

THE MONSTROSITY OF FERDINAND MARCOS JR.

2023 YEAR-END REPORT ON THE
HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN THE PHILIPPINES

THE MONSTROSITY OF FERDINAND MARCOS JR.

**2023 YEAR-END REPORT ON THE
HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN THE PHILIPPINES**



2023 Karapatan Year-End Report on the Human Rights Situation in the Philippines

Published in the Philippines in 2024 by Karapatan Alliance Philippines Inc.
2/F Erythrina Bldg., 1 Maaralin St., Brgy. Central, Diliman
Quezon City 1100 Philippines

KARAPATAN is an alliance of human rights organizations and programmes, human rights desks and committees of people's organizations, and individual advocates committed to the defense and promotion of people's rights and civil liberties. It monitors and documents cases of human rights violations, assists and defends victims and survivors, and conducts education, training, and campaigns.

Karapatan expresses its sincere gratitude to all our generous donors for their support and contribution towards the publication of this Report.

Editors: Cristina Palabay and Josephine Dongail
Writers: Winona Birondo and Ma. Cristina Guevarra
Research staff: Lorraine Villaflor and Jonas Estrada
Contributors: Adora Faye de Vera and Lloyd Natividad
Cover by Tom Estrera and Maria Sol Taule
Layout by Angela Sombillo

Photos from Karapatan, Tanggol Batangan, Kapatid, Piston, Altermidya, Mayday Multimedia, Tudla Productions, Kilusang Mayo Uno, Bayan Muna, Bayan, The Freeman, SELDA.

Illustrations by Aster Tecson, Kartunista Zach, Rene Aranda of Philippine Star

The reproduction and distribution of information contained in this publication are allowed as long as the sources are cited, and KARAPATAN is acknowledged as the source. Please furnish Karapatan copies of the final work where the quotation or citation appears.

Contents

- 1** **2023 Karapatan Year-End Report on the
Human Rights Situation in the Philippines:
*The Monstrosity of Ferdinand Marcos, Jr.***

- 55** **One Year In Detention**
by Adora Faye de Vera

- 65** **Palestinian Resistance Galvanizing
International Solidarity Movements
for National Liberation**
by Lloyd Natividad



Aster Tecson's painting "Amerikanser" (1989), modified with additional images to represent the current context under Marcos Jr.-Duterte, by Tom Estrera III

The Monstrosity of Ferdinand Marcos, Jr.

After a year and a half in power, Ferdinand Marcos Jr. has more and more epitomized the fascist and terrorist nature of his rule.

On the one hand, he presents a carefully cultivated “presidential” image, never delving into his regime’s sordid human rights record. He has gone on several trips abroad in an obvious effort to project an image far removed from that of his dictator-father or even his predecessor, the tyrant Rodrigo Duterte. Strained relations with the Dutertes has had Marcos Jr. recently dangling the possibility of cooperating with the International Criminal Court’s (ICC) investigation of the former president’s bloody war on drugs. Of late, Marcos Jr. has even assumed the dubious role of peace broker, announcing his readiness to resume peace talks with the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) despite vociferous opposition from Rodrigo Duterte and his daughter, Vice President Sara Duterte.

In reality, Marcos Jr.’s hands drip with the blood of 89 victims of extrajudicial killings slain under his watch. He remains accountable as commander-in-chief for numerous other rights violations with victims that run up to the millions.

Marcos Jr. has restarted the counter-insurgency program patterned after US models and operationalized through the so-called “whole of nation approach,” vindictively mobilizing the resources of the entire state apparatus to profile, surveil, threaten, harass, intimidate and demonize activists and political dissenters, setting them up for more serious human rights violations such as arrest and detention on trumped-up charges, enforced disappearance, or extrajudicial killing.

KARAPATAN has documented as many as 1,609,496 victims who have been threatened, harassed and intimidated under the Marcos Jr. regime, mainly through red- and terrorist-tagging.

The whole of nation approach deliberately blurs distinctions between armed combatants and unarmed civilians and systematically targets and persecutes activists and political dissenters who are viewed as part of the support infrastructure of the armed revolutionary movement. This long-term government policy has thereby been responsible for the steadily deteriorating human rights situation in both rural and urban areas and the escalating violations of International Humanitarian Law.

Economy in shambles

In terms of socio-economic performance, the Marcos Jr. regime claims to have “done well” in 2023, touting a gross domestic product (GDP) growth of 5.9% in the third quarter that outpaced that of other Southeast Asian economies. Whether this economic snapshot has been truly achieved, and whether the struggling citizenry really benefits from this so-called growth need verification on the ground. Actually, the 5.9% growth in GDP reflects a slowdown from the 7% growth recorded in 2022.

The present regime has mastered the logical fallacy of “distortion by selection.” It deliberately chooses to project a seemingly impressive GDP growth rate divorced from the larger social context.

According to the IBON Foundation, the Marcos-feted accomplishment is a ringing example of jobless growth: “While Philippine growth hit 5.5% for the first nine months of the year, the latest labor force data for November 2023 report that total employment actually fell by 70,000 from the same period the year before to 49.6 million.”

The real unemployment numbers are definitely higher, compared to government’s conservative labor force figures that exclude hundreds of thousands of jobless Filipinos who are casually categorized as “not in the labor force”. The real number of outrightly jobless Filipinos, said IBON, may be over four million with an unemployment rate of some 8% or even more. This is aside from some 35-40 million Filipinos, or 70-80% of total employment, who are merely in informal and low-paying work.

There is an “extreme disconnect” between the glittering statistics and realities on the ground. The Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas (BSP) has reported the number of Filipino households without savings increasing from 67.1% in the first quarter of 2023 to 70.9% in the fourth quarter. IBON estimates this as a 1.2 million increase in the number of households

without savings to 19.2 million by the end of 2023. The Social Weather Stations (SWS), meanwhile, reports some 20.6 million or 75% of families rating themselves as poor (48%) or borderline poor (27%) in September 2023.

The Marcos Jr. regime's most glaring omission of all is how rising prices have seriously eroded already grossly inadequate incomes: 6% inflation in 2023, a conservative estimate, was the highest in 15 years. IBON added: Inflation was actually even more burdensome and higher for the poorest third of Filipino families (30%) for whom inflation last year was 6.7%, including a hunger-inducing 8.3% for food.



© Kilusang Mayo Uno

Workers rally for higher wages, lower prices.

Meantime, the adage of the rich becoming richer and the poor becoming poorer has never been more true. The wealth of the Philippines's 50 richest individuals rose by 13.6% in 2023, increasing by Php537.2 billion to Php4.48 trillion, with most of this wealth concentrated among the 10 richest whose collective wealth has gone up 21.9%. This, with a little help from regressive tax laws that provide tax cuts and breaks to the rich, while burdening the poor and the middle classes with heavier taxes.

The Marcos Jr. regime's criminal incompetence and neglect of the economy can, moreover, be seen in manufacturing that has fallen to its smallest share of the economy in nearly 75 years, dropping to 17.6% of

GDP in the first three quarters of 2023, the lowest since the 16.3% share in 1949. Employment by the manufacturing sector has correspondingly contracted to its lowest in 20 years. Manufacturing has lost up to 1.4 million or almost a third of its workforce in November 2023 from the year before, dropping to just 2.9 million which is almost as low as the 2.8 million recorded in January 2003.

Agriculture, which portfolio Ferdinand Marcos Jr. held for most of 2023, grew by a measly 1.1% in the first three quarters of 2023 which was not even half the historical average of 2.4% over the last 25 years. At just 8.4% of GDP so far in 2023, agriculture under the Marcos Jr. regime dropped to its smallest share of the economy in the country's history.

To make up for the agricultural sector's inability to provide sufficient and affordable food for Filipinos, the Marcos Jr. regime has embarked on an importation spree, effectively dumping foreign-sourced produce into the Philippine market and edging out local agricultural producers. Ironically, the dumping of imported produce has not led to reduced prices of agricultural products, especially that of rice.

© Kilusang Mayo Uno



People's action calling to strengthen local production, not importation and liberalization.



© Kartunisia Zach

Philippine external debt and budget afflictions

The Marcos Jr. regime has flagrantly plunged the country deeper into the throes of debt. External debt is at an all-time high of US\$118.83 billion at the end of September 2023, a 10% increase from the US\$107.91 billion level at the end of 2022. The frenzied borrowing has been done to offset the government's chronic budgetary deficit.

Marcos Jr. has, in fact, been borrowing money at a faster rate than his predecessor. At PhP 3.2 trillion, the Marcos Jr. government's gross borrowings in its first 17 months is triple the amount the Duterte regime incurred in the same period. As usual, the bulk of this gross debt (72%) goes to debt servicing and not to productive endeavors. This is the vicious and never-ending cycle of government borrowing again and again to pay off its recurring newly incurred debts.

Social services are not a priority of government, with the health budget reduced in 2023 and a minimal increase approved for 2024. Education is in the doldrums. Apart from the dwindling enrollment, the quality of education is so low that a recent World Bank study finds that 90% of Filipino students at the age of 10 are either unable to read or have poor comprehension of age-appropriate reading materials.

Marcos Jr.'s much-vaunted target of building one million low-cost housing units per year is a lie, since housing has received a mere 1% of the national budget. This lack of funding means that government housing projects will be subcontracted to the private sector, which will raise the cost of rent and amortization, to the exclusion of the millions who continue to be deprived of their basic right to decent shelter.

So lopsided are the Marcos Jr. regime's priorities that 16.6% of its PhP 5.8 trillion budget for 2024 has been earmarked for big-ticket infrastructure projects that have dubious impact on the people's welfare. This infrastructure budget allocation is bigger than the combined budgets for health, housing, social security, welfare, employment and land distribution. Who benefits from this budget preference?

Furthermore, the Marcos Jr. regime has embarked on an unsustainable National Reclamation Plan which has 102 projects lined up, 43 of them along the Manila Bay area covering 32,430 hectares. The land reclamation projects along Manila Bay comprising 85% of the total land reclamation projects in the country, have already wrought havoc on the lives and livelihood of the people in the affected communities, while causing deleterious effects on the environment.

The Marcos Jr. regime has also frenetically pushed for the approval of the Maharlika Investment Fund (MIF) which has siphoned hundreds of millions of pesos from government agencies such as the Land Bank and the Development Bank of the Philippines for investment in those big-time infrastructure projects. There is no assurance of any returns. Marcos Jr.'s initial plans of sourcing the MIF's seed money from the social security and pension funds of private sector workers and government employees have been discarded because strong protests from various sectors have thwarted his move.

With the managers of the MIF appointed by Marcos Jr. consisting of his most trusted business cronies, it will likely become a conduit for kickbacks for the Marcos Jr. regime's personal friends and closest allies.

Another avenue of corruption and repression stymied by strong opposition from the people's mass movement is the confidential and intelligence funds (CIF) allocated to civilian government agencies. The use of the CIF to surveil, profile and target dissenters has been admitted by no less than Rodrigo Duterte in his tirade against ACT Teachers Partylist Rep. France Castro, who was instrumental in stripping his daughter Sara of the PhP 650-million CIF she had demanded.

Marcos Jr.'s insensitivity to the Filipino people's misery was furthermore displayed in his frequent travels abroad ostensibly to secure investment pledges for the Philippines. His trip to Switzerland which involved a huge entourage was heavily criticized, including a pleasure trip to Singapore to watch the F1 Grand Prix car race while the Philippines was still reeling from the onslaught of a supertyphoon. In reaction to the Grand Prix trip, BAYAN slammed Marcos Jr.'s jet-setting lifestyle as "insensitive, unnecessary and irresponsible." All these travels are funded by public monies.

Groveling governance

The shameless response of government to protests against anti-people policies has been to further liberalize, deregulate and privatize the economy. On the pretext of attracting more foreign direct investments, charter change is once again being pushed by the Philippine government to remove the only remaining formal constitutional provisions that protect the national patrimony from being fully owned and exploited by foreign interests. The targets of charter change are not only land, businesses and natural resources but schools, the media and advertising companies, showing the Marcos Jr. regime's abject willingness to hold Philippine culture and consciousness hostage to foreign control.

