second, we would like to express our unequivocal support to our two brave spokespersons, Lieutenant General Antonio G. Parlade Jr. and Usec Lorraine T. Badoy.
The NTF-ELCAC is committed to unmasking the CPP members who are leaders of front organizations. The statement of these two officers of the NTF, representatives of the Makabayan bloc party-lists are CPP members is not only sanctioned by the task force, but it is supported by evidence and testimonies of former cadres of the CPP-NDF-NPA. Their statements are standing on a mountain of evidence.

Lastly, Mr. Chairman, we would like to emphasize that the NTF-ELCAC is committed to finally end this 52-year-old problem that has stunted our growth and threatens the security of our families. The NTF has taken cognizance of the factors that contributed to the insurgency problem. And under the platform of good governance, all the 12 clusters of the NTF are working together to ensure that government services will be provided to our people. But more than anything, the NTF is committed to inform our people of the truth and expose the true color of these terrorist groups. To accomplish this, it is imperative that we unmask all CCP front organizations that deceive and exploit our children, our women, our indigenous peoples and even our democratic institutions. When we expose these front organizations, our intention is to warn and inform our people, to ensure the protection of the rights of our children and as enshrined in our Constitution, to preserve and protect the family as the basic unit of our society.
Therefore, when we expose these threats to our children and families, we are actually performing a sacred duty, a duty that every Filipino is mandated to perform. Like most of us, I too am a father and I know that every self-respecting parent would do everything in his power to defend and protect his children.

Mr. Chairman, honorable members of this Committee, the threat of the CPP-NDF-NPA is real. We therefore call on all the members of the bureaucracy, the legislative, the judiciary and most especially our people, to join us. It is about time that we stand up and speak up against these terrorist groups. Help us end the local communist armed conflict.

Thank you for your attention and your patience.

May God bless us all.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Thank you, Director General Monteagudo.

Anybody else?

SEN. PANGILINAN. Mr. Chairman. Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Yes, Senator Kiko Pangilinan is recognized.

SEN. PANGILINAN. With the permission of the Chair, just a very quick manifestation.

I am very concerned about some of the video material presented, particularly the matter of student activists eventually—well, it may be true to a certain extent, student activists ending up being killed because
they have become the NPA or part of the NPA. That may be partly true, but that is not the whole truth, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Risa Hontiveros and myself, we were both student activists. We were both student leaders during the Marcos regime. We are both senators today. You know, the simplistic, sweeping generalization, Mr. Chairman, I feel, is presenting half-truths up to a certain extent. It is true, yes, perhaps in these cases, the LFS, they joined the NPA and they were killed. That is, yes, partly true. That is true. But it is also true that not all student activists become NPA. Just for the record, Mr. Chairman. Senator Risa and myself, we were student activists and we are in the Senate now, for the record, Mr. Chairman.

Thank you.

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. Mr. Chairman.

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRPERSON. The Senate President is recognized.

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. Inasmuch as—earlier, there was a manifestation by Senator Hontiveros and now Senator Pangilinan, I would like to make a manifestation also. Just as a reminder, reminder to not only our colleagues but the people watching and listening, the media more particularly, the views and opinions and action expressed by some of our colleagues or each senator do not in any way reflect and represent the views of the entire Senate. .../rico/imjv/agc
THE SENATE PRESIDENT. ...and represent the views of the entire Senate. I just want to place that on record.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Thank you, Mr. Senate President.

We will now hear from Atty. Maneeka Asistol Sarza.

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Yes, Sen. Risa Hontiveros.

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

For the record also, yes, I am a proud former student leader of the Social Democratic Movement; secondly, Mr. Chairman, I would like to make it of record that I have always appreciated the Senate President’s standing up for the independence of our house, the Senate, and also the many times that he has done so on behalf of each and every member of the Senate; and third and last, for this point, Mr. Chairman, though I have had many political disagreements with some of the legislatures in the previous presentations, over the past several decades, I do wish to make of record that I take exception to the numerous times they have been mentioned in those presentations. Given that they are not present, although as the Chairman clearly said, the Chair invited them, they are not here but they are represented by their lawyers in the ... of parliamentary principles.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Yes, Senator Risa, if I may?
SEN. HONTIVEROS. Yes, Mr. Chairman, of course.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Extraordinary efforts were exerted by the Committee secretary, in fairness to her, to reach out to these people as early as October 30. And they sent the legal counsel of the Alliance of Concerned Teachers who I was told will represent the whole Makabayan bloc of the House of Representatives, so just for the record.

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I submit. I do understand and appreciate the extraordinary efforts of the Committee secretariat in that regard. I just wish to make it of record that under the same parliamentary principles that the Chair very well highlighted for the Committee at the beginning of our hearing, I do take exception to the many times that our counterparts in the other House have been mentioned derogatorily in the presentations despite my many disagreements with them in the past years. In the same way that their Speaker has spoken up for them, and as I mentioned earlier, Mr. Chairman, in the same way that I appreciate the many times that our own leader of the Senate, the Senate President, has spoken for the individual members of our house and for the Senate as an institution.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Yes, Atty. Maneeka Asistol Sarza is now recognized.

You have the floor, ma’am.
MS. SARZA. Good morning po, Ginoong Chair and good morning, Mr. Senate President.


Kung papahintulutan po, babasahin ko po ang pahayag ng ating anim po na legislators under the Makabayan bloc.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Please proceed, you have all the time.

MS. SARZA. Thank you po, Mr. Chair.

Ikatlong araw ng Nobyembre 2020, Committee on National Defense and Security, Peace, Unification and Reconciliation, Senado ng Republika ng Pilipinas.

Senator Panfilo Lacson at mga ... pinaabot ng mga ... koalisyon ng mamamayan o Makabayan bloc na hindi kami makadadalo sa pinatawag na pagdinig ng Komiteng ito. Ang koalisyong Makabayan at mga party-list sa ilalim nito ay may mahabang track record ng paglaban para sa mga pangangailangan at interest ng mamamayan. Ang kawalan ng nakabubuhay na sahod at di-makataong kondisyon sa paggawa ng mga manggagawa, kawalan ng lupa ng mga magsasaka, pang-aapi at diskriminasyon laban sa mga pambansang minorya at iba’t ibang mukha ng abuso laban sa kababaihan, bata, maralita at iba’t ibang sektor.

Simula nang pumasok ang Makabayan sa Kongreso, ipinaglaban at ipinagwagi nito ang mga konkretong tagumpay na nagpabuti sa
buhay ng milyong Pilipino gaya ng pagtaas ng sahod, pension, at benepisyo, libreng edukasyon, at mas mababang singil sa tubig at kuryente at iba pa. Naninindigan kami na hindi mayuyurakan ng anumang bintang at kasinungalingan ang kredibilidad ng Makabayan. Hindi kailanman mapapawi ng anumang red-tagging ang track record ng mga militanteng organisasyon ng mamamayan. Umaasa kami na hindi ninyo pahihintulutang magamit ang inyong Komite at ang Senado bilang lunsaran ng red-tagging or terrorist-tagging. Bilang polisiya na makailang beses nang napatunayan ng United Nations Special Rapporteurs na nagbibigay daan sa pulitikal na pamamaslang sa pamamagitan ng extrajudicial killing or EJK, sa nag-aagawang kaso at iba pang paglabag sa karapatang pangtao.

Hindi dapat magamit ang Senado sa paninirang puri na sa kabuuan ay nagsasapanganib sa buhay at kaligtasan ng mga lider at miyembro ng mga progresibong organisasyon. Hindi dapat maulit ang mga nangyari nang inimbistigahan ng Senado ang isyu ng missing minors kung saan itinanghal ang mga walang ebidensyang akusasyon at nagresulta sa pagsampa ng gawa-gawang kaso laban sa isang kinatawan at ilang opisyal at miyembro ng Makabayan. Kasong kamakailan lamang ay ibinasura ng DOJ dahil sa kawalan ng batayan at ...
Sa kalagatnaan ng pagragasa ng krisis pangkalusugan at sa ekonomiya dulot ng pandemya ng COVID-19, sinalanta pa ng super bagyong Rolly ang rehiyon ng Bicol at marami pang rehiyon sa bansa, nararapat na ituon nating lahat ang atensyon sa pagtugon sa mga kagayat na pangangailangan ng ating mga kababayang biktima ng pandemya at kalamidad, hindi sa pulitikal na pananakot at pagpapalaganap ng kasinungalingan.

Sumasainyo, Representative Carlos Isagani Zarate, Bayan Muna Party-list; Representative Eufemia “Ka Femia” Culiamat, Bayan Muna Party-list, Representative Ferdinand Gaite, Bayan Muna Party-list, Representative Arlyn Brosas, GABRIELA Women’s Party, Representative Frans Castro, ACT Teachers Party-list; at Representative Sarah Jane Elago, Kabataan Party-list.

Iyon lamang po. The statement ends there, Mr. Chairman and Mr. Senate President. Pinaabot po na hindi ngayon sa date na ito makakatutuloy ang ating mga congressmen and congresswomen. They are on separate relief missions.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Are you done, Attorney? Tapos na po kayo.

**MS. SARZA.** That’s all. Iyon na po. Thank you po.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** May gusto lang tanungin si Senate President po sa inyo, Attorney.
THE SENATE PRESIDENT. Attorney, saan po ba galing iyong term na “red-tagging”? Kasi I overheard earlier General Esperon saying that nowhere in their policies, nowhere in their documents, they use the word red-tagging.

Saan galing ba iyong pagtawag ng red tag o iyong term na red-tagging, sa pagkaalam ninyo?

MS. SARZA. Good morning po, Ginoong Senate President.

Ang red-tagging po na termino ay matatagpuan sa International Humanitarian Law and International Human Rights Law, at ito po ay iyong practice at polisiya ng state—ng ilang gobyerno at ilang state agents na pagle-label o pagba-brand sa ilang organisasyon at indibiduwal na sa tingin nila ay left leaning or—ay konektado sa mga tinuturing nilang pula o kabilang o miyembro ng armed forces na kalaban ng gobyerno.

Sa domestic jurisprudence po, ibig pong sabihin sa ating case law sa Pilipinas, nakikita po makailang beses na po lumabas ang terminong red-tagging, adopting the definition.../mhb/peg/agc
MS. SARZA. ...adopting the definition of that practice as I have described. So, gamit po—

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. So, yes, in other words, sa sinasabi po ninyo, hindi nanggaling sa gobyerno natin iyong term na iyon. Tinatanong ko kung saan galing, ang sabi ninyo, galing sa international documents or—Hindi ba, sa Human Rights Commission ba or international community or something to that effect? Hindi galing sa gobyerno natin iyong term na iyon.

MS. SARZA. Bilang kasagutan po, iyong termino na “red-tagging,” ang basehan for that ay matatagpuan doon sa mga sinabi ko. Adopting those definitions, kumbaga sa ano ay iyon po ay kita—kung titingnan natin iyong practice at polisiya ng gobyerno gaya nang ipinakita ngayon sa hearing na ito at sa mga presentations ng ating iba pang resource persons, kumbaga sa ordinary na lengwahe ay swak na swak iyong dini-describe ng International Humanitarian Law at International Human Rights na red-tagging doon sa ginagawa ng ating mga military and security defense officials.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Just a follow-up, Mr. Senate President, with the indulgence of Senator Grace Poe who is number one on the list and the rest of our colleagues, tanungin ko lang isa-isa iyong mga resource persons natin na nandito physically present.
Simulan natin kay Chief of Staff, General Gapay. Ikaw ba, nakapag-red tag na sa mga nabanggit na mga personalidad?

**MR. GAPAY.** No, sir. I haven’t, sir.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Secretary Esperon?

**MR. ESPERON.** Mr. Chairman, I have never red tagged them. But am very clear about it that I have heard no less than Jose Maria Sison naming them as parts of the national democratic revolution, iyong video tape kanina. Furthermore, noong January 2019, nagkaroon ng International League of Peoples’ Struggles, ito iyong—chairman doon si Jose Maria Sison—ay na-publish na nag-attend lahat iyong mga organisasyon na nababanggit. Nandoon sila lahat at sila ay nagsasabing iyon ay samahan ng mga peoples’ struggles na sumasanib o sumasang-ayon sa communism.


Tulad noong isang nangyari doon sa Talaingod, iyong isang eskwelahan ay aming ipinasara dahil iyon ay NPA school, Salugpungan. Ang sumaklolo bigla doon ay Ms. France Castro at saka si Satur Ocampo,

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Thank you.

Secretary of National Defense, Del Lorenzana, personally or officially, have you ever red tagged any of the personalities mentioned earlier?

MR. LORENZANA. No, Mr. Chairman. But I always—during hearing in the House when the red-tagging term comes up, I always tell them, “We did not red tag you; you red tag yourself.” Thank you, sir.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Secretary of Interior and Local Government, Secretary Año?

MR. AÑO. Thank you, Mr. Chair.
Sa part ko po, hindi pa ako nakapag-red tag officially or personally. Ang sabi ng kanilang abogado na ang pagre-red tag daw ay pagle-label sa mga organisasyon ng left-leaning, sa tingin ko, sila naman ang makakasagot kung left-leaning sila o hindi. Tama po iyong sinabi ni Secretary Esperon na hindi naman po kailangang i-red tag at hindi kami nagkaroon ng policy ng red-tagging.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Lieutenant General Binag?

**MR. BINAG.** Thank you, sir.

Sir, iyong PNP po, as a matter of policy, red-tagging is non-existent. As a matter of police operational procedure, it’s also non-existent. As a matter of, sir, doctrine, we operate based on evidence. And personally, sir, no. Thank you, sir.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Undersecretary Lorraine Badoy.

**MS. BADOY.** No, sir. I have never indulged in red-tagging, but I always tell the truth. And I take my duty as a public official very seriously which is to prevent, defend, and protect our children from terrorists.

And, sir, can I also clarify something about Atty. Sarza, her claim that red-tagging comes from the IHL? Red-tagging is not a covered provision under the IHL because it is not about armed conflict and IHL is about armed conflict. Red-tagging came from the CPP-NPA-NDF.
There is no such word in any dictionary. This came from them and it’s a tool they use to silence anyone who tells the truth about them.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Thank you.

Deputy Director General Lopez?

**MR. LOPEZ.** Mr. Chairman, I have never used in my official capacity red-tagging anybody from the other side, of the opposition(?)

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Next, Deputy Director General Agdamag?

**MR. AGDAMAG.** Mr. Chairman, in all my lectures and advocacies teaching our national security policy and strategy, not even once did I red tag anybody.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Thank you.

**MR. AGDAMAG.** Thank you, sir.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Alex.

**MR. MONTEAGUDO.** Mr. Chairman, as a matter of policy, we do not red tag. But as NICA, we know who is guilty of red-tagging and he is with us, Mr. Chairman, behind me, if the Chair will allow. He is guilty of—He will admit that he is guilty of red-tagging, a former rebel. Because the ones who are red tagging are themselves and their former comrades. Thank you.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** We will recognize him later.
Natanong ko na si General Parlade. Ito, hindi ko na kailangang tanungin si Usec Malaya, pero tanungin ko na rin for the record. Nakapag-red tag na ba kayo?

MR. MALAYA. Good morning, Mr. Chairman. No, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Thank you.

So, the floor is now open para sa pagtatanong.

Senator Grace Poe, ma'am, you are recognized.

SEN. POE. Thank you.

THE CHAIRPERSON. You may also ask from the other resource persons.

Can you introduce them so they will be administered their oath?

Kung sinu-sino, para minsanan na lang.

MR. MONTEAGUDO. Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Ilan ba iyong resource persons ninyo?

MR. MONTEAGUDO. We have two former rebels. One is Ka Eric who is the author of this book, former rebel, sir, with the CTG for 17 years. His real name is Jeffrey Celiz. And we have another former rebel who is alias “Ka Shaine”(?). Her complete name is Desiree Miranda.

THE CHAIRPERSON. The Chair directs the Committee Secretary to administer the oath to the rebel-returnees present this morning.

All of you, kindly stand up—dalawa, okay.

THE COMMITTEE SECRETARY. Please raise your right hand.
Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth before this Senate hearing?

[Mr. Jeffrey Celiz and Ms. Lady Desiree Miranda answered in the affirmative]

Thank you.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Thank you.

Senator Grace Poe is recognized. You may now proceed, Senator Grace.../jo/jmb/agc
THE CHAIRPERSON. ...Senator Grace Poe is recognized.

You may now proceed, Senator Grace.

SEN. POE. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

Before I ask my questions I would just like to make a brief statement to begin, if that would be allowed?

THE CHAIRPERSON. Yes, of course. Please proceed.

SEN. POE. Okay. So, magandang hapon po sa inyong lahat.

I have always believed that we have to provide democratic space for ideas to contend for as long it is done peacefully. I think that political discourse to be rich should represent all the colors in our flag—red, blue, yellow, white. We lose that rich diversity if politics is monopolized by one color only.

While I advocate big-tent politics, I, however, believe that there is a price to pay to enter and behavior to be observed. And that is one should always pursue that ideology without resorting to armed means. One should not be penalized for harboring thoughts, but when one uses or endorses the use of violence to promote or enforce that thought on many, then it crosses the line of illegal.

The problem with red-tagging or whatever label, whether one is automatically called a communist or a fascist, is that it sweeps the
message under the rug. Ang problema with “identity marking” is that it suppresses debate on an idea. Sarado na kaagad ang isip natin. It is an attempt to automatically disenfranchise people who may hold unpopular beliefs. And we should always remember our Constitution extends protection even to minority ideas which we disagree with.

Instead of debating, tagging is like painting the star of David or the sign of the cross on the homes of persecuted Christians and Jews. So when people call a person Stalin or even a general, Hitler, then your personalities are reduced to labels which are unfair to both groups. And that is the unfortunate ecosystem we are in today. Political tribalism has created a culture of identification politics instead of idea politics. We look for the motive instead for the message. DDS iyan o Dilawan iyan, end of discussion na kaagad. Debates don’t get elevated. More often, it is a race to the gutter.

Pero ang problema lang kasi sa red-tagging or kung anumang label, aside from the examples I have mentioned above, it is often a “dog whistle” that is a prelude to acts of suppression. Parang ang playbook ay i-tag muna, tapos having cast that person as an outcast, arrest or detention follows. Parang cancel culture, Pinoy version. I will besmirch you first, and having cast you as a Pariah, then you would be
evicted out of the “democratic space,” either by social ostracism, or worse, detention or the ultimate form of censorship, which is death. If the mere intention of red-tagging is to marginalize, then that is par for the course. Pero if it becomes a clear and present physical danger to the tagged, diyan malaki ang mali. And that tactic has limits, and often backfires.

So alam ninyo po ngayon, siyempre, iyong mga nagsasalita na kontra sa mga pananaw natin madalas ay mabilis ang aksyon ng awtoridad. Pero mayroon ding mga banyaga na iyong ating malayang mga isla ay kinukuha pero parang hindi natin masyadong tinututukan o binibigyan ng pansin at pinapalusot.

So, sa araw na ito, Mr. Chair, I just want to ask a few questions to verify if this was actually uttered. This is for General Parlade.

Nandiyan ba si General Parlade?

THE CHAIRPERSON. Nandito po siya.

SEN. POE. Okay.

THE CHAIRPERSON. By the way, just some housekeeping lang, each senator will be given 10 minutes to ask questions. Thank you.

SEN. POE. Okay. Mr. Chair, puwede mo nang ibawas iyong statement ko.
THE CHAIRPERSON. Sige puwedeng tawad iyon. Sige.

SEN. POE. Thank you. Totoo bang, General Parlade, na sabi ninyo, “Liza Soberano, there is still a chance to abdicate that group. If you don’t, you will suffer the same faith as Josephine Anne Lapira of UP Manila.” And then you followed up with another statement, “The choice is yours, Liza, and so with you, Catriona. Don’t follow the path of Ka Ella Colmenares took underground an NPA, Quezon. I am sure Angel Locsin and Neri Colmenares will not tell you the details.” Nasabi ba iyon?

MR. PARLADE. May I answer, Mr. Chair?

THE CHAIRPERSON. Yes, please.

MR. PARLADE. Actually, I would like to post my entire statement so that I will be able to answer the question and the context of my statement. Can we flash the statement?

THE CHAIRPERSON. Go ahead. Go ahead. Verbatim

MR. PARLADE. I actually have two statements, Mr. Chair. The first one was addressed to Congresswoman Brosas and to the GABRIELA asking them if they informed Ms. Liza Soberano and Catriona Gray about the real nature of GABRIELA Youth, specifically the MAKIBAKA, or the Malayan Kilusan ng mga Bagong Kababaihan, which is the underground mass organization hiding under this GABRIELA Youth. I asked that
question to Congresswoman Brosas because I was already seeing the bashings of Ms. Soberano and—Yes, Ms. Soberano was being red tagged already by the netizens in the social media. But since there was no answer from Congresswoman Brosas, I directed my statement direct to Ms. Liza Soberano.

SEN. POE. Okay. So basically, General, ang sinasabi ninyo doon sa MAKABAYAN, sabihin ninyo sa kanila kung sino ba talaga kayo. Na kayo ay talagang front lamang ng CPP-NPA, tama ba?

MR. PARLADE. Essentially, ma’am, I wanted to ask Congresswoman Brosas whether they informed Ms. Liza Soberano about the underground nature of this GABRIELA Youth. This is important because, in the past, we have always noted that many of these GABRIELA Youth members ended up being dead. In fact, I cited three incidents there. It was already presented in the briefing previously in the case of Jo Lapira, Deputy Secretary General of GABRIELA Youth who was killed in Batangas. And the recent killings, it was only last September 2020, of Ms. Vargas, GABRIELA Youth member, who was killed in Mindoro, and Ms. Ren Manalo, GABRIELA Youth member who was killed in Brooke’s Point.
SEN. POE. Okay. So, General, kasi ganito ano. Kasama sa legal framework natin iyong mga GABRIELA, iyong Makabayan bloc, hindi ba? That is the intention of bringing them out to be part of the discussion in Congress. Now what you’re saying is, front lang talaga sila kasi sila, they are involved in armed conflict, iyon ang sinasabi mo. That is the reason why you are actually trying to warn certain personalities from joining their—well, engaging in that organization, am I correct?

MR. PARLADE. Yes, ma’am.

SEN. POE. Okay.

MR. PARLADE. In fact, I was emphatic in my statement when I said that there is nothing wrong by being, or being part of these advocacy groups defending women’s rights and children’s rights.

SEN. POE. Pero ito nga iyon, parang gusto mong sabihin na ang Makabayan bloc, sabihin doon sa mga personalities na iyon, “Front lang kami kasi, actually, mayroon kaming underground group.” Parang ganoon ba iyong gusto ninyong gawin nila?

MR. PARLADE. Yes, ma’am. In fact, we wanted them to be here this morning so that they can also take their oath. We took our oath. But if you have heard the statement, and I take offense from the statement, they are accusing us of lying.../mrjc/leah/agc
MR. PARLADE. ...they are accusing us of lying in these Senate halls and I really don’t think that’s acceptable because we all took our oath. We were expecting them to be present so that they can take their oath too. So I really don’t know, ma’am, who is lying here or what.

SEN. POE. Okay. General, you know what, I know what your sworn responsibility is to the Constitution. If there is any group that will pose a risk especially espoused armed conflict, it’s your responsibility, of course, to suppress them.

On the other hand, I think it’s an unreasonable request to tell a group that’s not been—the Supreme Court has allowed them to continue to run in our electorate system for them to say, to openly admit—parang kayo na lang siguro ang magsabi noon, “Ms. Soberano,” or kung sinumang personality, “Alam ba ninyo ganito sila?” Pero I respect your opinion if you want to advocate those advocacies you believe are worth promoting. Pero parang sinabi mo pa, “Mag-ingat ka kasi baka—” Ano ba iyan, parang may mangyari sa kanya, ganoon ba? Baka masaktan siya?

MR. PARLADE. Yes, Mr. Chair. Yes, Madam Senator. In fact, that was my intention because of the recent killings of these GABRIELA Youth members who were supposed to be activists but ended up being killed while wielding arms.

So, this is what we are trying to explain to the people.
SEN. POE. Okay. What did Liza Soberano say that might put her in danger or in jeopardy? Ano iyong sinabi niya na baka pwedeng patayin din siya katulad noong mga ibang activists?

MR. PARLADE. Did you say Liza Soberano, ma’am?

SEN. POE. When I said there’s a still chance, I believe in you—yes, “If you suffer the same fate as Josephine Anne Lapira.”

So, anong sinabi nila na medyo namemeligro ang kanilang buhay, baka mameligro?

MR. PARLADE. No, ma’am. In fact, this is what we’ve been telling the public that the family of Liza Soberano, through the lawyer, wanted to express their thanks for defending Liza Soberano from her bashers and from those who red tagged her. So they were actually thanking me and they wanted to send me a thank you letter for informing them of the real nature of this GABRIELA Youth.

THE CHAIRPERSON. General Parlade, I don’t think you’re answering the question. Ang tanong ni Senator Grace Poe, ano ba iyong nasabi, nabigkas na pananalita ni Liza Soberano para ma-warning-an mo siya na baka mag-end up din siya katulad ng mga ibang naipakita kanina sa video? Iyon ang tanong ni Senator Grace.

Am I correct, Senator Grace?

