

.....

# Gay Comrades: Historicizing the Sexual and Gender Issues in the Communist Party of the Philippines

**Rowell D. Madula**

*Departamento ng Filipino*

*De La Salle University-Manila, Philippines*

The history of Philippine revolution has been a history of contradictions. It has been a struggle of the Filipino people against foreign colonizers, against indirect colonizations, against imperialism, and even against its own fellow Filipinos. The national democratic revolution being waged by the Communist Party of the Philippines, together with the National Democratic Front of the Philippines and the New Peoples Army, is characterized by its parliamentary and armed struggles. The Party itself has faced many contradictions which in one way or another, it tried to resolve. One of these is the sexual struggle that its members are experiencing. For the past four decades, the Party has tried to understand and respond to the contradictions on sexuality of its gay members. This paper presents a historical overview of the sexual struggle and resolution of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

**Keywords:** National Democratic Front of the Philippines, Communist Party of the Philippines, New People's Army, gay, women's movement, Philippine revolution, sexual struggle

## INTRODUCTION

Writing history is writing in perspective. History books frame the memories of yesterday's pages. Hence, in every era, some voices and sectors remain at the margins of mainstream history. These marginalized voices include the gay community. Few pages have been written about gay babaylan (precolonial indigenous priest and shaman), colonial-era gay

nationalist propagandists, and contemporary gay revolutionaries who have played big roles in shaping the country's history. Even the word *bakla* (gay) is still subject to debates. Nevertheless, the tradition of gay historicization and historiography carries on beyond the confines of mainstream academe.

For so long, many gay people have experienced and still continue to experience exploitation and discrimination. In a semicolonial and semifeudal society, any hint of gayness is confronted with violence. According to PROGAY's research, many gays in the countryside are compelled to go to the cities to seek work. Many of them work as beauticians, hairdressers, market vendors, salespersons, clerks, cleaners/maintenance personnel, fast food servers, shopping mall employees, personal assistants, technicians in showbusiness, entertainers, and even factory workers.

The history of the Philippines can be described as a long history of struggle to form a national identity and to achieve genuine liberation from exploitation, injustice, and poverty. Historians have time and again pointed out: the Philippines is a resource-rich country, but majority of Filipinos remain poor. Discussions on Amado Guerrero's *Short Course on Philippine Society and Revolution* (Maikling Kurso sa Lipunan at Rebolusyong Pilipino/MKLRP) which former, current, and future activists took up/take up/will take up, typically use such analysis as a springboard.

In the first part of this study, the researcher utilized primary documents that were publicly accessible and were published by the Communist Party of the Philippines-New People's Army-National Democratic Front of the Philippines (CPP-NPA-NDFP). Related unpublished documents written by Party members were also consulted. These documents included manifestos, memoranda, guides, newspapers, and even published literary works, written by current and former Party members or sympathizers. Party publications and relevant anthologies on revolutionary and underground literature were scanned to seek the aforementioned materials.

Secondary sources of data for the first part of the research included interviews with long-time and key Party members who had broad knowledge and experience relevant to the research. Documents and actions of the Party had typically interesting backgrounds. Through interviews, the researcher endeavored to gather these stories and context that formed such background. Interviews were only held with current Party members. Former Party members who had voluntarily left or were expelled from the Party had published their own critiques of Party stances, and hence, the current researcher found it

practical to interview only current Party members who remain steadfast in their belief that the Party is in the process of remolding itself or rectifying its errors. Such scope and limitation is all the more justified by the fact that primary documents used in the study were released after a big split or schism affected the Party during the early 1990s and after what the Party calls as the Second Great Rectification. The researcher conducted interviews with two former members who were with the Party's Women's Bureau during the 1970s and with one long-time CPP leader. The researcher also interviewed gay Party members who were known gay rights advocates inside the Party and who established the gay organization, advocating the nationalist-democratic struggle of gays in the legal arena.

Interviews with the above-mentioned people were subject to extreme care. Through direct contacts inside the Party who functioned as intermediaries, the researcher was able to reach key personalities. The researcher assured the interviewees that their identities would not be disclosed. The researcher was also invited in a clandestine activity where he was able to get to know the interviewees better. Interviews were held after an initial meeting or two.

## **THE REBIRTH OF THE PARTY**

On the 26<sup>th</sup> of December 1968, the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) was established under the leadership of Amado Guerrero or Jose Maria Sison (Fuller 2007). Such reestablishment was grounded on the integration of the universal theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM) with the concrete situation and concrete practice of the Philippine revolution (Sison, Krisis 83). The CPP has described Philippine society as semifeudal and semicolonial:

The CPP defines the basic tasks of the revolution as to achieve national liberation by ridding the nation of US domination in the political, economic, military, cultural and other fields to realize democracy not only by fighting the growing repressiveness of the state but more substantively by emancipating the peasant masses and the entire Filipino people from the feudal and semi-feudal bondage. (NDFP, 4)

Meanwhile, the New People's Army (NPA) was established on the 29<sup>th</sup> of March 1969, on the anniversary of the establishment of the older guerrilla

group People's Army Against the Japanese (Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon/Hukbalahap):

They numbered around sixty fighters with thirty five guns between then, only nine of which were automatic rifles. Despite these modest dimensions, the NPA gave the new Communist Party of the Philippines both peasant and military credentials. Dante's association with the long tradition of armed resistance in Central Luzon gave a certain measure of credibility to the CPP's claim of launching a people's war in the Philippines. Dante's rejection of the PKP was a great boost to Sison's claim that the Lava clique was redundant and that the re-established party was the genuine revolutionary force in the country. (Weekley 27)

The New People's Army (NPA) is the armed wing established by the Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (PKP) or the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) to advance its armed people's struggle for the national-democratic transformation of the Philippines. In a statement, the CPP points out:

Membership is open to all persons aged 18 years old and above, physically and mentally fit, willing and ready to fight for freedom. The NPA's main task is to seize political powers from the hands of the corrupt ruling classes through people's war. Under the leadership of the CPP, it steadily breaks the economic and political power of the landlords and comprador bourgeoisie, in particular, and the reactionary state, in general, through waging the agrarian revolution, harnessing the revolutionary potential of the peasantry, and conducting tactical offensives. It assists the CPP and NDFP (National Democratic Front of the Philippines) in building the organs of political power of the masses, sowing the seeds of the revolutionary government. (NDFP 6)

In the statement cited, the CPP has clearly stated the basic qualifications of those who would like to join the NPA. Being on the right age and having a firm belief in the Party's objectives are the only qualifications to join the armed revolution led by the CPP. Nevertheless, seemingly parallel to the pages

of bourgeois history, only a few Party documents or articles that discussed and/or featured its gay members were published. More than four decades of the Party's struggle for the country's national-democratic social emancipation strongly suggest that a number of its members are women and gay.