Other self-serving measures that can be expected are the extension of term limits of elected officials and the removal of a constitutional ban on political dynasties.

© Kilusang Mayo Uno



Various sectors troop to the House of Representatives to oppose Marcos-backed Charter Change.

Politically and militarily, the Marcos Jr. regime has unequivocally gravitated towards its US imperialist masters and is a willing pawn in the US policy of engagement with, and containment of, China. It has agreed to host several joint military exercises with US troops, as well as, with those of US imperialist proxies in the Asia-Pacific region like Japan, Australia, and South Korea as a show of force against China.



Protests against US military exercises in the Philippines.

© Tudla Productions

The Marcos government has agreed to the construction of four additional quasi-bases to host visiting US troops and stockpile prepositioned war materiel in areas facing Taiwan and the West Philippine Sea, obviously in preparation for hostilities with China. There is reason to believe that once charter change takes off, among the provisions to be stricken off are those prohibiting foreign military bases and nuclear weapons on Philippine territory—a move that definitely favors US imperialist interests.

Demonstrating its puppetry to the US, the Marcos Jr. regime has remained ineffectual in asserting Philippine territorial rights in the West Philippine Sea. This regime's obsequiousness to US imperialist interests may render the Philippines a potential military target of China should armed hostilities erupt between the two rival powers.

Palace politics and its posturing exchanges

In the alliance of two ruling class factions both known for their rapacity for wealth and power, rivalries over the spoils eventually emerged. These fissures in the so-called UniTeam of Ferdinand Marcos Jr. and Sara Duterte became apparent very soon after Marcos Jr. took power. For starters, Sara Duterte who had publicly declared her preference for the defense portfolio was appointed by Marcos Jr. as Secretary of Education, far from the direct reins of power. Academic Clarita Carlos, an unpopular choice among the military men within Duterte's ambit, was replaced just six months in office by that fascist Eduardo Año.

News of a possible shake-up in the military and police hierarchy spread after reports that retired and active AFP generals identified with Rodrigo Duterte were gathering support for a *coup d'état* over Marcos Jr.'s pronouncements that were perceived detrimental to the Duterte clique's interests. Foremost among these was Marcos Jr.'s seemingly vacillating attitude towards cooperating with investigators from the International Criminal Court (ICC) who reportedly came to the country in late 2023 on a low-key mission to gather evidence regarding Duterte's bloody war on drugs from when he was Davao City mayor to the time he became president.

Increasingly becoming agitated over the ICC's possible issuance of an arrest warrant amid Marcos Jr.'s equivocal stance vis-a-vis the international body's anti-drug war probe, Rodrigo Duterte's son Sebastian called for Marcos Jr.'s resignation in a rally in Davao City in January 2024, a rally that was launched as a stand-off to Marcos Jr.'s Luneta rally for the Bagong Pilipinas movement.

Marcos Jr. and the elder Duterte later traded barbs over each other's substance abuse, with Duterte accusing Marcos Jr. of using cocaine, and Marcos Jr. insinuating that Duterte's tirades were due to side effects from his abuse of the powerful opioid painkiller fentanyl.

Malacañang's announcement in November 2023 that it was open to peace talks with the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) was another point of contention between the Marcos and Duterte cliques. Sara Duterte openly opposed the possible resumption of peace talks, vociferously reiterating the NTF-ELCAC's militarist approach regarding the insurgency.

The derisory exchanges between these two camps do not contribute any substance to good governance; it is the asinine and petty dramatics of palace politics. Their being bitter enemies now is rooted in money

and power. Both families are practically the same with regards to their brutality and anti-people viewpoints.

Meanwhile, there is the context of the country and its general populace enduring a blistering socio-economic situation with the little that they have. And, in the context of the human rights violations perpetrated by the Marcos Jr. regime itself, the struggle for justice and accountability, for human and people's basic economic, political and social rights becomes of greater consequence than ever.

Human Rights Violation Under Marcos Jr.

Extrajudicial killings

The biggest number of victims of Marcos Jr.'s counter-insurgency war were civilians captured and later summarily executed by state security forces in violation of International Humanitarian Law (IHL). They were made out to have been killed in fabricated encounters between military or police forces and the New People's Army (NPA). KARAPATAN documented 67 victims in these fake encounters from the time Marcos Jr. began his term in July 2022 to December 2023. Majority are ordinary peasants who were either deliberately targeted by the military on mere suspicion of supporting the NPA or indiscriminately killed in the counter-insurgency war. To escape scrutiny and accountability for these

human rights violations, the military falsely portrayed the civilian victims as armed rebels.

In Masbate. One of the most brazen examples of the extrajudicial killing of a civilian in a fake encounter is the June 16, 2023 killing of peasant **Rey Belan** in Dimasalang, Masbate. Belan and his friends Aldin Tumangan, Roel Hagnaya, Jamar Tumangan and



TABLE 1

Violations of Civil & Political Rights under the Ferdinand Marcos Jr. Government

July 2022 to December 2023

Violation	Number of victims
Extrajudicial Killing	89
Frustrated Extrajudicial Killing	53
Enforced Disappearance	13
Torture	18
Illegal Arrest without Detention	207
Illegal Arrest and Detention	122
Illegal Search and Seizure	546
Physical Assault and Injury	30
Demolition	14,634
Violation of Domicile	576
Destruction of Properties	452
Divestment of Property	110
Forced Evacuation	24,670
Threat/Harassment/Intimidation	1,632,463
Indiscriminate Firing	39,769
Bombing	22,391
Forced/Fake Surrender	552

Senen Dollete, all residents of Purok 5, Barangay Calabad in Dimasalang, Masbate were on the way home after a day of hunting wild animals at a nearby hilly area when armed elements from the 2nd Infantry Battalion of the Philippine Army (IBPA) suddenly fired upon them. Belan died on the spot while Dollete was wounded. Aldin, Roel and Jamar were able to run to the village center and filed an incident report with the police. To escape accountability for targetting civilians, the AFP unit falsely alleged that the hunting party was an NPA group and filed a fabricated case of multiple attempted murder against the survivors. The case, however, has been dismissed at the fiscal level.

On August 19, 2023, soldiers of the 96th IBPA and elements of the Masbate PNP killed women farmers **Jelyn Guis Dejomo**, 56; **Sheryl Salazar Dejomo**, 29; and **Divina Ajitan**, 60, all residents of Barangay Jagnaan, San Jacinto, Ticao island, Masbate. The AFP falsely claimed that the three women were members of the NPA killed during an armed encounter. Prior to their deaths, they had been targets of harassment by the soldiers and police and accused of being NPA supporters.

In Rizal. On September 29, 2023, at around 4 p.m., veteran trade union organizer **Jude Thaddeus Fernandez** was killed by elements of the Philippine National Police Criminal Investigation and Detection Group (PNP-CIDG) in the house he was staying in Binangonan, Rizal. The CIDG was supposedly serving Fernandez an arrest warrant when the latter allegedly “fought back.” Fernandez sustained bullet wounds to the chest and died instantly. When CIDG plainclothes operatives brought Fernandez’s body to a hospital, they claimed that he was an NPA member by the name of Oscar Dizon. Fernandez is the 72nd trade unionist since 2016 to fall victim to extrajudicial killing.



In Negros Occidental, at around 5 p.m. of October 17, 2023, operating troops of the 79th IBPA killed farmer couple **Christian Job Vargas** and **Mylene Salgado** in Barangay Canluson, EB Magalona town. The couple was harvesting bananas when they were chanced upon by the soldiers

Victims of Extrajudicial Killing & Enforced Disappearance

Under the Ferdinand Marcos Jr. Government

BY REGION (July 2022 to December 2023)

Region	Extrajudicial Killing	Enforced Disappearance
Cordillera Administrative Region	1	
Central Luzon		4
Southern Tagalog	7	4
Bicol	22	
Western Visayas	30	4
Central Visayas	9	
Eastern Visayas	13	
Northern Mindanao	3	1
Caraga	2	
SoCSKSargen	2	
TOTAL	89	13
<i>Women</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>Rights Defenders</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>5</i>

and summarily killed. The 79th IBPA later reported the incident as an armed encounter between the Philippine Army and the NPA, an allegation vehemently denied by Jocelyn Vargas, the mother of Christian Job.

On September 15, 2023, peasant organizer **Deah Lopez**, 26, was traveling along a road in Barangay San Jose en route to Barangay Gil Montilla, Sipalay, Negros Occidental, when she and the driver of the tricycle she was riding were apprehended at a checkpoint. They were then forcibly taken into a van, while the tricycle was loaded onto a pickup truck. Hours later, the driver, **Pedro Agravante Jr.**, was found dead in a ditch in Barangay Nagbo-alao, Basay, Negros Oriental. His hands and feet were bound, and his mouth and eyes covered with duct tape. A gunshot wound to the head and signs of torture were also evident. Lopez remains missing, the 9th victim of enforced disappearance under Marcos Jr.

In one of the most brutal massacres perpetrated by Marcos Jr. troopers, four members of a peasant family were gunned down in Sitio Kangkiling, Barangay Buenavista, Himamaylan City, Negros Occidental

by armed men believed to be elements of the 94th Infantry Battalion of the Philippine Army at around 10 p.m. of June 14, 2023. **Rolly Fausto**, 52, his wife **Emelda Fausto**, 51, and their children **Ben**, 14 and **Ravin**, 11, were found dead in their home the morning after by the Fausto couple's eldest daughter Emely.



Candles were lit calling for justice for the Fausto family.

Rolly and Emelda were members of a local farmers group Baclayan, Bito, Cabagal Farmers and Farmworkers Association (BABICAFA). They had been red-tagged and subjected to continuous harassment from soldiers of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) in the past months.

In the same month of June 2023, **Roweno Anubong**, a 40-year-old peasant and resident of Sitio Agogolo, Barangay Macagahay, Moises Padilla, Negros Occidental; and **Benjie Ebarle**, a peasant from Sitio Bungaw, Barangay Trinidad, Guihulngan City, Negros Oriental were killed by operating troops from the 62nd IBPA. The military claimed that Ebarle and Anubong were members of the NPA killed in encounters with the 62nd IBPA on June 13, 2023 in Sitio Cupad, Barangay Macagahay of the same town. In fact, Ebarle and Anubong just happened to be in the area during the clash and died due to the indiscriminate firing of soldiers.

Two months prior, at April 18, 2023, **Jose Albores Jr.**, 32, a farmer and resident of Sitio Upper Tiyos, Quinten Remo, Moises Padilla, Negros Occidental was killed by soldiers from the 62nd IBPA at around 5 a.m.

Albores was home and preparing tobacco to sell in Barangay Alingasaw, Moises Padilla when a platoon of soldiers from the 62nd IBPA surrounded his house. He was later declared an NPA member killed in a supposed encounter between the soldiers and the NPA.

His killing was likely done in retaliation for accompanying his neighbors Jeffrey and Jessel Gella to the PNP-Moises Padilla Station to file an incident blotter report. The Gellas' house had been raided and ransacked by soldiers of the 62nd IBPA on April 7, 2023.

On May 3, 2023, **Crispin Tingal Jr.**, 36, a peasant from Sitio Dangalon, Barangay Hilamonan, Kabankalan, Negros Occidental, was killed by elements of the 94th Infantry Battalion of the Philippine Army. He and his wife Dolly had just arrived home at around 3 p.m. when Dolly heard a burst of gunfire. She and her children ran to a creek beside their house to take cover from the bullets. From a distance, Dolly and her brother-in-law Ramon Tingal saw Crispin being tied by soldiers of the Philippine Army. He was still alive.



Crispin Tingal, Jr.