SEN. POE. Yes, actually, thank you for clarifying, Mr. Chair.
Ano ba iyong sinabi? Kasi maaaring sumama lang siya doon sa forum na iyon pero baka naman ang sinabi niya general, you know, ideological—or support for our women and children.

Ano ba ang sinabi niya na maaaring makadulot ng peligro sa kanya?

**MR. PARRADE.** In fairness, ma’am, she said nothing about being threatened or being in danger for speaking in that forum, but it’s the netizens who are actually tagging her as a communist, as a terrorist that is why they are asking the supporters to boycott her programs.

**SEN. POE.** Okay. So, General, basically her mere presence in that forum has, in sense, many netizens to bash her?

**MR. PARRADE.** Yes, ma’am, yes.

**SEN. POE.** Okay. So ganito siguro ang magandang—maaaring nangyari siguro is—maybe you could have just warned her to be careful because as you have, pero siguro hindi naman—or pwedeng sabihin doon sa mga netizens, “Hindi naman dahil salungat sa inyong pananaw ay terorista na o kailangan nang i-bash ng ganoon.” You could issue just a general statement, she was just there in support of the idea. Kasi kahit naman anong forum, hindi ba, mayroon naman talagang mga—tayong sinasabi, not necessarily because we support everything that group is doing but it depends on what the occasion is. If it’s an event for women and children, I could very well find many of my colleagues
present there even if we’re not a member or we don’t espouse everything that a certain organization pushes for.

Am I correct, sir?

**MR. PARLADE.** Yes, ma’am. And, in fact, that’s exactly what I said. If you just read my statement, that’s exactly what I said. That there’s nothing wrong expressing your support on women’s rights and advocacy rights and children’s rights. That is why I wanted to inform the netizens that it is unfair for them to red tag Liza Soberano simply for being part of that webinar. Napakalinaw po—in fact, nandoon po ako—

**SEN. POE.** Kaya lang dinagdag mo pa kasi na baka—

**SEN. HONTIVEROS.** With the indulgence of Senator Grace.

**SEN. POE.** Yes.

**SEN. HONTIVEROS.** Mr. Chairman, with the indulgence of Senator Grace.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Yes. Senator Risa Hontiveros is recognized.

**SEN. HONTIVEROS.** Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you, Senator Grace.

Just briefly on one of the points replied by General Parlade to Senator Grace’s questioning. I just like to make of record a statement of Atty. Jun Lim, counsel for Ms. Liza Soberano, in Facebook. He says, Mr. Chairman, “Para sa kaliwanagan ng lahat, nagpasalamat ako kay

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Thank you, Senator Hontiveros.

**SEN. POE.** Thank you.

So, General Parlade, how does the NTF-ELCAC verify or fact-check statements before releasing them to the public?

**MR. PARLADE.** We vet our statements, we pose our statements to the StratCom cluster and then we ask for their comments including from the legal cooperation cluster. And then once that is approved, it is released. So that’s the procedure, ma’am. Everything that we say there are official statements of the NTF. It’s not my personal opinion.

**SEN. POE.** Okay. How about General Gapay? Does the AFP have protocol before its officials can make statements that General Parlade is making?
MR. GAPAY. Madam Senator, Mr. Chair, Your Honors, yes, we have a policy in the Armed Forces of the Philippines. And as far as public information operations are concerned, all statements pass through a group as ... communications group. They also vet and verify information as to their accuracy, truthfulness and, of course, we only state facts as far as our statements are concerned prior to release. And we have designated spokespersons to carry out and speak out in behalf of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, and down even to the units, we have designated spokespersons, Madam Senator.

SEN. POE. Okay. Lastly, doon sa Anti-Terror Law and we have the authors also here in the Senate, you actually need a court order before doing surveillance. Am I correct?

MR. GAPAY. Yes, ma’am. And initially, we have to request through the Anti-Terrorism Council and it has to be approved by the proper courts.

SEN. POE. So hindi naman dapat, like you just take matters in your hands pag—if you suspect somebody, it has to go through a council and, in fact, in some cases, merit a court order before a surveillance can be conducted. Am I correct?

MR. GAPAY. Yes, ma’am. We have to prove.../rheiya/imjv/agc
MR. GAPAY. ...Yes, ma’am, we have to prove initially to the ATC then to the proper courts. So it’s like a thesis, we have to prove and we have to present evidence initially in order to get a nod or a go signal. If initially the ATC says, “You lack evidence. Produce more evidence. Improve on a case build-up,” then we have to do so, Madam Senator. So it goes through a stringent procedure before getting the nod of the ATC and even the proper courts.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Just a way of clarification. You are referring to electronic surveillance for you to secure a court authorization? Of course, you conduct physical surveillance and that doesn’t need court authorization? Just to clarify.

SEN. POE. Yes. Thank you, Mr. Chair. Actually, you would know that law of back and forth and you would know also if others are taking advantage of it which we are, of course, trying to clarify. I guess I understand the point and Senator Risa clarified that General Parlade has issued a statement saying na hindi NPA itong mga personalities na ito. On the other hand kasi, part of the statement that was posted by General Parlade said something like, “Baka matulad ka kina ganito.” Siyempre I understand that you—I would like to think that you are also concerned about the safety of individuals, but it can also send out a message of fear to others that banta ba ito o ito ba ay para sa kapakanan po ng Senado iyan. Siguro mag-iingat tayo sa susunod na
mga pagkakataon kasi talaga namang maraming salungat ang mga
pananaw sa atin. Hindi lamang sa gobyerno, minsan pagdating na rin sa
relihiyon. Ang importante sa demokrasya natin lalung-lalo na pag
military ay manatili ngang patas sa isyu dahil pagka may banta sa ating
karapatan na maghayag ay iyan ang hindi natin dapat payagan. So
definitely, if there is proof of violence, we should definitely act against
that but we should also encourage the free market of ideas especially if
stated peacefully.

So that is all, Mr. Chair. If I have a follow-up question later on
and if there is still time, I will ask—

THE CHAIRPERSON. Thank you. Kung mayroon pong
magtatanong kay Atty. Sarza kasi nagpapaalam na siya. Baka may
magtatanong sa kanya, unahin na iyong tanong sa kanya. That goes
true sa mga ibang kasamahan natin. Thank you.

So now we recognize Senator Bong Go.

We’ll go back to Senator Bong Go. In the meantime, we recognize
Senator Risa Hontiveros.

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Salamat, Mr. Chairman.

May mga tanong po ako para kay Secretary Esperon.

MR. ESPERON. Good afternoon, Madam Senator.

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Magandang hapon po, Secretary Esperon.
Mr. Chairman, Secretary, I participated in the peace process as a member of the GRP-NDF panel on the side of government. So in principle I agree with the whole-of-government approach to building a sustainable peace including through initiatives at the local level. Even the executive order that created the NTF-ELCAC states that insurgencies are symptomatic of broader social, economic and political and historical problems like poverty and social inequality. However, I’d like to get a clearer picture of how this funding of the NTF-ELCAC will be utilized. In concrete terms, Secretary, ano po iyong current strategy para tapusin na iyong local communist armed conflict at paano ito iba, kung ito ay naiiba, sa kung ano iyong sinubukan noon? Kasi honestly sa presentation kanina parang sobrang 1980s ang dating, parang throwback Tuesday ngayon. And to implement this strategy, the current strategy, Secretary, ano ang mga programa ang iiimplementa sa local level, Secretary, Mr. Chairman?

**MR. ESPERON.** Thank you, Madam Senator, Mr. Chairman.

I am, of course, very much aware that you were a member of the NDF-GRP panel involved in the peace talks because after retiring as the chief of staff of the Armed Forces, I became the presidential advisor of the peace process.

**SEN. HONTIVEROS.** Opo.
MR. ESPERON. So the matter of peace talks with the National Democratic Front Philippines which represented the CPP-NPA-NDF, this is always something that interests me. And so you—the Senator is asking about the programs of the National Task Force-ELCAC.

SEN. HONTIVEROS. First the strategy, Mr. Secretary. What is the current strategy and how is it different, if different, from what was attempted in the past and which actually had failed?

MR. ESPERON. Yes. This National Task Force-ELCAC works on a national plan that is two-track. One is the political, the socioeconomic portion and the other one is the political that includes also the military. Left hand and right hand, you must have heard about that. You must have also heard about the clearing—

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Yes, sir. In the 1980s.

MR. ESPERON. Yes—clearing, holding, consolidating and developing the old model.

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Yes, CHCD. Opo.

MR. ESPERON. But in the course of implementing our campaign plans, all of us almost left it all to the military and the police and the other security forces to solve the insurgency problem which is not a military problem. It is a political, a social and an economic problem as well as a military problem. Therefore, this National Task Force-ELCAC is now, what we call, a whole-of-nation approach because, first of all, it is
a whole-of-government approach that also includes the private sector.

So it becomes a—

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Just a quick intervention. Excuse me, Secretary Esperon, and with the permission of Senator Risa.

**SEN. HONTIVEROS.** Of course, Mr. Chairman.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Now that you have discovered na iyong peace talks pala part of the revolutionary struggle, itutuloy ninyo pa rin iyong peace talks at least at the level of the CPP-NPA-NDF, iyong sa top level? Tinutuloy ninyo pa rin ba?

**MR. ESPERON.** No longer. Not at this point yet, Mr. Chairman. That is why we have the local peace engagement cluster. We engage the local level commands of the CPP-NPA or other groups like the RPA-ABB with whom we have just signed an agreement through OPAPP. And so we can engage the CPP-NPA at the provincial level.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** So lahat ng peace initiatives at the level of Joma Sison, scrap na?

**MR. ESPERON.** Suspended.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Suspended? Well, which reminds me—kanina si Alex, General Monteagudo, he quoted Sun Tzu, “If you know the enemy,” hindi ba? Alam mo na ganoon pala, iyong peace talks, part of the revolutionary struggle why are you still pursuing the peace talks?
MR. ESPERON. We have suspended it and we have terminated it. The President has terminated it as we have realized that it is true that they are just using the peace talks to take advantage to propagate themselves.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Yes. But not at the local level?

MR. ESPERON. At the local level we can talk to them because many of them are coming to us and they want to return to the calls of the law.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Thank you. Thank you, Senator Risa.

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

And Secretary, just to make of the record, Mr. Chairman, as a long-time peace activist and also former member of the government peace negotiating panel with the NDF, I really regret that government has suspended or cancelled even the national level peace talks dahil po kahit na di tulad ng government MILF peace process na nagpakita na sapat na good faith ang parehong parties to the armed conflict at the negotiating table at kaya mayroong kongkreto silang naibunga ngayon sa porma na BARMM Law at iyong BARMM mismo kahit na sa tingin ko po kulang pa ang good faith ng gobyerno at ng NDF sa negotiating table ngayon sa national level ay nire-reject.../jadc/peg/agc
SEN. HONTIVEROS. ... sa national level ay nire-j ect ko po iyong sinabi ng NDF na ang peace talks ay para lamang magsilbi sa kanilang armed struggle. And so, I really regret...

MR. ESPERON. Sila po ang nagsabi noon.

SEN. HONTIVEROS. ... na suspended iyong national peace talks sa ngayon. Dahil dapat iyan ay bukas pa rin na larangan na—lalo na ang mga sibilyan, ang mga noncombatants ay puwedeng itulak pareho ang gobyerno at ang NDF na magkaroon ng kasunduan.

But having said that, Mr. Chairman and Secretary—thank you for the Secretary’s responses about the national plan. In fact, in the middle of the pandemic when almost every government department, agency and office has had its budget cut, we’re allocating ₱19 billion supposedly to resolve the long-running communist insurgency.

I’d like an honest threat assessment, Secretary, Mr. Chairman. How great a national security risk is the longest running or the long-running communist insurgency led by the CPP-NPA-NDF? Are the communist rebels a clear and present danger to the country? Is our duly elected democratic government at risk of being encircled in the city from the countryside, Secretary, Mr. Chairman?

MR. ESPERON. Yes, Mr. Chair.

Yes. Unang-una, gusto ko lang sabihin na ang pag-address, pag-asikaso sa mga problema na dulot ng pandemic, COVID-19, ay
binibigyan natin ng diin. Kung kaya nga’t ang Kongreso ay nagpalabas na nga ng Bayanihan 1 and 2 upang talagang maagapan natin iyong ating problema sa COVID. Karamihan sa amin dito ay—halimbawa, si Secretary Lorenzana, siya ang task force commander ng National Task Force COVID pero miyembro kami ng interagency task force. At hindi lang minsan sa isang linggo kung mag-meeting kami. At ang Pangulo naman ay lumalabas ng kada linggo upang sabihin sa bayan kung anong ginagawa ng gobyerno patungkol sa COVID-19.

We are aware that COVID-19 is a clear and present danger. Kung kaya nga’t...

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Pero iyong communist insurgency po, Secretary—

MR. ESPERON. ...ginagastusan natin ng hindi bababa sa 500 billion. Five hundred billion ang emergency. Ngunit sa gitna ng lahat ng ito, mayroon pa rin tayong number one political security threat. At ang nagsasabi ng...

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Iyan po iyong number one, Secretary?

MR. ESPERON. ...na rin mismo ang nagsasabi—at ang Pangulo mismo ang nagsabi na ang number one threat, political security threat, ay ang CPP-NPA-NDF.

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Secretary, ibig po bang—

MR. ESPERON. Hindi natin puwedeng pabayaan ito.
SEN. HONTIVEROS. Yes. Ibig po bang sabihin na iyong bansa natin ay humaharap sa mas malalaking risk mula sa internal kaysa sa external threats? Ibig po bang sabihin din na...

MR. ESPERON. Yes.

SEN. HONTIVEROS. ...tingin ninyo ho na iyong ating militar ay primarily dapat naka-focus sa counterinsurgency mission sa 2021 and beyond?

MR. ESPERON. That is the dictate of the situation. How we wish, as a former chief of staff, na ang inaasikaso ko lang ay iyong aatake sa ating territorial.

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Opo.

MR. ESPERON. Ngunit hindi ganoon totoong nangyayari. Unang-una, mayroon tayong insurgency. Kaya ang inyong Armed Forces ay nagtutuon ng pansin diyan. Ano naman ang sasabihin ninya sa amin kung iyong Armed Forces at saka pulis, mayroon na ngang patayan doon sa mga barangay, kung saan-saan, mayroong assassination dito sa Metro Manila—alam ninyo naman kung sino iyong mga pinagpapatay diyan sa loob ng Quezon Memorial Circle na mga top leaders ng CPP-NPA at iyong ...

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Opo, si Rolly Quintanar, decades ago. Opo.

MR. ESPERON. Anong gagawin po namin—iyong pulis ninyo at saka military, sasabihin namin na...
SEN. HONTIVEROS. Secretary—

MR. ESPERON. ...hindi kami bagay diyan?


MR. ESPERON. So, it is dictated by the—

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Yes, Secretary. So, let’s—

MR. ESPERON. It is dictated by the situation.

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Yes. Let’s talk about the situation of the insurgency.

Secretary, noong kayo nga po ang hepe ng Armed Forces of the Philippines, taong 2006, in particular, hindi po ba sinabi ninyo noon na iyong militar ay iwa-wipe out ang New People’s Army sa loob ng tatlong taon? Hindi po ba sinabi ninyo noon iyon tungkol sa ating AFP?

MR. ESPERON. Yes.

SEN. HONTIVEROS. All right. And hindi ninyo rin po ba—

MR. ESPERON. And it’s never wrong to—

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Yes?

MR. ESPERON. It is never wrong to have some targets,...

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Yes, agree.

MR. ESPERON. ...some objectives.
SEN. HONTIVEROS. Agree. Agree. And hindi ninyo po ba sinabi noon na iyong lakas noong mga rebelde ay drastically nabawasan, pasalamat sa oplan na pinangalanang Bantay Laya, hindi po ba?

MR. ESPERON. Totoo po iyon. Totoo po iyon, nabawasan sila.

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Opo. Okay po.

MR. ESPERON. From 6,000, naging 4,000 plus.

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Opo. At hindi—

MR. ESPERON. Ngunit may mga sumusunod pa ring mga na-recruit dahil nga ang nagre-recruit ay mga iba’t ibang organisasyon.

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Okay.

MR. ESPERON. Iyon ang gusto naming mapigilan at isiwalat dito sa hearing na ito.

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Tapos po noong—

MR. ESPERON. Na kung hindi natin aawatin ang recruitment ay tuluy-tuloy pa rin itong ating insurgency.

SEN. HONTIVEROS. At hindi po ba din, Secretary, noong 2008 naman, sinabi ninyo na bubuwagin ninyo, ite-tear down ninyo iyong labinlimang NPA fronts sa loob ng tatlong buwan? Na-meet po ba iyong mga layunin na iyan?

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Ayon sa aking research, 2008. Na-meet po ba iyong mga layuning iyon—labinlimang NPA fronts sa loob ng tatlong buwan?

MR. ESPERON. Yes, yes, yes.

SEN. HONTIVEROS. They were?

MR. ESPERON. There were about 70 guerrilla fronts at that time.


Mas recent—

MR. ESPERON. Dumami po ulit.

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Sir? Secretary?

MR. ESPERON. Mayroon pa ring mga nabubuong bago dahil nga tuluy-tuloy pa rin ang pag-recruit-an.

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Okay, Secretary.

MR. ESPERON. Iyon ang ating gustong pigilan. Dahil hangga’t mayroon mga organisasyon na nagre-recruit at sumusuporta sa New People’s Army ay magkakaroon pa rin ng mga armado na katulad ng mga estudyante na sa simula ay aktibista ay nagiging NPA. Alam po namin iyan dahil ako mismo ay kasama sa First Quarter Storm.

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Secretary, more recent—

MR. ESPERON. Pero hindi ako humawak ng armas.

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Opo. Marami pong ano—
MR. ESPERON. Kapag humawak ako—

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Marami pong aktibista na hindi humawak noon o humahawak ngayon ng armas.

MR. ESPERON. Tama po iyon.

SEN. HONTIVEROS. More recently, Secretary, nanumpa po ang Philippine Army na kikilos siya double-time para i-neutralize iyong natitirang “15 armed fighters of the New People’s Army still running and hiding in the mountains of Leyte Island.”

In 2018, sinabi po ng Armed Forces na optimistic siya na iyong insurgency problem ng ating bansa ay mare-resolve soon. At tinukoy ng AFP noon iyong nababawasang lakas, kung hindi man imminent defeat. And I used the term “imminent defeat” sa aking brief opening statement kanina, Secretary—imminent defeat ng NPA at ito po ay pagkatapos ng surrender ng 326 na NPA guerrillas. Tapos September 2019, iniulat din na may pitong daang guerrilla na nag-surrender.

Bilang national security adviser ngayon po, Secretary, do you stand by these assessments?

MR. ESPERON. Yes, that was the assessment of the military in Leyte.

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Opo. Yes.

MR. ESPERON. I think 2018, tapos na yatang mag-chief of staff si Secretary Año.
SEN. HONTIVEROS. Okay po.

MR. ESPERON. Pero ganito, Madam Senator, Mr. Chair, sinabi namin iyon sa Leyte na maaalis namin iyong NPA. Totoo nga na maaalis namin at iyong barangay na kung saan nagpupugad sa mga guerrilla bases ang NPA, ay aming naklaro dahil mayroon kaming tinatawag na "community support program" na ngayon ay pinangungunahan na ng local government at ang kapulisan iyong ... community support program. Hindi na military kung hindi combined military.

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Opo.

MR. ESPERON. Ngunit ma-clear man natin iyong mga barangay, kung wala kang ilalagay doon na development para iangat ang kabuhayan ng mga tao ay babalik-balikan ng mga tao—ng mga NPA iyan. Kaya ngayon...

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Pero tell me, Secretary—

MR. ESPERON. ...sa Gabinete na maglagay kami ng development program at inaprubahan ng Pangulo. Nandiyan na nga sa budget ngayon iyong 16.41 billion...

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Well, iyon na nga po.

MR. ESPERON. ...for development projects in barangays. At nagtataka ako kung bakit ayaw ninyong ma-develop iyong mga barangay na iyan.

SEN. HONTIVEROS. No, no, no, Mr. Secretary.
MR. ESPERON.  Samantalahang alam naman natin na guerrilla-based ang mga iyan.

SEN. HONTIVEROS.  Mr. Chairman, ito po ay—

MR. ESPERON.  Nagiging balik-balik lang tayo, paikot-ikot lang tayo.

SEN. HONTIVEROS.  No, no, no.  Mr. Secretary, Mr. Chairman, ito po ay pagdinig—

MR. ESPERON.  I’m sorry, I’m sorry.

SEN. HONTIVEROS.  Yes, Mr. Secretary.  Thank you for your apology.  I accept it.

Because for the record, Mr. Chairman, ito po ay pagdinig ng isang Komite ng Senado at tayo po ay nagtatanong sa ating mga resource persons, kasama na ang good Secretary, at hindi po ito larangan para akusahan nila tayo na ayaw natin ng ganito o ganyan na programa ng gobyerno na magtatrabaho nga tayo double-time na habulin matapos ang isang budget para sa 2021 .../jlf/jmb/agc
SEN. HONTIVEROS. ...ang isang budget para sa 2021 na...

MR. ESPERON. Ang sabi ninyo kasi babawasan ninyo ng 8 billion iyong proposal namin.

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Mr. Chair.

MR. ESPERON. Sinabi ninyo kanina na babawasan ninyo ng 8 billion.

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Mr. Chairman, I’m still addressing the Secretary.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Yes, Senator Risa.

Kindly wait for the senator, Secretary Esperon.

MR. ESPERON. Yes, yes.

Please proceed, Senator Risa.

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

So ang itatanong ko sana, Secretary, dahil kami po sa senado ay we started on time, we kept our eye on the ball. Tatapusin namin on time ang budget para sa ating gobyerno sa taong 2021 na COVID responsive, recession responsive at democracy responsive.

Maaari ninyo po bang sabihin sa akin, Secretary, do 15 rebels in the mountains of Leyte, the remnants of an insurgency facing imminent defeat, inuulit ko, imminent defeat ang hinaharap nila sa battlefield, para bang P19 billion problem sa inyo iyon, Secretary, Mr. Chairman?

MR. ESPERON. Hindi lang po Leyte ang pinag-uusapan natin.
Mr. Chairman, may I now—

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Please answer.

**SEN. HONTIVEROS.** Yes, please, Secretary.

**MR. ESPERON.** Madam Senator, hindi lang po Leyte ang pinaglalaanan natin ng 16.44 billion.

**SEN. HONTIVEROS.** Yes. Fair enough.


**SEN. HONTIVEROS.** Tama, cleared na po. So precisely.

**MR. ESPERON.** Anong gagawin natin sa mga barangay na ito? Iwanan na natin para lumipat na iyong tropa o gusto ninyong lagyan natin ng development?

**SEN. HONTIVEROS.** Definitely, hindi iyan ang balak ng gobyerno. No, no, no.

**MR. ESPERON.** Lalo na iyong mga pobreng barangay sa Samar at saka Leyte, gusto ninyong iwanan na natin? Okay din kami doon.

**SEN. HONTIVEROS.** Precisely, Mr. Chairman, Secretary, kaya ko sinabi na parang—

**MR. ESPERON.** Akala ko tinatanong ninyo ako.

**SEN. HONTIVEROS.** Mr. Chairman, hello!
I mean, Mr. Chairman.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Yes, Senator Risa.

Secretary Esperon, kindly wait for the senator to finish her question.

**MR. ESPERON.** Yes. Thank you.

**SEN. HONTIVEROS.** Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Kaya nga po sinabi ko kanina, Mr. Chairman, Secretary, na parang 1980s ang dating, parang throwback Tuesday, dahil iyong clear, hold, consolidate, develop natin dati, I think iyong isang naging leksyon natin ay lalo na iyong consolidate, at lalong-lalo na iyong develop, trabaho na iyan ng civilian government. And the past many years, ganoon iyong klase ng budget na ipinapasa namin dito sa Kongreso.

So speaking of the clear and—lalung-lalo na iyong clear at saka iyong hold na may bahagi pa rin doon iyong AFP, and then hanggang consolidate nandiyan iyong PNP, of course. Just focusing on the AFP, Mr. Chairman, Secretary, magkano po iyong gagastusin ng AFP sa kanyang Modernization Program sa 2021? At dito gusto ko nang bigyan ng diin iyong external defense natin. Magkano sa amount na ito sa modernization budget natin ay para sa layunin ng depensa laban sa external threats, Mr. Chairman, Secretary?
MR. ESPERON. Bago ko ipasa sa mga dapat na sumagot niyan ay sasabihin ko lang po sa inyo, Madam Senator, na hindi po ako military. Retired po ako, civilian na po ako.

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Opo. But still, dahil national defense ka, adviser—

MR. ESPERON. Kaya ako naatasan na vice chairman ng National Task Force-ELCAC, civilian po ako at ang kasamahan namin sa National Task Force-ELCAC ay government agencies. Isang cluster, out of the 12, ang military at saka police.

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Yes.

MR. ESPERON. Whole-of-nation approach po ito.

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Opo, malinaw sa akin.

MR. ESPERON. Kung gusto ninyong malaman kung anong ginagastos ng Armed Forces para sa depensa natin ay, maski na alam ko iyan, palagay ko mas alam ni Secretary Lorenzana at saka ni General Gapay.