It is clear from this study that gender and sexuality do not pose any hindrance to a Party member's exercise of rights within the Party. Moreover, based on the experiences narrated by gay activists and communists, it is evident that these gender-related rights are freely enjoyed within the party, and hence it is right to assert that the Party, the NPA, and the NDFP, have spaces for gays. If such gay spaces indeed exist, it is interesting to ask why some gay activists and communists inside the movement still experience discrimination based on their life stories. Ka Salud remarks that this is a result of the uneven ideological development of Party members. For example, a new comrade will understandably still carry vestiges of traditional culture that tends to treat gays with disdain. Thus, such comrade might do or say something which goes against the Party's principle on choosing one's gender. In this light, every Party member's ideological progress through continuous educational discussions is of prime importance in raising their level of consciousness on gender issues. It is clear that any violation of the Party's principles and the rights of its members can be processed as a formal complaint, and if warranted, corresponding disciplinary actions for the guilty side are in place. The key to achieving these dynamics is the continuous participation of gay activists and communists in leading discussions with comrades on gender and sexuality issues. In addition, comrades should consciously recognize the importance of respecting every person's chosen gender. One basic Party principle is the act of criticism--self-criticism--which ensures that every member progressively develops as an activist and a communist, and the Party progresses as the primary advocate of social transformation in the country.

In 1971, the Preparatory Committee for the Establishment of the National Democratic Front, the CPP's political arm, was created in Metro Manila, and it started its own underground activities hence (Sison, Rebolusyong 85). From 1970 to 1972, the following new mass organizations thrived: Katipunan ng mga Samahang Manggagawa/KASAMA (Union of Labor Organizations) and Pambansang Kilusan ng mga Manggagawa ng Pilipinas/PAKMAP (National Movement of Workers in the Philippines) among workers; Malayang Kilusan ng Bagong Kababaihan/MAKIBAKA (Independent Movement of New Women) among women; Samahang

Demokratiko ng Kabataan/SDK (Democratic Association of Students) and Katipunan ng Kabataang Demokratiko/KKD (Union of Democratic Youth) among the youth; Kapisanan ng mga Gurong Makabayan/KAGUMA (Association of Patriotic Teachers) among teachers; Christians for National Liberation (CNL); League of Editors for a Democratic Society (LEADS); Panulat para sa Kaunlaran ng Sambayanan/PAKSA (Pen for the People's Progress); and the Nagkakaisang Progresibong Artista-Arkitekto/NPA (United Progressive Artists-Architects) (Sison, Rebolusyong 45).

On the 24th of April 1973, the National Democratic Front (NDF), which was aimed at uniting the mass organizations that were banned in 1972 under one clandestine umbrella group, was established (Sison, Rebolusyong 85).

The NDF is the most consolidated and strongest clandestine united front organization because it encompasses progressive organizations of basic forces belonging to the labor class, peasantry, and urban petitbourgeoisie... It is flexible enough to accept the reality that the national united front doesn't limit itself in its own boundaries but instead willing to incorporate other forces and elements outside the NDF's framework, to the advancing strength of the national united front and the people's government. The NDF is the most reliable entity poised to establish broader consultative councils and organs of political power. (Sison, Rebolusyong 87-8)

Primarily, the NDF aims to promote the unity and cooperation of all patriotic and progressive classes, sectors, and forces in society so that they can effectively struggle for national freedom and democracy and for them to help bring down the abusive and exploitative ruling class. NDF promotes the revolutionary class line of the united front (NDFP 20).

## **WOMEN AND THE PARTY**

According to Ka Salud, who became a member of a mass organization in 1968 and a Party cadre from 1971, women had already been represented when the Kabataang Makabayan/KM (Patriotic Youth) was founded. The said organization had a women's committee that organized young female students, workers, professionals, and those who belonged to other sectors. Other mass organizations had their women's committees as well. Issues on the role and

importance of women in the national-democratic struggle were incorporated in Amado Guerrero's *Lipunan at Rebolusyong Pilipino/LRP* (Philippine Society and Revolution), one of the most basic works that Filipino activists study. In his work, women were classified as among the special social groups:

Women comprise 50% of the Philippine population and they belong to various social classes. Hence, majority of Filipino women belong to the oppressed and exploited classes. But aside from class oppression, they also experience men's oppression. Male revolutionaries should all the more endeavor to pave the way for the broadest participation of women in the democratic people's revolution. They should delude themselves into believing that men's participation in the revolutionary movement is enough. Truly, such attitude is feudal, and the old influence of family and the Church on women will only strengthen if they will be excluded from the revolutionary movement. Women can take up general and special revolutionary responsibilities. This is an effective means of liberating women from the clutches of feudal conservatism and from the decadent bourgeois stereotype of women as objects for mere entertainment. (Guerrero 146)

It is clear from Guerrero's analysis that women belong to the exploited and oppressed classes in a semifeudal, semicolonial social system because women are in various sectors of our society, such as workers and peasants. But Guerrero emphasizes that aside from being women-workers and women-peasants who are exploited in their respective social classes, women also experience extra oppression and exploitation in the hands of men. On the other hand, women need to wean themselves from the feudal view that the revolution is for men only. Women are duty-bound to become active in engaging and being in solidarity with the people's revolutionary struggle:

The articulation of the women's perspective in social movements, particularly the Left, emerged from the actual engagements of key leaders and articulators with radical social movements such as the old Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (PKP), the social democratic and national democratic movements and the Communist Party of the Philippines. (Santos 114)

One of the primary women's organizations that participate in the national-democratic struggle is the Malayang Kilusan ng Makabagong Kababaihan/ MAKIBAKA (Independent Movement of Modern Women):

MAKIBAKA, in realizing the necessity of linking up the active participation of women in the national-democratic struggle, clarified the correct orientation of women's involvement. The unity and/or revival of women's councils and women's organizations within other national-democratic endeavors should be given particular emphasis and attention. The organization aims to establish other women's organizations in the countryside and in the cities. This is the first time in the history of women's organization that an ideological framework has been adopted to guide women as they struggle for their rights. (Corpuz 117)

Ka Esperanza recalls that at the time of the First Quarter Storm (FQS), there were many women activists. Women activists from various mass organizations decided to hold a summit. Women who participated in the summit resolved to protest against beauty pageants. To express their dissent on the commercialization of Filipino women, they held a picket in front of the Araneta Coliseum where the coronation night of the Binibining Pilipinas or Miss Philippines Beauty Contest was being held. This protest action made headlines. The issue became popular in the mass media and various sectors issued commentaries:

From this point hence, women activists became more enlightened on their social responsibilities. Women have been already participating in the revolution for a long time. As early as the years of the Katipunan, women's contributions to the revolution have been mentioned. But because of the formation of a collective consciousness of women, they learned to fulfill responsibilities which traditionally have been reserved to men, such as marching in demonstrations, nailing down placards, painting flaglets, repairing mimeographing machine, operation-post, and many others. They have spoken too in front of rallies and symposia, wrote manifestoes, and managed organizational branches. They are cognizant of their contributions to the organization and they are proud of it. (Corpuz 81)



Lorena Barros became the founding chairperson of MAKIBAKA in 1970. According to Dr. Judy Taguiwalo, an activist during the First Quarter Storm and currently a UP professor, she remembers Lorena was the first woman to speak in a rally, then. Supposedly, women that time went on stage to merely lead the singing of the national anthem. Some women were also known to speak in some protest actions like Portia Ilagan, but she was identified to what was labeled as the moderate bloc. When Lorena spoke before the rally she said, "Women are not only meant for beds, for kitchens, but they're also meant for the struggle!" Because of MAKIBAKA, women started having a venue to experience various means of actions. Women in other organizations with male members found it difficult to engage in full time activist work because they needed to go home or they could not sleep in the offices because their parents would not allow them,, if there were men around. But because members of the MAKIBAKA were all women, it was easier for them to engage in activist work on a full time basis. In other organizations where there were men, when the mimeographing machine broke down, for instance, male members were expected to repair it. In contrast, Taguiwalo added, in MAKIBAKA, women would do the repairs. She further stated that female students then, who were not allowed by their parents to join Kabataang Makabayan (Patriotic Youth) or other militant groups, were allowed to join MAKIBAKA because this was exclusive for women, and hence, parents found it easy to accept their daughters' participation in this organization.

MAKIBAKA was officially established as a national women's movement on the 12<sup>th</sup> of March 1972, as the group launched its First National Congress. In this occasion, Jose Maria Sison gave a message:

It is very important for the women's liberation movement to recognize the line of thinking that the authority in politics is the backbone of other systems of authorities. In bringing down such authority, we begin to bring down all other systems. Hence, political struggle, active participation in the national-democratic revolution is the key chain in the noble task of liberating women. Basically, the movement for the liberation of women is a struggle against the political authority of foreign imperialism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, if Filipino women are to be liberated and if gender equality is to be achieved. (Sison, "Mensahe" 313)

Meanwhile, women behind MAKIBAKA ensured that their analysis of the

women's situation was aligned with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. At this time, the women's movement was strong in Western countries. The second stream of feminism in the United States and Europe was on its peak. Thus, MAKIBAKA made it clear that "[w]omen, like men in a semifeudal and semicolonial society, suffer intense exploitation and oppression. They suffer from the oppression and imperialism and the joint dictatorship of the comprador bourgeoisie and landlord classes. Added to this, women suffer from the oppression of religion, the clan and family" (NDFP 10).

As per the opinion of Ka Ligaya, a member of the CPP Women's Bureau since the 1970s, the Party's recognition of women was probably influenced, too, by the Parties in Vietnam and in China. In their Parties, even then, the importance and role of women in the era of launching a people's war for national freedom against the aggression of the US and other colonial powers had been recognized. The CPP swiftly reciprocated such actions of communist parties in other countries.

When Ferdinand Marcos declared Martial Law, MAKIBAKA and many of its members went underground. MAKIBAKA's relationship with the Party was further strengthened. It is among the organizations that joined the National Democratic Front. Its founding chairperson, Lorena Barros was arrested in 1973, but in the following year, she escaped from her military captors. From that time hence, Lorena joined the New People's Army (NPA). Lorena became an excellent rebel soldier and held a high post in her unit. However, she was able to participate in the armed struggle only for two years because she was killed in her unit's encounter with the military in 1976.

In general, MAKIBAKA remains strongly connected to the national-democratic movement of the CPP and its allied organizations (Elumbre 249). When MAKIBAKA went underground, many women like Barros decided to participate in the armed struggle. E. San Juan Jr. stated:

[O]f immense significance is the direct participation of women in the armed struggle currently raging in the countryside, with the formation of a Red Women's Detachment as an integral part of the New People's Army, a member of the National Democratic Front. Red women fighters have distinguished themselves in ambushes, raids, organizing works etc., on all fronts. They have also worked side by side with male guerilla in consolidating the liberated base areas and supervising the creation of Barrio Revolutionary Committees,

the chief administrative body for initiating revolutionary land reform, building up the people's army and strengthening the united front. (164)

The field of engagement of women broadened inside the movement.

## **SEX AND SEXUALITY, AND THE PARTY**

The Party recognizes that cadres do not only love their country, but also love their fellow humans. Even the CPP founder Jose Maria Sison met his wife Julie de Lima while working in a mass organization. Many comrades and activists developed romantic relationships because of their work in the movement. This is not unique to the reestablished Party. Even in the old Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas/PKP (Communist Party of the Philippines), sex and sexuality have been tackled as issues inside the movement.

Though they are communists, many PKP members retained their belief in God. Cadres retained their faith on the doctrines of the Church, particularly the Catholic Church. Church doctrines became their primary guide in their relationships, in forming a family, in love, and in their concept of morality. In "An Appeal to Our Catholic Brothers" the PKP pointed out:

[T]here should be no difference between the communists and the Church to the question of morality as the communists are staunch upholders of the family and home. We consider sexual immorality and looseness in the family KPLIe as harmful result of bad social conditions. The PKP's rigid line on sexual matters may well appear surprising, as at this time it was common for communists to be reproached for their presumed advocacy of free love. (Fuller 126)

According to Ka Esperanza, even during the height of activism in the 1960s to the 1970s, the influence of Church doctrines on activists and cadres of the CPP remained strong. During those times, premarital sex, class and sex love were still non-issues. Supposedly, two comrades' love for each other was supreme. Many comrades had unplanned pregnancies, which affected their work in the movement. Cases of infidelity were also reported. Moreover, the Party then had no clear political context for developing relationships. Some had purely sexual relations, devoid of any politics.

In 1974, the CPP Women's Bureau drafted the document "On Relation of Sexes" or ORS to address the said issues. This document, which was only distributed in 1977, served as a guide for cadres and activists on pursuing relationships. According to ORS, the issue of gender relations is an issue of class. This clarified the difference between bourgeois and proletarian perspectives in gender relations. Because of the semifeudal and semicolonial character of our society, one perspective holds that women are under the economic power of men. Women are considered weak because they typically do not engage in production. As per the bourgeois perspective, gender relations are biased towards men. This reflects the capitalist exploitation of relations of production where women are treated as commodities and dehumanized under capitalism. Bourgeois gender relations is competitive, abusive, divisive, and decadent.