The day after, however, the 303rd Infantry Brigade posted on their Facebook page that the 94th IBPA clashed with at least 20 members of the NPA in Barangay Buenavista, Himamaylan and that there was one casualty from the NPA and two wounded soldiers. Dolly then learned that the alleged NPA casualty was her husband. Dolly, other relatives, and community members attested that Tingal was not a member of the NPA, and had been in fact active in their local government unit's (LGU) agricultural program. The day of the incident, Crispin was even present at a seminar organized by the LGU.

In Abra. On October 13, 2023, an elderly farmer in Abra had also been gunned down by soldiers in another fake encounter. The victim was 57-year-old swidden farmer **Antonio Diwayan Agliwan**, a long-time resident of Sitio Talipugo, Barangay Buneg, Lacub, Abra. Local residents and Agliwan's family denounced statements by the 5th Infantry Division in its Facebook page that Agliwan had been killed in a firefight between the NPA and the 77th IBPA. They aver that Agliwan was a civilian who had been tending the family farm for years near a forested area of Barangay Buneg, raising various crops, livestock and chickens.

In Sarangani. On July 27, 2023, elements of the 38th IBPA and Task Force Gensan in Barangay Tambilil, Kiamba, Sarangani province brutally killed **Alvin Ponto**, a Moro farmer. Ponto was cooking breakfast in their hut at around 9 a.m. when soldiers led by a Lt. Col. Candole positioned themselves outside while the other military men barged in and shot the victim. Ponto was able to run, but returned to the hut when he heard his son who was nearby harvesting abaca, plead with the soldiers to spare his father's life, asserting he was a civilian. The soldiers finished Ponto off with a knife thrust to his neck. Ponto sustained two gunshot wounds to the chest and another two shots to his shoulder. Before he was killed, Ponto had been falsely accused by the military of being a member of the NPA. He had been hounded by soldiers several times in an attempt to convert him into a military asset.



Alvin Ponto

TABLE 3

Victims of Extrajudicial Killing & Enforced Disappearance

Under the Ferdinand Marcos Jr. Government

BY SECTOR (July 2022 to December 2023)

Sector	Extrajudicial Killing	Enforced Disappearance
Fisherfolk		1
Government Employee	1	
Indigenous People	2	1
Peasant	59	6
Teacher	1	
Worker	2	
Youth and Student		1
Moro	1	
Transport	3	2
Minor	6	

Summary executions of peace consultants and *hors de combat*

KARAPATAN documented the extrajudicial killing of peace consultants of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines, captured CPP leaders and members and NPA fighters.

A number of these NDFP consultants and staff had been abducted and summarily killed in false encounters.



Wilma Austria-Tiamzon and Benito Tiamzon raise fists alongside Jose Ma. Sison and other members of the NDFP Negotiating Panel and consultants.

In Samar. Undoubtedly the most savage war crime of this nature was committed by State forces in August 2022 against **Benito Tiamzon**, member of the NDFP negotiating panel, and **Wilma Austria-Tiamzon**, the NDFP consultant who chaired the Reciprocal Working Group on End of Hostilities and Disposition of Forces in the peace talks the NDFP and the Government of the Republic of the Philippines. Killed with them were their eight companions--**Ka Divino (Joel Arceo)**, a subregional secretary in Eastern Visayas, and seven others known only by their aliases **Ka Yen**, **Ka Jaja**, **Ka Matt**, **Ka Ash**, **Ka Delfin**, **Ka Lupe** and **Ka Butig**. In violation of International Humanitarian Law, they were abducted, brutally tortured and murdered and their bodies loaded on a motorboat filled with explosives that was tugged from Catbalogan midway towards Taranganan Island before it was detonated in an apparent effort to conceal the reported torture marks on the victims' bodies.

Victims of Extrajudicial Killing & Enforced Disappearance

Under the Ferdinand Marcos Jr. Government

BY AFFILIATION (July 2022 to December 2023)

Affiliation	Extrajudicial Killing	Enforced Disappearance
Anakpawis	3	2
Gabriela Women's Party		1
Katribu		1
KMP	1	
KMU	1	
NDFP	5	1

In Quezon. The latest case documented by KARAPATAN was the killing on July 30, 2023 of **Isagani Isita**, a member of the NPA in Batangas who was on medical leave. Isita was shot dead by elements of the 59th IBPA, Batangas PNP, and other police and military operatives after they barged into the house where he was staying in Barangay Lutucan Malabag, Sariaya, Quezon. The house caretaker was tied up by the armed men. Two gunshots were heard. According to the Sariaya police, they were in the process of serving five warrants of arrest on Isita when he allegedly “fought back.” However, upon investigation, at the time of his killing, both of Isagani’s arms were paralyzed from earlier injuries, making it impossible for him to have put up a fight.

In Negros Occidental. Meanwhile, on February 4, 2023, combined military and police elements swooped into Sitio Mugni, Barangay Oringao, Kabankalan, Negros Occidental and killed **Arjen “Ka Nonong” Mahinay**, an NPA *hors de combat* who had suffered a stroke and was on medical leave, and his companion, NPA medic **Junjun “Ka Roben” Callet**. The soldiers also accosted farmer **Jomarie Calumba**, a resident of the barangay. Later, in a news article, the 94th IBPA declared that there were three NPA casualties in an alleged armed encounter with members of the NPA, one of them Calumba.

On April 19, 2023, NDFP consultant **Rogelio Posadas** was abducted by suspected state agents in Binalbagan, Negros Occidental with his aide and the two habal-habal drivers they hired to transport them. The 303rd Infantry Brigade later reported that Posadas had been killed in a supposed encounter on April 20, a day after his abduction (*see related item in the section on enforced disappearances*).

On April 28, 2023, **Anthony Curson**, a member of the NPA who was on medical leave because of severe kidney disease, was in the house of Leonido Montero, a farmer and resident of Sitio Malatanglad, Barangay Budlasan, Canlaon, Negros Occidental when soldiers of the 62nd IBPA barged inside and shot Curson even if the latter was unarmed and could hardly walk because his legs were swollen. The soldiers then arrested Montero. The 62nd IBPA claimed that the incident was a legitimate encounter that resulted in the death of Curson and the arrest of Montero. Later, the police suddenly presented four warrants for the arrest of **Leonido Montero** for cases ranging from murder to illegal possession of explosives.

In Bohol. NDFP consultant **Manuel Tinio** was arrested then killed by State agents on April 14, 2023 at 7 p.m., while he was riding his motorcycle in Barangay La Suerte, Pilar, Bohol. He sustained seven bullet wounds. After he was killed, the soldiers placed a .45 cal pistol beside Tinio's body and claimed that he had "fought back."

Also on April 14, 2023, former community organizer who joined the NPA, **Arthur Lucenario**, was abducted by troops of the 47th IBPA while he was driving a motorcycle in Barangay Tabuan, Antequera, Bohol. He was tortured and killed, and his body found a month later, on May 12, 2023. NDF-Bohol accused the 47th IBPA of fabricating a story about a clash between the AFP and the NPA on May 12 to justify the killing of Lucenario.

Enforced Disappearances

There are currently 13 victims of enforced disappearance documented by KARAPATAN, eleven of them abducted within an eleven-month period, from February to December 2023, making an average of one disappearance per month.

In Batangas. **Baby Jane Orbe**, a member of the New People's Army, was reported missing after a military encounter between members of the New People's Army and the 59th Infantry Battalion of the Philippine Army on December 17, 2023, in Balayan, Batangas.

Fisherfolk organizer **Mariano Jolongbayan** is the latest victim in the fast growing list of abductions by state agents. He was last seen in Lian, Batangas on November 17, 2023, en route to a meeting with local fishers.



Mariano Jolongbayan

In Nueva Ecija. Farmers **Norman Ortiz** and **Lee Sudario** were reported abducted at around 1 a.m. of September 29 from a house in Barangay Bantug, Gabaldon, Nueva Ecija by around ten men wearing military uniforms. Eyewitnesses, who had been awakened by the barking of dogs, reportedly saw Ortiz and Sudario being forced into a van. One of the victims attempted to flee to a nearby cemetery but was caught and dragged back into the van.



Norman Ortiz



Lee Sudario

In Negros Occidental. On September 15, 2023, peasant organizer **Deah Lopez**, 26, was traveling along a road in Barangay San Jose en route to Barangay Gil Montilla, Sipalay, Negros Occidental, when she and the driver of the tricycle she was riding were apprehended at a checkpoint. They were then forcibly taken into a van, while the tricycle was loaded onto a pickup truck. The driver, Peter Agravante, was found dead and hogtied in a ditch, while Lopez remains missing.



Families of victims of enforced disappearances gather on August 30, International Day of the Disappeared.

In Rizal. On April 28, 2023, **Dexter Capuyan**, and **Gene Roz Jamil “Bazoo” de Jesus**, a staff of the Philippine Task Force on Indigenous Peoples Rights (TFIP), were seized from a tricycle they were riding on in Barangay Dolores, Taytay, Rizal. In an effort to compel State authorities to surface Capuyan and De Jesus, a habeas corpus petition was filed by their families on July 5, 2023 that was denied by the court.

© Karapatan



Families and supporters call to surface Dexter Capuyan and Bazoo de Jesus in back-to-back actions in Camp Aguinaldo and Camp Crame.

In Negros Occidental. On April 19, 2023, habal-habal drivers **Renel delos Santos** and **Denald Mialen** went missing after they were hired to transport two passengers--**Lyngrace Martullinas** and NDFP consultant Rogelio Posadas. They were last heard from in Barangay Bagroy, Binalbagan, Negros Occidental. The military later surfaced Posadas as an alleged casualty in a supposed encounter between the NPA and elements of the 303rd Infantry Brigade on April 20. Delos Santos, Mialen and Martullinas remain missing to date.

In Bukidnon. NDFP consultant **Ariel Badiang** was abducted reportedly by elements of the AFP's Eastern Command in Manolo Fortich, Bukidnon on February 6, 2023. Both the police and the military denied having him in custody. Efforts by his family and other concerned groups to ascertain his whereabouts have been unsuccessful as of this writing.

Abductions, fake surrenders and secret prisons

The involuntary disappearance and abduction of political activists point to the existence of a network of secret prisons maintained by State forces, in violation of Republic Act No. 10353 or the Anti-Enforced or Involuntary Disappearance Act of 2012. There may be hundreds of these secret prisons scattered and maintained across the country as part of the State's repressive machinery. And the desaparecidos may be in them.

The existence of secret prisons run by the police and the military, where both physical and psychological torture are perpetrated with impunity as proven by the testimonies of abduction and torture survivors, reveal the State's continuing mockery of existing international anti-torture conventions and its very own laws against torture.

In Bataan. The most striking case of late was the abduction of environmental activists **Jhed Tamano** and **Jonila Castro** who were seized on September 2, 2023 in Orion, Bataan and held by their captors for 17 days in safehouses and a military camp. While in captivity, they were coerced into executing an affidavit claiming that they were NPA members who had voluntarily surrendered. On September 19, as they were being presented as “surrendered” at a press conference organized by the National Task Force to End Local Communist Armed Conflict (NTF-ELCAC), Jhed and Jonila disclosed to the media that they were indeed abducted and had to sign the affidavits under duress. They sought protection writs from the court against the AFP, PNP, and NTF-ELCAC. In retaliation, the 70th IBPA filed a case of perjury against the two activists.



Jhed Tamano, Jonila Castro, and Raymond Manalo join the mothers of Karen Empeño and Sherlyn Cadapan in the call to surface the desaparecidos.

In Cebu. Essentially the same narrative emerged from the harrowing experiences of abduction survivors **April Dyan Gumanao** and **Armand Dayoha** (abducted on January 10, 2023 in Cebu and surfaced on January 15, 2023) and Stephen Tauli (abducted on August 20, 2022 outside the office of the Cordillera Peoples Alliance (CPA) in Ag-a Road, Appas, Tabuk City and surfaced on the night of August 21, 2022).