SEN. HONTIVEROS. All right.

MR. ESPERON. Maski na alam ko iyan, sasagutin ko iyan, pero hindi na ako military, Madam Senator. Retired na po ako kaya puwede akong trumabaho ng civilian activities.

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Oo, definitely. And kaya kayo in-appoint ng appointing authority.
Yes, Mr. Chair.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Secretary Esperon, you are reminded to address the Chair when you respond to the senator. Thank you. Kindly address the Chair.

**MR. ESPERON.** Yes, sir.

**SEN. HONTIVEROS.** Yes, thank you, Mr. Chair.

And certainly, this representation is aware that our civilian officials are appointed by the appointing authority, as he is authorized to do by the Constitution. Pero ine-exercise natin, bilang bahagi ng Kongreso, iyong oversight doon sa budget process at iyong paggastos ng pera. Dahil sa tingin ko lang po, Mr. Chairman, bilang miyembro nitong Senado, overly mabigat ang kamay sa loob ng NTF-ELCAC sa isang programa which is actually, dahil nga whole-of-government approach, na sinabi ko sa simula ay sinusuportahan ko, ay mas properly iwan sa mga national agencies na civilian, iyong ating mga civilian national agencies. Nasabi ko rin po at baka naalala ito ni Secretary Año noong pagdinig natin sa budget ng DILG, na iyong programa ng NTF-ELCAC ay para na ngang whole-of-government program. At alam naman natin nandoon na iyong iba’t-ibang departamento, kumikilos sa nagko-coordinate na, even before the NTF-ELCAC, para isulong iyong tugon natin sa roots of the armed conflict at i-develop iyong mga area na nuclear na ng ating militar at PNP.
THE CHAIRPERSON. Senator Hontiveros.

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Yes, Mr. Chair.

THE CHAIRPERSON. This is a reminder that your time is up, so you may wind up.

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Siguro, just by way of winding up, i-put on record ko na lang iyong mga huling tanong ko kung nais sagutin either ni Secretary Esperon or ng ibang resource persons natin bilang pag-iisip pa rin dito sa ating hearing. So why are we focusing on internal threats when a former Chief of Staff of the AFP has publicly stated that China will seize Philippine territory by force if a war were to break out between Beijing and Washington? At, ito partikular kay Sec Esperon, as National Security Adviser, do you think the Philippines has the capacity to project a credible defense posture against the most likely external threats?

Sino po ba talaga, Mr. Chairman, ang pinakamalaking banta sa ating pambansang seguridad, a waning insurgency or an external threat from a superpower country? At the same time, even this waning insurgency facing imminent defeat in the battlefield might still recover if we don’t address issues of inaccessible healthcare and education, the uneven distribution of resources and if we open our boarders to China at the expense of the livelihood of ordinary Filipinos.
Masyado pong naka-focus sa Communist Party of the Philippines, Mr. Chairman, pero hinahayaan ang banta ng Communist Party of China.

Marami pong salamat, Mr. Chairman. Maraming salamat sa ating resource persons.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Thank you, Senator Risa.

Would you like to respond, Secretary Esperon?

MR. ESPERON. Sir.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Yes, please.

MR. ESPERON. Tinatanong po ni Madam Senator, Mr. Chair, kung sino ba talaga ang mas malaking threat, iyon bang isang malaking bayan na komunista o itong Communist Party of the Philippines? Ang tingin po ng Presidente, ang number one political security threat ay ang Communist Party of the Philippines-NPA-NDF because they seek to overthrow this democratically established republic through armed revolution. At ginagawa na nga nila iyan. Ginagawa na nila iyan. May NPA sila, armado, mayroon silang mga prente na pinapatakbo ng mga underground organizations, at mayroon silang mastermind. Clear and present danger din iyan, matagal na, 52 years na nga tayong pinapataob.

Ngayon kung tatanungin ninyo kung may threat tayo na China, ang sagot ko diyan mayroong bansang Tsina at mayroon siyang mga interes dito sa ating South China Sea o sa Pilipinas mismo. Ang
panlaban ba natin diyan ay pure military? Dahil kung gusto ninyong pure military ang ilaban natin diyan ay ibigay ninyo sa amin, ibibigay ba ninyo iyong 4.5 trillion para panlaban, pang giyera? Wala ba tayong pangangailangan sa COVID? Wala ba tayong pangangailangan sa ibang bagay? Doon ba natin ilalahat sa China samantalang nakikipagkaibigan naman ang China. Ngunit guwardiyado tayo dahil ang kanilang national interest at ang national interest natin ay hindi magkapareho. Pareho tayong may national interest at lahat ng bansa ay may national interest pati ang Estados Unidos. Kailangan kausapin natin lahat iyan. Ngunit itong CPP-NPA-NDF alam na alam na natin na gustong pataubin o ibahin ang democratic way of life ng Pilipinas ay bakit pababayaan ba natin sila na ituloy nila ang kanilang armadong pakikibaka?

Iyon lang po ang sagot ko.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Thank you, Secretary Esperon.

SEN. HONTIVEROS. Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Next is Senator Dela Rosa, but with your indulgence, the Senate President would like.../cbg/leah/agc
THE CHAIRPERSON. ...the Senate President would like to ask his questions.

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. Yes.

Well, I was informed, tamang-tama, that Senator dela Rosa has logged out temporarily. And there were questions that he would want to pose to Ka Eric and his companion.

Now, related to that, I also have a question for the intelligence community sana, kina General Monteagudo. But mas mabuti kay Ka Eric na itanong, samantalahin nating narito sila para maiwasan natin muna iyong problema sa budget.

Recently, there was a 17-year-old member child warrior ng CPP-NPA who filed a rape complaint against their former commander. Sa mga pagkakaalam ninyo, sa tagal ninyo doon, gaanong kabata ba iyong mga nagiging recruits?

MR. CELIZ. Magandang araw po, sir.

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. Ka Eric.

MR. CELIZ. Senate President and Mr. Chair, Senator Ping Lacson. Ako po so Jeffrey Celiz. Ka Eric po ang gamit kong pangalan.

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. Jeffrey Celiz pero Ka Eric ang tawag sa iyo.

MR. CELIZ. Ka Eric po ang code. Marami po kaming ginagamit na code.
I will try to address directly first the question and I will request the good senators to qualify some of my answers.

Iyong recruitment po ng kabataan sa CPP-NPA-NDF in my experience based on doctrine, practice and experience, nagsisimula po iyan sa baryo ng mga kabataan, meaning sa rural areas, maaga po talaga, Senator, Senate President, sir. Kasi ang mga pamilya ng mga kabataan na ito na tinatawag naming mass base, iyong mga bata mismo, as early as eight, seven, six, before 10, kahalubilo po sila ng NPA. So kaya nga, sabi ko, epokrito kami sa CPP-NPA-NDF to assert International Humanitarian Law, samantalang mga granada at armas namin, sa loob mismo ng bahay ng masa. At kami ay nag-a-assert ng CARHRIHL (Comprehensive Agreement for the Respect of Human Rights in International Humanitarian Law) signed during the time of President Estrada, pero hindi namin sinasabi na ang aming mga granada at armas, natutulog kami mismo sa bahay ng masa. Pero pag sundalo at pulis, bawal matulog sa bahay ng sibilyan, sa chapel at sa mga schools. Dehado talaga sila sa amin kasi kami, we do not tie down our rules sa IHL. We only use the IHL and other humanitarian conventions and protocols of war when it is convenient for us. Halimbawa, land mine, ayaw naming tawagin iyan, Senator, when you were also chief, PNP, as IED. Gusto namin tawagin na CDX (command-detonated explosives). Because under the Ottawa Convention and the Geneva Convention
Protocol I and II, gray area iyan. Ang ipinagbabawal ay ang pressure-detonated and automatic and time-bound. But the pressure-detonated or the command-detonated na may switch, gamit ang blasting cap at detonating cord, hindi siya outright na ipinagbabawal clearly sa Ottawa Convention and conventions ng Geneva Convention. So naiikutan namin, Senator Sotto, sir, and Senator Ping.

Sa tanong ninyo po paano nai-involve ang kabataan, two ways: Kung sa baryo po, kahit hindi sila recruited dahil masa sila, mass-based area iyon, doon mismo kami nakatira. Doon kami mismo nag-o-organize, kasama namin ang mga magulang nila. So the children are exposed to the horrors and dangers of war. Informal recruitment. Dalawang recruitment kasi ang kabataan, Senator Sotto, sir. Sa schools and universities, urban areas. And then the other side of recruitment, sa mga baryo. Kapag schools and universities po, ang recruitment ay nagsisimula usually, sir, minor ka pa niyan. When I was recruited in the West Visayas State University, I was about to turn 18. Ang malala ngayon, nakita ko, in the last 10 years—


**MR. CELIZ.** Okay. Thank you, Senator Sotto, sir.
Na-recruit po ako sa West Visayas State University. It is a premiere state university sa Iloilo City in 1991. Ang unang organization na na-recruit—ang nag-recruit sa akin—

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. Sinong nag-recruit sa iyo?

MR. CELIZ. Namatay po siya, pinatay siya sa loob ng bus noong March 2019 last year, NDF consultant siya. Ang pangalan niya po ay Randy Felix Malayao. He is also a good writer, pareho kami, mga college editors’ guild. He was arrested before on the case pertaining to the assassination of Congressman Rodolfo Aguinaldo. He was from Isabela. And at the time of his death, nasa underground pa siya, ako ay tumutulong na as security consultant to the government. Pero ang pag-recruit sa akin, I was not recruited directly to the CPP. Kaya natutuwa ako na nakikinig ako sa mga officials ngayon and the senators discussing things which are never known to public, even to the government themselves especially the military, Mr. Chair, and Senator Sotto, sir.

I mean, akala ko ang aming pagsama sa aktibismo, sa College Editors’ Guild of the Philippines, which is an open organization, ay laban lamang sa US military bases. Kasi mainit ang talakayan noon sa—the abrogation of the US military bases, ‘91 ako na-recruit.


MR. CELIZ. Oo. So kasagsagan ng debate sa US military bases, transition from Cory government to Ramos government.
So noong ma-recruit ako sa CEGP, tuwang-tuwa ako kasi these are things that I never learned in school, itong mga itinuturo sa amin. But three months thereafter, Mr. Chair, in-invite ako nila Randy Felix Malayao—pagpalain sana ang kanyang kaluluwa, at hindi ko muna pangalanan iyong ibang nag-invite kasi active pa po sa media, mataas na rin ang katungkulan—we were students noong panahon na iyon.

Nang mag-recruit po ako sa CEGP, I was thinking, iyon na iyong pagiging aktibista. But three months into the recruitment—at least nakikinig ang buong bayan, ang buong bansa, mga nanay na nakikinig at kabataan—in-invite ako sa isang meeting sa boarding house, mga 12 kami. At sa meeting na iyon, mga student editors, campus writers at student leaders ang nandoon, iba’t ibang universities. Pagdating doon, hindi na pinag-aralan ang US military bases. Pinag-aralan namin ang libro ni Joma Sison. Wala pang MKLRP noon, ang tawag pa noon LRP (Lipunan at Rebolusyong Pilipino), in English, *Philippine Society and Revolution* by Amado Guerrero, the *nom de guerre* of Joma Sison. Iyon ang bibliya. I can teach that without the book in one day, two days, three days depending sa audience. And until now memoryado ko iyong apat na portion. First part is national situation: Mayaman ang Pilipinas ngunit naghihirap ang sambayanang Pilipino. Second part, history: Ang kasaysayan ng pananakop at paglaban ng sambayanang Pilipino. Third part, tatlong ismo: imperyalismo, bulok na kapitalismo at

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Mr. Senate President.

Anong organization ang kinasasapian mo noon bago ka na-recruit?

**MR. CELIZ.** Wala, sir. I was an ordinary student, Mr. Chair. I was a writer. I was part of the editorial board of Forum Dimensions and I was recruited to the CEGP advocating itong mga issues ng mamamayan. Pero nang manumpa po ako after that LRP session in a boarding house, tago na meeting iyon, tago. We were told that was a CEGP meeting but it was not a CEGP meeting; it was a meeting of Kabataang Makabayan (KM). KM was the organization founded by Joma Sison in 1964, November 30, when he was still part of the old PKP, lumang Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas sa panahon nila Jose, Jesus, Vicente Lava. Joma is not the original CPP founder. The original CPP was in November 7, 1930 founded by Crisanto Evangelista. Every party member knows this, and the rest of the Makabayan bloc knows this. Yes, they are party members, we are the same.
Sa tanong, Mr. Chair, ni Senator Sotto, paano ako napunta sa CPP? KM is the first step to the CPP. From CEGP, you will not be recruited from open organizations direct to the CPP. There is no direct recruitment to the communist party. The recruitment will pass open organizations and then underground and then party. The underground is the consolidator for the armed struggle, it is the NDF. So the NDF is not innocent, it is a conspirator, enabler, collaborator of armed struggle. It is not a legitimate organization pretending to be legal but rather it is an underground umbrella of all sectoral underground organizations, Senator, Mr. Chair, like Kabataang Makabayan.

In December of ’91, I was again recruited, Mr. President and Mr. Chair, I was again recruited to become candidate member.../jun/imjv/agc
MR. CELIZ. ...to become candidate member of the Communist Party of the Philippines. Ako po ay dalawang beses na nanumpa sa CPP: ‘91 of December and May of ’92. Kasi ang unang recruitment mo from the underground will be candidate member. No voting right ka sa loob ng partido. Pagka full member ka, na-prove na nila na hindi ka security threat at capable ka to be developed as a cadre, you will be recruited to become a full member. At doon ka ire-recruit talaga at bibigyan ng pag-aaral—sa panahon namin. Kasama po iyan sa summer immersion. I was recruited in the area of Baras, Iloilo with no less than iyong mga regional party committee ng mga matatanda na mga ‘70s ang nakita ko. Sila ang mga instructors ko sa BKP (Batayang Kursong Pampartido).

THE CHAIRPERSON. Nabanggit ko kanina iyong CEGP (College Editors’ Guild), hindi ba??

MR. CELIZ. Yes, sir.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Miyembro ka nito?

MR. CELIZ. Iyon ang unang organization na sinalihan ko--

THE CHAIRPERSON. Na nasalihan mo.

MR. CELIZ. Yes.

THE CHAIRPERSON. So, iyong ang naging vehicle kung papaano ka na-spot-an na ma-recruit?

MR. CELIZ. Because ang nagre-recruit at namumuno ng CEGP are already cadre of the CPP.
THE CHAIRPERSON. Yes. Sige, please proceed.

MR. CELIZ. Which hindi nila ina-admit sa amin. We were thinking na pare-pareho kaming mga writers. Nauna pong na-recruit si Randy Felix Malayao sa akin.

If you are asking for the historical reference of my authenticity, ang kapanahunan ko po ay si Teddy Casiño. He was the national president of CEGP, I was the regional chairman of the CEGP. Do I know him also to be part of the CPP? Hindi na po ako magpapakaipokrito, Mr. Chair, Mr. President, yes. We were all CPP. They are still CPP. They are still part of the Communist Party and, worse, they deny it. And they are not admitting it to the nation. That is why they are not here. I was supposed to meet them here. Maganda sanang nandito kami para lahat ng circumstances to be asked by Senate and to be known by the people ay masasagot.

Mr. Chair, I operated po sa dalawang mundo ng CPP na hindi po ito masyadong naiintindihan. From ’91 to 2001, Mr. Chair, Senator Ping, involved ka sa history ko. Ikaw po ang chief, PNP. Iyon ang huli ko pong bahagi sa open mass movement nang pinatalsik namin si Pangulong Estrada. We organized, conspired, collaborated in a broad alliance to establish the Erap Resign Movement. It is a known fact. It is part of history. It was a collaboration of the Communist Party, of the church leaders, of traditional opposition politicians na hinayaan ni Pangulong
At iyan po ay naging bahagi ako. I was a regional coordinator of Erap Resign Movement. Nakikinig po sila ngayon. Papatayin nila ako sa lahat ng mga isinisiwalat ko. Hindi po mapupuno ang buong araw natin sa lahat ng historical accounts ko—

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. Iyon ang inaalala ko, mukhang sa history mo aabutin tayo ng maghapon. So, magpapa-fast forward muna tayo doon sa main question ko kanina. Dahil may 17 years old na former child warrior na kinasuhan ng rape iyong kumander niya.

Ngayon, ang tanong ko, is this something that happens or that happened before? Ito ba iyong mga this kind of abuses and human rights violations done to the recruits by their commanders or leaders of the terrorist groups? Nangyayari ba ito or isolated itong kasong ito?

MR. CELIZ. Mr. Senate President and Mr. Chair, nangyayari po iyan. Sabi ko nga, anong tatag mo sa Marxismo, Leninismo at Maoismo pag tinamaan ka ng prinsipyo ni Freud ng libido, malilimutan mo ang disiplina ng Marxismo, Leninismo at Maoismo. I confirm the question of the Senate President. Naabuso ba ang mga kabataang kababaihan? Yes.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Anyway, sa sulat ni former Congressman Colmenares, ang request niya kung puwedeng iyong mga resource persons na mag-aakusa, dapat daw may personal knowledge. Tatatanungin kita ngayon, mayroon ka bang personal knowledge sa alinmang pangyayari na binabanggit mo?
MR. CELIZ. Ang testimonya ko po ay mayroon akong personal knowledge. And Mr. Chair, with your indulgence, I would like to address also Mr. Neri Colmenares, my former comrade in the CPP, the personal knowledge required is only in the court of law, sa trial sa court. Kaya ayaw ninyo kaming humarap sa Senado at lumabas sa media kaming mga kasama ninyo because malalantad kayo. And in the court of law, in the judicial requirement, Mr. Senator, required kami doon na mag-produce on the weight of evidence based on the rules of evidence ng korte. Iyon ang gusto nila, itatali ang kamay namin.

Sa tanong ni Mr. Chair, Mr. Senate President, do we have enough knowledge over the things that we want to testify before the people in the Senate? Yes, we have. Depende po sa itatanong ninyo at ibibigay ninyong panahon, sasagutin ko lang po, Mr. Chair, Mr. Senate President, ang tinanong—

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. Oo, kung nangyayari ito before, hanggang ngayon nangyayari pa ito?

MR. CELIZ. Nangyayari po iyan, Mr. Senate President, matagal na. Although in fairness to the NPA, kapag ikaw ay nahuli na nang-rape, pinapatay ka namin. That is death sentence. That is automatic death sentence. Pero dahil iyong ibang nagko-commit ng rape and abuse na mga miyembro ng NPA na kababaihan, lalo na kabataan, ay mga matataas ang katungkulan sa partido at sa NPA, Mr. Senate President,
puwedeng itago po iyan. At iyan ang nangyari sa dalawang bata na magkakapatid sa Leyte ngayon. Ilang taon silang inabuso. And I am not at liberty to discuss that kasi right at the halls of Senate right now, siya po ay naging biktima din. But baka sensitive iyan. At hindi ko alam kung nasa television tayo. If you want direct testimony for that, nandito rin siya sa Senate ngayon. NPA siya. Kabataan siya nang ma-recruit. At tanungin ninyo siya po mamaya. I think baka i-suspend natin ang coverage or rule sa executive session, kung anong detalye. Pero sa sagot sa tanong ni Senate President, yes, they abuse. And the vulnerability of children and mga minor na NPA na nare-recruit, nangyayari po. Ang kinababahala ko, Mr. Senate President, Mr. Chair, in the last eight years, on the recovered documents from Vic Ladlad, the acting secretary general of the Communist Party, nang mahuli siya sa Novaliches, proud na proud sila that they were able to recruit in three years ng walong libong kabataan muli in the underground movement. At ang mostly senior high school, from PUP, UST, FEU. Ito iyong umiyak dito sa Senado. They were not crying ladies for nothing. They were grieving mothers like our mothers na umiikay nang kami ay naglayas at nag-full time sa NPA during our time. Nangyayari po ito ngayon. Dokumento ito ng CPP-NPA. In the last three years 2016, ‘17 and ‘18 hanggang ‘19, more than 8,000 na kabataan, Senators, Mr. Chair and Senate President, ang na-recruit nila from the document mismo ni Vic Ladlad
nakuha ito. At ang karamihan senior high school which means 16 and 17 years old. And I share the concern of the Senate President right now.

**THE SENATE PRESIDENT.** Yes. It is really alarming na nangyayari nga pala ito.

Ngayon, ilang taon na po ba kayo? If you don’t mind my asking.


**THE SENATE PRESIDENT.** ’71. Medyo bata ka pa. Hindi ka—

**MR. CELIZ.** Ka-birthday ko po si Mr. Joey de Leon, a very good artist.


**MR. CELIZ.** Mr. Senate President, hindi ko siya inabutan. But I confirm, they were part of the CPP-NPA.
THE SENATE PRESIDENT. Puro mga beauty queens iyon.

MR. CELIZ. Si Maita Gomez, si Nelia Sancho. Iyong iba po mga magaganda talaga, sina Vicvic Justiniani ng Negros, magaganda iyan. Maraming magaganda sa NPA kaya maganda ang asawa ko po.

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. Kaya nga. Bale paalala natin—

THE CHAIRPERSON. Sandali lamang, Mr. Senate President.

Ikaw ba ay nag-surrender, nahuli? Papaano ka bang nakatiwalag?

MR. CELIZ. Very different po ang sirkumstansiya ko, Mr. Chair and Senate President. Hindi po ako na-capture. Hindi rin po ako arrested kasi wala ako sa warrant of arrest pero nasa order of battle ako. Nag-lie low ako, nag-AWOL ako. Ang last unit ko po from the Erap Resign Movement, I was deployed in 2002 September.

THE CHAIRPERSON. You were never a combatant? Never kang naging combatant?

MR. CELIZ. Naging part po ako ng NPA national operational command. I was part of the N2, NPA national operational command. Kapanahunan ko po—

THE CHAIRPERSON. Ito water under the bridge, tутal nasa kamay ka na naman ng gobyerno, nakapag-participate ka sa mga armed encounters?

MR. CELIZ. Am I protected here?

THE CHAIRPERSON. Yes.
MR. CELIZ. Isa po sa mga naging trabaho...

THE CHAIRPERSON. Yes. Hindi naman details. General question.

MR. CELIZ. Meron po.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Yes or no lang naman. Don’t give details anymore. Hindi ko kailangan ang detalye. Yes or no lang.

MR. CELIZ. Yes.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Nakapag-participate ka rin sa mga ambush case?

MR. CELIZ. Yes, sir.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Nakapag-participate ka rin sa mga depredations like iyong mga unarmed civilians?

MR. CELIZ. Yes, sir.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Thank you.

MR. CELIZ. And, sir, if you may, Mr. Chair, Senate President?

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. ... kapag iyong paru-paro ay na-attract sa kandila at hindi nag-ingat, maaaring mapahamak.

Go ahead.

MR. CELIZ. Sir, ang last unit ko po ay National Operational Command ng NPA, buong Pilipinas po. Ako po ay napailalim sa N2. I did a lot of things under that unit na missing po iyong mga kasama ko. Sina Prudencio Calubid, the legend of Samar, and Leo Velasco. Iyong asawa niya si Elizabeth Prinsipe. Yes, si Leo Velasco ay na missing sa Cagayan de Oro sa Limketkai. Hindi ko na po ire-refer sino ang chief of staff at that time, digmaan po iyong sinamahan ko. Iyong binabanggit kanina dito, iyong Kamameshi Restaurant sa Quezon Memorial Circle—yeah, si Romulo Kintanar.

Hindi na po ako magde-detalye, pero redemption ko po ito ngayon. And I am very happy, Mr. Chair, Mr. Senate President, for me to liberate myself, ourselves, from the demons playing in our conscience for the many sins that we have committed to the people.

Maraming salamat po, Mr. Chair.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Popoy Lagman?

MR. CELIZ. Sir?

THE CHAIRPERSON. Popoy Lagman?

MR. CELIZ. Popoy Lagman was never assassinated by the NPA. I will not tell kung sino; alam din namin.
THE CHAIRPERSON. Pero hindi NPA?


THE SENATE PRESIDENT. Hindi, si Rolly Abadilla?

MR. CELIZ. Yes, Rolly Kintanar was a major project—

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. Hindi, Abadilla. Abadilla?

MR. CELIZ. Hindi po, sir.

VOICE. Rolando Abadilla.

MR. CELIZ. Hindi po, sir. You will learn a lot from us, sir, pero ABB, yes. ABB.

Sir, one minute, Mr. Chair, if I may?

I am very happy. We are very happy and maybe maririnig din mamaya si Ka Shane, mas younger siya sa akin and she has a lot of testimonies to tell. Baka mas mayayanig mamaya ang maririnig mula sa kanya.

Ang message ko lang is very clear, napakagandang pagkakataon po ito upang mag-unite ang buong bayan at ang gobyerno, ang Senado, ang Kongreso, ang Executive, and even the Judiciary, for us to stand against the CPP-NPA-NDF.

Sa tanong, sir, from the perspective of a former cadre, ano ang kapabilidad ng CPP-NPA-NDF? They cannot overthrow the government, but they can make Smart and Globe pay 200 million more every year
combined. Is that not a threat? They can make 300 to 400 million from the NGO racket coming inside—

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** I am telling you, that is an open secret.