On the other hand, proletarian gender relations is dialectical, and there is contradiction between the two genders that lead to unity. It is liberative, progressive and appropriate to the objective conditions of society:

The proletarian relationship between husband and wife is one of unity – it is the unity of the sexes in the service to the people. Thus, in proletarian relationship[s] between husband and wife, we should be guided by the principle of equality of the sexes; while in dealing with the contradiction between couple and society, we should be guided by the principle of service to the people. (ORS 2)

It is clear that the basic principle of gender relations within the Party pertains to the two individuals' love bound by their belief in the revolution and love for the country.

Moreover, the ORS emphasized the importance of the cadres' conduct of criticism-self criticism:

Self-criticism is a mark of a Party persistent and faithful in its obligation to its class and the toiling masses. It honestly accepts its errors, seeks the root causes of such, analyzes the circumstances that brought such, and patiently discusses the methods for rectification. It is only through self-criticism that the Party is able to rectify its mistakes, ensure that the revolution is on the right track, and succeeds in upholding the proletariat's and the broad masses of people's aspirations (Batayan 372).

Such practice is expected from every activist and cadre, even those involved in romantic relations. Those involved in a relationship should evaluate their relations to ensure that this is aligned with MLM and puts prime importance on advancing the revolution. If the woman thinks she is exploited in a relation, or if she is experiencing discrimination, she needs to sincerely criticize her husband. Moreover, the husband should engage in self-criticism with regard to his failings. It is only through this process that the proletarian gender relations is effectively practiced.

Some aspects that the ORS clarified with regard to gender relations included courting among Party members, proletarian love, marriage, and divorce. In a feudal society, a woman courting a man is unacceptable. According to Ka Esperanza, the ORS struggle against such feudal perspective. Hence, as per Party principle, women were free to express their feelings. "Nothing should stop a woman comrade from making the first move in courtship. Neither should the male comrade feel embarrassed about this, not to be contemptuous towards the female comrades" (ORS 3).

Proletarian love has two aspects: the political, which is primary; and the personal, which is secondary. While the personal perspective, liking or desire of a person usually dominates a relationship, each Party member involved in a relationship should be conscious that politics should be given prime importance in their relations. Each Party member has political relations, and thus personal unity strengthened by the political relations of those involved in the relationship forms the nucleus of what is called as proletarian love.

Love inside the Party is said to be free--free from economic considerations, religious judgment, and pressure from society to offer oneself to his/her beloved. This is because two activists or cadres who love each other should still offer themselves and their relationship to the struggle, to the revolution. For Ka Salud, marriage under the Party is important. Supposedly, this is the movement's alternative to the backward, reactionary, and anti-women perspective in society. Institutions are built to establish order in a society. The same applies to the Party. The marriage institution is meant to preserve the order in the Party. The CPP implements monogamy too, primarily to protect women and to oppose the bourgeois perspective that somehow condones men's infidelity. Generally, marriage under the Party is not viewed absolutely, as though it is something that will change.

Marriage, as per the Marxist perspective, is another contradiction—a unity and struggle of the personal and the political interest of the two persons

involved. As a contradiction, unity inside marriage is relative; hence, when the decision to part ways is mutual, divorce is permitted. Meanwhile, those involved in a relationship can be also separated when a party commits infidelity. If infidelity is proven, those involved in the relationship will be separated, and the unfaithful spouse will be dealt with disciplinary action (DA). There are instances when ending the original marriage and then remarrying are permitted, like when a cadre and his/her spouse failed to communicate in a span of five years. Based on the movement's experience, there were husbands and wives who worked in different areas, which were typically far from each one. Hence, when communication was missing, either side could ask for a divorce.

On the second part of ORS, experiences of husbands and wives or of those involved in relationships within the Party that should be studied by every activist and cadre were discussed. First among these was the desire of some husbands and wives to tilt their relationship to a merely personal level. There were instances when those involved in a relationship avoid conversing about politics when they were together, or they avoid discussing their ideological and political differences. Some think that the Party was too interventionist when it comes to relationships. There were cadres who were too shy to share their problems on relationships to their unit. But for Ka Esperanza, a cadre needed to share the status of his/her relationship (even prior to entering into one) to his/her unit. This was supposedly needed because when the movement struggled, the Party waged a revolution. If a relationship failed, this might lead to one of those involved in the relationship to lie low, betray the movement, or even aid the enemy. The political and personal basis of the relation must always be ensured, including the issue of security.

The ORS also clarified that the issue persisted as regards cadres who believed in the concept of free love, which wrongly assumed that they could love more than one person. On the other hand, there were those who enter a relationship merely because of the political basis, with no personal angle. There were cadres who said yes to those who court them merely because they found it difficult to say no to a comrade. In such instances, Party members were entreated to deal with the situation carefully.

Among husbands and wives who were members of the Party, there were problems that still need to be resolved. One of these was the perspective that one of them could engage in full-time work for the movement while the other one would work to support the family. The Party asserted the principle, "simple

living, arduous struggle,” and hence it must be emphasized that cadres who are married retained their primary responsibility to serve the people. The couple must put their trust on the masses and other comrade and on their political actions in order to live.

There were also cadres who would want their spouse to stop working for the movement for fear that something bad might happen to him/her. This was common among male cadres who encouraged their spouses to just stay at home and stop participating in the movement’s struggle. There were also couples who did not want to work separately. The Party tried its best to let couples engage in the work or in the same area, but some circumstances demanded otherwise. In these instances, couples were entreated to be open to such possibility. Another concern was the tendency of couples to side with each other at all times. Inside the movement, debates or contradictions were unavoidable, and in such situation, cadres are expected to be objective. But there are instances when a cadre sided with his/her spouse, not because he/she was convinced of his/her spouse’s point but rather, because he/she was his/her spouse.

The Party did not ban couples from having children. However, some comrades would like to have children so that they could become their “second-liners” or inheritors of their posts. This is a feudal perspective on building a family. Instead, couples should build revolutionary families. Hence, the Party’s guide on this issue is very important:

As the raising of children entails a lot of political and personal responsibilities, couples must seriously and thoroughly discuss with their units when to have children and how to rear them to the proletarian way, i.e., scientifically and collectively. In other words, couples must adopt a planned parenthood program based always on objective conditions, taking into consideration the political work of the units to which they belong to. (Women’s Bureau 11)

In an interview with Kathleen Weekley, a Party member discussed the CPP’s perspective on the importance of having a guide on relationships and sex:

In the early days, rules about morality, sexual relations etc. were very strict; we were groping for our own values. These were especially

important in the rural areas, because they stood in sharp contrast to existing corruption, soldiers taking liberties with village women etc. They were also important for maintaining discipline within the NPA itself, particularly in dangerous situations. In the urban areas, where Party members often live together at close quarters, strict control of sexual relations became necessary at times because work and security were threatened by tensions arising from emotional entanglements. (39)

Thus, the document released by the Party in 1983 became an important and solid guide of cadres and activists in developing relationships and/or committing themselves to a married life.