April Dyan Gumanao and Armand Dayoha, abduction survivors. © The Freeman

In Cagayan Norte. On February 14, 2023, former student leader **Orion Yoshida** was captured by elements of the 17th Infantry Battalion, Philippine Army in Sitio Nangbaggayan, Barangay Santa Margarita, Baggao, Cagayan. According to reports, Yoshida was wounded after a clash between the AFP and members of the NPA in the barangay. Yoshida was brought to Camp Melchor F. Dela Cruz in Upi, Gamu, Isabela, where, according to the AFP, he was treated inside the camp's hospital. Various groups tried to visit him inside the camp and tried to connect with Yoshida's family. After a day in their custody, the AFP announced that Yoshida had cases of frustrated murder, violation of the Anti-Terrorism Act, and illegal possession of firearms and explosives. He was denied the right to consult with an independent lawyer of his choice and to meet with human rights groups.

Three months later, on May 18, 2023, Cagayan-based activists **Patricia Cierva** and **Michael Casano** were captured by elements of the 501st Brigade in Barangay Cabiroaoan, Gonzaga town. They were held for

15 days at a secret detention facility where their captors subjected them to relentless psychological pressure. On June 2, 2023, they were among 20 “rebel returnees” presented at a press conference by the NTF-ELCAC. The 501st Brigade, however, remains liable under the Anti-Desaparecido Law for failing to disclose custody of Cierva and Casano for 15 days. Despite his “surrender,” Casano was served warrants for illegal possession of firearms and explosives and violation of the Anti-Terrorism Act. Both Casano and Cierva remained in military custody instead of being remanded to a regular jail.

In Oriental Mindoro. While investigating reports of human rights violations in Mangyan communities, on September 19, 2023, three indigenous peoples rights activists—**Alia Encela**, **Peter del Monte** and **Job David** were abducted by elements of the 203rd Infantry Brigade in Bongabong, Oriental Mindoro. The three were later presented by the military in a virtual press conference as alleged members of the NPA. Like Yoshida, they remained in military custody and were not allowed to have a lawyer of their own choice.

In Negros Oriental. Instead of being considered as *hors de combat* when being on medical leave due to pregnancy, two pregnant NPA members, “**Ka Aubrey**” and “**Ka Sarah**”, were abducted by the 11th IB on December 18, 2023 in Sitio Katubahan, Barangay Tayak, Siaton, Negros Oriental. According to reports, the two abductees who remain in detention and are being kept in a safehouse, are being falsely portrayed by the military as “surrenderees.”

In Agusan del Norte. On August 26, 2022, two pregnant NPA members — **Cherilyn Rebita** and **Jackilyn Egtob** — were abducted and held without charges in a military safehouse in Barangay Ata-Atahon, Nasipit, Agusan del Norte where they were subjected to severe mental torture, and their lives and families constantly threatened for 69 days.

Egtob and Rebita, who gave birth to a baby girl while in detention, were coerced into joining a so-called “black operation” where they would return to their NPA unit and convince Rebita’s husband, as well as, Egtob’s fiancé and a brother, both NPA fighters, to surrender. The 402nd Infantry Brigade held hostage Rebita’s infant daughter Baby Rhea and a pregnant civilian arrested with them, to pressure the two women guerrillas to comply with the AFP’s orders.

On November 3, 2022, Rebita and Egtob managed to return to their unit where they recounted their ordeal. The public furor generated after the military took Baby Rhea hostage forced the 402nd Brigade to give the child to her grandparents on December 29, 2022.



Action calling to stop the bombings.

© Karapatan

Displacement of Civilians

Large-scale counter-insurgency operations have often resulted in the displacement of civilian populations and the disruption of their daily lives. Many civilians have been forced to leave their homes, leading to humanitarian crises.

Civilians bear the brunt of intensified counter-insurgency operations, and are often endangered through indiscriminate bombings and strafing. They are dislocated economically as they are forced to evacuate and leave their crops and farm animals untended for long periods.

KARAPATAN monitored up to 24,670 victims of forced evacuation since the Marcos Jr. regime began.

Aerial and artillery bombings are considered violations of International Humanitarian Law (IHL) as they result in civilian casualties and damage to civilian property, especially the farmlands which are the main source of livelihood of the peasant majority in the Philippines. They also indiscriminately wreak havoc on the environment and the ancestral domain of indigenous communities.

As a counter-insurgency tactic, bombings, which affect entire communities, are among the worst violations of human rights and International Humanitarian Law.

B is for **B**ombings under **M**arcos, Jr.

Amid its posturing of “protecting human rights” before the international community, Ferdinand Marcos Jr.’s administration viciously carries out one of the worst violations of human rights and international humanitarian law – the bombing of rural communities as part of its counter-insurgency campaign.

In 2023, the Armed Forces of the Philippines carried out aerial and artillery bombings in the name of “peace and security.”

After the past Duterte regime signed Memorandum Order No. 32 and Executive Order No. 70 in 2018, the government through the National Task Force to End Local Communist Armed Conflict (NTF-ELCAC) and the Unified Commands of the AFP, increasingly included bombings in its counter-insurgency programs in a desperate effort to crush the Communist Party of the Philippines, New People’s Army and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (CPP-NPA-NDF) and to decimate the villages deemed to be under their influence or control.

During the first year of the Marcos Jr. administration, at least 22,391 individuals were affected by bombings in rural and indigenous communities. Around 25,000 people were forcibly displaced from their communities, depriving them of their sources of livelihood.

More were added to these numbers in 2023, despite the fact that the Philippine government was a signatory to treaties relating to international humanitarian law than any other country in Southeast Asia. It acceded to the Geneva Conventions in 1952, signed both Additional Protocol I and Additional Protocol II (applicable in non-international armed conflict) in 1977, and ratified Protocol II in 1986. In 2010, it passed Republic Act 9851 (or Philippine Act on Crimes against International Humanitarian Law, Genocide and Other Crimes against Humanity), that incorporated many of the obligations of international humanitarian law into domestic law.

At the same time, bombings violate the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL) signed by the Philippine government and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) in 1998 that specifically lays down the rights of civilians and also armed individuals in times of armed conflict.

Meanwhile, Rule 13 (Area Bombardment) of the IHL states that: *“Attacks by bombardment by any method or means which treats as a single military objective a number of clearly separated and distinct military objectives located in a city, town, village or other area containing a similar concentration of civilians or civilian objects are prohibited.”*

In 2023, incidents of bombings and rural communities were reported and documented, showing that the bombings were carried out on a nationwide scale.

From North To South

In Cagayan Norte. On February 2, 2023, elements of the 501st Infantry Brigade Philippine Army and Tactical Operation Group 2-Philippine Air Force (TOG2-PAF), under the leadership of the Northern Luzon Command (NolCom), launched a bombardment in **Purok Erya near Sitio Birao, Barangay Hacienda Intal, Baggao, Cagayan.**

Some peasants were in their farms when the helicopters dropped bombs. The farmers ran when they heard and felt the bombardment. Following the bombing was the intense militarization of the communities. As the militarization and bombing took place, 150 families of Hacienda Intal evacuated. At the same time, residents were required to obtain cedula.

In Kalinga. On March 5, 2023, at around two o'clock in the morning, residents of **Barangay Gawa-an, Balbalan, Kalinga** heard sounds of bombings. Sounds of fighter jets were also heard in Upper Tabuk and Limos, Kalinga. They would learn later, along with the sighting of helicopters and surveillance drones, that the military had carried out indiscriminate bombing and shelling near the **mountains of Gubang.** Government data reported that a total of 236 families or 1,130 persons were affected by the bombings. In the same government data, however, the bombings were “attributed to terrorist groups.” It did not mention that the AFP itself carried out the bombings.

After the said incident of bombing and strafing, the bombings and indiscriminate firing continued on March 9, 2023. A bomb was reportedly dropped near the Gawa-an Elementary School at 3 p.m., right in the middle of classes. The 50th Infantry Battalion announced that their unit clashed with members of the NPA in Sitio Babacong, Barangay Gawaan on March 9, 2023, resulting in the death of one NPA member. The remains of the killed NPA were allegedly desecrated, after soldiers repeatedly shot the dead body.

The 50th IBPA claims that it has used white phosphorus and not bombs in Barangay Gawaan. Even if this were true, white phosphorus is a chemical that ignites instantly upon contact with oxygen, and once ignited, is very difficult to extinguish. It sticks to surfaces like skin and clothing, and is harmful to humans by all routes of exposure and can cause deep and severe burns, penetrating even through bone. The fact that it has been used near an elementary school constitutes grave endangerment of civilians, especially children.

Days of military operations and bombings in the area affected farmers and residents in the community. They were likewise not spared from threats from the military. According to accounts from nine residents from Sitios Uta and Codcodwe, some of them were merely out in the fields to check on their carabaos and crops, but were arbitrarily held by the military for almost seven hours at Pinalaw before they were released. They were reportedly detained for “clearing” purposes. The residents wanted to check on the carabaos as some had fallen off the cliffs because of the impact of the bombs.

In Bukidnon. In southern Philippines, a week after, more than a thousand residents of **Barangay Culaman, Malaybalay City** in Bukidnon woke up to persistent sounds of cannon fire on March 13, 2023. Two days after, on March 15, sixteen rockets were dropped by two helicopters followed by a series of strafings in **Barangay Kaburakanan**. There were two waves of cannon firing in the community that evening, as helicopters hovered at dawn until the next morning. More than a thousand residents were affected by the series of bombings, with the locals in the said areas recounting that the gunfire and bombings were too close to homes in the community.

In Mindoro. In a span of just 10 days, the island of Mindoro was subjected to two series of shelling, bombings, and strafing by the AFP. This incident affected at least 14,000 residents, including children. The first incident was recorded on April 29, 2023 when the AFP bombarded



© Karapatan

Aerial bombardment have lingering effect on the people, communities, and the environment.

the mountains bordering Roxas and Mansalay towns in Mindoro. Residents of **Barangay San Vicente in Roxas**, as well as the neighboring **barangays of Balugo and Waygan in Mansalay** were the unfortunate targets of these attacks. According to reports, these incidents were part of so-called “test firing” in the area in response to an encounter between the 203rd IBde and a unit of the NPA in Mindoro. However, even before the bombing and shelling took place, the military had already launched combat operations that disrupted the livelihoods of the residents.

On the afternoon of May 8, 2023, at least 1,449 residents of **Barangay Tawas, Bongabong** and 1,932 residents of **Barangay Malo, Bansud** in the same province were rocked by the bombings and strafing in the mountains covering these villages. The bombings, done by the 303rd Infantry Brigade of the Philippine Army, targeted residents’ huts and farmlots. At least 239 families or 885 individuals evacuated to different town centers in Bongabong.

The communities were bombed after an encounter between the 203rd Infantry Brigade and a unit of the New People’s Army (NPA)-Mindoro that occurred in Sitio Pastuhan, Barangay Tawas, Bongabong.

In Surigao del Sur. That same week, on May 11, 2023, at past five in the afternoon, a “Hermes”-type drone fired rocket bombs at an alleged NPA stronghold and the NPA unit later clashed with elements of 30th

IBPA in the Katarugan mountains, in **Sitio Katarugan, Barangay Lobo, Cantilan**, Surigao del Sur, in the Caraga region. According to the residents, surrounding trees and vegetation were burned. The AFP shelled the area at least 46 times. It has not publicly acknowledged the arming of its drones with rocket bombs.

In Agusan del Norte. On June 16, 2023 at around 10:45 a.m., a Super Tucano military aircraft dropped at least five bombs on an alleged NPA guerrilla camp in **Barangay Anticala, Butuan City**, Agusan del Norte. According to reports, contrary to press statements released by the AFP, no actual encounters took place. The ground troops belonging to the 29th IBPA arrived at the site approximately an hour later, only to see the aftermath of the destruction in what was said to be an NPA camp.

In Negros Occidental. The 3rd Artillery Battalion and 15th IBPA conducted bomb testing on August 16, 2023, dropping 14 round bombs in **Sityo Don Jose, Barangay Manlucahoc, Sipalay City**.