**MR. CELIZ.** Correct po. And they can make Triple A contractors na gumagawa ng mga airport, ports magbayad.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Again, that is an open secret.

**MR. CELIZ.** Yes, sir.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Two percent iyong cut ng NPA sa mga infra. Naging three na ba?

**MR. CELIZ.** I confirm, sir, 2 percent, pero sa document, sir, 3.5.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Basta lahat ng infra, walang aandar lalo sa mga influence kung walang 2 percent from the contractor. That is in addition to the 10 percent of the congressmen.

**MR. CELIZ.** Agree, sir. At ang source, sir, I will reveal, not Secretary Villar—

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Some congressmen, by the way, I would like to qualify.

**MR. CELIZ.** Yes, some congressmen. At ang source po ng information namin, Senate President, Mr. Chair, kung paano namin nalalaman ang mga projects, saan ang location, magkano ang cost, sinong project nito and manager? DPWH. The information on the extortion if there is one single biggest mafia-style highly organized most
prolific extortion machinery to come before the face of the earth is the CPP-NPA-NDF. At hindi iyan napipigilan ng ating government.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Sorry, Mr. Senate President, curious lang.

Papaano naremit iyan at saan? Magkano? Ilang porsiyento ang napupunta sa the Netherlands? Ilan iyong nagagamit dito sa operation dito sa local?

**MR. CELIZ.** Ang sa Smart and Globe po ay bank remittance pero outside the Philippines.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Ilang percent? Halimbawa, sa 300 million per year, ilang porsiyento doon or magkano ang napupunta doon sa The Hague?

**MR. CELIZ.** Okay. Ang policy po is pag regional operations finance, 40 percent ire-remit sa central committee, 60 percent sa region. It is 40-60.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** When you say central committee, iyong central committee dito?

**MR. CELIZ.** Yes.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Ang tinatanong ko, from the 40 percent, ilang percent iyong pumupunta sa Netherland?

**MR. CELIZ.** Hindi ko po masagot categorical. Pero tama po kayo sa inyong very logical question, Mr. Chair, may napupunta po sa Netherlands kasi nandoon ang CPP International Department. Nandoon
si Joma sa Barrio Utrecht, the Netherlands sa Barangay Utrecht. Tama po, may napupunta doon at ang napupunta doon, sir, ang naririnig ko noong nandito pa ako, hindi po bababa sa 50 percent na mga kinikita dito nare-remit doon. So iyon po, that is very clear. At ang pinaka masakit po, the CPP-NPA-NDF are able to circumvent the Anti-Money Laundering Council. Because we are able to establish web network of conduit NGOs that can channel funds amounting to 300 to 400 million coming from partners from Belgium, Netherlands, Europe, et cetera.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** With the further indulgence of the Senate President, gusto ko lang i-pursue.

Do you have a list of the NGOs naging conduit para to circumvent the Anti-Money Laundering Law?

**MR. CELIZ.** Yes. I think the—

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** You don’t need to tell this Committee right now, pwedeng i-submit na lang iyan sa Committee.

**MR. CELIZ.** Yes, sir. We will do, sir. Thank you for that guidance.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Have you furnished the—or at least, through NICA or whoever is handling you.

Nakarating na ba sa Anti-Money Laundering Council iyan?

**MR. CELIZ.** Yes, sir. We will comply.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Okay. I will not ask any further questions in that regard.
Thank you, Mr. President.

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. Just a manifestation also, na baka ngayon maiintindihan ng mga nagtatanong bakit daw iyong mga telcos mahilig maglagay ng cell site sa mga kampo, sa mga military camp, ano? Iyan ang sagot. Kasi pag hindi sa military camp, peperwisyuhin.

MR. CELIZ. Bobombahin, susunugin, wawasakin.

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. Bobombahin, susunugin, wawasakin, kung hindi magbayad.

MR. CELIZ. Yes, Mr. Senate President, Mr. Chair. The Armed Forces and the Philippine National Police cannot be the private security guard of Smart and Globe.

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. So iyong mga nagtatanong kung bakit sa kampo, iyan ang sagot. Hindi dahil gustong i-monitor ng China ang military.

MR. CELIZ. The weaknesses of the government security sector to secure, Mr. President, Mr. Chair, the facilities and infrastructure of these telecommunications kasi under the law bawal man maging security guard ng Smart at Globe at mga private companies ang police at ang Army at ang Armed Forces. So the weakness of that, manipis at maliit ang ating Armed Forces, malawak ang area, they cannot really secure every critical infrastructure. It becomes favorable to the operations of the enemy.
THE SENATE PRESIDENT. Right. With your permission, Mr. Chairman, iyong tanong kong original kay Jeffrey, kay Ka Eric, ay pwede kong itanong kay Ms. Miranda.

Ano po ba ang tawag sa inyo noong araw?

MS. MIRANDA. Good afternoon po, Mr. President.

Ang talagang tawag po sa akin noon noong aktibista pa po ako is Lady Miranda, Chairperson po ako ng Anakbayan, Central Luzon.

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. Lady Miranda?

MS. MIRANDA. Yes po.

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. Okay. Iyon pong tanong ko sa kanya na nagkaso po ng rape iyong isang former warrior ng NPA na babae, 17 years old, chinarj (charge) iyong commander niya ng rape, nangyayari ba ito? Nangyayari ba sa pagkaka-alam ninyo?

MS. MIRANDA. Yes po, Mr. Senate President. Isa po ako sa buhay na patunay nang pang-aabuso sa loob ng kilusan, not just once, but thrice.

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. Ng mga kasama ninyo o ng mga opisyal?

MS. MIRANDA. Officer po, mga commander po namin.

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. Akala ko ba pinapatay iyong ano—death penalty iyong mangre-rape?
MS. MIRANDA. Iyon nga po iyang masakit, Mr. Senate President. Kasi po ang paniniwala ko din po noong una is ganoon. Akala namin pinoprotektahan ng kilusan iyang mga kabataan, kababaihan in terms of rights ng mga kababaihan lalo sa violence. Pero iyon nga po ang masakit, inilaan ko iyang buhay ko sa loob ng kilusan. From 14 years old po ako, tapos po 18 ako noong nag-NPA. Doon ko po naranasan na iyon napagsamantalahan po ng CO namin, 19 years old lang po ako noong panahon na iyon, naulit po iyon noong ako ay 20 years old. Tapos po noong hindi ko na po kinaya iyon depression dahil sa sunod-sunod na pangyayari na iyon, pinaratangan po ako na nababaliw. At mayroon daw po ako PTSD saka may polar tendency at sinabihan pa nila ako na parang may sex disorder daw po ako, sex addict daw po ako. Kaya iyon iyong naging reason kung bakit nila ako pinauwi kasi delikado daw ako sa mga kasamang lalaki kasi baka gapangin ko daw sila.

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. So binaliktad ang usapan. At ito ay hindi lang sa experience mo. Nakikita mo sa mga kasama mo, nangyayari din sa iba’t ibang lugar sa Pilipinas? .../rico/jmb/agc
THE SENATE PRESIDENT. ...sa iba't ibang lugar sa Pilipinas?

MS. MIRANDA. Yes po, Mr. Senate President. Iyong isa pong commander namin na babae, Dumagat po siya. Bagong sampa lang po siya noon noong ni-rape din po siya noong vice CO din po nila. Kuwento din po niya sa akin iyon noon kasi may talakayang babae po kami na nagaganap sa loob ng NPA. Doon po namin sini-share iyong mga karanasan namin bilang mga babae simula noong civilian kami hanggang noong mag-NPA kami. Kaya doon po nila shinare (share) sa amin iyong ibat ibang mga pang-aabuso din na nararanasan sa loob ng kilusan. Kaya noong naranasan ko po iyon mas doon ako naniwala na totoo pala.

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. Wala silang ginawa doon sa mga nang-abuso na iyon? Doon sa iba, pati sa iyo, wala silang ginawa?

MS. MIRANDA. Dinii lang po nila dahil mga CO po iyon. Tinanggal lang po nila sa pagka-CO.

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. Fourteen years old ka noong na-recruit ka. Paano ka na-recruit? Katulad noong tanong namin kay Ka Eric, paano nangiway?

MS. MIRANDA. Parang ganoon din po, ang kaibahan lang po out-of-school youth po ako, Mr. Senate President.

Fourteen years old po ako noong na-recruit po ako sa Anakbayan. Ang recruiter ko po noon iyong--kung naaalala ninyo po iyong nakulong

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. Pero iniwan mo iyong magulang mo, sumama ka sa kanila?


THE SENATE PRESIDENT. Taga saan ba kayong probinsya?

MS. MIRANDA. Taga-Pampanga po ako, Mr. Senate President.

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. Thank you. Salamat, Ka Lady.

MS. MIRANDA. Maraming salamat din po.
THE CHAIRPERSON. Senator Dela Rosa, it’s your turn. Senator Bato. Senator Manny Pacquiao? Senator Manny, are you there? Senator Kiko Pangilinan is recognized.

SEN. PANGILINAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Maraming salamat at magandang araw.

I have a few questions for some of our resource persons. Ako po ay naniniwala na tama lang ang ating Armed Forces of the Philippines sa kanilang concern regarding internal threat sa ating bansa. At dapat lang, bilang protector ng ating mga kababayan under our Constitution, indeed, internal threats should be addressed and effectively confronted by the Armed Forces of the Philippines. Of course, apart from internal threats, external threats too should be a primary concern and responsibility of the Armed Forces. We all agree that our Armed Forces has be an effective fighting force to protect our sovereignty as a nation. Dangan nga lang, may mga ilang mga insidente o mga pangyayari which, as part of our responsibility as senators and as a co-equal branch of our government, we act as a check. And this representation feels that there are concerns regarding this latest red-tagging or the linking of celebrities, for example, to radical organizations and what appears initially to be a threat to their security. I mean, threat to these celebrities is a cause also of concern.

In fact, when General Parlade’s name cropped up with his controversial post on Facebook, ay naalala ko, it’s the same General Parlade who accused the Liberal Party in 2018 of being in cahoots with the Communist Party to oust President Duterte in a plan called “Red October.” But when we raised this issue with the Secretary of National Defense and the Armed Forces Chief of Staff then in the budget hearing
of 2018, they both denied and said categorically that the Liberal Party had no involvement in this Red October plot.

I raised all these points because precisely we, in the Liberal Party, have in many occasions in the past had been red tagged, accused of conspiracies and even without basis. So ito ang ating concern dito, iyong pagre-red tag o pag-aakusa o iyong banta. Kanina nabanggit ni Senator Grace Poe, iyong tanong kay General Parlade, kung nabanggit nga ba niya iyong “You will end up or else you will.” In fact, “will” hindi nga “may.” You will end up like itong aktibistang pinatay. These are serious concerns and serious enough for no less than our Secretary of National Defense to admonish the good general.

I really have no questions at this point, Mr. Chairman. I just wanted the manifestation that we have to be very careful. The Armed Forces of the Philippines as an institution is a professional organization. We have to be very careful with the words that we pronounce. Being spokesperson of this task force, carries a lot of weight. And to say that Liza Soberano should stop doing what’s she’s doing, otherwise, she will end up being killed like some other activists, I think was uncalled for.

Also, linking us, the Liberal Party, to ouster plots publicly stated, opposition figures in the Liberal Party, we believe then was without basis and uncalled for. And thankfully, the AFP and the DND establishment is not a monolithic organization and that this was immediately denied and
categorical statements from the AFP Chief of Staff then, General Galvez, and Secretary Lorenzana belied such accusations.

Our concern is, we hope.../mhb/leah
SEN. PANGILINAN. ...Our concern is, we hope that General Parlade will be careful in his public pronouncements. This is not the first time that a public pronouncement has created quite a controversy.

We really have no questions, Mr. Chairman. We support the Armed Forces of the Philippines. We want the Armed Forces of the Philippines to be an effective force to fight both external and internal threats to our country. We understand and we believe that the AFP, as an institution, is a professional organization. And as a professional organization, we expect precisely that it will conduct itself in a professional manner. And that if there are gaps or lapses, we expect an organization, like any other organization, that it will correct itself and will address these gaps.

We have no other questions, Mr. Chairman. We just wanted to make that manifestation.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Thank you, Senator Pangilinan.

Kanina sa briefing, mayroon kang nabanggit na three courses: basic party course, intermediate party course, advance party course. Ang tanong ko is, what transpired in each of these courses? Maybe si Ka Eric or sino iyong mas knowledgeable. Papaano nai-indoctrinate? Gusto ko lang malaman.

MR. CELIZ. Yes, sir. The basic party course, intermediate party course, and the advance party courses can only be offered and discussed
to party members. Hindi po siya ibinibigay sa hindi regular party members. Ang ibinibigay sa recruitment papunta sa underground at party members, PADEPA courses, Pambansang Demokratikong Paaralan. Ito po iyong dating tinatawag na “general mass course set.”

Noong 1998, nag-devise kami ng tinatawag na “PADEPA.” PADEPA is both for the above-ground open activists and open organizations na nilalanguyan naming mga organizers at cadre like I mentioned: College Editors Guild, LFS, CEGP, et cetera, Anakbayan, Kabataan.

In the underground, it is the same. You cannot proceed to BKP, IKP, and AKP, sir, if you are not recruited to the party. What are the basic tenets ng tatlong ito? BKP, sir, medyo malalim na siya because it is the start of your theoretical ideological journey to the CPP. Ang pinag-aaralan diyan ay iyong mga Marxism, dialectical materialism, historical materialism. It has around 10 courses, it will run seven days. Ang IKP ay pang-cadre. Ibig sabihin po, sir, mag-a-assume ka ng leadership position from party branch to section party committee o district, pataas sa nasyonal. Ang pinag-aaralan diyan, sir, ay mga—bakit ang China ay hindi na komunista? Bakit ang China ay nasa landas na ng modern revisionism? Ang Soviet Union, pagkapatay ni Stalin at pagpasok ni Brezhnev at Khrushchev ay hindi na siya komunistang bansa. So, malalim siyang talakayan. These are nuances on the discussions farther from the basics of socialism and communism to the next degree. Ang
pinaka-abante, sir, iyong Abanteng Kursong Pangpartido. Kung sa school, ang BKP ay ito iyong college degree course mo tapos iyong IKP ay ang masteral course mo at ang Abanteng Kursong Pangpartido ang doctoral course mo sa CPP. It will take you years to undergo that.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Sa security sector, since 1970, noong natatag na iyong NPA, ilan na iyong sundalo na napatay? Sundalo muna—sundalo kasama na iyong pulis on record who officially—

**MR. LORENZANA(?).** Mr. Chairman, we do not have the figures, but we can submit, sir.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Nasa 2,300 plus, ano?

**MR. LORENZANA(?).** Marami-rami na rin, sir.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** How about civilians?

**MR. CELIZ.** Sa aming estimate, sir, sa NPA—

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Papaano ginagantimpalaan iyong mga nagiging victorious, iyong nananalo sa labanan o kaya iyong nakapag-ambush? Mayroon bang merit system diyan?

**MR. CELIZ.** Wala pong monetary reward, but rather you become—

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Merit system?

**MR. CELIZ.** Wala rin po, sir—Yes. Informally, it can be considered as a merit system kasi you will be promoted to a higher position in the command of the NPA.
I would like just to emphasize, sir, that the Communists Party of the Philippines, being the leader of the NPA, siya po ang magdetermine ng ano ang ia-ambush, sino ang ia-ambush, saan gagawin, at papaano. Because the CPP exercises direct and absolute leadership over the army including the informal merit evaluation.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Lady Miranda, nakapag-file ka ng rape complaint against doon sa mga sinasabi mong tao? Hindi pa?

MS. MIRANDA. Hindi pa po pero kasi—

THE CHAIRPERSON. Hindi pa iyan nagprescribe so puwede ka pang mag-file. Kung kilala mo naman, that’s another legal offensive. And, probably, with the help and guidance of whoever is handling you, then probably you can make that approach because this is a personal experience that is, you know, seeking justice, hindi ba?

So, kung ilan iyong incidente kinasangkutan niya at kung ilang tao iyong liable, criminally liable, mas mainam siguro i-pursue na lang maski at large iyong mga tao. I suppose buhay pa iyong mga iyon, hindi ba?

MS. MIRANDA. Mr. Chair, iyong isa po, patay na. Isa po siya sa namatay doon sa Carranglan Nine sa Nueva Ecija noong 2017.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Pero mayroon pang buhay?

MS. MIRANDA. Mayroon pa po, pero iyong isa kasi is nakakulong na.
THE CHAIRPERSON. Nakakulong na.

MS. MIRANDA. Iyong isa na lang po ang hindi pa.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Maski nakakulong, puwede namang sampahan ng additional na kaso. Mas mainam nga iyon kasi ang rape is an unbailable offense, hindi ba? Just in case na isa lang iyong kasong hinaharap niya patungkol sa pagiging miyembro ng NPA, kung murder man iyan, kung ano, at least mayroon pang ibang kaso.

You know, I was just handed a letter from GABRIELA, si Congresswoman Arlene Brosas. Second paragraph, ang sinasabi rito, again, ang sabi niya, “We would like to put on record that GABRIELA Women’s Party is not an armed group.” Mayroon bang nagsabi sa inyo na iyong GABRIELA is an armed group? Hindi, hindi ba? Wala.

MR. ESPERON. None, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Anyway, just for the record.

MR. ESPERON. It is a front organization.

THE CHAIRPERSON. And you confirm that it is not an armed group.

MR. ESPERON. It is not an armed group; a front organization.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Yes, front organization.

MR. ESPERON. And, Mr. Chair, if I may volunteer?

THE CHAIRPERSON. Sige, okay.
MR. ESPERON. Tinanong po ninyo kanina, iyong killed-in-action na sundalo at saka pulis sa anti-NPA operations ay 14,992 since 1975.

THE CHAIRPERSON. That’s 14,000.

MR. ESPERON. Regular troops. Regular troops po iyan.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Kasi sa record ng—iyong mga foreign jurisdictions na nag-tag sa CPP-NPA as a terrorist organization or nag-designate—United States, United Kingdom—maliit iyong record nila, nasa mga 2,387 yata.

MR. ESPERON. From 1975 po iyon, Mr. Chair.

THE CHAIRPERSON. No. This is from 1970 to date, iyong ang record. Or I think up to the time that they were designated by these foreign jurisdictions as a terrorist organization.

Now, I’d like to belabor that point because the President issued Proclamation 374 tagging or declaring the CPP-NPA as a designated terrorist organization. And the basis, it seems, is RA 10168, iyong definition ng “designated persons” particularly I think ang naging basis dito, iyong subparagraph one, “Any person or entity designated and/or identified as a terrorist, one who finances terrorism, or a terrorist organization or group under the applicable United Nations Security Council Resolution or by another jurisdiction or supranational jurisdiction.” So dito, hindi limited sa United Nations Security Council resolution. Ang ginamit dito is “or.”
But the point I want to clarify is, ang basis ng 10168 is HSA, Human Security Act 9372, hindi ba, which has already been repealed by the Anti-Terrorism Act of 2020. Now, if the basis of RA 10168—kindly educate me kasi gusto ko lang ma-clarify because this might have a bearing on several petitions filed before the Supreme Court. I hate to discuss that. But ito, academic discussion ito. Kung ang basis ng—are there lawyers here, by the way? Sige. Kung ang basis ng 10168 is a repealed law, would that still stand?.../jo/imjv/AGC
THE CHAIRPERSON. ... would that still stand? Kasi na-repeal na ito ng 11479—11479 ba iyon? Anyway, ATA, Anti-Terrorism Act of 2020, repealed, not amended. At in the Anti-Terrorism Act iyong procedure ng pag-designate, spelled out, whereas under the Human Security Act, wala. And even under R.A. 10168, walang procedure except na kino-quote lang probably iyong Human Security Act. So, ang question ko lang is, would that stand? Would that be valid? Or would the repealing law, which is the Anti-Terrorism Act of 2020, not render invalid the proclamation issued by the President, 374, declaring the CPP-NPA as a designated terrorist organization.

MS. ACADILIC. Good afternoon po, Mr. President, Mr. Chair.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Sige po.

MS. ACADILIC. This is just my legal opinion po. Yes, sir.

If the basis of R.A. 1168 has already been repealed, and there is already the Anti-Terrorism Act and the declaration of the President is pursuant to R.A. 1168, it is my legal opinion, sir, that the declaration still stands po. Yes, sir.

THE CHAIRPERSON. We have a representative from the DOJ, maybe we can hear from you.

MR. TY. Good afternoon, Your Honor.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Good afternoon.
MR. TY. Assistant Secretary Nicolas Felix Ty from the Department of Justice.

Your Honor, with respect to your question, we understand that the current Anti-Terror Act actually has provisions for designation. Moreover, Your Honor, the Anti-Terror Act also has a repealing clause as well as a saving clause. So, on the basis of these provisions, Your Honor, it would appear that the President’s designation under the presidential proclamation that you mentioned can stand.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Because of the saving clause?

MR. TY. And because of the saving—

THE CHAIRPERSON. That holds true also with the pending proscription case in the Manila Regional Trial Court. Kasi under the Anti-Terrorism Act, Court of Appeals na iyong magpo-proscribe. But under the HSA—kasi ang saving clause, the way I recall it or I remember it, iyong all cases pending action. So, since the proscription case is a case pending action by the Manila Regional Trial Court, it follows na covered siya noong saving clause, am I correct?

MR. TY. That is correct, Your Honor.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Yes. So, it is your opinion na pati iyong designation, by virtue of the presidential proclamation, is still valid, still stands?
MR. TY. Yes, Your Honor.

THE CHAIRPERSON. But under the law, it is only the Anti-Terrorism Council that can designate a group, an organization, or a person as a terrorist organization or individual, is that correct?

MR. TY. Under the current law, yes, Your Honor, designation is performed by the Anti-Terrorism Act.

THE CHAIRPERSON. So it doesn’t need an official action by the Anti-Terrorism Council to validate or to confirm, to affirm or affirm the proclamation issued by the President, no need?

MR. TY. Your Honor, from where we look right now, it appears that there is no necessity for additional action.

THE CHAIRPERSON. By the Anti-Terrorism Council?

MR. TY. Yes, Your Honor.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Thank you. Thank you very much.

Yes, General Binag.

MR. BINAG. Mr. Chairman, sir, in response to your question a while ago related to the atrocities committed by CPP-NPA. Although hindi po ito iyong numero ng mga namatay sa Armed Forces at saka sa Philippine National Police, we have this joint committee on legal action, AFP and PNP, and we were able to document, sir, the incidents perpetrated by the different red groups from 2010 hanggang 2020. Sir,
out of the almost 5,000, 90 percent po dito ang may gawa ho ay iyong CPP-NPA. So, ito na ho, pinagsama-sama na namin ang Abu Sayaff, BIFF, 90 percent po nito ang CPP-NPA ang may gawa. Kung ibi-break down ho natin ito sa mga biktima ho, mga 50 percent dito, sir, ang biktima ho dito ay ang military. Okay, so halo-halo na ho ito. May namatay, may wounded. Ang PNP naman, sir, mga 10 percent nitong numero na ito. Tapos iyong civilian, ito iyong mga pinapasabog nila, sir, iyong mga backhoe, iyong mga construction na project, so roughly around minsan mga 40 percent, and other government officials, siguro mga less than ano na ito, sir, mga 1 or 2 percent. So ni-round off ko na ito, sir. So ganito kalawak ito, iyong kanilang atrocities na ginagawa. Sa buong Pilipinas ito, hindi lang ito sa isang region. So ang pinakamarami dito ang Region XIII, 1,175. Nandidito din, sir, ang Region V, 449. So kung iko-correlate natin ito, sir, siguro sa poverty noong lugar puwede nating makita iyong impact noong ginagawa nitong mga CPP-NPA kaya lalong naghihirap iyong mga lugar na ito. So we have these numbers, actually, sir, and what we did after documenting these incidents, then we filed these cases noong nag-case build up kami sa prosecutor tapos iyong iba umabot, sir, sa court. Tapos mayroon na rin, sir, search warrant. Mayroon kaming standing na 1,000 plus na
search warrant dito, sir, sa mga CPP-NPA members. So ito, sir, ang from the perspective of the police...

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Search warrant or warrant of arrest?

**MR. BINAG.** Sorry, warrant of arrest. Iyon, sir, ang—so sa perspektibo namin, sir, sabi ko nga kanina we operate based on the evidence, so we are building up all these cases so that we can firm up iyong campaign natin against them as part of the NTF-ELCAC, sir.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Do we have an estimate of the amount being generated doon sa progressive taxation? And would you know kung saan iyong malalakas na base of operations pagdating sa progressive taxation? Because I think a good way of, you know, iyong tinatawag nating, resource denial, hindi ba, operations. Kasi kung walang resource denial, free-flowing iyong pondo, iyong pati pag-aarmas, pagpopondo at pagre-recruit. Kasi if you do not have that much effort pagdating sa resource denial operations, hindi kayo mananalo. I am referring to the CPP-NPA. We are not referring to the united fronts, to the legal fronts. Let us confine our discussion to the CPP-NPA in the meantime.