For Ka Esperanza, politics and relationships in connection with the Party should always be of prime importance, and in the revolution's perspective, politics pertained to the relations of the cadres and activists to the masses and their antagonism towards the enemies. Meanwhile, Ka Salud said that the ORS was very constructive. In her opinion, this showed that the Party was advanced in theory and practice. It was not antagonistic.

## **HOMOSEXUALS IN THE REVOLUTION**

Starting in the 1980s, aside from the women's role in the social movement, gays' role in the revolution became a prevalent issue as well. According to Ka Lino, a member of the mass movement in the last years of the 1970s and a Party member in the early 1980s, there were already gays in the movement as early as then. Based on an interview with Ka Esperanza, a Party member since the 1970s, there were very few gays in the movement and they were "straight-acting" or discreet. As per Ka Salud's experience and observation, there were already gays in the movement as early as the 1970s, but the Party and the gays involved had yet to think of a way to handle the situation then. Ka Esperanza thus said:

For example, when a gay comrade cursorily touches another man, the male comrade reacts, but without adequate knowledge on how to really deal with such a situation. Hence, the tendency is for them to repel such act, because during those times, the prevailing mindset denied (sic) the existence of gays. In the feudal perspective, gays



don't exist. That's because culture bans them, and it was defined for men to be macho and women belongs to the weaker sex.

At present, many scientific and sociological studies on women as a sector have already been conducted, and thus there is enough material basis to deal with their gender issues. In contrast, even gay comrades were unable to deal with their personality, their feelings, and their situation.

According to Ka Lino, he had been openly gay even before he became part of the organized forces under the Kabataang Makabayan (Patriotic Youth). And based on his observation, most of the gays that he had encountered were from cultural groups:

There are many gays, but majority are discreet. Some are openly gay, but they are mostly from cultural groups from the communities. They groom the actors and actresses of cultural groups with make-up... There are also gay workers who join rallies, just like in May 1, 1978. There were [sic] many gays even then.

As the Party, the NDF and the NPA gathered strength in the 1980s, the role of women in the movement all the more became an intense issue. Discussions and debates among members and former members of the Party on these issues were opened. In an interview, Francisco Nemenzo, former University of the Philippines president, said:

It is not usually knowledge that pushes you into waging a class struggle. It is your grievance. It is the feeling that the system is oppressive, stemming from personal experience. But it must go beyond mere indignation. It has to be rooted in the system, and Marxism, as a method of analysis is a way of finding the root. Now in so far as the women and gays are concerned, I don't think that they should be excluded from participating in the revolutionary movement. But are the women and gays as particular forces are the ones who will build the history? Is it sexes that will determine or is it classes? Whether we like it or not, men and women will have to work together. The relationship between a man and a woman is different from the relationship between a capitalist and a worker. You participate not as a woman, not as a part of the women's movement, but as a worker. (18 at 35).

He also mentioned that as per the experiences of foreign parties and revolutionaries, separating the women's struggle and dividing social classes along gender lines dilutes the perspective that people should be classified along class lines.

One reaction to the interview with Nemenzo clarified the perspective that the women's movement hindered the advancement of a classist revolutionary movement. There was a flaw in one's remark that the women's lib movement was a disservice to the revolutionary movement in the world and to the homosexuals' capability to become truly participative in putting forth a truly revolutionary movement. Nemenzo agreed that the material-objective condition of human beings is the state of being men and women, and that, universally, women, had had a very oppressed position. Homosexuals are here and they are humans, too (Nemenzo on "Open Forum" 34).

He also agreed with Nemenzo's view that categorizing people along mere biological lines must be avoided. Culture must also be taken into consideration aside from a person's biological gender.

The Party and the mass movement succeeded in intensifying calls and mobilizations to oust the Marcos dictatorship. From 1980 to 1985, membership in the Party and in the revolutionary movement soared. This was a result of the worsening crisis of the ruling system, gathering strength of the revolutionary forces, and upholding the correct line of action supported by a big majority of the cadres and fighters (Batayang 418).

Moreover, the armed forces of the movement also broadened its reach and power. By the 1980s the NPA strength, both in terms of manpower and firepower, had increased markedly, notwithstanding the fierce suppression campaigns of the US-Marcos fascist dictatorship. According to an NPA statement, "The revolutionary flames are now rooted throughout the land." On the whole, the foundation had been laid out for the march of the people's democratic revolution from the early substage to the advanced substage of the strategic defense (Kasama 5).

But as the Party expanded and gathered strength, the 'left' opportunist line of regularization and urban insurrectionism that sabotaged the advancement of the revolutionary movement was also strengthened. From 1980, some high Party officials started to systematically spread the wrong line, tried to precipitate internal divisions, and hindered the application

of the correct line and the process of further advancing the revolutionary movement (Batayang 414). Such deviation from the correct line persisted until the latter part of the 1980s, thus causing great damage to the Party. From 1985, militarism in the movement grew stronger when the General Command of the New People's Army (NPA) strayed from the Party's absolute leadership and led the promotion of the line of strategic counter-offensive and regularization through a series of military conferences. At the time, Kampanyang Ahos was also launched as a result of the anti-informer hysteria that then existed in the movement.

The campaign to boycott the 1986 election was also a big issue then. "Intra-Party disagreements developed more quickly and more sharply in the capital partly because Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) members and other national democratic activists are closer to other progressive groups who began to take the Party to task for its mistakes" (Weekley 111). Within the Party, disintegration occurred, especially at the leadership level. Such events in the 1980s brought the Party to the Ikalawang Dakilang Pagwawasto or the Second Great Rectification.

The Ikalawang Dakilang Kilusang Pagwawasto/IDKP (Second Great Rectification Movement) is the national movement for rectification launched by the Party in 1992. Reaffirming its basic principles, upholding its correct line, and criticizing, rejecting, and rectifying the great deviations and errors that persisted for a long time, causing a still unparalleled setback to the Party, the New People's Army and to the whole revolutionary movement, became a life-and-death issue. (Batayang 423)

This internal problem was so heavy a burden, and through IDKP, cadres were divided into the reaffirmist (RA) and rejectionist (RJ) blocs.