According to reports, the AFP held a meeting with the residents of the affected areas on August 15, giving the residents only one day to gather their farm tools and farm animals. They were also forced to evacuate for a day and given some foodstuff.

According to the soldiers, the local government of Sipalay, from the barangay captain to the mayor, gave consent for the bomb testing. The residents, however, did not agree but had no choice because the AFP had already installed their bombs and equipment in the area. They expressed fear because there have been incidents of destruction of property caused by bombings in the past (carabaos killed and looting, among others), as well as disturbance in the community, and were anxious about the effects of such activities on the residents' psychological well-being.

In Masbate. In the Bicol region, the military held a two-day "bombing exercise" on September 23 and 24, 2023 in **Purok 5, Barangay Panicijan, Masbate**. The affected areas were the mountains of Bagulayag, Uaca and Irong-irong in Uson, Mobo and Milagros in Masbate. The 2nd Infantry Battalion of the Philippine Army and the 5th Field Artillery Battalion fired 105mm howitzers, an artillery weapon that had a long-range capability, from their military headquarters to Purok 7 of Barangay Bonifacio as their impact area. They shelled the area 46 times.

Government press releases claimed that the exercises had the "primary objective of safeguarding the nation against both external and internal threats," and that the local government gave consent to hold the



Aerial strikes have displaced a number of peasant and indigenous people communities.

exercises in their community. No doubt the new weapons would be used for counter-insurgency operations in Masbate.

Based on the incidents in other areas of bombings and shelling, there was never an assurance that the civilian population and community would not be affected by such operations, even if these were dubbed as mere “exercises.” Also, members of the community said that the explosions from the nearby village could be heard loudly in their homes. Rights groups raised concerns that the introduction of new artillery equipment would heighten human rights violations in the region.

In Samar. At the same time that the live firing exercises in Bicol were conducted, actual bombings were carried out in the province of Samar from September 23 to September 29, 2023. For seven days and seven nights, the 87th Infantry Battalion indiscriminately bombarded farms in the **barangays of San Nicolas and Aguingayan in the municipality of San Jose de Buan**. On September 23, residents heard at least 17 howitzer shells fired starting 8 p.m. At 4 a.m. of September 24, at least 30 howitzers were fired.

The bombings caused so much fear for those living in the neighboring barangays. The military barred the farmers from harvesting their crops and classes were suspended in San Jose de Buan as teachers sent their students home due to fear of the series of bombings in the town.

In Bukidnon. Just before the year ended, the AFP dropped scores of massive 250-pound bombs on an alleged guerrilla camp of the New People's Army (NPA) in **Malaybalay City, Bukidnon** in the wee hours of December 25, 2023. The same bombs were reportedly used in Agusan del Norte in June. The use of these bombs, which weighed from 125 to 250 pounds, had drawn criticism for constituting excessive and disproportionate use of force, in violation of International Humanitarian Law.

Reports also said that during the same attack, the AFP repeatedly fired artillery rounds using US- and Israel-supplied ATMOS (which stands for Autonomous Truck-Mounted Howitzer System) stationed in their military camp. The aerial bombardment continued until the day after.

The gravity of this aerial bombardment was such that its impact was heard and felt in villages near Malaybalay, especially since it was done at dawn. Reports had yet to filter in about the full effects of these bombings on the civilian population in the community.

Where the Bombs Fell: Human Cost and Impact of Bombings

The indiscriminate bombings by the AFP cause massive physical and economic displacement, and wreak havoc on farmlands, which are the main source of livelihood of the majority of the peasant population in the Philippines.

Civilians, especially women and children, bear the brunt of intensified counter-insurgency operations that often involve indiscriminate bombings and strafing. They are dislocated economically as they are forced to evacuate, abandon their homes, and leave their crops and farm animals untended for long periods. Crops and livestock are destroyed in the case of aerial bombardment, and in some cases, the repeated bombing of agricultural fields make the land inutile for farming, thereby removing the farmers' source of livelihood and violating their socio-economic rights. Rural folk say that they would rather be infested by pests in their farms, rather than be infested by the military pests that destroy their life, livelihood, and community.

Organizations of farmers, indigenous people, church people and environmental defenders have called for a stop to the bombings in rural communities. Aside from causing forcible evacuations, threats to security, disruption of the villagers' livelihood and children's education,



© Karapatan

Aerial bombardment is a violation of human rights and humanitarian laws.

such bombings have negative impacts on the ecology, including physical damage to the local environment, terrain changes and habitat loss, air and water pollution, noise pollution and also contribute to greenhouse gas emissions. The bombings have affected at least seven key biodiversity areas and reserves which are home to 62 endemic species of fauna and 22 species of flora.

The trauma that these bombings cause to the affected communities, especially the women and children, is also largely underreported.

The Marcos Jr. government and its state security forces should be held accountable for the gross violations of human rights and International Humanitarian Law that are perpetrated in the course of these bombings. As part of the state's counter-insurgency programs, the government targets not only the revolutionary forces of the national liberation movement but also unarmed civilians, especially in communities where there is strong and organized opposition to government-sponsored projects that are detrimental to the people's interests.

A national and international campaign against bombings in the Philippines to protect the rural communities is now an imperative. The use of bombings as a counter-insurgency tactic should be put to a stop, and condemned not only by the communities affected, but across the ranks of human rights defenders, in the Philippines and abroad.

Illegal Arrests, Detention and Torture

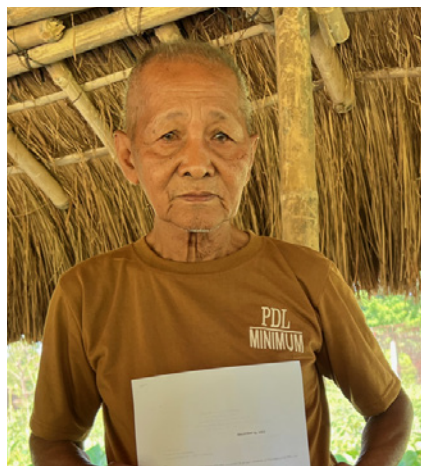
As of December 31, 2023, there are 799 political prisoners held in various prisons nationwide. Of this number, 89 have been arrested under the Marcos Jr. regime.

Under Marcos Jr., there have been 122 victims of illegal arrest and detention, with 207 arrested without being detained.

There are 164 women political prisoners.

Ninety (90) of the country's political prisoners are ailing and elderly. Despite its rhetoric about decongesting the country's jails and prisons, the Marcos Jr. regime has turned a deaf ear to release aging and elderly political prisoners, such as 84-year-old **Gerardo dela Peña** who has been unjustly convicted of a trumped-up case of murder.

Among the elderly political prisoners are septuagenarian NDFP consultants **Adelberto Silva**, **Rey Claro Casambre** and **Vicente**



Gerardo dela Peña, 84, oldest political prisoner

Ladlad – all are imprisoned on trumped-up charges at the Metro Manila District Jail 4 in Taguig City; and **Frank Fernandez** who is incarcerated at the New Bilibid Prisons after having been unjustly convicted of trumped-up charges of illegal possession of firearms. Also convicted on the same manufactured charges is Fernandez's wife, NDFP staff **Cleofe Lagtapon**, who is currently held at the Correctional Institution for Women.



Another NDFP consultant, **Eric Jun Casilao**, was arrested in Malaysia on April 1, 2023, and brought back to the Philippines on April 17. He was first detained at the Philippine National Police-Criminal Investigation and Detection Group Headquarters in Region 11, where he was subjected to psychological torture and interrogation. He is now being held at the Tagum City jail.

On January 29, 2023, retired National Democratic Front of the Philippines consultant **Ruben Saluta**, his wife **Presentacion Saluta** and their companion **Yvonne Losaria** were arrested in a house in General Santos City. Ruben, who is 76 years old and Presentacion, who is 64, were anomalously presented with warrants for old cases that have long been dismissed. The police and military operatives in the arresting team planted firearms and explosives during their arrest to justify their continued detention.

Political prisoners had been waging militant struggles to have their voices heard and project their plight to the public. In Negros, political prisoners led by NDFP consultant **Ramon Patriarca**, who was arrested on March 18, 2022 in Barangay Suay, Himamaylan City, has led hunger strikes on several occasions in 2023, the latest of which was during International Human Rights Day on December 10. They also helped organize their friends and relatives to form the Negros chapter of Kapatid.



Ramon Patriarca

Meantime, the public statement issued by the UN Subcommittee on the Prevention of Torture (UNSPT) which visited the country in the first half of December 2023, alluded in their formal report that torture remained prevalent despite the government's signing of the UN Convention Against Torture and the passage of RA 9745 or the Anti-Torture Act of 2009.

KARAPATAN documented at least 18 cases of torture under the Marcos Jr. regime, and 233 cases under Duterte.

In a telling statement, the UN Subcommittee on the Prevention of Torture called on the Philippine government to treat “persons deprived of liberty” in accordance with the law and international standards and cited the urgent need for a national torture prevention body in the Philippines that would have the power to access all places of detention in order to prevent torture and other forms of ill treatment.

TABLE 5

Political Prisoners

As of December 31, 2023

REGION of Detention	Total Number of Political Prisoners	Women	NDFP Consultants	Arrested Under Marcos, Jr.
Cordillera	6	0	0	2
Ilocos	6	1	0	2
Cagayan Valley	22	6	0	6
Central Luzon	11	5	0	2
Southern Tagalog	80	21	1	25
National Capital Region	105	18	9	7
Bikol	47	11	0	13
Western Visayas	93	23	1	17
Central Visayas	89	6	0	5
Eastern Visayas	34	8	1	1
Western Mindanao Region	11	5	0	0
Northern Mindanao Region	107	24	2	2
Southern Mindanao Region	55	8	1	1
Soccsargen	41	7	1	3
Caraga	92	21	1	3
TOTAL	799	164	17	89

Sickly: 98	Elderly: 90	Arrested as Minor: 5
-------------------	--------------------	-----------------------------

State Repression of Other Freedoms

Marcos Jr. continued to follow the mindless perpetuation of the government's system of reprisal against activists.

Suppression of civil liberties

Freedom of expression, freedom of the press, and freedom of association had been curtailed in the name of national security. Journalists, activists, unionists and critics of the government faced harassment, threats, and violence.

Two cases involved Bayan Muna Central Visayas coordinator **John Ruiz III** and **Jhonggie Rumol**, former executive director of the Visayas Institute for Human Development Agency Inc. (VIHDA), who had once faced frustrated homicide charges by the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) on December 18, 2023. The present charges were from false allegations on Ruiz and Rumol's involvement in an armed encounter with the New People's Army on April 6, 2023 in Sitio Sereje, Barangay San Isidro, Toboso, Negros Occidental.

Earlier, KARAPATAN secretary general **Cristina Palabay** along with **former Sen. Leila de Lima**, **Sen. Risa Hontiveros**, **Rep. Edcel Lagman**, De Lima's lawyers **Filibon Tacardon** and **Atty. Dino De Leon**, and BAYAN secretary general **Renato Reyes** were slapped with indirect contempt charges in June 2023 by Atty. Ferdinand Topacio for questioning Muntinlupa RTC Branch 256 Judge Romeo Buenaventura's decision to deny Senator De Lima's bail petition.

The persecution of activists and other dissenters was systematically accomplished through counter-terrorism legislation and measures, specifically the Anti-Terrorism Act of 2020 (ATA, Republic Act No. 11479) and the Terrorism Financing Prevention and Suppression Act of 2012 (Republic Act No. 10168).

The replacement of the Human Security Act of 2007 (HSA) with the ATA of 2020 was a key feature of the Duterte regime's whole of nation approach, and now used by Marcos Jr. to counter his own critics.