**MR. MONTEAGUDO.** Thank you, Mr. Chairman. We actually have a report. I do not have a copy of the report, sir, but we do have a compilation of the collection or the taxation, revolutionary taxation,
extortion—actually, called “extortion,” sir—by the CPP-NPA from different business establishments, corporations. I cannot recall the exact figure, but one of the biggest is the telco, the two telcos, telephone company...

THE CHAIRPERSON. If you combine, 300 million per annum?

MR. MONTEAGUDO. At the least iyan, sir. We estimate more, actually. Because in one island alone, sir, again my memory is not good, sir, but they demand extortion per tower. They do it per tower. So you can imagine how many thousands of towers they have. Although in some areas they cannot impose this where they do not have some control, but in other areas where they have a large presence of New People’s Army they were able to demand a rate. But this is—and they negotiate it at the central committee, large national corporations, nationwide coverage are transacted at the national level.

THE CHAIRPERSON. It seems, ano, it seems that we are losing the propaganda war in spite of Usec Badoy. It seems that we are losing the propaganda war with all the resources of government, that’s the reason—doon ako si-segue kung bakit gusto kong malaman magkano ba iyong resources na nadye-generate nila. Because sabi mo nga kanina, this is a battle for the hearts and minds of the Filipinos, hindi
ba? Kasi pag natalo ka sa propaganda war, paano ka mananalo sa hearts and minds?

**MR. MONTEAGUDO.** Yes, sir. That is why, sir, that is the focus of the.../mrjc/peg/agc
MR. MONTEAGUDO. ...that is the focus of the National Task Force. We admit that we cannot move forward, sir, and we cannot improve ourselves unless we admit where we failed. And one of the biggest failures of the government is in the information war against the CPP-NPA. And, thus, there is a focus by the Task Force to intensify its information operations.

We are learning because we are 52 years behind. There was never an effort of the government to have a comprehensive and whole of nation—whole of government campaign for information operations—only now.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Now, in the advent of the—iyong ELCAC ano, are we gaining headway?

MR. ESPERON. May I, Mr. Chair?

THE CHAIRPERSON. Sige.

MR. ESPERON. Very much, Mr. Chairman. And the communist terrorist groups are really reacting so much to the National Task Force-ELCAC. They have come out with manuals to counter our Retooled Community Support Program. They are being hit by our strategic communications and information operations. We have put together the agencies of government under one strategic communications group, coordinated with our intelligence group or the situational awareness group who also goes around informing the public.
There is really a big effort in informing the schools in the countryside. Different organizations, the whole of government, we go to the government led by our lecturers. When we started, there were very few who would take us. But today, they are demanding that we go around, led by our SOCOM group, Intel group with these kinds of briefing, and so they appreciate it so much.

The CPP-NPA are really reeling from our pronouncements because we are simply telling the truth. But they have some means to block the budgets of PCOO, NSC, NICA, they would even try to block the budget of Defense just so they could get back at us. But we said, budget or no budget, we will tell the truth. But in the end, we know that the majority of the members of Congress will understand us and so from the House of Representatives, our budgets reached the Senate and we hope we get the same kind of support in the Senate.

Mr. Chairman, in terms of returnees, we have this very good program, the Balik Loob Program or the Enhanced Comprehensive Local Integration Program and AMNESTY program. Napakadaming bumabalik dahil mayroon tayong ibinibigay na pabahay, livelihood, firearms remuneration and security, at iyong ibang social services tulad ng eskwelahan. Kaya pinag-aaralan po namin lahat ito sa National Task Force-ELCAC at pinag-uusap-usapan namin. Kung ano iyong sabihin ng spokespersons namin, talagang pinag-usapan namin iyan. Iyong
COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL DEFENSE AND SECURITY, PEACE, UNIFICATION AND RECONCILIATION
RPCorpuz  VI-3  November 3, 2020  2:11 p.m.  3

sinasabi nila ay nag-fact checking kami, nagbe-verify kami at inaalam namin kung paano sasabihin sa public. Kaya po tinatamaan sila ng katotohanan. Hindi kami nagpro-propaganda dito. We are not playing dual tactics. We are simply saying what is the truth. Tulad nitong si Usec Badoy, galing ng UP ito, wala siyang—sabi niya, “Minsan naloko pala ako ng mga ito.” Hindi ko sinasabing lahat ng taga-UP ay aktibista kasi kakaunti lang naman ang aktibista diyan sa UP. Ngunit iyong mga nakakaloko ay kakaunti lang iyan, ganoon din sa ibang organisasyon. Sinasabi namin kakaunti lang iyong talagang miyembro ngunit may mga naloloko sila at lalong-lalo na iyong kabataan.

Mr. Chairman, this barangay development program did not come from the idea of just one person, this came from the proposals of the local governments and the people who said they want these kinds of projects because these are the geographically isolated and disadvantaged areas. Now, ano ba namang—we have to admit, napabayaan natin. So ngayon na dadalhin natin iyong kalsada, iyong eskwelahan—kaunting waterworks at irigasyon, courtesy of DILG; eskwelahan, DepEd; Department of Agriculture, iyong kalsada; National Greening Project of DENR. Iba-ibang project ng lahat ng department ay dinadala ng ELCAC at in one bunch to be more effective.

Nagtataka kami kung bakit mayroong mga umaayaw o pinipigilan ito samantala lam na naman nila na maski na walang insurgency diyan,
just look at that area and you will know na talagang napag-iwanan na iyong mga lugar na iyan. How much more na may insurgency na pwedeng bumalik ulit doon sa mga lugar na iyon?

Sa katunayan, Mr. Chairman, may mga na-clear kaming barangays noong 2010 to 2016, napakakaunti ng projects na nailagay diyan kaya iyong iba, nabawi ng NPA at binabawi pa natin hanggang ngayon. Kaya itong paglalagay natin ng projects ngayon, sana ay maging totoo at matupad sana. Matuloy sana. Dahil kung pababayaan natin ulit ito, nagiging paulit-ulit lang iyong cycle, na pupunta kami doon, magkakaroon kami ng immersion at titingnan namin iyong problema nila, idudulog namin sa nakakataas, at umaasa na iyong mga ating kababayan—gusto nila, inaasahan na nila iyan. Kaya dapat lang siguro naman ibigay na natin. Otherwise—

THE CHAIRPERSON. Do not convince me.

MR. ESPERON. Yes, sir.

THE CHAIRPERSON. You know.

MR. ESPERON. Baka may mga nakikinig pa.

THE CHAIRPERSON. I’ll be defending the budget of the DND next week in plenary.

MR. ESPERON. Yes, sir.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Anyway, itemized naman lahat iyong nire-request niyong budget for ELCAC, hindi ba?
MR. ESPERON. Yes, sir, 822 barangays.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Anyway, let’s leave that behind and I’ll just see you next week on November 12.

At any rate, on another issue—that’s on the domestic front. Sa international, it seems na hindi rin tayo nananalo sa battle, hindi ba, iyong propaganda war? For example, iyong issue ng recruitment ng mga children into the realms of the CPP-NPA, have you exerted or undertaken any effort to bring the matter up to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child? Mayroon? May effort?

VOICE. Mr. Chair.

THE CHAIRPERSON. So ano ang feedback?

MR. ESPERON. Mr. Chairman, we have this cluster that we call the International Engagement Cluster. Kami na naman ang magkakasama. Iyong unang trip sa Europe to do the information campaign was led by Usec Badoy. Nandoon si—


MR. MONTEAGUDO. We have, sir, but we don’t—say in public because that’s how—

THE CHAIRPERSON. Tinatanong ko lang kung mayroon at kung ilan.
MR. MONTEAGUDO. But we have, sir, we have. In coordination with the other agencies of government, cases like—

THE CHAIRPERSON. Yes, iyong kay Lady Miranda.

MR. MONTEAGUDO. Yes, we use that, sir, for filing cases against the CPP and against the—we also even submitted reports to EU and funding agencies so that they will stop funding this—

THE CHAIRPERSON. Kasi napansin ko we’re always on the defensive.

MR. MONTEAGUDO. Yes.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Don’t you notice that?

MR. MONTEAGUDO. Yes.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Lagi na lang tayong defend nang defend, naghihintay na mayroong issue—

MR. ESPERON. Very true.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Pag binulaga tayo, defend tayo nang defend. So our hands our tied, our hands are full defending ourselves or yourselves. And this has happened before, even during my time, hindi na nagbago.

MR. MONTEAGUDO. We are now on the offensive, sir. I mean, we are—
THE CHAIRPERSON. Well, now that you have all these materials, I hope you follow this up with some concrete action.../rheiya/jmb/agc
THE CHAIRPERSON. ...with some concrete action. Kasi briefings are good but, you know, if iyong briefings ninyo mag-e-end lang dito and not to some mas intended na audience, then baka sayang iyong effort ninyo.

MR. MONTEAGUDO. To give a quick look, sir, indigenous peoples were sent abroad in the US and EU to engage the European Parliament Union itself and the US government and the UN to debunk all the propaganda against us.

THE CHAIRPERSON. And that is part of your resource denial operations or efforts, hindi ba?

MR. MONTEAGUDO. Yes, sir.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Kasi malakas pa ba iyong pasok ng contribution or funding from foreign NGOs?

MR. MONTEAGUDO. Still mayroon pa rin, sir. But we were able to put a lot of—we met with these funding agencies, sir. We told them that 60 percent of the money they give goes to the CPP and they do not understand how because they say they have a very strict auditing procedures. And we explained very simply that what an NGO or front organization of the party does is they have triple funding. They write to three different funding agencies from three different countries and so they can report the project is being complied as program. But the money, they get three funding sources so they can divert 60 percent to
the party. And when they realized this, they said to themselves—actually this is the word they said, “How can we check that? That is very difficult to do because we do not connive with the other funding agencies.” So this is the weakness in the European funding agencies exploited by the CPP. And when they found out about this, sir, these funding agencies actually—some of them put a hold to the funding. Others instituted additional measures to prevent this from happening. And the other day, sir, I talked to our source from the inside. They are actually running out of funds, some regional party committees.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Yes. But most of the funds are coming from here, in-country. Mas malaki na iyong nanggagaling dito kaysa iyong foreign. Unlike before, mas malaki iyong nanggagaling sa labas.

**MR. MONTEAGUDO.** Yes, sir. But the local funding also, sir, because when we prepared that report to the President on the funding sources, this watch list of funding sources were provided to the PNP and the AFP. And there was an effort to talk to these funding sources for them to stop, otherwise, they will be liable under Anti-Terrorism Act. So some of these extortion victims are holding back and not providing these funds. That is why we see some being attacked and their equipment being burned or may mga arson attacks.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** This is the most common challenge hurled by the so-called united front, iyong legal branch, do you have direct or
circumstantial evidence to bring them to court? Kasi that’s contained in
the letter of former Congressman Colmenares.

**MR. MONTEAGUDO.** We already have a case against the Rural
Missionaries of the Philippines for terrorist funding.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Excuse me. Instead of attending daw this
public hearing, mas maganda pa file-an ninyo na lang daw sila ng kaso
kung mayroon kayong ebidensya. That is the essence of the letter or
former Congressman Colmenares which I received.

**MR. MONTEAGUDO.** We are building up our case, sir, and in due
time there will be cases.

**MR. ESPERON.** Mr. Chairman.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Yes, Secretary Esperon.

**MR. ESPERON.** In regards funding, we have actually caused the
freezing of some assets of the NGOs that seemed to be very benign(?)
NGOs. And I would like to relate the case of the Rural Missionaries of
the Philippines who turned out to be the funders, the channel for the
funding, conduit of the funding from Europe going into the Salugpungan
schools. Can you imagine that? I have so much respect, of course, we
all do, sa mga madre, hindi ba? But they turned out to be the conduit of
the funds and they happened to be presenting themselves to be a legal
organization, when in fact their organization have an expired permit with
the Securities and Exchange Commission since 2003. And so these were
all just—Well, we did not mind them before. But now, we are going after all this. There are many NGOs through rich funds are funneled to the movement. Admittedly, the funds go to some projects but 40 percent, according to the documents that we got, 40 percent of these funds go to the NPA. I think Eric can attest to that.

By the way, Mr. Chairman, we have also 12 other former rebels that are now on standby, if you would require them to talk, in the 2nd Division, in the 9th Division, and we have Ruben Guevarra who is founding chairman of the CPP-NPA on standby to talk to testify, just in case.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Are they physically present or virtually?

**MR. ESPERON.** No, Mr. Chair. For security reasons, doon muna sila sa lugar nila. They can participate by Zoom.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Yes. We can call them.

**MR. ESPERON.** Would you like to give—get one?

**MR. CELIZ.** Mr. Chair, they are actually on standby. They have been given the link if you want to ask questions from them, Mr. Chair.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Go ahead. Kindly identify them or him or her kung sino. Sino ang mauuna?

**MR. CELIZ.** Mr. Chair.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Yes, Ka Eric.
MR. CELIZ. May I request Ka Noel and Ka Amihan from Mindanao first.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Ka Amihan and Ka Noel.

MR. CELIZ. I think they are on standby now.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Sige.

MR. ESPERON. Mayroon din sa Mindanao.

If given more time, Mr. Chairman, we can bring them with your permission.

MR. CELIZ. Ka Noel is present now, Mr. Chair.

THE CHAIRPERSON. You are Ka Noel? Kayo po si Ka Noel? Sige po. Iyong inyong sariling karanasan, anong ginawa ninyo noong nasa loob na kayo, papaano kayo nakaalis. Sige po.

MR. LEGASPI. Magandang hapon po sa lahat. Magandang hapon, Mr. Chairman.

Ako po ay na-recruit sa isang paaralan dito po sa Region XII, particularly Mindanao State University po, noong 1990s. Ako ay naging miyembro ng League of Filipino Student. Then after two years, I was recruited as a member po ng Kabataang Makabayan. Then after one year, naging candidate member po ng CPP. Then, 1996 hanggang 1998, naging full-time organizer po ako ng student sector dito po sa area ng GenSan at sa buong area ng South Cotabato. Then 1998, nag-decide po ako na sumampa na sa New People’s Army. So I had been in the New
People’s Army since 1998 hanggang 2018 po. At January 2018 lang po ako umalis at sumuko po sa gobyerno. So all in all po, 26 years ako sa kilusan, anim na taon po iyong white area experience ko at 20 years po ako na nasa armado po.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Sige. Ano pa ang naging aktibidades ninyo noong nandoon kayo sa kilusan?

**MR. LEGASPI.** Yes, Mr. Chairman. Noong nasa paaralan po kami, of course, gaya nang sinabi ko kanina when I was recruited as a member of KM and later on naging member po ng CPP as candidate member, nag o-organize po kami ng mga kabataang estudyante. Hinihikayat po namin silang sumali sa kilusan namin. Sa totoo lang napakasimpleng mga isyu lang naman iyong pinagbabatayan namin, isyu lang ng kakulangan ng libro ng paaralan, medyo mabahong facilities ng paaralan gaya ng mga palikuran. Kasi iyong paaralan namin noong mga panahon na iyong hindi pa masyadong marami iyong mga construction(?) sa loob kasi nga medyo maalikabok, iyong iyong mga domestic issues doon sa loob na pinapalaki namin para makahikayat kami ng mga mag-aaral na sumapi sa kilusan namin. And then later on, inin-doctrinate na namin doon sa sinasabi naming national situationer na kung saan nandoon na nakapalaman iyong pananaw ng kilusan hinggil sa gobyerno. And then later on, medyo palalimin iyong. Bibigyan na namin sila ng inisyual na pag-
aaral hingil sa *Philippine Society and Revolution*. Actually, iyong main reference book namin doon sa pagbibigay sa kanila.../jadc/leah/agc
MR. LEGASPI. ... doon sa pagbibigay sa kanila noong usapin ng usaping panlipunan at rebolusyon ay ang libro mismo ni Amado Guerrero na pinamagatang *Philippine Society and Revolution*. Actually, nile-lecture namin iyan sa loob ng paaralan. Ginagawan lang namin ng outline para mas mabilis at madali naming mai-lecture sa mga estudyante.

Then, later on, kapag medyo okay na iyong mga mag-aaral, medyo buy doon sila sa idea, isasali na namin—pasasalihin na namin sila sa iba’t ibang mga mass actions. And later on, dadalhín din—dinadala na namin sila sa iba’t ibang mga communities: communities ng urban poor, communities ng mga manggagawa, community ng mga magsasaka, community ng mga indigenous people. Pero iyong mga community na iyon, iyon iyong mga community na organized na rin ng CPP sa urban areas. At iyong mga magsasaka naman ng mga komunidad at IP ay organized ng CPP-NPA talaga kasi nasa kanayunan iyon.

Mayroon ng usapan kami na mga organizers sa white area at saka iyong mga organizers doon sa mga komunidad kung papaano iyong handling sa mga kabataang dinadala namin sa komunidad. Kaya pagdating doon sa komunidad, doon sa tinatawag na “basic masses integration,” ang nangyayari noon, nasu-supplement ng mga masang na-organize namin iyong mga pinagsasabi namin sa mga kabataan. Kaya nga napakadaling makumbinsi iyong mga kabataan na paniwalaan
iyong narratives namin sa kanila. Kaya may mga pangyayari na sa napakaiksing panahon, iyong iba ay nagde-decide talaga na huwag nang magtapos ng pag-aaral at direktang nang sumampa sa New People’s Army.

Iyon po. Pero iyong iba na ayaw din pa na pumunta ng kabundukan para humawak ng armas ay ano namin—mine-maintain namin sila na maging aktibo sa loob ng paaralan at doon sa tinatawag naming “urban work.” Kaya iyong iba, hindi man namin ma-recruit bilang mga kadre ng partido at ng New People’s Army na made-deploy sa kanayunan pero naging mga kadre din sila at organizer sa revolutionary urban work. Kaya naa-assign sila sa hanay ng mga manggagawa, naa-assign din sila sa hanay ng mga maralitang taga-lungsod, naa-assign sila doon sa tinatawag naming pag-o-organize ng mga middle forces, iyong pong hanay ng mga professionals.

And later on—kasi nga iyong iba sa kanila naging mainit din kasi ginagasgas talaga namin sila doon sa usapin ng mass mobilization sa kalunsuran kaya napag-iinitan din. Kaya iyong ibang napapag-initan, ang nangyayari, kinukumbinsa na namin na, “Ito na iyong pagkakataon na pumunta na kayo ng kanayunan para direktang sumama sa bagong hukbong bayan. Kasi kapag tigil kayo diyan sa urban areas, ang isang pinakamalapit na posibilidad ay may mangyaring masama sa inyo kasi pinag-iinitan tayo ng state forces.” Kaya iyong direction pa rin kahit hindi kaagad sumampa sa NPA iyong mga nao-organize na mga
kabataan sa paaralan, pero iyong direction pa din later on, doon pa rin. Kaya after na nag-full time organizer sa urban areas, may mga ilang kasama kami na after two years, three years, four years, five years, iyon, pumunta din sa NPA.

Ngayon, noong nasa NPA na—ako naman, noong 1998, noong pag-akyat ko, napakabilis noong promotion ko sa loob kasi nga galing ako sa hanay ng kabataang estudyante. Naging—dumaan ako bilang political guide ng isang squad ng NPA, naging squad leader, naging CO ng isang platoon, naging political instructor ng isang platoon ng NPA, then later on, naging secretary po ako ng isang front. And noong 2005, I was installed by the Far South Mindanao Region na maging spokesperson po ng NDF south region. Iyan pong region na humahawak po ng buong Region XII at mayroong dalawang probinsiya na sakop po ng Region XI, iyan po iyong AOR ng Far South Mindanao Region.

And noong 2013 hanggang 2016, binigyan din ako ng isang task pa bilang isang regional political director ng New People’s Army dito po sa Far South Mindanao Region. And 2016 hanggang 2017, before I left the movement, naging head po ako ng Regional Peasant Bureau and I was elected noong 2006 hanggang 2017 as deputy secretary po ng Far South Mindanao Region.

So, iyong karanasan ko po doon sa loob ng kilusan for 20 years, especially doon sa CPP-NPA talaga, napakarami po. Napakarami kaming
napag-uusapan. Lahat po ng napag-uusapan kanina noong nagsimula po iyong hearing, talagang napapaguusapan din sa loob, iyong usapin po ng—ano ba itong mga legal fronts? Actually, hindi po talaga red-tagging. Kasi kami, sa loob, part talaga po ng party policy talaga na palakasin iyong tinatawag naming “legal national democratic movement.” Iyan po iyong naka-assign talaga sa urban areas po. Kaya nga may tinatawag kami na “white area orientation.” Ibig sabihin noon, sa white area orientation, kailangang palakasin iyong pambansang demokratikong kilusan sa kalunsuran, lalo na po sa hanay ng mga manggagawa, sa hanay po ng maralitang taga-lungsod at sa hanay po ng mga kabataang estudyante. Iyan po ay integral part noong national democratic revolution. Hindi po maaaring manalo iyong rebolusyon kung hindi po epektibong mapapakilos iyong mga sektor na ito na nakatira po sa urban areas. Kaya kasabay noon iyong tactics po na kailangang magtayo ng iba’t ibang mga legal organizations, huwag lang magpatali sa isa. Kaya kung nakikita po natin, dati-rati, LFS lang iyan; dati-rati NUSP lang iyan, CEGP lang iyan; Bagong Alyansang Makabayan lang iyan; noong 1987, sa eleksiyon, Partido ng Bayan. Pero lately po, nagkaroon na po ng iba’t ibang organizations gaya ng party-lists. Kaya nga pumasok iyong Bayan Muna sa taong 2001, then later on, idinagdag iyong GABRIELA, idinagdag iyong Anakpawis, idinagdag iyong Migrante,
idinagdag iyong ACT Teachers, idinagdag iyong Piston, idinagdag iyong Kabataan Party, Bangsa Suara Moro Party at saka marami pang iba.

So, lahat-lahat iyon ay creation talaga ng CPP. Ginamit niya iyong—

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Ka Noel. Ka Noel, gaano kalimay iyong kaalaman ng agenda? Of course, ang tanong kong susunod, papaano ninyo pinagtitibay iyong link between iyong underground—iyong CPP-NPA mismo—doon sa mga legal fronts na sinasabi ninyo kanina? At gaano kalimay iyong kaalaman ng agenda doon sa mga legal fronts na binanggit ninyo? Sino lang ang nakakaalam ng tunay na agenda ng CPP-NPA?

I suppose hindi naman lahat ng miembro ng GABRIELA o miembro ng ACT or iyong mga nabanggit kaninang mga kilusan, iyong mga legal fronts, ay alam nila kung ano iyong tunay na agenda, hindi ba?

**MR. LEGASPI.** Tama po, Mr. Chair. Dito nga pumapasok iyong sinasabi naming deception. Kasi sa totoo lang din naman po, hindi naman lahat ng miembro ng GABRIELA, Bayan Muna at iba pa, ay alam ito. Kaya nga iyong karamihan sa kanila ay unwittingly na-deceive lang talaga ng kilusan.

Ang may alam lang talaga nito, Mr. Chair, of course, iyong CPP. Mula sa national leadership hanggang sa pinakamababa. Kasi hanggang
sa sanga ng party branches ng partido—kasi napag-uusapan ito bilang isang polisiya at bilang isang programa. Ngayon, iyong link talaga ng CPP sa mga organization na ito, part kasi sa organizational na policy ng partido na maglagay talaga ng tinatawag naming “party group” sa loob ng mga legal organization na itinayo niya. Kaya iyong nasa pamunuan ng bawat legal na organisasyon, I’m sure po, 100 percent, ay mga party members iyan. Kasi policy iyan at saka programa ng partido. Hindi po sila maaaring mapunta sa ganoong posisyon ng legal na mga organization na iyan kung hindi po sila party members. Malinaw po iyan kasi nakasaad din iyan sa party constitution po ng partido. Nandiyan po iyan, may provision iyan. Kaya sinusunod lamang naman po ng mga party members at kadre iyong laman ng party constitution na bawat legal na mga organisasyong itatayo, dapat mayroong party group sa loob.

Iyan po iyong link. Iyan po iyong nagli-link.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Ngayon, another question. Anong nagiging basehan o batayan kung sino iyong mapupunta sa armed guerilla, doon sa NPA, at sino iyong mananatili para doon sa mga kilusan na nakalutang?

**MR. LEGASPI.** Mr. Chair, actually, iyong CPP naman, iyong panawagan niya, as much as possible, kung sino iyong ready talaga.../jlf/imjv/agc
MR. LEGASPI. ...as much as possible, kung sino iyong ready talaga na mag-opt for armed struggle talagang tinatanggap niya. May tinatawag nga kami sa loob na ideological campaign. Dapat lahat ng nasa white area, pagkatapos ng ilang taon, dapat umakyat na. Pero it so happened na mayroong mga ilan na ayaw talaga at gusto lang manatili siya sa sinasabi nilang parliamentary struggle kaya naiwan sila sa urban areas. Pero may mga pagkakataon din po na base sa assessment and evaluation ng party, kung sino iyong effective talaga sa sinasabi naming white area operation talagang pinagdedesisyunan ng party na maiwan. Say, for example, of course iyong mga party-list representative po na under sa Makabayan bloc and considering po sa kanilang skills at saka iyong capacity nila ay talagang ano po sila, fit na fit po sa white area operations ng kilusan kaya diyan po sila inilagay. Ngayon iyong requirement po para sa kanila, in the first place, dapat maging party member iyan to ensure the loyalty, iyong kanilang loyalty sa party. Kasi nga iyong pagiging representative ng isang party-list napaka-vulnerable po sa tinatawag naming cooptation. Kaya nga sa loob ng party pinag-uusapan din talaga sino iyong maaaring ilagay doon, so may requirements. Kaya nga gaya noong sinabi ko kanina, dapat party member iyong magiging nominee ng mga party-list. Hindi lang po party member, kung hindi kinukuha muna talaga iyong loyalty niya. Pagkatapos, hindi lang simpleng miyembro kung hindi kadre talaga ng
partido iyan. And specifically, iyong task nila bilang kadre ng partido ay tinatawag rin naming open legal mass movement, including po iyong mga usapin sa loob ng Kongreso bilang mga representative po sila ng iba’t ibang party-lists na created po ng CPP.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Thank you.