Reorganization was implemented not only within the Party but also in the mass movement and in the various progressive organizations. Those who stood with the Party, the RAs, conducted many educational discussions. They reviewed the basic principles of the Party. Activists busily engaged in remolding themselves and analyzing problems and experiences that the Party underwent in the past years. Amid this period of confusion, a progressive legal organization of gays was established in 1994.

As early as then, Ka Lino said gay activists and Party members had

discussed the formation of a gay organization within the movement. "From 1991, meetings were held and alliances were formed with sectors where there are gays. One group was formed by a secretary of one sector of professionals. Meetings were conducted almost on a weekly basis. In the initial meetings, many gays participated primarily hoping to get to know other men or fellow gays for a possible casual sex. They thought that it is very difficult to change such orientation, all the more because majority of the members are from the petitbourgeois class. Because of this, we stopped attending meetings of the said group."

Those times, Ka Lino narrated, when a comrade went to the provinces, and he was able to interact with cadres and activists there, s/he would realize that there were many gays indeed, old ones and young ones. "Gay Visayans are so sweet with the masses. It is hearty to know that they're accepted by the masses and they are very effective in fulfilling their tasks. In the Cordillera region, the lesbians are dominant." In the YS (Youth Sector) of Manila, what they call as the pink collective sprouted. This is a group of openly gay and discreet gay people engaged in youth organizations.

From thereon, gay Party members became more determined to establish a gay group. Four Party members, Ka Lino, Ka Jayme, Ka Timoteo, and Ka Mario started holding meetings. They were all gays. Even before they "came out" into the open, they had been holding discussions with one another. They grappled with questions such as "Are they now ready to declare themselves openly gay?" They did not have personnel; members of their organizations did not join them. Their only plan then was to release a statement against the rise in the price of petroleum. They had a staff house where they stayed and that could be used as an office if the media sought them out.

They also discussed what term they should use: the Filipino term *bakla* or the English term *gay*. During those times, the term *bakla* connoted a person who "is weak, a laughingstock, and knows nothing" -- a very negative stereotype. "Ka Jayme and I would want to use the term *bakla*, because we wanted to transform the way people viewed gays, to use the very term that people used as a derogatory label. From then on, people would realize that they should stop stereotyping gays. Gays are thinking people, and gays are fighters," Ka Lino explained. However, they took into consideration the gays that they would like to organize. Most of these people were in the petitbourgeoisie and thus were uncomfortable with the term *bakla*. They were more comfortable with the term *gay*.

On February 1994, Ka Lino's group released a statement. At a time when petroleum prices were soaring, the media received the statement from the gays. Ka Lino thus said:

Our statement was really a bold one. We said gays are affected by the soaring petroleum prices. If the price of petroleum increases, the price of commodities and services, the price of haircuts, for example, will also soar, and hence, who would go to us for a haircut? Gays pay electricity bills too. Gays ride in jeepneys too.

Because of this statement, two social issues were highlighted. First is the soaring petroleum prices and recognition of gays as a sector. Ka Lino received a lot of calls from the media. The news reached even comrades who were busy with educational discussions. People in the provinces and in the regions asked how a branch of the gay organization could be established in their place. Thus, Ka Lino foresaw the steady growth of the said organization. This was an advantage to the RA bloc as compared to the RJ bloc as the latter had no such gay group. The masses realized that the Party had respect for gays.

Inang, a gay writer and human rights worker joined Ka Lino's group too. Months after the release of their first statement, a mobilization was being prepared. Those in Davao and Naga initiated the establishment of gay organizations in their territories. In big universities, the organization started by Ka Lino and his fellow founding members, established branches. In June of the same year, the group Filipino Gays Fight was launched as the first gay pride march not only in the Philippines but in the whole of Asia.

Ka Lino reported:

Initially, we were not allowed to hold a program but we conversed with a Quezon City official who happened to be a lesbian; thus, we were finally allowed to hold a program at the Quezon Memorial Circle. The police refused to heed our request to march from the corner of Quezon Avenue in EDSA to the Circle, but we were already there. We conducted a dialogue with the police, and they finally let us march as we intended. We marched, around 100 gays, including young ones, old ones, parlor-types, discreet ones. Even

a priest wearing his habit. Our slogans were really amusing: Itsugi ang VAT! (Kill the Value-added Tax!) Palayain ang mga Bakla! (Liberate the Gays!), Stop Patriarchal System in the Philippines!, Let Us Liberate Ourselves! Fight for Democracy of Gays! There were also calls against the OPH (Oil Price Hike), on education and other issues.

This is the nucleus of the progressive organization of gays.

In the mid-1990s, recognizing gay rights became a popular issue. As this recognition underwent remolding, the Party clarified many things about its principles. Relationships among cadres is one of these matters. At that time, though, “On Relations Between Sexes,” a guide for relationship was already made official. However, such guide was not really strictly implemented as mentioned below:

In 1997, in the initial context of having more ‘gender sensitivity’ in framing sexual relations in the Party, the National Women’s Bureau facilitated formal discussion surrounding the issue, providing kits with researched data and documents. Eventually, the discussion led to the topic of homosexuals in the movement. Questions on the scientific basis for homosexuality were raised: Were gays and lesbians even entitled to raise revolutionary families when they literally could not reproduce? Would not the proliferation of a ‘gay culture’ lead to decadence and moral degeneration among party cadres? Apart from these questions, there was a prevailing view that the proletarian was one who had firm principles matched with physical strength. Gays were seen to be weepy, emotional, weak and affectionate – characteristics seen to be as the complete opposite of a true revolutionary cadre. (Alburo 31)

In spite of this discrimination, cadres insisted that physical strength is not a basis for one to become a cadre. The Party had early on accepted gays in the movement. Gender and sexuality issues did not in any way hinder the effective fulfillment of responsibilities in the Party, at any given time.

The Constitution of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) thus said, “Any citizen or resident of the Philippines who is not younger

---

than 18 years old, who upholds Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and the Party's Program and Constitution, and agree to arduously fulfill his/her tasks in a Party organization, implement Party decisions, and pay a membership fee and a regular monthly contribution, can become a member of the Party" (Batayang 581). This is the Party's basis for accepting cadres. It is clear that the Party does not discriminate against anyone who would like to be a member.