Designed to provide government with more weapons to suppress and eventually crush what it views as the urban support infrastructure of the rural-based communist insurgency, the ATA's provisions are used as a systematic attack on constitutionally guaranteed rights. The ATA extends the period of detention without judicial warrant from three to 14 days, extendable for up to ten calendar days, or a total of 24 days. It does away with the HSA's provision for legal damages for unproven charges, leaving victims with no redress mechanisms against warrantless arrest and detention. It also appoints membership in the Anti-Terrorism Council (ATC), and grants it sweeping new powers. The ATC can label persons as "terrorist individuals" through ex-parte proceedings, with the victims likewise left with little or no legal means to lift the designation.

The ATC is empowered to "require other government agencies... non-government organizations, private entities and individuals to render assistance to the ATC in the performance of its mandate." This gives the ATC the right to enlist private sector participation in its activities or suppress the latter's activities in favor of the ATC's own agenda, thus creating a chilling effect on civil society organizations. The ultimate goal is to ensure the involvement of NGOs and CSOs in the state's counter-



Protest rally to Mendiola, Manila calling to junk Anti-Terror Law.

insurgency drive, and the actual result is to marginalize and stifle independent or dissenting members of civil society.

This policy is reinforced through more stringent and intrusive requirements for the registration and operations of civil society groups. Non-profit organizations are required to file detailed reports about their membership, sources of funds and intended usage, with the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) that is given the power to levy fines or outrightly revoke any organization's registration. Anti-money laundering and counter-terrorist financing laws and measures hang like a sword of Damocles over the heads of development CSOs that may be investigated by the Anti-Money Laundering Council and their assets and funds frozen and subjected to civil forfeiture proceedings on unfounded suspicions of being used to further terrorism.

The Supreme Court recently issued guidelines for the implementation of the anti-terrorism law, but these guidelines offer little comfort to those who have already been victimized, and to those in danger of being caught in the tentacles of the law's draconian procedures.

Terrorist-tagging of activists and human rights defenders

Aside from the NDFP negotiating panel members, officers and consultants maligned as "terrorists" in May 2021, community doctor **Ma. Natividad "Doc Naty" Castro**, former National Council member of KARAPATAN and a community-based health worker was designated a terrorist in late 2022. Five human rights defenders had likewise been maligned in 2023 -- **Sarah Abellon Alikes, Jennifer R. Awingan, Windel Bolinget and Stephen Tauli** of the Cordillera People's Alliance and **May Rodriguez Vargas-Casilao** of Mindanao. The Anti-Money Laundering Council had also frozen their property and funds, including related accounts.

The arbitrary and baseless labeling of these human rights defenders brings to fore the weaponization of the ATA against political dissent and human rights work and advocacy in the Philippines, including dangerous implications on the rights to due process and against warrantless arrests, among others.

The subjects of this terrorist tagging are known human rights defenders, with records of years of activism and public service to their names. They have endured threats, harassment, red-tagging, and even arbitrary arrests, detention, abduction and torture. With these defamatory labeling, their lives and security are put in grave danger.

Southern Tagalog activists charged with violating the ATA

As of December 2023, up to 20 activists and human rights defenders from Southern Tagalog have faced trumped-up charges under the Anti-Terrorism Act (ATA). Fourteen of these cases remain active, while six have been dismissed.

The most prominent cases are those of **Rev. Glofie Baluntong**, Tanggol Batangan spokesperson **Hailey Pecayo**, youth activist **Kenneth Rementilla** and women and children's rights advocate **Jasmin Rubia**.

The cases against Pecayo, Rementilla and Rubio have since been dismissed at the fiscal level. Their accusers, however, have filed motions for reconsideration to counter the dismissals. The military's motion to revive the case against Pecayo has been denied, while those of the others are awaiting resolution.



Rev. Glofie Baluntong



Hailey Pecayo



Kenneth Rementilla



Jasmin Rubia

Other Southern Tagalog activists whose ATA cases have also been dismissed are **Teresa Alcantara**, **Carlo Reduta** and **Liezel Murillo**. After the dismissal of her ATA case, however, Murillo was slapped with a new trumped-up case of terrorist financing. She is one of five Southern Tagalog activists facing similar charges, including **Ronald Ramos** and **Rhoel Alconera**. Ramos likewise has a pending ATA case.

Another prominent victim, **Rev. Glofie Baluntong**, was a former Superintendent of the Oriental Mindoro-Romblon-Marinduque District of the United Methodist Church (UMC), and a deaconess for 24 years. She was maliciously charged without basis on a trumped-up case of attempted murder involving an incident that occurred on March 25, 2021 at 3 p.m. On that date and time, however, Reverend Baluntong was providing necrological services to one of her church members. She has posted bail for these charges. On August 5, 2022, however, she received a subpoena requiring her to answer another criminal case, this time, for alleged violation of the Anti-Terrorism Act. The new charge is based on the same allegations used as basis to indict her for attempted murder. But this time, the case is non-bailable.

The other Southern Tagalog activists facing cases under the ATA are **Rev. Edwin Egar**, **Sherlito Casidsid**, **Miguel Manggera**, **Fe Mariñas**, **Allen Mariñas**, **Fe Serrano**, **Jose Adolfo Montales**, **Pedrito Vasquez**, **Carla Mae Mongge** and **Miguela Peniero**.

Non-government organizations (NGOs) charged by the AMLC for alleged terrorist financing

Since 2019, the Terrorism Financing Prevention and Suppression Act of 2012 has been weaponized to suppress, persecute and subject to criminal prosecution a number of development NGOs working in impoverished and far-flung areas of the country. These development NGOs are viewed with suspicion by State authorities since the communities they work with are often near or within the periphery where there are armed encounters between the military and the NPA. As a result, many of these NGOs' projects in health, education and livelihood have ground to a halt, depriving the delivery of such assistance to thousands of peasants, fisherfolk and indigenous people who are in most need of such services.

The latest organization to be victimized was the Cebu-based **Community Empowerment Resource Network, Inc. (CERNET)**. On May 2023, Col. Joey Escanillas, Commander of the Joint Task Force Cebu, 31st Division of the Philippine Army, filed a complaint against 27 individuals



that included former council members, board members, staff, and a leader of a partner organization of CERNET.

For years, CERNET had been conducting development work in the Visayas with grassroots and people's organizations.

Escanillas falsely alleged that CERNET was involved in various transactions to finance the activities of the Communist Party of the Philippines-New Peoples' Army (CPP-NPA) in 2012. His primary witness was Bernabe Nieves, a former staff of CERNET who was terminated for cause. Two other witnesses, Hermosila Apao Villamor and Albert Alon Yanong, claimed to be members of the NPA who allegedly received funds from CERNET through Bernabe Nieves.

Years prior to the filing of the above complaint, the NTF-ELCAC had begun a smear campaign against CERNET, tagging it as a CPP-NPA front and funder. The red-tagging and vilification of CERNET continued during the Marcos Jr. regime. The NTF-ELCAC used the Sonshine Media Network International Philippines (SMNI), owned by Pastor Apollo Quiboloy, a very close friend of former President Rodrigo Duterte, as its red-tagging broadcaster.

CERNET has now been included in a growing list of humanitarian CSOs, religious institutions, and development workers charged with violating RA 10168 and who have had their bank accounts and other assets and properties subjected to civil forfeiture proceedings. These are the **Rural Missionaries of the Philippines (RMP); RMP-Northern Mindanao Region; United Church of Christ in the Philippines in Haran, Davao City and in Bohol; Amihan National Federation of Peasant Women; Panday Bulig, Inc.; Community-Based Health Services, Archdiocesan Health Apostolate, Mindanao Resource Center; Mindanao Farmer's Resource-NMR; Mindanao Farmer's Resource Center, Inc.; Amihan-**

NMR, Inc. and Bread Emergency Assistance and Development, Inc.; and *Eastern Vista* journalist **Frenchie Mae C. Cumpio** and RMP lay worker **Mariel A. Domequil**, who have been charged under the anti-terrorism financing law.

In the case of RMP-NMR, 16 of its directors, officers and bank signatories, including lawyer **Czarina Musni** of the National Union of Peoples' Lawyers (NUPL) and the Union of People's Lawyers in Mindanao (UPLM), **Sr. Emma Teresita E. Cupin**, **Sr. Mary Jane C. Caspillo**, **Jhona Ignilan Stokes**, **Hanelyn Caibigan Cespedes**, **Angelie Z. Magdua**, **Emilio Gabales**, **Mary Louise Dumas** and **Aileen Manipol Villarosa**, (collectively called the "NMR 16"), were indicted for allegedly making available funds or property to designated persons, referring to unidentified members of the CPP-NPA.

The military's witnesses were alleged rebel returnees who falsely accused the NMR 16 of being members of the "Regional Urban Poor Committee North Central Mindanao Regional Committee" of the CPP-NPA, and allegedly setting aside 60% of their funds from the European Union to buy arms, medical supplies, food, clothing and support for families of the NPA, as well as, other needs for tactical offensives from 2017 to 2019.

Funds for the RMP-NMR's development projects have all passed stringent audits by the European Union.



Support action for the RMP in one of their court hearings in Manila.

© Karapatan

Cumpio and Domequil who had no record of any suspicious transactions that would have triggered an investigation under RA 10168, were maliciously arraigned with terrorism financing charges. This was perceived to be a retaliatory move by the police after the two respondents demanded the return of more than PhP500,000 which was inside a safety deposit box in the raided office. The money was intended for the beneficiaries of a humanitarian project, and this was not included by the police in the inventory of items seized, and neither was it specified as among the items to be seized in the search warrant.

People's Resistance

The people persist to push back against the wave of state repression and anti-people socio-economic policies with their own tide of protests. They continue to gain a number of victories.

The transport sector

Jeepney drivers and other concerned sectors are deep into the struggle against the Marcos Jr. government's jeepney phaseout scheme masquerading as a transport modernization program. PISTON and Manibela have staged a series of transport strikes and marched to Mendiola to dramatize their disgust at the patently anti-poor scheme



© Mayday Multimedia

For jeepney drivers and operators, PUV “modernization” is equivalent to jeepney phaseout.



Jeepney drivers strike against the phaseout of the traditional jeepney. © Piston

where jeepney drivers and operators are compelled to shell out as much as PhP 2.6 million for a “modernized” unit and to consolidate their franchises under a single transport cooperative per jeepney route. The scheme is designed to eradicate jeepneys as a form of accessible public transport and will eventually force as many as 25,000 jeepney operators out of business and 60,000 jeepney drivers out of work.

With only 26% of jeepney units in the National Capital Region (NCR) filing for consolidation in time for the December 31, 2023 deadline, a serious transport crisis looms as the vast majority of jeepney routes in the NCR will be vacated with no viable alternatives in sight. The jeepney drivers have filed a motion with the Supreme Court, seeking a stop to the jeepney phaseout scheme. Faced with widespread opposition, Marcos Jr. has decided to postpone the deadline by another three months.

Wage increase concerns

Workers continue to press for higher wages and against rising trade union repression. They are pushing for a nationally legislated minimum wage and calling for the abolition of the regional wage boards. Unions also demand that the minimum wage be adjusted as a “living wage” to enable workers’ families to live decently with the rapidly rising cost of living.

Workers from various trade unions and federations have forged ranks and have conducted dialogues with the Department of Labor and Employment. They took to the streets on International Day of Workers on May 1, 2023. These actions were carried out to further assert their demands for decent wages so they are able to put food on the table, send their children to school and have adequate housing.



Workers demand higher wages.

© Tudla Productions

The peasant sector

Peasant groups consistently condemn anti-farmer agricultural policies that only benefit big foreign agri-corporations and smugglers of agricultural goods. They have assailed the decline of local farmers' production and incomes, and have decried the skyrocketing prices of rice and other farm commodities. As of February 2024, rice retails at PhP 56.00 to PhP 60.00 per kilo which is a far cry from Ferdinand Marcos Jr.'s campaign promise to bring down the price of rice to PhP 20.00 per kilo. They continue to struggle for genuine agrarian reform to address the peasantry's just and longstanding demand for an end to land monopoly.