Si Ka Amihan, nandiyan, o pareho rin iyong kanyang ite-testify?

**MR. CELIZ.** Mr. Chair, Ka Amihan is also from Mindanao, but like me, ... doon siya na-recruit sa UP Visayas, sa Iloilo. Maganda rin ang kuwento niya at I think nasa online siya.

Ka Amihan, can you come?

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Yeah. Ka Amihan.

**MR. CELIZ.** Mr. Chair, thank you.

**MS. SAGUINO.** Good afternoon po, Mr. Chair, and to all our honorable senators.

First and foremost po, this will be my first revelation of my face and my identity.

I am Ka Amihan. I am the former guerilla front secretary of Guerilla Front 20 under the Subregional Committee 1 of the Southern Mindanao Region. So sa kanayunan po kilala po akong Amihan, Che, Che din po iyong isa kong koda, and this will be my first time to take off my mask in public.
So ako po si Joy James Saguino. Na-recruit po ako bilang member ng League of Filipino Students sa UP, sa Iloilo City Campus, way back in 2007. Ang issue that time, Mr. Chair, 2007, was the first year of implementation of the tuition fee increase in UP and the Socialized Tuition Fee and Assistance Program or the STFAP. So dahil po sa issue na iyon, siyempre pa rin na galing sa mahirap na pamilya ay sumuporta doon sa panawagan ng LFS at saka ng ibang progressive organization na tutulan iyong pagtaas ng matrikula sa University of the Philippines.

After three months po of being a member of LFS ay naimbitahan ako sa isang sikreong pagpupulong, it was held sa likod ng auditorium ng UP Visayas sa Iloilo City and iyong na pala iyong orientation at saka recruitment sa akin para maging member ng Kabataang Makabayan. I still remember the person who recruited me is the very person who personally attacked Mr. Jeffrey Celiz. The person who recruited me sa Kabataang Makabayan is Lean Porquia, the son of the late Jory Porquia, a leader din ng mass movement sa Isla ng Panay.

So when I was recruited po sa KM, a year after, I’ve been active as the city spokesperson of the League of Filipino Students, chairperson din po ng LFS sa UP Iloilo City, tumakbo rin bilang officer ng student council sa College of Management sa UP Visayas CM, sa city campus, and naging kabahagi rin ng National Union of Student of the Philippines.
kung saan iyong pinanggalingang organization ni Congressman Sarah Elago.

After a year, Mr. Chair, na-programa akong pumasok sa isang guerilla front ng NPA, sa southern front, na kumikilos sa mga bayan ng Igbaras, ng Miagao, San Joaquin, somewhere in the southern mountain range of Panay Island. I stayed there for three months, and then paglabas ko iyon na iyong naging program sa akin. I was invited to become a candidate member of the Communist Party of the Philippines. I was given an orientation. I was also given iyong tinatawag kanina ni Mr. Jeffrey Celiz na basic party course including some Marxist, Leninist and Maoist inputs on the revolution of Europe, Russia and China, etcetera.

In 2010, as a cadre of the communist party unit sa youth and students sector sa Iloilo, para po tugunan iyong pangangailangan for the electoral campaign as a communist party cadre, I was assigned as the spokesperson of Anakpawis Party-list and particularly deployed to the Province of Antique to become the electoral coordinator of Anakpawis and Makabayan Coalition doon sa Antique para po mangampanya at saka ma-manage iyong mga watchers ng Makabayan doon sa probinsya ng Antique. And then after the election, I was deployed to the regional party group, iyong sinasabi kanina ni Ka Eric, nila Ka Noel, na party group. Ako po ay na-deploy sa isang regional party group directly under
the Regional YS Bureau of the Regional Urban Party Committee ng Iloilo para mamuno sa Anakbayan. And thereafter, I was assigned and elected as the regional spokesperson and the regional chairman of Anakbayan for the entire Panay Island, that was in 2009 until sometime in the mid of 2010.

And then I became a controversial personality during the city council session of the Iloilo City when I was arrested when we were having a protest, silent protest, inside the session hall of Iloilo City, that was, I believe, October of 2010. Dahil rin sa takot na naging sentro ng atensyon ng buong siyudad ng Iloilo, I decided and asked sa mga higher organ namin sa organization na mag-lie low ako, mag-lie low at umuwi muna sa amin sa Zamboanga kung saan po iyong probinsya namin. Instead of lie-lowing, I was offered to be re-deployed kasi nangangailangan rin iyong buong rehiyon ng Zamboanga ng isang kadre para pamunuan iyong recovery ng WMRPC, the Western Mindanao Regional Party Committee, partikular sa siyudad ng Zamboanga at sa ilang bahagi ng Zamboanga Sibugay. So in December of 2010 until 2011, I was the Anakbayan Regional Coordinator of the entire Zamboanga Peninsula. I was able to attend the national assembly and national council meeting of Anakbayan sometime in May 2011 and I was elected as the national vice chairperson for the entire Mindanao of the Anakbayan National Executive Council. And after that, Mr. Chair,
December I was invited na dumalo sa isang intermediate party course, isang pag-aaral ng Partido in the hinterlands of Davao Region, particularly Sitio Cogonon, Barangay Salvacion, Trento, Agusan del Sur. At after ng pag-aaral, I decided to become a full time NPA thereafter.

And hindi rin matagal iyong promotion at saka iyong pagtaas ng aking posisyon. I became a political guide ng isang squad ng NPA, kalaunan naging political instructor, naging political officer and, in 2016, I became the front secretary of the guerilla front 20, at the same time, a deputy secretary of the sub-regional committee under the SMRC.

So noong nasa NPA po kami hindi pa rin hiwalay iyong mga gawain namin. We have a sub-regional urban committee kung saan sila iyong nagiging legal organizers namin for the peasants. So iyong mukha nila ay mga KMP organizers. We also have a committee for YS, we have Anakbayan, particularly Anakbayan Compostela Valley, and during election, kami talaga sa guerilla front iyong nagpapatawag ng mga susing mga personality sa loob mismo ng guerilla front sa kampo ng NPA para pag-usapan ano iyong magiging role ng mga guerilla front ng NPA sa panahon ng election. And there was indeed a time in 2016, noong tumatakbo si President Duterte, hindi naman ikakaila... /cbg/peg/agc
MS. SAGUINO. ...hindi naman ikakaila ng lahat na the entire revolutionary movement were supporting President Duterte in his candidacy for the President. And NPA mismo po, kami mismo iyong pumupunta sa mga baryo, sa mga guerrilla base namin para ikampanya si President Duterte, ikampanya iyong Bayan Muna, ikampanya iyong Anakpawis and Kabataan Party-list, et cetera.

So iyong sinasabi nilang red-tagging, ako minsan natatawa na lang po, Mr. Chair, kasi para sa akin po, hindi siya red-tagging. Kasi ako po, as my first time revealing my true identity sa public especially here in this Senate inquiry ng ating Senate of the Philippines, I really testify na there is no such thing as red-tagging.

Kami sa Anakbayan, the regional party group na namumuno sa Anakbayan—a regional party group is a party group of the Communist Party of the Philippines—kami talaga iyong namumuno at saka nanghihikayat sa mga estudyante. May program iyan. First, immersion sa mga peasant communities, immersion sa mga urban poor and worker communities until the time na makakapag-decide iyong mga members namin na sumumpa sa New People’s Army. Gaya ko na na-program din at saka dumating sa point na nag-decide ako before na sumumpa sa New People’s Army. And these party-list groups na tumatakbo under the Makabayan coalition ay mga part-list groups talaga na we are leading. Even the regional party committees ng SMRC and all other
regional party committees all over the Philippines, down to its NPA units have very crucial role in campaigning, in implementing solid votes, solid command votes. Command vote, ibig sabihin, all members of the underground mass organizations, members of PKM, members of Makibaka, members of the Kabataang Makabayan na nasa loob ng guerrilla base, it’s mandatory for them to vote for this party-list organization na tumatakbo sa Congress, Mr. Chair.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Papaano ka nagbalik-loob? Anong nagbunsod sa iyo para magbalik-loob sa gobyerno?

MS. SAGUINO. Umalis po ako sa pagka-NPA, Mr. Chair, in 2017, if I remember correctly, it was September 2017. It was a complicated situation kasi before that, iyon iyong simula ng pagde-declare ng Martial Law sa Mindanao. Dahil sa kahirapan, nagkakaroon ng kahirapan sa loob ng NPA unit, wala kaming gawain, so I witnessed a lot of things na opposed doon sa personal ko na prinsipyo. For example, iyon na ngang kwento ni Ka Shane about violence against women, rape against women. Isa rin ako sa naging saksi doon sa exploitation, sexual opportunism ng aming mga commanders sa loob ng aking guerrilla front mismo, na may mga commanders, platoon leaders taking advantage of these new women recruits, mga kabataang babae na Lumad na nare-recruit namin na one, two or three months pa lang, kahit may mga asawa sila ay they really are thick-faced na ligawan; ang iba naman talagang ginagapang.
So iyong mga bagay na hindi ko talaga makain, na nare-realize ko na—

We have that “tres-otso” na tinatawag, Mr. Chair, iyan iyong policy of discipline ng NPA na nagsasabing—isa doon, huwag pagsamantahan iyong kababaihan. Butang nangyayari talaga sa loob ng kilusan, iyong policy na iyan is just a paper policy. What really is happening inside the movement, these commanders, these platoon leaders, the NPA cadres are sexual—most of them are sexual opportunists. They take advantage of these new recruits na mga babae na kahit may mga asawa sila ay pinagsasamantalahang iyong mga kababaihan.

I believe that was in May 2017 to June, na imbes na pag-usapan sa loob ng committee namin papaano harapin ng NPA unit namin iyong Martial Law ng pamahalaan ay parating napag-uusapan namin sa araw-araw na meeting namin ay mga violation, mga paglabag doon sa polisiya ng NPA na pagsasamantala sa kababaihan. And it is being tolerated, na imbes na bigyan ng karampatang disciplinary action, hindi, ang nangyayari redeployment to other places or demotion which, I believe, para sa akin, it’s not enough pag ganoon. So isa iyon sa mga nag-ano sa akin, nagtulak sa akin na lumabas.

And second, I actually don’t want to share this to public kasi may ibang mga AFP officers natin, probably might get offended. Kasi I was included; I was able to join an NPA ambush sometimes in 2016. I believe that was July against forces of the 25th Infantry Battalion sa
bukirin ng Kilometer 56, Barangay Rizal, Monkayo, Davao de Oro, na may isang tropa talaga na sundalo na patay na, nilaslasan pa rin talaga ng leeg. So sa part ko, siyempre tingin ko napaka hindi makatao. Na I believe this is—

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Ka Amihan, nandoon ka mismo doon sa ambush na iyon?

**MS. SAGUNO.** Yes po, I was there. I was the political officer of that unit who ambushed those 25th IB troops operating and we decided as cadre na we should withdraw. However, may isang platoon leader, I believe he was a platoon leader or a political instructor sa isang platoon namin, na imbes mag-withdraw na kami, talagang nilaslasan pa ng leeg iyong patay na tropa [witness is in tears]. So napaka-inhumane. Ako, I understand some issues of the communist party and the NPA are legitimate, for example, landlessness, poverty, these are legitimate issues. But having this dead human being killed twice, hindi ganito iyong gusto kong advocacy, hindi ito iyong prinsipyo ko.

So iyong nangyari, when we had a meeting, Mr. Chair, sa loob ng sub-regional committee, equivalent po ito ng isang provincial committee ng partido, pinag-usapan talaga at siyempre sa loob ng party may death penalty, I really asserted for death penalty against that political instructor na naglaslas ng leeg ng isang tropang patay na. However, some of our cadres sa loob ng SRC decided for a demotion instead of a
death penalty. And I was very insulted kasi malaking violation iyong, hindi lang sa batas ng NPA, even sa Geneva Convention, sa IHL, et cetera. Tayo—NPA is claiming to be compliant to these International Humanitarian Law, to this Geneva Convention, however, kami din pala iyong parang nagco-cover up doon sa mga violations.

So napagtanto ko, Mr. Chair, na these are all deceptions. Na iyong mga sinasabi namin sa propaganda sa social media, sa media, et cetera, ano lang ito, ano lang pala ito, pagpapanggap na iyong NPA ay mga hukbo ng mga mahihirap; iyong NPA hukbo ng magsasaka. Pero hindi, ito ay isang ano lang, NPA na walang prinsipyo, NPA na nanghahasik lang talaga ng lagim for the sake of overthrowing the government. And that’s a thing I can’t accept bilang ako.

I entered initially the organization as an LFS member believing that this is an organization that advocates for social change, an organization that advocates for government empowerment, et cetera, pero hindi. Kahit na sa mga rally, sinasabi namin na iyong mga pulis daw iyong nag-i-initiate para magkaroon ng mga riot, et cetera. Pero hindi.

I was able to join, Mr. Chair, a rally in US Embassy, I believe sometime in 2011. Kami talaga iyong nagdadala ng mga cellophane, mga plastic, nakabalot na mga tae, nakabalot na mga panis na mga pintura at kami talaga iyong—Na-observe ko talaga na sa hanay namin
na Anakbayan ng LFS, kami iyong nag-i-initiate para mag-create ng riot sa mga kilos protesta. And that’s a thing na sa tingin ko naman na hindi naman necessary dapat na ganoon dumating sa—kasi may nakulong na mga kasama, may mga nasaktan, nasugatan, iyong iba mga nasagasaan. At it’s ano, na parang labas na siya doon sa ano iyon gusto kong mangyari.

Ito iyong dahilan, Mr. Chair, bakit ako nag-decide na umalis sa kilusan, bakit ako nag-decide na sumuporta sa government. Kasi I realized, Mr. Chair, na hindi naman basta dahas iyong paraan para makamit ng mga mamamayan, ng mga mahihirap kung ano iyong mga advocacies, ano iyong mga demands ng mamamayan, kundi the government is always there to listen. I was able to observe that after I left the organization, nakita ko iyong ano, nakita ko iyong sincerity ng government to reach out to people who are vulnerable to exploitation and infiltration ng CPP-NPA-NDF, Mr. Chair.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Hindi ba mahirap umalis? Hindi delikado?...

/jun/jmb/agc
THE CHAIRPERSON. ...Hindi delikado? Ano iyong risk ng pagtiwalag mo? Ganoon kasimple lang na basta’t nag-AWOL ka, tapos nawala ka na lang sa kilusan ninyo?

MS. SAGUINO. Actually, Mr. Chair, after I left ay hindi pa talaga ako totally na umalis sa organization. Umalis lang ako sa NPA unit kung saan ako nanggaling. Siyempre balot po ako ng takot nang time na iyon kasi it’s my first time na umalis.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Unilateral iyong decision na iyon na basta ka lang aalis, lilipat ka na lang ng ibang assignment? Aalis ka sa NPA, magiging political organizer o—sabi mo, sarili, wala kayong patakaran tungkol dito?

MS. SAGUINO. Actually, Mr. Chair, mayroon talagang patakaran hinggil diyan. That’s why what I did was outside and beyond the policies of the party. Paglabas ko—kasi I was operating as an NPA leader in Compostela Valley and in Davao—

THE CHAIRPERSON. Tatanungin ko sana kung sino iyong una mong kinontak (contact) sa gobyerno. Opisyal ba siya, sundalo o kawani ng pamahalaan? At papaano ang ginawa mo?

MR. MONTEAGUDO. Sir, naputol, sir. Maybe there’s another former rebel who can—
THE CHAIRPERSON. I’d like to find that out simply because there might be others similarly situated, gusto nang umalis pero hindi alam kung papaano.

Yes, Eric, while waiting for the next--

MR. CELIZ. Yes. Mr. Chair, kapag ikaw ay nagprangka sa CPP-NPA-NDF na aalis, hindi ka papahintulutan. Kakausapin ka muna. Kapag sa NPA, ang kakausap sa iyo, political officer. The function of the political officer or political instructor is morale booster. Kakausapin ka, “Huwag kang mag-lie low, baka namroblema ka lang.” Hindi ka talaga papayagan. And then you will be—kung insistent ka, you will be put into camp confinement sa headquarters. Then you will be observed. And then pero pag mag-insist ka talaga na hindi na mapigilan, sasabihan ka, “Sige, bumalik ka sa open organization at tumulong ka pa rin.” The same way that happened to the sister of Angel Locsin, Ella Colmenares.

General Parlade was not lying. Ella Colmenares, the sister of Angel Locsin, was an NPA in Quezon. Na-meet ko siya personally.

THE CHAIRPERSON. According to Congressman Colmenares, hindi raw kapatid. Pamangkin actually ni Ms. Angel Locsin si Ella.

MR. CELIZ. Si Neri ang pamangkin, sir. Si Neri Colmenares—

THE CHAIRPERSON. Anyway, that’s--

MR. CELIZ. Anyway, si Ella Colmenares, sir, ay umalis iyan. Hindi na siya mapipigilan, so bumalik siya sa open mass movement. Pero CPP
pa rin siya. And she is operating underground. At ngayon, ang alam ko nasa MAKIBAKA siya sa GABRIELA. So, nangyayari iyan. Pero kapag umalis ka, kapag ginawa mo ang ginawa namin, sir, facing the government and the people and telling the government everything that we know, kaya umiiyak kanina si—

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Then you will be marked.

**MR. CELIZ.** Papatayin kami. Are we dead man walking, sir? Yes. Ang wife ko ngayon, sir, hina-harass sa Iloilo City.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Pero it seems na iyong pagtiwalag ninyo, hindi ganoon ka-risky. Parang madali lang kayo nakalabas. Like, si Ka Amihan—


**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Okay.

**MR. CELIZ.** Nang magtago ako sa Tagaytay, nang bumalik ako sa Iloilo City, after I talked to Secretary Raul Gonzalez, nang buhay pa siya noon, hinabol pa ako at pina-report sa region, sa headquarters ng region sa Igbaras sa mini-mention niya. And I was made there to stay three months. “Pag-isipan mo, Eric. Dito ka na kumilos muli sa Panay. Hindi naman nila alam na nag-NPA ka.” And now, they are denying na NPA ako. So, sabi ko, “Sige, pag-isipan ko.” So, the process of
recruitment, sir, ay mabilis. Pero iyong pag-alis mo, napakahirap. Kapag
talagang aalis ka, mag-a-AWOL—like, nag-AWOL ako, sir. So, pag-
AWOL ko, sinabihan ako na, “Puwede ka bang mag-infiltrate sa city
government, so that we can have a base for the government employees
more than 4,000 sa city hall?” And to move forward, iyon po ang rason,
sir, hindi na po ako magtatago sa inyo.

THE CHAIRPERSON. The best way out is to contact first, to have
a contact person first who would take care of you once you’re out, hindi
ba?

MR. CELIZ. Agree po ako, Mr. Chair. That should be. Pero, sir,
dahil sa matagal na panahon kaming pinaniwala na hindi
mapagkatiwalaan ang gobyerno, papatayin kami, nag-aalalangan kami.
Ang nangyari sa akin, sir, I have a personal friendship with Secretary
Raul Gonzalez. He was part then of the core group for the Erap Resign
Movement and pareho kaming Ilonggo, I was able to penetrate. In fact,
sir, maglalahad na ako, sir, confession time na naman ito. When I was
with the NPA national operational command, when Secretary Raul
Gonzalez—siguro nakikinig lahat--was DOJ secretary, our backstop ID
ay WPP (Witness Protection Program) pero NPA national operational
command kami. Saan ko ito kinauha? Sa loob ng Padre Faura pero sa
isang undersecretary niya. Nandiyan din siya. So, ganoon kalalim po
mag-infiltrate ang CPP. Hindi ko ito sinabi noon. Nakuha na rin ito sa akin. When I go to the airport, ang ID ko WPP.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** So, hindi alam ni Secretary Raul Gonzalez na in-infiltrate ninyo pala iyong DOJ?

**MR. CELIZ.** Alam niya na NPA ako.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Yes. Alam niyang dati kang NPA kasi sa kanya ka nag-seek ng sanctuary. Pero hindi niya alam na infiltrator ka pala ng DOJ at that time? Ang cover mo is nasa WPP ka.

**MR. CELIZ.** Hindi. NPA talaga kami, sir. Pero that was 2006—

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** At that time, you were not yet cooperative sa government?

**MR. CELIZ.** Yes. Hindi pa po ako cooperative sa government. We were using the DOJ access because of my personal friendship to Secretary Gonzalez then to get backstop ID and access to the programs of WPP to cover our operations, pero NPA kami. Bakit ko sinasabi ito? Kasi ganoon po kami kalalim, sir, mag-infiltrate, magkukunwari, manlinlang, manloko ng mga tao. Even the government, maloloko namin. What’s the logic of that? Ganoon po ang panloloko sa Congress. When Amihan, Noel and me and the rest, hundreds of us now telling the Senate, right before you, Mr. Chair, and the people, Mr. Senate President, na kami’y manloloko, totoo iyon. Saan nakakita sa Pilipinas lang na ang Congress natin may party group ang Communist Party sa
loob? May suweldo pa at may pondo na 68 million per year each one of them. And then ngayon, hindi sila haharap dito sa amin para magkonprontohan dahil iniiwas nila ang issue. Dalhin na lang daw sa korte. Sa korte, iba ang rules of evidence. Dito sa Senate, as a public opinion, ito ang tamang korte pertaining to this kind of modus operandi. And we’re thankful for this opportunity not only for you Senator Ping and Senate President but this is for the people na lantaran na ito. Hindi ko na po sasabihin ang ibang infiltration operations namin, precisely po kasi baka makalimutan po ninyo kung bakit nagagawa po iyon? I was part of the N2 of the NPA National Operational Command. My work is to infiltrate.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** N2 ng Philippine Navy.

**MR. CELIZ.** No. Marami pa kaming ginawa na nanggagaling sa inyo po mismo. N2 is intelligence unit ng NPA. The NPA has N1, N2, N3, N4, N5 hanggang N6. N2 is intelligence. Intelligence unit ng NPA.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Pareho rin ng military? N1 is personnel.

**MR. CELIZ.** N1 is personnel and training.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** N3 is operation.

**MR. CELIZ.** SOG. Iyan ang dalawang platoon dati na naka-full time na—

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** So, ginagaya ninyo iyong Armed Forces, iyong structure?
MR. CELIZ. Iyon ang tumira kay Kintanar, N3 iyon.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Puwede na ba si—sino ba iyong sunod?

Si—

MR. CELIZ. Ay, sige, sir.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Yes, General Parlade.

MR. PARLADE. Mr. Chair, gusto kong balikan—

THE CHAIRPERSON. No. I’d like to reiterate. It is unfortunate that those that we invited from the militant groups are not here. Kasi kung nandito sila, mas malaya iyong talakayan natin. And they are here to rebut, to disagree and to justify or to disprove. Iyon ang malungkot dito, wala sila—it’s actually their lost because they chose not to be here.

Sige, General Parlade.

MR. PARLADE. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

Actually, gusto kong balikan, sir, iyong issue on the celebrities. Kasi importante ito dahil alam ni Ka Eric ito na gamit na gamit iyong celebrities because this is one way of convincing the masses that they are winning. Actually, sinasabi nila, "Kita ninyo, ito may mga kasama na tayong mga artista kaya sumali na kayo sa—"

THE CHAIRPERSON. Sandali, baka lang makalimutan ko. Tingnan mo lang kung tama iyong nakasulat dito sa aking Senate resolution, iyong isa sa mga whereases. Facebook account mo ito.

"Whereas, on October 21, 2020, Lieutenant General Antonio Parlade Jr.
posted the following message on the National Task Force to End Local Communist Armed Conflict Facebook page.” Ito iyong direct quote. “Let us not red tag Liza Soberano. It’s not fair to her. She’s merely supporting advocacy for women’s rights. She has to be protected in the exercise of her rights. Is she an NPA? No, of course not. Not yet. So, let’s help educate her and the other celebrity targets of Malayang Kilusan ng Bagong Kababaihan o MAKIBAKA, the underground mass organization hiding under GABRIELA Women’s party,” and so forth and so on. Ito iyong medyong masamang parte na open to misinterpretation or shall I say for lack of a better word “exploitation.”.../rpa/leah/agc
THE CHAIRPERSON. ...“exploitation.” Sinabi mo kasi rito, “So Representative Arlene Brosas and GABRIELA, shame on you if you haven’t informed your recruits about your hidden violent agenda.” Now, GABRIELA is claiming that it is not an armed group which you have just confirmed. So, why right here—bakit mo sinabing “hidden violent agenda” and they are not an armed group? Okay. To proceed, “Liza Soberano, there is still a chance to abdicate that,” referring to GABRIELA Youth Group. “If you don’t, you will suffer the same fate.” Ito iyong binabanggit ni Senator Kiko kanina, as Josephine Anne Lapira—bakit mo dinugtungan pa nang ganoon?