In the 10<sup>th</sup> Plenum of the Central Committee, the "Mga Gabay at Tuntunin sa Pag-aasawa sa Loob ng Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas" (Guidelines and Rules in Marriage Inside the Communist Party of the Philippines) was released. This contained revisions of previous Party documents on marriage and forming relationships. Major revisions included the following:

1. emphasizing is the basic principle and objective of avoiding sexual relations prior to marriage; On this connection, criticism, reminder, and education are the suitable responses to the weaknesses of Party members, instead of implementing disciplinary actions;
2. in granting divorce and lifting the required one-year period of maintaining the relationship if there is a persistent request for a divorce from one side, and when both sides ask for a divorce within the six-month period, and if there is a basis for the request and past attempts to save the relationship so as to immediately decide on the request for a divorce;
3. granting the power to approve request for marriage to the committees to which the couple belongs, in contrast with the previous practice of raising the request to the higher organs.
4. fine-tuning distinctions as regards the nature and gravity of cases for which disciplinary actions are applicable in order to avoid overjudgment.
5. distinguishing between cases, which are administrative in nature and which are criminal in nature and should therefore be filed and prosecuted in the people's court. (KTKS Hinggil sa Pag-aasawa 1)

The last major revision pertained to "adding a separate section on

recognition and respect for relationships between individuals with the same gender, and the application without reservation, of the guidelines, rules and principles on forming relationships and marriage” (KTKS Hinggil sa Pag-aasawa 1). This additional section can be found in Provision E. This provision is entitled “Paglalapat sa Relasyon ng Magkaparehong Kasarian” (Application to the Relationships Between Individuals With The Same Gender). The provision stated: “1. the Party recognizes and respects the individual Party member’s right to choose his/her gender; 2. the basic principles and rules on marriage inside the Party are applicable to their cases” (KTKS Hinggil sa Pag-aasawa 3).

The Party explained such stand to recognize and respect the right to choose gender, and thus purported:

[T]he Party is against all forms of discrimination, oppression and exploitation that exists in society. Part of this struggle is the Party’s opposition to discrimination based on choosing gender. Party membership is based on recognizing and advancing the cause of MLKMZ (Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought) as the proletarian ideology, on the constitution of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the readiness to wage revolution. There is no reason for an individual who complies with such requirements to be turned away just because he/she has chosen a different gender (KTKS Hinggil sa Pag-aasawa 18).

The same document adds:

[H]owever, the principles and rules of the Party are the basic guidelines for the personal lives of the Communists. Hence, it is but necessary for every Party member who had chosen a different gender, just like other Party members, to suit his/her conduct of personal relations to the aforementioned. Secondary perspectives and attitude, prejudicial dealing and unpleasant stereotyping of personalities on this regard should be consciously battled. (Hinggil sa Pag-aasawa 19)

For Ka Esperanza, this revision and additional provision on same-sex marriage within the Party were important. She pointed out, however, that the



more important question was how this policy would be accepted. According to her, "Levels of development are different, hence levels of practice also vary. Just the same, it is very important to note that the policy has been instituted. With regard to practice, experiences are always evaluated so as to see how it can be further improved. In my opinion, gay comrades have a big role to play in helping the Party further develop its policy based on proletarian and revolutionary experience, because it is dialectical, it is possible that this policy is insufficient to really recognize gay comrades, hence we should all help one another in improving such policy."

The aforementioned additional provision was viewed by many as the Party's attempt to create space for gays within the Party. This provision went beyond mere acceptance because the movement had accepted gays early on. Instead, this is an issue of recognition -- recognition of the nature of gays and lesbians to have a crush, like someone, desire someone, and love someone. This was also recognition of their right to court and to be courted, to marry, and to build a revolutionary family.

But this did not mean that discrimination against gays in the Party would entirely disappear overnight. When the new policy was disseminated to mass organizations in 1998, cadres and activists still experienced discrimination from the masses and even from comrades. According to Ka Salud, this was unavoidable because of the slow development of society. She gave the following illustration:

For example, a new comrade comes into the movement still carrying his feudal mindset on gays, and even on women. If he sees or interacts with a gay or a woman, such feudal perspective might still rear its ugly head. It is because we are yet to really liberate ourselves from cultural biases against women, gays and lesbians. This is the law of uneven development, that's why we continue to struggle. It's part of our continuing cultural revolution.

Even the use of the phrase "comrades with chosen gender" was criticized by gay cadres. But as per Ka Esperanza's explanation, it was possibly because of the context of heteronormativity that dominated the situation for so long. Thus, the perspective that the dominant genders and sexualities were male and female only somehow lingers. And the gays, they had chosen a different gender--different from the male and female genders to which society had

been accustomed to. Nevertheless, she clarified that if the phrase “comrades with chosen gender” did not really fit, gay cadres and activists could suggest a more suitable term. The contradiction within the revolution was always there, and the Party was open to these contradictions that were expected to bring about not only political correctness on the perspective on sexuality but also political correctness in the use of terms.

Three years after the revised rules on marriage was released, a story about a comrade who had chosen his gender appeared in *Ulos*, the official cultural publication of the Party. This story entitled “Si Lyndon at si Liam” (Lyndon and Liam) narrates the lives of two gay Red fighters. According to the story’s persona, other comrades played a prank on Lyndon when they threw a dead snake on him, notwithstanding the fact that they knew he was very afraid of snakes. Because of this instance, he climbed a tree, turned very, very pale, and trembled in fear. Lyndon had been with the NPA for three years then. The following is an excerpt from the narrative:

Lyndon, who came from the lower-middle peasantry and an orphan, is a gay Red fighter. It was only in 1998 that Lyndon decided to declare his gender to his comrades. This is after a long period of concealing his personality, after a complicated period of doubt on whether the comrades, the masses, and even himself are ready to accept such truth. (Verdadero at Ka Ali 5)

While the abovementioned was a mere prank, it is believed that some pranks have deeper meanings. According to the narrator, this ‘innocent’ expression could actually be a manifestation of hidden discrimination. The second character, Ka Liam, had been engaged in work in the countryside for four years then and was able to repel the enemies when the other comrades were pulling out after a successful tactical offensive. Before this occurrence, many comrades wrongly thought that Ka Liam was ‘weak’ because he was gay. But after showing courage, he was recognized and his supposed weakness was no longer brought up. These stories, whether they are fictional or based on real stories, prove that gays are steadily carving out space within revolutionary literature.