The protest movement fights on

People's sectoral organizations revealed the real state of the nation during Ferdinand Marcos Jr.'s State of the Nation Address on July 24, 2023. As the people marched in the streets, they assailed Marcos Jr. for perpetuating his dictator-father's legacy of corruption, impunity, mythmaking, and distortions of history. Marcos Jr. had just announced his Bagong Pilipinas mantra, an obvious channeling of the dictator's Bagong Lipunan euphemism for martial rule. Maharlika, the name chosen for the Marcos



The campaign to stop the killings continues.

© Karapatan

Jr. regime's slush fund, also harkened back to the Marcos family's delusions of grandeur and royalty. Marcos Jr. continued to gloss over the human rights violations of the martial law era, and to shield perpetrators from accountability, including criminals from the post-martial law period up to the present.

On September 21, 2023, the 51st anniversary of martial law, protesters denounced the same forms of repression with the enforcement of counter-terrorism laws and martial law instruments to silence dissent and stifle protest. They exposed the Marcos Jr. regime's use of the NTF-ELCAC created under Duterte to resume the witchhunt of activists, human rights defenders and other dissenters and the fascist military and police to perpetuate repression reminiscent of Marcos Sr.'s martial law era.



Calls to abolish the NTF-ELCAC is resounding now more than ever.

Victims of vicious red-tagging by NTF-ELCAC mouthpieces Jeffrey Celiz and Lorraine Badoy filed civil suits against these tormentors. In July 2023, BAYAN chairperson emeritus Carol Araullo demanded PhP2 million in damages from the two red-taggers and purveyors of untruth.

On September 11, 2023, her son, broadcast journalist Atom Araullo followed suit with his own civil case against Celiz and Badoy. Before 2023's end, BAYAN chair Teddy Casiño filed his own civil suit against the two and demanded PhP 2.2 million in damages. In her statement, Carol Araullo pointed to the “need to exact accountability and teach a lesson to these red-taggers not just for me but for many others: trade unionists, community organizers, peasant organizers, teachers, ordinary people whom they called enemies of the state.”

On the 75th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) on December 10, 2023, protesters scored the Marcos Jr. regime for its miserable failure to fulfill government treaty obligations to comply with international human rights norms and standards under the UDHR. They asserted the people's right to hold government to account and exact justice for its violations of human rights and international humanitarian law (IHL).

Meanwhile, public calls for justice and accountability for the victims of Rodrigo Duterte's bloody war on drugs persisted with investigations being conducted by the International Criminal Court (ICC). Marcos Jr.'s lackadaisical attitude towards cooperation with the ICC would not deter the victims of Duterte's drug war to push for the ICC to conclude its investigation and proceed towards indicting Duterte and putting him on trial for his crimes.

To reiterate, official police records put the number of individuals killed in Duterte's anti-drug operations at 6,200. Estimates by other human rights groups put the number at 30,000, including those killed in rub-outs by police-sanctioned vigilante groups. KARAPATAN had documented at least 447 victims of extrajudicial killings in Duterte's counter-insurgency campaign, notwithstanding thousands who were forcibly displaced, threatened, and harmed by his murderous policy that resulted in grave violations of human rights and international humanitarian law.

There was a so-called drug war review panel but it was obviously designed to pacify the wide clamor for justice and to evade questions on government policies and the climate of impunity that were among the root causes of these killings. Since 2016, there have only been three convictions for “drug war”-related killings and only foot soldiers were targeted, leaving the real masterminds scot-free. Administrative Order No. 35 task force under the Department of Justice mandated to look into extrajudicial killings has failed miserably to prosecute and punish perpetrators of extrajudicial killings, not to mention torture, and enforced disappearances.

Court battles

Human rights defenders scored a number of victories in court battles.

On November 28, 2023, Quezon City Regional Trial Court Branch 84 Judge Luisito Cortez threw out the petition for certiorari filed by former National Security Adviser (NSA) Hermogenes Esperon Jr. and current NSA Eduardo Año that questioned the acquittal for perjury in January 2023 of seven of KARAPATAN's national officers, two national officers of Gabriela, and Sr. Elenita Bernardo of the Rural Missionaries of the Philippines (RMP). The ruling, in effect, upheld and finalized the acquittal of the ten human rights defenders. Esperon had filed the perjury charges in 2019 in retaliation for having been impleaded in the respondents' prayer for a writ of amparo due to growing threats and attacks against human rights defenders.



© Karapatan

Human rights defenders jubilant over dismissal of perjury case.

The dismissal with finality of the perjury case was the third victory scored by human rights defenders in November 2023. Earlier, young Southern Tagalog activists Hailey Pecayo, Jasmin Rubia and Kenneth Rementilla, who were accused of violating the Anti-Terrorism Act, had their cases dismissed in separate rulings by prosecutors in Laguna and Antipolo City.

Detained Duterte critic Leila de Lima had also been granted bail on her last remaining trumped-up case on November 13, 2023.

On the same month of November 2023, UN Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights in the Context of Climate Change Ian Fry called for the abolition of the NTF-ELCAC and the rescinding of the Anti-Terrorism Act, noting how the NTF-ELCAC weaponized this law against environmental activists in the Philippines.

Hailing this declaration, KARAPATAN said in a strongly worded statement that, “We are determined to push back against these forms of attacks and we call on the Filipino people to continue to fight back against these forms of violations against our freedom of association and free expression.”

Human rights defenders remained undeterred even in the face of setbacks. On October 6, 2023, a Malolos court acquitted former general Jovito Palparan of serious illegal detention in the 2007 abduction of peasant Raymond Manalo. Manalo’s testimony was considered “clear and convincing” by the Supreme Court no less in convicting Palparan for the abduction and serious illegal detention in 2007 of UP activists Sherlyn Cadapan and Karen Empeño. It was outrageous how it was suddenly found wanting when it came to obtaining justice for Manalo’s own ordeal. Manalo’s lawyers filed a motion for reconsideration in a bid to reverse Palparan’s acquittal.

On September 19, 2023, young environmental activists Jhed Tamano and Jonila Castro dramatically went off-script at a press conference organized by the NTF-ELCAC where they were to be presented as “surrendered.” They turned the tables on their military captors and



Jonila Castro and Jhed Tamano

© Altermidya

declared that they were indeed abducted on the night of September 2, 2022, held for 17 days inside safehouses and military camps, and coerced into signing affidavits which contents were dictated by their abductors. For speaking truth to power, they have been charged with perjury, which later was shifted to a charge of grave oral defamation.

Despite the continuing harassment, Jhed Tamano and Jonila Castro are unfazed, and they continue to lend their voices to various platforms, tackling the issues of impunity, justice and accountability. They are the faces of defiance, their youth and vigor defining a vibrant and militant people's movement that constantly renews itself and rises stronger with every fascist blow from any brutal terrorist in Malacañang.

The struggle for a just peace

The consistent clamor for the resumption of the peace talks scuttled in 2017 gained traction when the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) issued a joint statement on November 23, 2023, expressing their willingness to meet at the negotiating table to address the roots of the armed conflict. In view of this development, peace advocates called for the reaffirmation of previously signed agreements such as The Hague Joint Declaration, the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL), and the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG). They likewise called for the finalization of the draft Comprehensive Agreement on Socio-Economic Reforms (CASER) and the drafting of the Comprehensive Agreement on Political and Constitutional Reforms (CAPCR) towards the resolution of the root causes of the armed conflict.

Peace advocates called for the immediate release of detained NDFP peace consultants and staff and all political prisoners, especially the sick, elderly, pregnant women, nursing mothers, and those long-detained. There would have to be a stop to the use of counter-terrorism laws and trumped-up criminal charges to suppress political dissent, extrajudicial killings, enforced disappearances and fake surrenders; including repressive laws, proclamations and orders dating from the Marcos dictatorship. In particular, they called for the abolition of the NTF-ELCAC, and the repeal of the Anti-Terrorism Act and the Terrorist Financing Prevention and Suppression Act. The stipulation of justice must not be compromised.

International solidarity

In rallies at the embassies of Israel and the US, Filipinos, ever mindful of their shared oppression under US imperialism, expressed their solidarity with the Palestinian people who are struggling against a US-instigated genocidal war led by Zionist Israel.



: : : : :

It has been a year of many events with many restorations. A year of hope and rejuvenation with the new generation and many friends. The people's rights movement fights on with a renewal of constancy.

For the next years, the valiant struggle surges on for land and genuine agrarian reform for the farmers and farmworkers; for decent jobs, living wages and social services for the workers and the urban poor; for civil and political rights for all, and for national sovereignty amid the treasonous intervention from foreign powers.

One Year In Detention

BY ADORA FAYE DE VERA



“Changing lives, building a safer nation.” We wear this ubiquitous slogan on our shirts every day. But we do not have to be reminded by shirts, because these changes are forced on us every moment of our waking and sleeping hours.

We are more or less 80 women at any given time in this prison. Ninety percent of us are “innocent until proven guilty” but that innocence is already subjected to deprivation of liberty while waiting for the slow wheels of justice to turn. Thus, our deprived lives have to live through these changes.

Separation from family and friends is the first change that hits one upon being jailed. For the Filipina who is very family-centered, this hits hard. The permitted thirty-minute visit by family members on weekends and Tuesday to Thursday afternoons are never enough. And because families have to work, because this place is inaccessible to the routes of public transportation, some families can afford to visit only once or twice

a month. That is, families from Iloilo City and nearby towns. What about families in Northern Iloilo, Southern Iloilo, Antique or Aklan? Negros or Cebu? or in Metro Manila, like mine?

The overwhelming majority here are mothers, mostly of school-age children who are suddenly thrust into the care of unprepared relatives, so they can visit only outside school hours. Children below five are not allowed to visit at all. As a senior citizen, I have been a shoulder to cry on for mothers who never get over being separated from their children, or young girls who miss their mothers. Cousins and friends have to ask permission every time from the Regional BJMP hierarchy located in another office.

This, despite the Nelson Mandela Rules that say “Prisoners shall be allowed, under necessary supervision, to communicate with their family and friends at regular intervals: [a] by corresponding in writing and using, where available, telecommunications, electronic, digital and other means, and [b] by receiving visits” (Rule 50).

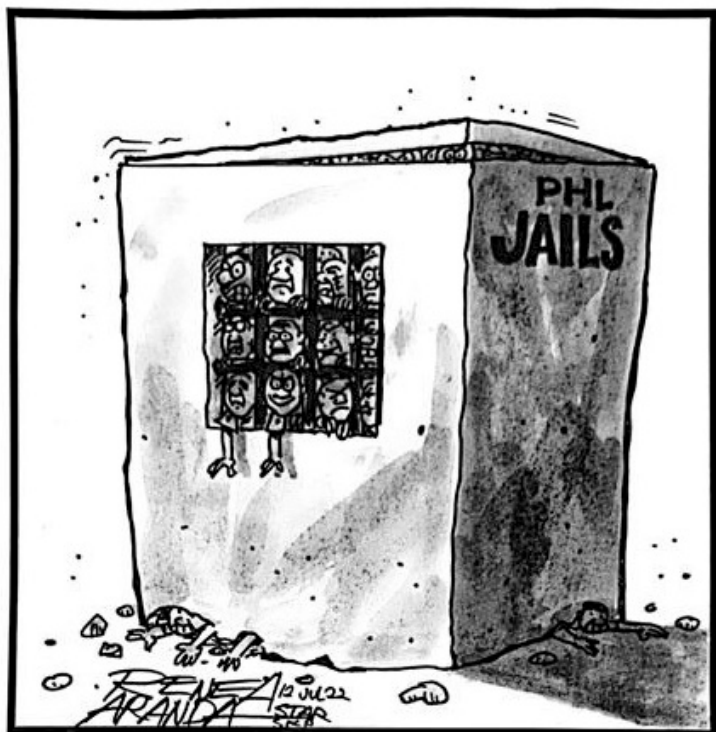
The Bangkok Rules also state that “women prisoners’ contact with their families, including their children, and their children’s guardian and legal representatives shall be facilitated by all reasonable means...Visits involving extended contact with children should be encouraged, where possible” (Rules 26 & 28).