MR. PARLADE. I have to cite examples to make them realize that the threat is real. That there are so many instances already. In fact, that is why I cited the September incidence because it’s recent and I have to cite those just to give them an idea, an idea of these activists against the terrorists. So iyon lang po, sir, ang gusto kong—

THE CHAIRPERSON. Yes, but your problem is it is subject to so many interpretations. It may sound like a threat coming from you. Do you see what I mean?

MR. PARLADE. Yes, sir.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Anyway, that is for future reference.

MR. PARLADE. Anyway, sir, I also mentioned there Ella Colmenares because it is really true that Ella is an NPA. I never said
that Angel Locsin is an NPA. But ito iyon, ang statement nila ngayon, sinasabi niya na hindi raw siya NPA. I never said that she is an NPA—Angel Locsin is an NPA, no, sir. I never said that Neri Colmenares is an NPA, no. Ang sabi ko, CPP si Neri Colmenares. Those are two different things. So now, we have so many witnesses, actually, who can testify that Ella Colmenares was part of the underground—it is not only Eric who saw her. In fact, diyan po sa Tanay ngayon, they are there and they are ready to be interviewed. If we can call Myrna Paray who is a member of the—

THE CHAIRPERSON. I am glad you mentioned that—in your own words, that Angel Locsin is not an NPA. I will make a disclosure. Her fiancé, iyong si Neil Arce, is a family friend. As a matter of fact, pag kinasal iyon, kukunin akong ninong. So, I’m just making a disclosure. Mabuti na iyong cuentas claras, and I am glad that you mentioned that she is not an NPA.

MR. PARLADE. Yes, sir.

THE CHAIRPERSON. And I hope she is monitoring para malaman niya na sa iyo mismo nanggaling na hindi siya NPA and I think she will feel relieved coming from you na talagang hindi siya NPA, referring to Angel Locsin.
MR. PARLADE. Yes, sir. At sana hindi na siya magsinungaling na si Ella Colmenares ay hindi NPA dahil talagang NPA si Ella Colmenares.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Or she may not know that. I am not trying to defend her pero she may not know that and you wouldn’t know that for a fact na hindi niya alam or alam niya, hindi ba?

MR. PARLADE. I know that she knows.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Okay. I’ll leave it to you.

MR. PARLADE. Anyway, sir, we came here, we took our oath and we’re not going to say any lies here. And that is the reason why we wanted them to come here also para sagutin iyong mga tanong nila, kung mayroon silang mga tanong.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Si Myrna ba iyong sinasabi mo?

MR. PARLADE. Yes, sir, si Myrna kung pwedeng ma-invite natin.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Okay.

MR. PARLADE. Thank you, sir.

MR. MONTEAGUDO. Mr. Chairman?

THE CHAIRPERSON. Yes, Alex.

MR. MONTEAGUDO. Can we present another former rebel who is a former Kabataan Party-list? Si Rey Christian Sabado.

MR. SABADO. Yes po. Good afternoon po, Mr. Chair.
So ako po si Rey Christian Sabado, former member po ng Kabataan Party-list at former member din po ng Anakbayan-Polytechnic University of the Philippines.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Yes, proceed.

MR. SABADO. Sige po. Ako po ay isang estudyante ng Polytechnic University of the Philippines sa PUP main sa Santa Mesa, Manila na kung saan ni-recruit po ako ng Sandigan ng Mag-aaral para sa Sambayanan o isang grupo ng mga student council sa Polytechnic University of the Philippines po. Then, August po, nagsimula iyong pag-recruit sa akin sa Sandigan ng Mag-aaral para sa Sambayanan noong August 2014. Then October 2014 naman po ay na-recruit na po ako noong Kabataang Makabayan or KM na sa same student, kung sinong nag-recruit sa akin bilang isang student council ay nag-recruit din sa akin bilang isang KM. At after a month po, November 2014 ay saka na po ako isinapi sa Anakbayan, under po ng College of Accountancy and Finance at naging organizer po nito at tagapagsalita din ng College of Accountancy and Finance bilang ako po ay isang student council.

Naging candidate member naman po ako ng Communist Party of the Philippines noong May 2014—May 5, to be exact, 2015 at inilipat naman po ako ng organizing, from college namin which is the College of Accountancy and Finance sa Polytechnic University of the Philippines ay nailipat po ako sa Anakbayan university-wide community/committee.
organizing. Na kung saan po iyong particular na nire-recruit namin or ino-organize namin sa community or sa labas ng PUP ay itong mga anak din po ng janitors sa loob ng PUP or anak ng mga manggagawa sa loob ng PUP at itong mga informal settlers na naninirahan doon sa vicinity o malapit sa campus o sa university po namin.


After po noon, January 2017, iyong naging assignment ko na po ay—napagpasiyahan ko po na umakyat sa kanayunan o sa kabundukan na kung saan bilang isang member ng New People’s Army, January 2017 po ito. January 8, 2017, to be exact, ay nakarating po ako dito sa
kabundukan ng Northern Samar at ang first task ko po noong panahon na iyon ay deputy political guide sa isang squad na isang larangang guerilla na kinikilusan ng isang platoon.

Then April 2017 po ay naging finance officer ako ng platoon na kung saan ako ay naging political guide. After po, July 5, 2017 ay naging full member na po ako ng Communist Party of the Philippines. At the same time ay binigyan din po ako ng mga gawain, ito ay bilang isang deputy political instructor, at the same time ay political guide at isa pong member ng KT noong sangay ng partido sa platoon or party branch sa loob ng platoon.

Then March 2018 naman po, nakasama ako sa party group ng subregional committee na ED staff na kung saan iyong particular task namin ay magbigay o maging isang machinery para sa pagbibigay ng mga pag-aaral sa mga members ng New People’s Army at sa mga basic masses—sa mga basing masa na nalulubugan ng aming unit. Kasabay po ng pagiging ED ko sa CPP ay vice squad leader din po ako sa formation ng platoon na kinabibilangan ko.

At January 2019 na nga po ay naging secretary na po ako ng party group ng subregional committee na ED staff at later on ay naging ED secretary—noong January 2019 ay naging ED secretary.../rico/imjv/agc
MR. SABADO. ...January 2019 ay naging ED secretary din noong party branch ng platoon na kinabibilangan ko. At nitong 2019 August ay naging ED secretary naman ng isang front committee at the same time ay deputy secretary doon sa front committee, sa front Committee 2 ng SRC Emporium, dito po sa first district, sa part po ng first district ng Northern Samar, at deputy political instructor din po noong platoon na kinabibilangan namin. Na-apprehend po ako o nahuli po ako noong 20th Infantry Batallion sa kabundukan po ng Barangay San Francisco, Las Navas, Northern Samar na kung saan po ay naging—binigyan po kami ng mga pangalan para sa kanilang kampanya o ginamit iyong pagkahuli namin para sa kanilang kampanya at kami po iyong tinatawag na “Las Navas Three,” na kung saan ay binabanggit na illegal daw po at tinoture (torture) na inaresto noong 20th Infantry Batallion. Ito po iyong mga binanggit noong Kabataan Party-list, noong College Editors Guild of the Philippines, noong Anakbayan, League of Filipino Students. At nagsagawa pa nga po sila noong mga kilos protesta sa Polytechnic University of the Philippines sa Tacloban upang palayain daw ako dahil illegal daw po ako na inaresto na isang researcher sa area ng Northern Samar.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Hello! Na-torture ka ba?

MR. SABADO. Po?
THE CHAIRPERSON. Tanungin lang kita, na-torture ka ba talaga?


Doon ko po nakita iyong pagkakaiba dahil habang nakakulong po ako, dahil hindi nga po libre iyong pagkain sa loob, sa lockup cell noong police office, doon sa lockup cell ay simula sa umaga, breakfast, lunch and dinner po, iyong naghahatid po noong pagkain sa amin ay iyong Philippine Army po mismo iyong 83rd Brigade. At andoon din po iyong lahat noong pangangailangan namin sa lockup cell, katulad na lang ng mga toiletries at karagdagan na damit ay sila din po iyong nagpro-provide.

Dagdag po diyan ay sila po mismo iyong nag-ensure na matulungan iyong parents ko para makita. Iyong parents ko po ay nilapitan din noong Hands of our Children pero hindi niya po pinaunlakan iyong Hands of our Children Movement. Pero dahil nakita ko po mismo na kung paano po pinursige po noong o pinagtulungan noong Philippine Army at noong PNP iyong pagpunta at pag-convince sa nanay ko para mabisita ako dito sa Northern Samar habang nakakulong po ako noong panahon na iyon. Ay doon ko po nakita iyong effort noong Philippine Army na hindi lang pagpatay ang alam noong mga sundalo at noong mga kapulisan, na hindi lang pagto-torture iyong alam noong mga nabanggit kundi andoon iyong makataong pagturing nila sa amin, iyong makatao na pagbibigay noong pangangailangan namin. At kahit iyong security noong parents habang nakakulong ako noong panahon na iyon—kasi dumating po sa point na binabanggit na po ng nanay ko
habang nasa phone call na mayroon daw pong mga tao doon sa labas ng bahay namin mga naka-bonnet, na tumatambay sa tapat ng bahay namin. Noong moment po na may mga ganoong pangyayari ay binanggit ko po agad doon sa provincial director kung saan po ako nakakulong at nabigyan naman po noong agarang action. Nag-provide po iyong PNP noon noong security doon sa lugar namin na kung saan nagtataka na nga po iyong mga kapitbahay namin na kung bakit nga daw po napakaraming mga pulis na umaaligid doon sa bahay namin. Kaya doon ko po nakita kung bakit, ano iyong pinagkaiba noong PNP na binabanggit at ano iyong pinagkaiba noong Philippine Army na binabanggit sa amin.

Kaya doon, iyong moment po na iyon, iyong nakapagpabago sa akin at talagang buong-buo ay nagbigay ako noong pahayag ko na pagtulong o pagsuporta doon sa pagsuporta noong komunismo na umiiral o iyong sa ideolohiya noong komunismo na kung saan ay nakita ko kung paano at naging kasama ako sa proyekto na kung paano mag-organize dito sa mga barangay o barrio na pinapasok noong mga New People's Army, kung papaano iyong kakainin na lang noong mga magsasaka ay ibibigay pa doon sa mga nagpapakilalang hukbo noong mga mahihirap.

Kaya sa ngayon po, hanggang ngayon ay andoon iyong—isa ako sa mga kinatatakutan doon sa mga barangay na mayroong mga nagbibigay ng mga statement iyong mga tao sa mga barangay na napuntahan ko na if ever daw po ako makita doon sa mga barangay nila.
ay talagang ambush iyong gagawin nila sa akin na hindi nila papayagan na makapasok ako sa barangay. May mga threat na rin po doon sa buhay ko para lang i-liquidate at hindi na makapag-share pa doon sa ibang mga magsasaka na kung ano nga ba talaga iyong reality na nangyayari doon sa loob ng CPP-NPA.

Dagdag na rin po diyan—iyong isa pa pong nakapag-convince sa akin na umalis ay iyong binabanggit na nga po na violence against women na kung saan nakita ko po mismo kung papaano iyong process nila doon sa case noong rape sa loob. Tulad nga po noong binabanggit, iyong rape po kasing kaso ay kamatayan po iyong katumbas niyan, pero dito po, ako po mismo ay kasama noong isang komite na kung saan nagde-decide kami doon sa isang platoon leader ng isang unit ng NPA na kung saan ay may rape case na nangyari doon sa unit namin. Pero matagal ...[poor audio]... nag-lie low, AWOL na lang po iyong platoon leader at hindi na po nadesisyunan iyong ganoong kaso. At dagdag pa po diyan ay iyong mismong ipinaglalaban namin na ayaw namin doon sa korapsyon ay nakita ko po mismo kung paano umiral ang korapsyon doon sa unit namin at kung paano iyong korapsyon, kung paano kinakamkam iyong pera na dapat para sa mga tao po doon sa barangay pero hindi naman talaga napupunta sa kanila.
Kaya iyon po iyong isang ... na mga nakapagbigay o isa sa mga factor kung bakit napili ko din na umalis at napili ko na magsalita laban doon sa CPP-NPA.

**THE SENATE PRESIDENT.** All right. Salamat.../mhb/peg/agc
THE SENATE PRESIDENT. All right. Salamat. Mayroon pang itatanong si Chairman.

Sa madaling salita, sa narining ko sa iyo, in the media lingo, ang ibig sabihin ay mali ang press release.

MR. SABADO. Opo. Sir, iyong mga press release po, naglabas din po—

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. Hindi totoo iyong mga press release nila, ha?

MR. SABADO. Opo. Actually, nag-press release din po iyong Kabataan Party-list, iyong Kadamay, iyong Anakbayan, League of Filipino Students, iyong iba’t iba pong mga progressive organizations, tinatawag nilang “progressive organization.” Sila ay nagbigay noong pahayag at pagsuporta para pakawalan daw ako o paalisin o pakawalan mula doon sa NSPPO dahil hindi naman daw ako NPA. Kaya nakakatawa na lang din pong isipin na may ganoon silang effort to the point na magsagawa pa sila ng rally para lang palabasin kaming tatlo na mga nahuli noong 28th Infantry Batallion po.

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. All right. Thank you.

So, General Parlade and, perhaps, the Armed Forces or the PNP, ang naririnig ko, ang deduction na naririnig ko sa social media ngayon, sa naririnig nila rito ngayon, iyong mga celebrities, sila, wala silang
kinalaman doon sa mga underground organization. Ang nangyayari, sila ay nagagamit upang makapag-recruit. Parang ganoon ang dating, ano?


**MR. CELIZ.** Tama po.

**THE SENATE PRESIDENT.** Tapos later on, through some machinations, you become a candidate for member of the CPP?

**MR. CELIZ.** Correct po, Mr. President.

**THE SENATE PRESIDENT.** Candidate muna kayo, hindi ba? Okay.

**MR. CELIZ.** Pero dadaan muna, Mr. President, doon sa underground organization na ang unang tina-target, iyong leadership mismo ng open organization.

**THE SENATE PRESIDENT.** Iyon nga. So, iyong front organization—

**MR. CELIZ.** Iyon ang process.

**THE SENATE PRESIDENT.** Tapos iyon ang proseso. Pagpasok mo roon, papunta ka ng CPP, magiging candidate ka muna, tapos magiging full-fledged ka.

**MR. CELIZ.** Full-fledged member ka.

**THE SENATE PRESIDENT.** Full-fledged member ka.
MR. CELIZ. Parang probationary stage mo iyong candidate membership. Titingnan nila kung qualified ka na maging cadre later or ang iyong security and loyalty to the communist party will be proven enough.

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. Kaya nga. So, in this process, wala bang initiation iyan?

MR. CELIZ. Hindi siya parang kagaya sa ordinary, traditional fraternity recruitment. Ang initiation mo will be done doon sa tinatawag kanina ni Secretary Año na “immersion.” So, mag-i-immerse ka or mag-i-integrate ka sa manggagawa, magsasaka, o mga area ng katutubo, or urban poor kung ikaw ay kabataan/estudyante. Kasi sa CPP-NPA-NDF po, the primary role of the communist party is to develop a very strong worker movement in the urban area and a very strong peasant movement in the rural area. Ang kabataan/estudyante, Mr. Senate President, sir, ay nare-recruit sila para pag magbibigay ng malaking tulong sa propaganda, propaganda nila.

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. All right. So ngayon, ang sabi mo, doon din nati-test ang loyalty before you become a full-fledged CPP member. Papaano nila tini-test ang loyalty?

MR. CELIZ. Ang process niya, may tinatawag po kami, Mr. President, na “Talambuhay Form 1, Form 2.” Ang sinasabing talambuhay, ito iyong narration ng iyong buhay mula roon sa open
organization. Before ka ire-recruit, i-interview-hin ka ng cadre ng CPP na namumuno rin ng open organization. For example, in my case, I was the chairperson, provincial and regional coordinator ng College Editors Guild of the Philippines, pero Kabataang Makabayan din ako—underground iyon sa sektor ng kabataan—and CPP na rin ako, Mr. Senate President, Mr. Chairman. Ang gagawin ko diyan, pag may target ako, like si Lady Desiree, kukunin ko, papa-fill-up-in (fill up) ko siya ng Form 1. Ang tawag diyan Talambuhay Form 1, para iyon sa recruitment sa underground. Doon ko makikita ang kanyang history at iba pa. Parang Form 168, kung sa DepEd. Tapos pag nag-communist party member target siya after six months to one year, magfi-fill up siya again ng Talambuhay Form 2. So, may Form 1, may Form 2.

With your due respect, Mr. Chair and Mr. Senate President, hindi po totoong walang program ang CPP sa showbiz industry, entertainment, musicians, and artists. Nakalimutan ko lang pong banggitin, maybe in the next session, we can have—May tinatawag pong underground groups sa hanay ng mga artista at mga manunulat at mga sa showbiz. Ang tawag po dito ay ARMAS (Artista at Manunulat ng Sambayanan). Ang open organization na itinayo ng CPP para magkaroon ng recruitment ground para rito na hindi mahalata ay Concerned Artists of the Philippines at ang Musicians and Artists of the Philippines. Nabuo
ito mainly mga middle ’80s. Iyong Musicians and Artists of the Philippines, I think nabuo sa panahon ng Erap-Resign Campaign.

From that open organization and loose organization of showbiz personalities, entertainers, musicians, kompositor, at mga artists ay nabubuo ang underground organization, which is one of the founding members of the NDF, kung hindi ako magkakamali, kasama sa Christians for National Liberation sa church. ARMAS is for the showbiz industry and for the entertainment people not mainly to recruit them—ikaw nag-made mention kanina, Mr. Senate President, like Maita Gomez, Nelia Sancho and many of them. Ewan ko po, kasi ang iba rito national art—national artist na ba siya? Dalawang director na magagaling ay miyembro po ng ARMAS. Hindi ko alam kung na-process sila sa communist party, hindi ko na po babanggitin. Ang babanggitin ko ay ang pelikula nila—Orapronobis, Maynila Sa Kuko ng Agila, Walang Himala. They were part of a very long tradition of infiltration and recruitment into the showbiz personalities at ang iba ay active pa. But they are not NPA right away, but they are supporting the NPA indirectly or directly.

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. All right. Then balik tayo roon sa NPA. Nag-member ng CPP, tapos naging NPA. Sabi mo parang ibang klase iyong initiation—hindi initiation, kung hindi Talambuhay 1, Talambuhay.

MR. CELIZ. Okay.

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. Mahina para ma-prove ang loyalty.

MR. CELIZ. Iyong loyalty—

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. Paanong magiging full-fledged ano ka—?

MR. CELIZ. Iyong loyalty, Mr. President, Mr. Chair, doon iyon sa pag-investigate sa iyo na hindi ka nagsinungaling sa iyong security background, sa iyong class origin, sa iyong historical background. Number two, iyong loyalty mo, iti-test ka roon sa number of years na inilagi mo. Kaya ang full membership sa panahon namin, matagal-tagal, mahigit isang taon. Pero dahil mabagal ang recruitment, tinitingnan ka roon. Alam ko iyong dulo ng—I may be surmising your position, Mr. Senate President, puwede bang ang test mo sa loyalty ay iyong sumama sa ambush? That can be possible. Kasi pag nag-immersion ka sa NPA, kahit hindi ka pa NPA, doon ka mati-test—

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. Sa immersion, kasama na iyan, maaari.

MR. CELIZ. Sa immersion that can be—

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. Maaari, hindi ba?

MR. CELIZ. Sa immersion.
THE SENATE PRESIDENT. Do you still believe in God? Do they believe in God?

MR. CELIZ. Sir?

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. You don’t believe in God?

MR. CELIZ. Kami, sir?


MR. CELIZ. Hindi po pinag-uusapan sa CPP-NPA-NDF recruitment lalo na sa CPP kung ikaw ay naniniwala sa Diyos. Pero ang paniniwala nila, ang lahat ng bagay dapat ang iniisip, kung may materyal na basehan. Kaya dialectical materialism. Kung hindi mo ma-prove na may Diyos dahil walang materyal na batayan, huwag mong i-discuss iyan. The discussion about God and religion is not so much discussed inside the communist party although you are not also disallowed or prohibited to believe in your God. Pero kapag may engkwentro na po, kami ay napapaganoon din [making the sign of the cross]. Kapag may mga military operations, natatakot din po kami.

So, ang God po is not a center topic for the CPP. As much as possible, your religion and your belief in God shall not be part na makakapagpapigil ng iyong revolutionary commitment at hindi makasagabal sa iyong trabaho. Okay lang iyan kung may Diyos ka. Pero correctly, hindi po naniniwala na may Diyos. Kung hindi mo ma-prove, never discuss that. So, iniwasan iyon sa loob ng CPP.
THE SENATE PRESIDENT. So, wala—

MR. CELIZ. Sa bahagi ko ba po, ako ay naging atheist?

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. So, walang nagta-try na mag-prove?
Napakadaling i-prove na may Diyos.

MR. CELIZ. Kaya nga. So, that’s the way they think. Ultimately, tama ka, Mr. President. Logically, ang CPP, ang isang komunista ay mahirap maniwala sa Diyos. Kaya mahirap magtiwala sa isang organisasyong walang sentro sa Diyos.

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. Sira ang logic.

MR. CELIZ. Kaya nga. Tama po kayo, Mr. President, on that notion. And on that effect, kami ba po ay umabot sa panahong hindi naniwala sa Diyos? Hindi naman po, pero nagduda kami sa Diyos. Doon ho magsisimula.../jo/jmb/agc
MR. CELIZ. ...Doon po magsisimula. When you are recruited to
the underground, into the CPP, magsisimula kang magduda na may
Diyos.

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. Pero sabi mo nga pagka sa encounter
you make a sign of the cross.

MR. CELIZ. Patago lang.

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. So, totoo pala iyong kasabihan na
wala raw mga atheist pag mamamatay na.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Thank you.

Anything more?

MR. CELIZ. Sir, last na ito.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Sige. Hindi, mayroon lang akong ika-
clarify. Iyong term na “secretary” o “kalihim” sa CPP-NPA, sa
organization, hindi ito iyong common understanding ng mga tao na
secretary. Pag sinabing “secretary” o “kalihim,” puno ito?

MR. CELIZ. Iyan ang head.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Okay.

MR. CELIZ. And the word, “chairman,” is only used to the party
chair. The “secretary” or “kalihim” is the head of the party--

THE CHAIRPERSON. Of the unit or organ.
MR. CELIZ. Yes. Hindi po siya record-keeper.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Okay. Sige.

So, you are about to say something?

MR. CELIZ. Yes. Thank you po, Mr. Chair and Mr. Senate President.

The urban mass movement operations and the infiltration, sir, extends beyond government offices and religious community. Right now, sir, ang pinakamalaking infiltration ay nasa UN, United Nations, European Union, and in the Filipino communities.

Sir, in the last five years may na-recover po na document ang title niya ay “Oplan Wallaby”(?). Oplan Wallaby is an underground operations of the Communist Party designed to infiltrate the international community: (1) to infiltrate the United Nations to weaken the position of our government at the international community; (2) to establish broadest network support among pro-communist, pro-Socialist, anti-imperialist, workers’ groups and associations; (3) to infiltrate favorable international groups such as European Union; and, (4)--ito ang binabanggit ni Mr. Chair, kanina, sir--to generate funds through infiltration of big or NGO partnerships; and, (5) is to develop a very strong support among Filipino communities and expatriates, building the underground organizations of compatriot supporting the NDF. That is
why the united Filipinos in Hong Kong, MIGRANTE chapter, and in U.S., in the Europe, they are operating in seven global regions, all with CPP units party committee. Even in the U.S., sir, napakalakas po ng CPP infiltration sa San Francisco, Los Angeles, sa New York, and even in Europe, and then sa other global regions. In the documents, sir, na ipinabasa sa amin nang mga cadre recovered last 2018, that Oplan Wallaby shows that the government is including—sorry, sir, the security sector in the Department of Foreign Affairs are blinded for so long of how the CPP exports infiltration operation and radicalization abroad, and ito ay unchallenged. Default po tayo, sir. This is a very serious problem. Kung kaya po ang mga report ng U.N. mga rapporteurs, na-i-infiltrate po ito, na-i-influence. And ito po ay very seriously undertaken similar to the infiltration of Congress and government offices.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Ka Eric, isang question lang. You have reached the point of no return, sigurado iyan.

MR. CELIZ. Yes, sir.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Baka after two months, three months, one year, nandoon ka na naman sa underground?

MR. CELIZ. May lesson po ako, sir. I will not be going the way of Ador Mawanay.

THE CHAIRPERSON. And so with Lady Miranda?
MS. MIRANDA. Mr. Chair, papatayin na po nila kami pag nagtangka kaming bumalik.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Siguro ganoon din sina Ka Amihan, si Ka Myrna, lahat.

Mayroon bang instance na iyong isang nagbalik-loob sa gobyerno bumalik ulit?