In 2004, *Ang Bayan*, the official organ of the Communist Party of the Philippines, published an article on Ka Joan. The article described Ka Joan as follows:

Ka Joan, 25 years old, is a Red fighter of a platoon of the New People's Army (NPA) in the southern front of Cagayan Valley. Like other proletarian revolutionaries, he struggles for a future free from oppression and exploitation. But, unlike most Red fighters, his true gender won't be revealed at first glance: Ka Joan is gay. 'I have the heart of a gay man,' he reveals. "I am a gay revolutionary. (7)

This article narrated Ka Joan's life as a gay, an activist and a red fighter. For more than a year of Ka Joan's stay in the countryside, he had served as the finance and supply officer of the squad, as second team leader and even as part of the medical personnel. He also participated in tactical offensives launched by the red army. Ka Joan thus said:

Here, I really feel that they try their best to accept my whole personality, even if they are yet to really do it. Here, I really feel loved by the masses and the comrades because I am a revolutionary, regardless of my gender. And I know that the Party and the revolutionary movement is advancing the tireless struggle to wipe out the remnants of oppression and sexual discrimination within the movement and in society. (Ang Bayan 8)

This publication on Ka Joan's life is a proof that gays are now recognized not only as part of the mass movement but also of the armed struggle where "inside the people's army, the practical methods and regulations to develop relationships of different genders are further improved" (Ang Bayan 8).

Meanwhile, in 2005, the Party publicized the right of gay NPAs and cadres to marry. In Rolly Pinsoy's article entitled "Reds officiate first gay marriage in the NPA" which appeared on the front page of the mainstream broadsheet Philippine Daily Inquirer, the Party's advanced view and treatment of gays had been bravely announced. The article included some photos taken in the marriage which was held in Compostela Valley, inside a guerilla zone. The article reported:

DARE to struggle, dare to win ... as married gays. After raiding a few Army camps, two communist guerrillas hid in a forest gorge and fell in love. Deeply. That was three years ago. On Friday,

under a romantic drizzle in a muddy clearing in Compostela Valley province in Mindanao, Ka Andres and Ka Jose exchanged vows in a heavily guarded ceremony before local villagers, friends from the city and their comrades in arms. They are considered the first homosexual couple in the New People's Army (NPA) who were wed by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) (1).

Applying marriage rules and guidelines to gays inside the Party shows that beyond space, there is clearly a gay space within the Party. This means gay people in the Party are free to express their genuine feelings, emotions and affection. Thus, gays in the Party can court anyone, propose a relationship program, form a relationship, marry, and live as couples. Gay activists and communists have the right to be gay inside the movement: to do what heterosexual couples do, fulfill the needs of a gay relationship, and form relationships – both romantic and sexual. The Party has never opposed this primary basis of being gay--which is the right to love another person of the same biological gender--in any instance, and instead accepts and recognizes it. Therefore, the same rules and guidelines apply to women, men, gays, and lesbians inside the Party.

Gay space in the Philippine revolution is like the space for male and female comrades, the elderly and the young. In the fields where revolutionary men and women operate--from organizational, political, to ideological fields--in leading discussions, in forming alliances, in campaigns, in joining the revolutionary army, there is gay space where gays have freedom to act and fulfill their tasks.

There is gay space for all gay comrades in the national-democratic revolution. Like male and female revolutionaries, gay revolutionaries have the right to court and be courted, to form a relationship, and to marry. Though discrimination against gay comrades still exists, it is expected that gay members of the Party will lead the struggle to confront such discrimination. Expanding this gay space is a primary task of gay comrades themselves. The Party is open in recognizing internal contradictions, and gender issues are covered by such. Acceptance and recognition of gay comrades has been clearly expressed by the Party, but prior to this, gay comrades are entreated to accept and recognize their genuine identity, their true sexuality, and their gayness.

---

**WORKS CITED**

- Alburo, K.Z. *Brothers, lovers and revolution: Negotiating military masculinity and homosexual identity in a revolutionary movement in the Philippines.* Asia Pacific Social Science Review, 11, 2, 2011.
- Batayang Kurso ng Partido.* Pambansang Kagawaran sa Organisasyon, Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas, 2000.
- Corpuz, C. *Mula noon hanggang GABRIELA: Ang kababaihan sa kasaysayan ng Pilipinas hanggang mga 1980.* Manila: De La Salle University Press, 2003.
- Elumbre, A.R. *Kilusang kababaihan sa mga demokratikong tungalian: Pakikibakang feminista mula batas militar hanggang kapangyarihang bayan.* Kababaihan sa kalinangan at kasaysayang Pilipino. dL. Jose, Mary Dorothy at Atoy Navarro (eds.). Quezon City: C&E, 2002.
- Fuller, K. *Forcing the pace: The Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas from fundation to armed struggle.* Quezon City: UP Press, 2007.
- Guerrero, A. *Lipunan at rebolusyong Pilipino reLimbag.* Manila, 2009.
- Ka Joan: Kakaibang mandirigma. *Ang Bayan.* 2004.
- Kasama: A collection of photographs of the New People's Army of the Philippines,* International Concerns for the People's Struggles (ICPS) Southern Tagalog, 1987.
- Komiteng tagapagpaganap-Komite Sentral. *Hinggil sa Pag-aasawa and its revision,* 1998.
- National Democratic Front of the Philippines [NDFP] and Its Allied Organizations. 2002.
- Nemenzo, F. *The millenarian aspects of Filipino Marxism.* Marxism in the Philippines. Third World Studies, 1984.
- Pinsoy, R. *Reds officiate first gay marriage.* Philippine Daily Inquirer 7 February 2005.
- Quimpo, N. *Contested democracy and the Left in the Philippines After Marcos.* Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila Press, 2008.
- San Juan Jr., E. *Towards socialist feminism. Filipina insurgency: Writing against patriarchy in the Philippines.* Quezon City: Giraffe Books, 1998.
- Santos, A. *Do women really hold up half the sky? Notes on the Women's Movement in the Philippines.* GABRIELA Proceedings, First National Assembly, 1984.
-

Sison, J.M, with R. Werning, *The Philippine Revolution: The leader's view*. United States: Crane Russak, 1994.

--- . *Makibaka para sa Pambansang Demokrasya*. AVHRC, 2001.

--- . *Krisis at Rebolusyong Pilipino: Serye ng mga binigkas ni Jose Maria Sison sa Asian Center University of the Philippines*. AVHRC, 1998.

--- . *Rebolusyong Pilipino: Tanaw mula sa loob*. Quezon City: Lagda, 1994.

--- . *Solidarity Statement to the Launching of KALAYAAN*, 1983.

Taguiwalo, J. *Babae, obrera, unyonista: Ang kababaihan sa Kilusang Paggawa sa Maynila (1901-1914)*. Quezon City: UP Press, 2011.

Verdadero, A. *Si Lyndon at si Liam*. Ulos. 2001.

Weekley, K. *The Communist Party of the Philippines 1968-1993: A story of its theory and practice*. Quezon City: UP Press, 2001.

Women's Bureau. *On the relation of sexes*.1974.

## INTERVIEWS

Ka Esperanza. Personal interview. March 3, 2012.

Ka Lino. Personal Interview. March 4, 2012.

Taguiwalo, Judith. Personal Interview. February 7, 2012.