MR. CELIZ. Kung hindi po siya ma-expose at wala po siyang ginawang kagaya namin. Pero kapag ikaw ay naugnayan ng government, your work and value to the revolutionary movement or the CPP-NPA-NDF lessens and you will be suspected again.

THE CHAIRPERSON. If I were a Kalihim, I would definitely infiltrate you back and re-project you to be our infiltrator, but that’s me.

MR. CELIZ. Puwedeng mangyari po iyon, sir, kaya iyon ang naging basis nang CPP Central Committee sa pag-liquidate at pag-assassinate kay Quintanar at saka kay Tabara. They were viewed as that way.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Hindi. Iba naman iyong kina ano, iyon mga rejectionist iyon. May ... nagli-liquidate iyon because iyong nag-liquidate sa kanila, hindi ba, iyong sa ..., inisa-isa iyan.

MR. CELIZ. Yes, Sir. Mayroon ba, sir, pagkakataon na nahuli pero bumalik? Kung ikaw po ay kategorya siguro ng mga Tiamzon puwede,
sir. Pero pag mga ordinary categories sa mga cadre na hindi mga kategorya ng mag-asawang Tiamzon mahirap kunin ang tiwala kaagad ng partido. There will be a so-called—kung sa atin, sir, may custodial debriefing or debriefing process, sa kanila there will be cooling and observation period. Ilalagay ka sa isang gawain na o-obserbahan ka nila bago ka bumalik sa Gawain mo dati.

**THE SENATE PRESIDENT.** Mr. Chairman, hindi nila maiisip iyong naisip mo dahil hindi naman sila naging officer ng MISG.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Baka puwede mong sabihin hindi sila nag-Chief PNP. [Laughter]

General Parlade.

**MR. PARLADE.** Mr. Chair, gusto kong balikan iyong tanong ninyo kanina about the test, ultimate test, kung ikaw ay puwedeng mag-CPP. And I hope Eric will corroborate my—well, as of now, ano pa lang, sir, haka-haka pa lang ito. But based on the revelations of former rebels there is one common denominator, it is really lying. Lying ang isang na-perfect nila para labanan lahat ng narrative ng gobyerno.

So balikan ko, sir, iyong kuwento tungkol dito kay Ella Colmenares because this is very important, especially that we are talking of a celebrity. Ang celebrity, sir, ang daming naaakit niyan. And we have to establish or we have to debunk her claims na porke ikaw ay isang artista
palagi ka na lang tama. Porke ikaw ay si Darna, hindi ka na puwedeng magsinungaling. So, gusto kong, kung puwede, sir, pakikinggan natin iyong testimony nitong tatlong members ng main regional guerilla unit diyan sa Quezon na nakasama nito ni Ella Colmenares just to put an end to that issue whether Ella Colmenares, kapatid ni Angel Locsin, ay isang NPA or not. So, may we have the video?

THE CHAIRPERSON. Yes. Please proceed.

MR. PARLADE. Mga code lang, sir, ang gagamitin nila kasi they are still active operations where these people...

THE CHAIRPERSON. I would just like to inform you na in case the militant groups who failed to appear today in today’s hearing, kung a-attend sila sa next hearing, I will give them the same opportunity, fair is fair. Okay? And it is up to you if you are willing to attend alongside—kung darating sila. It is all up to you. But we are going to invite you, nevertheless, to attend next hearing in case they will be here.

MR. ESPERON. If we get the invitation, Mr. Chair, we will prepare immediately.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Sige, okay.

MR. PARLADE. Webex, sir. Naka-Webex sila. They are on standby kung mayroong mga tanong. They are in Tanay right now.

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. Can our host check the log in?
THE CHAIRPERSON. Kung naka log-in sila start video na and the audio.

MR. PARLADE. While waiting, sir, let me just explain that there are so many of them waiting to be interviewed. They are all over the country. There are six in Bicol, there are 12 in Tanay.

Nandito na yata sila, sir.

MS. WITNESS 1. ...miyembro ng sangay na naorganisa rin nila doon sa aming baryo. Ako bilang kabataan, naging grupong pang-organisa. Itinayo bilang grupong pang-organisa sa baryo na nagpalawak ng organisasyong kabataan doon sa aming lugar na kung saan ang unang target namin noon, palawakin ang mga kabataan para magkaroon ng—bilang mapakilala o kaya maintindihan ng gobyerno kung ano ang pangangailangan namin bilang mga kabataan sa ganoong liblib na lugar. Ang aming mga pangunahing pangangailangan abawa edukasyon, eskwelahan. Walang maayos na eskwelahan, walang medikal, ni health center wala sa aming lugar.

Doon kami binayo, kumbaga doon kami binugbog ng propaganda ng mga kasama dahil totoong iyong nararanasan namin noong panahong iyon. Kaya bilang ako na nakaranas ng ganoong sitwasyon, nahikayat ako na buuin bilang sa isang grupo na nag-umpisa sa ilang member lamang at ako ang itinayo bilang grupong pang-organisa na ito ay naparami ko sa iba’t ibang sitio ng aming lugar na iisa ang layunin, palawakin ang organisasyong masa at imulat ang ano, ang pangangailangan ng mga kabataan sa ganoong klaseng lugar na napakalayo sa kabihasnan.

Noong ako’y elementary pa noong time na iyong nararanasan namin noong panahong iyon, nag-aaral ako ay—ang mga kasama, parang normal na sa kanila, normal na rin doon sa aming lugar kasi na may makitang may bitbit na armas kahit ang
mga kabataan. Ako ho ay noong time na iyon nag-aaral bilang residente, pumupunta sa school namin iyong mga kasama bitbit ang armas, ibinibigay sa akin, hinihintay ako sa aking paglabas sa eskwelahan upang isama ako sa pagpropaganda, paghikayat na magbigay ng pag-aaral sa mga kabataan at maging kababaihan.

Doon umikot ho ang aking kabataan noong panahong iyon, na kung bakit naman ako ay napapunta na sa edad na labing-apat na taong gulang dahil ang aking titser ay mayroong karelasyong militar. Isinumbong ako ng aking guro sa militar na ako ay miyembro ng CPP-NPA noong panahong iyon.

Noong time na ako ay isinumbong sa militar noong aking guro, wala ako—[connection problem]

**THE SENATE PRESIDENT.** The audio was out.

**MR. PARLADE.** Mr. Chair, mukhang nawala iyong signal. But maybe we can clarify through our resource persons iyong tanong kanina whether or not Ella Colmenares was an NPA. Kasi itong tatlo na ito, sir, puro iyan members ng Main Regional Guerilla Unit, isang unit na nakasama ng unit ni Ella Colmenares.

So pwede pong—resource persons, kung pwede pakikwento po ito para matuldukan na itong issue na ito.

Thank you.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Alex.
MR. MONTEAGUDO. Mr. Chairman, I’d like to—with the indulgence of General Parlade, represent again Ka Shane. On the issue of involvement of prominent personalities because she personally has experience in meeting, underground meeting with current congressmen, sitting representatives now and I would like her to share that testimony, Mr. Chairman, because they all claim they are not member but she can attest personally.

Yes, sir.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Sige.

MS. MIRANDA. Good afternoon po ulit.

Ise-share ko lang po iyong isang pangyayari na nagkasama kami ni Representative Sarah Elago po sa isang meeting sa College of Law sa UP Diliman, Quezon City po noong 2013. Panahon po iyon na magkakaroon ng nomination for the representative of Kabataan Party-list for 2013 election. Isa po ako sa pinadalhan ng Central Luzon noon para dumalo doon sa pulong na gaganapin para palabasin na legal talaga ang Kabataan Party-list pero, sa totoo po, lahat po kami na mga dumalo doon is mga KM cadre, mga CPP members na kami po iyong kumakatawan sa bawat mga regional youth sector po na naka-under sa regional urban committee ng CPP sa region. Ganyan po.

NUSP pa po siya that time, si Representative Sarah Elago, at ang nominee pa po noon sa pagkakatanda ko, hindi po si Terry Ridon dapat,
si Vencer Crisostomo pa po ang Anakbayan—chair ng Anakbayan national at that time. Siya po dapat ang papalit kay Mong Palatino bilang first nominee ng Kabataan Party-list. Kaya lang po dahil naghabol ulit iyong communist party, sabi nga nila, hindi pang-Kongreso si Vencer Crisostomo kung hindi panlansangan siya dahil mawawalan ng malakas na boses at matapang na mukha ang kilusang kabataan sa kalunsuran pag ilalagay sa loob ng Kongreso si Vencer Crisostomo.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Paano mo nalaman ito?

**MS. MIRANDA.** Nandoon po kasi ako.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Noong pinag-uusapan iyon?

**MS. MIRANDA.** Yes po.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Noong nadesisyunan nila na hindi pupwede iyong isa kasi panlansangan?

THE CHAIRPERSON. Papaano isinagawa iyon? In-announce openly?

MS. MIRANDA. Hindi po. Ano po iyon, underground meeting po iyon. Hindi po iyon publicly na ano—

THE CHAIRPERSON. No. Openly, I mean, sa inyo.

MS. MIRANDA. Yes po.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Open sa inyong grupo, nandiyan kayo noong sinasabi na hindi pupwede itong si—Crisostomo ba iyon?

MS. MIRANDA. Yes po. Ibinababa po iyong memo sa amin, kumbaga—

THE CHAIRPERSON. Memo lang ito, hindi ito iyong verbal na announcement?


THE CHAIRPERSON. Hindi mo ba naitabi iyong memo na iyon?

MS. MIRANDA. Wala po, kasi ano po iyon, internal documents po iyon, hindi po kami binibigyan basta-basta noon. Mga kalihim po iyong nagtatago.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Sino ang nangangalaga ng mga dokumento na iyon?

MR. CELIZ. Mr. Chair, that is one aspect that the government finds it very hard to file cases legally in court because there is the nature
of compartmentalization, strict code system, and once you asked questions pertaining to violations doon sa security protocols, you will be suspected as a spy kaya iniwasan po namin iyan. If you are not entitled and allowed to hold documents, pagdududahan ka po kapag nagkuha ka ng dokumento.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Mayroon kayong document security na pinaiiral?

**MR. CELIZ.** Very ano iyan, very strict. And then we do not ask permanent questions related to names, circumstances unless we are a higher organ. If you belong to a higher organ like regional party committee, you will be entitled to know down below.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** But who’s keeping all the records?

**MR. CELIZ.** There is the person known as deputy for organization.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** ... kalihim?

**MR. CELIZ.** Pangalawang kalihim for organization.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Pangalawang kalihim, siya iyong caretaker?

**MR. CELIZ.** Siya iyong party officer or personnel records finance security.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Siya lang ang mayroong access diyan?

**MR. CELIZ.** As much as possible, sa computer files.
THE CHAIRPERSON. Yes, of course.

MR. CELIZ. According to level, Mr. Chair, Mr. Senate President.

THE CHAIRPERSON. According to—

MR. CELIZ. Kung guerilla front ka, pababa lang.

THE CHAIRPERSON. According to security clearance ang tawag sa military.

MR. CELIZ. Clearance and authority level. So, if regional party committee, down the line but it is not up.../rheiya/imjv/agc
MR. CELIZ. ...it is not up. If you are a guerilla front level or district level, you cannot have security access up.

THE CHAIRPERSON. And the security sector has not gotten hold of any similar document?

MR. CELIZ. Related to this testimony?

THE CHAIRPERSON. Yes. Iyong sinasabi niyang dokumento na memong ibinababa, because that is material and that is material evidence. If you don’t have that, then you don’t have any evidence, hindi ba? Aside, of course, from testimonies or testimonial evidence. Pero kung iyong testimonial evidence will be supported by the documentary evidence, meaning, probably iyong memo na ibinababa if you have not gotten hold of that document, then you cannot prove—at least, you cannot convince the court na mayroon talagang link between the party-list groups and the CPP.

MR. CELIZ. In that note, Mr. Chair, Mr. Senator Ping Lacson, and Mr. Senate President, we have documents. I think hindi lang kayang i-present dito. I will give a hint.

THE CHAIRPERSON. What kind of documents?

MR. CELIZ. Central committee document order related to the campaign for implementation of party-list. Yes.

THE CHAIRPERSON. You have that?
MR. CELIZ. Yes. Captured enemy materials set off during encounters with the--

THE CHAIRPERSON. Why can’t you share that with the Committee? Why can’t you discuss it openly? Why?

MR. CELIZ. It needs clearance, Mr. Chair.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Clearance from whom?

MR. CELIZ. Security clearance from the Armed Forces, because they have to process that first. If you will ask me the document--

THE CHAIRPERSON. It is a vital piece of evidence, why keep it from, you know--

MR. MONTEAGUDO. Mr. Chairman, actually we have declassified a lot of documents. Maybe for this one we can also do the same.

THE CHAIRPERSON. I am just wondering why you will treat that as a classified document. Why not put it into good use?

MR. MONTEAGUDO. That was actually a--

THE CHAIRPERSON. That could actually convince us—the Senate President, myself and the other senators—that what you are saying all along totoo, hindi ba?

MR. MONTEAGUDO. Yes, sir.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Kasi as of now, talagang puro words iyong naririnig natin, testimonies. Of course, I am not saying that we are doubting them because galing sila sa loob. Pero, hindi ba, what more
could convince us kung mayroong dokumento that could buttress, hindi ba, iyong testimonies na pinapahayag dito?

**MR. MONTEAGUDO.** Yes, sir.

**MR. ESPERON.** Mr. Chairman.

**MR. MONTEAGUDO.** We have the document.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** And even maski in the form of submission to the Committee. Anyway, ang security clearance namin mataas, kaming mga senador.

**MR. ESPERON.** We will discuss that and I am sure the outcome would be we will submit it to you if required. We will submit the document if required.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Kasi nga ang challenge as contained in the letter and even in media, ang challenge, prove. You provide the evidence that would show that iyong mga party-list, iyong mga legal fronts ay talagang affiliated or under ng CPP, at least.

**MR. ESPERON.** Yes. I affirm, sir.

**THE SENATE PRESIDENT.** The documents that you are pertaining to come from the central?

**MR. CELIZ.** It is a national party-list consultation held in 2018.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** And the document would directly link the party-list groups to the CPP?
MR. CELIZ. Because it is a document of CPP coming from their own laptop, from the leaders.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Kaya nga.

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. Yes. So, please submit to the Committee on National Defense, Secretary Esperon.

MR. ESPERON. We will do that, Mr. President.

MR. CELIZ. Yes, sir.

MR. ESPERON. Subject to the forensic preservation and just some advice to the sources so that we will not compromise, sir. We will comply, Mr. President, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRPERSON. What else? Kaya siguro kayo natatalo, iyong mga importanteng dokumento itinatago ninyo pa.

MR. MONTEAGUDO. Actually, sir, that is the lesson we learned. For so many years the intelligence community has been keeping information from our--

THE CHAIRPERSON. Unless it is an ongoing intelligence project.

MR. MONTEAGUDO. Yes, sir.

THE CHAIRPERSON. But since it is out in the open anyway, nabanggit na rin ni Ka Eric, there is no more reason to keep it classified.

MR. MONTEAGUDO. These are recovered actually.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Yes, I know.

MR. MONTEAGUDO. Yes, sir.
THE CHAIRPERSON. How about the chain of custody, well-established?

MR. MONTEAGUDO. That is one actually of the problem, sir, on the legal aspect, on the chain of custody because...

THE CHAIRPERSON. Baka naman illegally obtained, filler na lang iyan.

MR. MONTEAGUDO. ...some of the procedures were not followed before. Some of the documents—

THE CHAIRPERSON. Baka illegally obtained iyan, Alex? Baka hinack (hack) ninyo lang so kayo pa ang makasuhan under the RA—

MR. MONTEAGUDO. It’s really a challenge, sir, between the investigation and intelligence.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Yes, kung recovered in a raid covered by search warrant, well that is evidence, hindi ba?

MR. MONTEAGUDO. Yes, sir.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Covered ng search warrant or kung nakuha ninyo by virtue of a court authorization applied by any of the units ng Armed Forces or the PNP, then it is valid unless ongoing pa iyong monitoring ninyo na covered ng court authorization.

MR. MONTEAGUDO. Some are through special projects which, of course, will put the access agent in jeopardy if we reveal. So that is why there are still some information that we may not produce, sir.
THE CHAIRPERSON. We understand.

Yes, Ed.

MR. AÑO. Yes, Mr. Chair. I’ll just like to share my experience as an intelligence officer. We have a lot of captured documents but these documents are actually unsigned or sometimes signed under pseudonym. But they are legal documents being followed by the party. Talagang hanggang pagbaba ng party groups ito iyong mga document. Like, for example, documents issued by Julius Giron, the one who replaced Benito Tiamzon after his capture, kung papaano magkabuo ng mga chapter Makabayan. And these are documents that are being followed. And we will talk among ourselves how to submit these documents to your Committee, Mr. Chair.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Thank you. Because that is the essence of the hearing this morning. You see my point?

MR. ESPERON. Yes, Mr. Chairman. We have learned some lessons there. There is now a better tendency to share information rather than to keep the information to ourselves.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Pagka kasi nabilasa iyong information, it becomes useless.

MR. ESPERON. And our information campaign is actually our way of saying that we are now ready to come up with evidences that are with us.
THE SENATE PRESIDENT. Mr. Chairman, well, also connected to that so that everything will be transparent. There was a Jeffrey Celiz that used to be a spokesman for Mayor Jed Mabilog. Do you know him, Ka Eric?

MR. CELIZ. I was the spokesman of Mayor Jed Mabilog and I was also mentioned in the narco list of the President, but I can explain it if you will allow me.

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. You were in the list of narco list ni President Duterte?

MR. CELIZ. In 2016, because of circumstances.

THE SENATE PRESIDENT. Why?

MR. CELIZ. Mr. Chair, Mr. President, I was expecting for you to ask that. As if I was already expecting that you assume that you already know about me. Since hindi pa pala ninyo iyan nalalaman, ako na ngayon ang haharap sa buong bayan and the Senate.

My inclusion to the narco list of the President in 2016 does not negate all the truthful circumstances related to my involvement with the CPP-NPA-NDF. That is number one.

Number two, my inclusion to the narco list was part of a government project and that circumstances emanated from my being part of an intel-operative. Matagal po akong naging intel-operative ng NPA. Puwede ba dito iyon lahat i-discuss? Baka marami kasing tatamaan
dito pag iyon ang anggulo natin. I was included in that list because it was part of a government project para lansagin ang sindikato ng droga sa Iloilo City. It should not come out instead. But why did I decide to take the risk to face the Senate and the entire world? Kasi po sinunog ako ng mga kasama ko. That a source of NTF-ELCAC and the source of General Parlade is a narco list personality mentioned by the President. Kaya nga ako ay Eric Almendras sa matagal na panahon. I used to cover kasi po I am working in many instances in covert operations at kasama po iyan. Hindi ko alam kung dito iyan but the inclusion to the list, the Director General--

THE CHAIRPERSON. I cannot yet reconcile, inclusion sa narco list, ano ang kinalaman doon sa movement?

MR. CELIZ. Wala na. Wala na ako sa movement noong nandoon ako.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Wala ka na nga pero bakit ka kailangang isama sa narclist? Anong cover ang pinu-pursue.../jadc/peg/agc
THE CHAIRPERSON. ... Anong cover ang pinu-pursue ng gobyerno para sa iyo para isama ka sa narco list? Eh, kung natokhang ka?

MR. CELIZ. Okay. Iyong point po, sir—direktahin ko na po—nag-infiltrate po ako ng drugs, sir. Not relegated(?). Kaya, sir, buhay ng pamilya ko ngayon ang nakataya kapag iyan ay kakalkalin.

Pero bakit lumabas iyan? Sinunog po ako ng CPP-NPA-NDF to discredit me and prevent me from coming out, hoping that they can prevent me to testify all these things because matatakot ako. Sabi ko, “No.” And I think—

THE CHAIRPERSON. And your handler was? What unit? Never mind the name. PDEA—

MR. CELIZ. NICA. NICA po, sir.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Why? Is NICA involved in drug operations?

MR. CELIZ. You can ask the director general, sir.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Umalis, eh. [Laughter]

MR. CELIZ. Nag-CR lang, sir.

And I request, sir, kung nakadetalye tungkol diyan, sir—

THE CHAIRPERSON. Well, if I were to assume, ang assumption ko rito, NICA had been coordinating with PDEA or DBP—PDEA, particularly. Kasi without coordination with PDEA, tapos pinroject
(project) ninyo ito, nasama sa narco list, nag-project kayo sa—I’m just wondering bakit NICA papasok sa—of course, all-encompassing naman iyong intelligence work ninyo, hindi ba?

Kindly confirm what he said that his handler—iyong project handler, NICA. Kasi lumayo na. This is ... pagkatapos, nahaluan na ng drugs.

**MR. MONTEAGUDO.** Actually, sir, we have partners within AFP.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** You don’t have to answer.

**MR. MONTEAGUDO.** Yes, sir.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Is that inclusion or the project part of the coverup para maproteksiyunan si Eric? Is it the other way around?

**MR. MONTEAGUDO.** No. The other way around.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Or, you really projected him for a particular intelligence project?

**MR. MONTEAGUDO.** It’s the—when the President took over, sir, his priority is drugs. That’s why it’s really drugs—illegal drugs.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** But you’ve never been an addict?

**MR. CELIZ.** No, sir.

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** How could you pass off as a drug—

**MR. CELIZ.** Sir—

**THE CHAIRPERSON.** Hindi, nasama sa narco list—
MR. CELIZ. Mr. Chair and Senate President, kung gusto ninyo na pong lantaran dito, personal po kaming magkakilala ni Boyet Odicta noong maliliit pa kami. I grew up in Iloilo City. The Odicta group is ...

THE CHAIRPERSON. Yes, yes. Iyong napatay sa ano.

MR. CELIZ. Yes, the project is about them. Hindi ko po isasabing buong project ngayon kasi maraming madadamay dito na mga pangalan.

Because it was drawn out accidentally, Mr. Chair. Mr. Senate President.

THE CHAIRPERSON. ...the NPA know?

MR. CELIZ. Nasa—may tawag ni Pangulong Duterte iyang pangalan ko sa...

THE CHAIRPERSON. Oo, pero bihira lang iyong nakakahawak ng narco list.

MR. CELIZ. Hindi, sir. It was a public pronouncement ni President.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Uh, okay.

MR. CELIZ. August 2016.

THE CHAIRPERSON. ...ang buhay mo? Be honest.

Huwag na. Baka kung saan pa tayo mapunta.

MR. ESPERON. Mr. Chairman, marami pa pong witness, naka-
standby sila. But—
THE CHAIRPERSON. Yes, we can save them for later.

MR. ESPERON. But we can—

THE CHAIRPERSON. Anyway, we’re just hoping that those who were invited today will appear in the next hearing. At least si Congressman Colmenares committed to appear in the next hearing. Because ang kanyang number one reason, he wanted to spend Undas with the family and he’s out of Metro Manila. And the others, I don’t know. Maybe he can convince them to attend.

Because in fairness to them—and I promised them rightly, openly, that I will give them the same opportunity, the same time, the same space that the Committee has given you today.

Iyon lang ang assurance na ibibigay ko sa kanila.

MR. ESPERON. Mr. Chairman, may nagpadala po ng picture sa amin, nasa Quezon City siya.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Huh? Mayroon ka?

MR. ESPERON. Nandito na si Mr. Colmenares, nasa Quezon City. May nagmagandang-loob na nagbigay ng picture sa amin.

[Laughter]

THE CHAIRPERSON. Let him spend Undas with the family.

MR. ESPERON. Pero okay lang. Baka nandiyan ang kanyang mahal sa buhay na namatay. Tama rin naman siya, we can respect that. Pero sarado iyong sementeryo, hindi ba, sa IATF? Okay lang.
THE CHAIRPERSON. Anyway, sige let’s wait for—

MR. ESPERON. [Off-the-record] [Laughter]

THE CHAIRPERSON. Never mind that. That’s off the record.

So, we will suspend the hearing today, this afternoon. We’ll just notify you when the hearing will be resumed. Is that fair? Is that okay?

VOICE. Yes, sir.

MR. ESPERON. Mr. Chairman—

THE CHAIRPERSON. So, iyong mga busy, sina Secretary Año—sobrang busy itong mga taong ito—puwede na kayong mag-skip. But we need at least the major personalities here. Of course, Secretary Esperon cannot be excused because he is the main man here, and NICA also.

MR. ESPERON. In fact, we will thank you for inviting us again, if you would.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Yes, we will.

MR. ESPERON. This is our fight. NTF-ELCAC was designed for this. So, darating po kami, Mr. President, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Thank you very much.

MR. ESPERON. Maraming salamat po sa mga sumubaybay. Nakikita namin, ang daming nagte-text po, live, sinundan talaga ito.

THE CHAIRPERSON. Baka naman puro retired officers iyong nagte-text sa iyo. [Laughter]

THE CHAIRPERSON.  Okay. Ako, mayroon din akong stories to share, iyong sarili kong experience when I was still—doon sa previous life ko. But anyway, there’s time for that.

Okay, this hearing is suspended.

MR. ESPERON.  Thank you so much.

THE CHAIRPERSON.  Thank you very much.  [Applause]

[THE HEARING WAS SUSPENDED AT 4:18 P.M.]