“The Rule emphasizes the flexibility that needs to be demonstrated by prison administrations in applying visiting rules to women prisoners, in order to safeguard against the harmful impact of separation from families and children, in view of the fact that many women are imprisoned far away from their homes. This flexibility may, for example, include extending the lengths of visits, particularly when visitors have traveled long distances to visit” (Rule 26, commentary to the Bangkok Rules, UNODC 2009).

To familiarize the uninitiated, the UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners was adopted by the UN more than 50 years ago and periodically updated until it was called the Nelson Mandela Rules. The Philippine government is a signatory to these Rules and the succeeding resolutions, including the UN Rules for the Treatment of Women Prisoners known as the Bangkok Rules, adopted in 2010. How do these rules translate to our changing lives? These translate into: “We have no facilities. We have no budget. We have no memo from above.”

Drinking water, rules or no rules, is a basic human right. It is also a basic moral obligation as old as the Bible, or even further back to Greek fables, to give water to the thirsty. But this seems lost here where drinking water is available only to those who have money. (Nelson Mandela Rules,

Rule 22- Drinking water shall be available to every prisoner wherever he or she needs it). Because drinking water, they say, can not be accommodated by our 70-peso daily food budget that provides poverty rations of *lugaw*, *miswa* or *laswa* paired with 1.5 kilos per week of the cheapest rice.



Another change is the loss of privacy. In a cell full of 20 or more women, anyone can see or hear what the other is doing, more so because we are prohibited from putting curtains on our bunks. No doors can be installed in the common toilet and bath, too. Our barred windows open to the street some hundred meters away where passersby can have their fill of watching women in various sleeping positions as lights are always on. There is absolutely no private space. Our 175 cm by 78 cm bunks, where we have to fit all our things from clothes to eating utensils, are searched regularly for suspected contraband which includes ballpens. Even our own bodies are not inviolate to pat-down searches which can be implemented any time.

Correspondence, of course, is routinely checked. There was a time when a letter from my son was withheld, and another case when a painting I did was prohibited from being brought out. At times, my son has to memorize whole sections of my writings just to get past the censors.

Regimentation is necessary to maintain order and security in a facility where women from different backgrounds are involuntarily thrust together in close quarters day in and day out. Quarrels arise about the simplest of things, and the guards put these down as tempers flare. So, one can never choose what time to wake up, when to go to the grounds for sunning, when to hang or collect one's laundry, or when to cook meals. Everything is decided by the guards. Again, the Nelson Mandela Rules which list: "the prison regime should seek to minimize any differences between prison life and life at liberty that tend to lessen the responsibility of prisoners or the respect due to their dignity as human beings."

At first glance, prison can look like an equalizer of sorts because everyone wears the same regulation yellow, follows the same prison regimen of waking up at 5:00 a.m. count-off, standing in line for the succeeding six to seven count-offs during the day, and being padlocked in the same cell at the same evening curfew. But it ends there.

Since individual prisoners must obtain their own beddings, electric fans, articles of personal hygiene, snacks and drinking water, the disparities are obvious. Those from well-to-do families, aside from having more and better things, get the services of private lawyers and post bail more easily upon court approval. They get more frequent visits, telephone their families for more supplies and get faster access to doctors and medicine when they get ill. They pay poorer prisoners to do the laundry, cook meals, carry drinking water from the ground floor, and replace them in assigned tasks such as cleaning the grounds or toilet.

Jail, after all, is not exempt from society's great divide based on economic and social status. And even here, the movement for freedom and democracy considers our situation as part of the struggle. Thus, though economically or socially disadvantaged and politically persecuted, we, political prisoners, enjoy the services of dedicated lawyers and we receive donations from persons and groups who stand in solidarity with us.

The loss of productive opportunities is life-changing for women who have been active income earners before arrest. Since cases drag on for years and years, we lose not only the actual income we could have earned but opportunities for development in our work and ourselves. The jail administration offers only vocational skills training to help women's social reintegration upon liberty. So, former teachers become embroiderers, bank clerks and nurses make doormats as potholders from strips of cloth.

On the bright side, there are some for whom prison time has been better. A handful of young people who were *pasaway*, drug users, or sex workers have finished their elementary and high school education

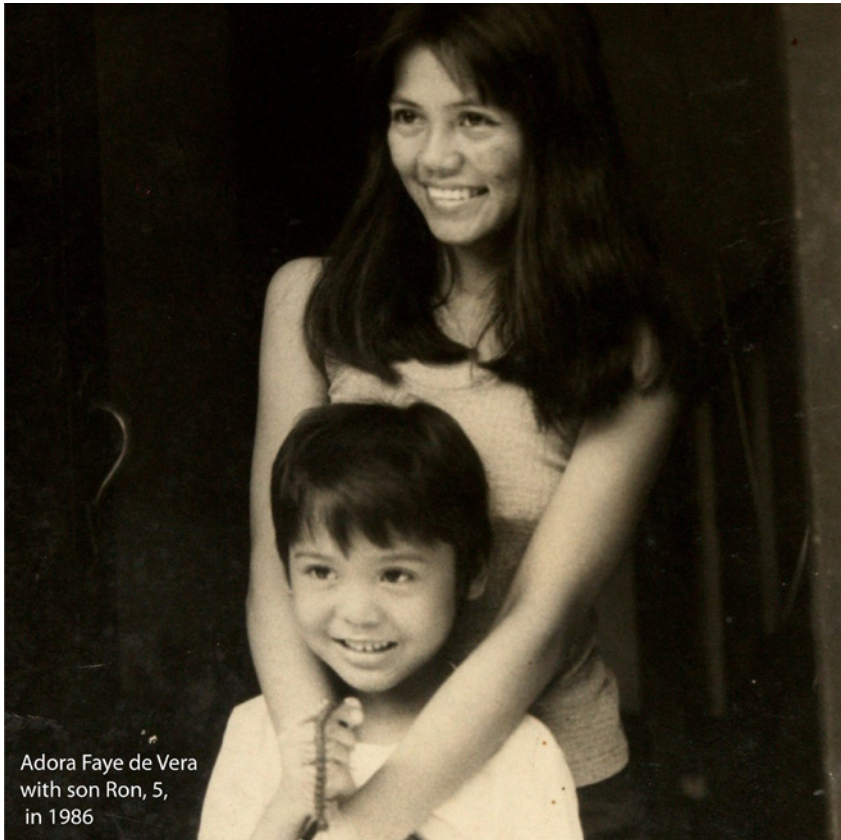
through the ALS program. Some who attended TESDA training now weave *hablon*, do mani-pedi foot spa, hair rebonding and massage, with richer prisoners and jail guards as their customers. Enterprising prisons lend money with interest or cook food to sell at special marked up prices for the captive market. Their businesses are so lucrative, they are able to save and send money to their families.

So, our lives have changed. For better, for worse, or for worst?

The Kind of September

Long ago, perhaps even longer than any reader of this can remember, a song went “try to remember the kind of September when grass was green and grain was yellow.”

One particular thing about my December years is that I tend to remember the good more than the bad experiences. Maybe because the past has been too long and too painful, and the future too short that the pleasant memories stand out more vividly.



Adora Faye de Vera
with son Ron, 5,
in 1986

So, September 21, 1972 can still evoke the chilly confusion and terror when television screens went blank, radios blared nothing but static, newsstands became eerily empty, arrested activists filled the Camp Crame grounds, and military checkpoints sprouted all over the streets. But with the chill comes the warm feeling of admiration for the daring young women and men who went from one bus to another to inform passengers about the previous night's mass arrests, raids on the ABS-CBN and DZUP, and the shootout at the INC central office on Commonwealth Avenue. That day, spirits raging, we marched with red banners around the UP Diliman campus to denounce Martial Law.

Before that September, plummeting standards of living, fascism, blatant corruption and an increasingly restive and awakened citizenry threatened Marcos's ambitions for a third presidential term, and consequently, U.S. plans for the extension of one-sided treaties. Not only students but workers, peasants, professionals, civil libertarians, politicians, entrepreneurs and even sections of the military were involved in general strikes, massive street and campus demonstrations, and broad civil liberties movements. A budding people's army was poised to offer the masses an alternative road to social change. Instead of addressing the causes of unrest, however, the state's desperate response was to close all avenues of legitimate dissent and set up a totalitarian regime.

While a dictator and his wife partied on plundered wealth, children of *sacadas* died of hunger and political prisoners wasted without charges in military camps. As the country's debt ballooned, cronies went on shopping sprees or used government-guaranteed loans to buy resorts and castles abroad. The US strengthened its military bases on Philippine soil while helping the government cover up or justify blatant human rights abuses. And the military under a presidential cousin was given *carte blanche* to arrest, abduct, torture or kill anyone not to its liking.

Thus, families were shattered, children orphaned, whole villages massacred. A generation grew up without rights and freedoms, fed by government propaganda that this was all for the good of the country. That this was "the true, the good, and the beautiful", that subservience to authority was all that was necessary for development.

I can no longer remember the actual pain of being raped and tortured black and blue, or the bullet smashing through my flesh and fragmenting my bones. At times, I want to push away memories of my first born when he was taken from me, not to know his real parents until sixteen years later. Or my second child living his pre-school years in prison, believing it was his home. Or my own eyes watching my friends being tortured, then taken away never to be seen again.



© SELDA

But then, these memories come intertwined with memories of the people's victories, the initial gains we have achieved and have to defend for our children. Amid the pain lives the memory of the incomparable courage of thousands of youth who went deep into the urban underground or took to the hills to continue the fight, and the strength of millions of workers and peasants who welcomed them into their homes and hearts.

The dictatorship tried to deny the nation the services of our best and brightest. But the latter persevered and gave their all to the people in the struggle for freedom and democracy. The Filipino people – battered, tortured, ravaged – rose to fight and turned from being victims to victors. The dictatorship fell, and the dictator fled.

Some naive, cynical or patently revisionist characters dismiss our generation as embittered old people who cannot move on. Perhaps they are unable to remember, or refuse to acknowledge, the nation's dark history and the Filipino's shining moments. They are proof of the damage that Martial Law has inflicted on the Filipino psyche that once believed *"ang 'di lumingon sa pinanggalingan ay di makararating sa paroroonan"*. They are constant reminders that moving forward can not be accomplished without truly understanding the past.

Today, without our even trying, shades of Martial Law haunt our lives, whipped up by pathological fascists and wanna-be dictators. Because massacres and extrajudicial killings by police and military agents continue to happen. Because the people's right to know the truth is intentionally derailed by fake news churned out by state minions. Because almost a thousand political prisoners like me, languish in jail on trumped-up charges.

I am presently imprisoned on charges of violating Presidential Decree 532, a holdover of Martial Law. This decree was conjured by the dictator way back in 1974 without congressional scrutiny but remains part of the jurisprudence of a country supposedly freed from a dictatorship. Presidential Proclamation 1981 was junked in 1984, but this decree, among others it spawned, is still in existence. After all, the Marcos Constitution of 1973 was replaced by the 1987 Constitution, but the Anti-Terror Act still managed to legalize repression.

But yes, despite the terror and machinations of present proponents of fascism, such as the NTF-ELCAC, the people's movement continues to fight and flourish. The struggle illuminates us even here in jail. I am in prison, but I am not bitter. I am inspired.

Because – this is cliché proven by recent history – wherever there is oppression, there is struggle, and wherever there is repression, there will be resistance. Those who do not remember may find it bitter when the wheel turns.

So, as the song goes, “try to remember and if you remember, then follow, follow...”

Building A Safer Nation

Last month, J.A.P. was acquitted of charges of possession of illegal drugs, usually punishable by one to four years imprisonment because it was not “overgrams.” Sent off with our applause and congratulatory hugs, she went home free after eight years of waiting for the court's decision. A week before, M.R.C. went home to her astonished nine-year-old daughter. She had been imprisoned for six years for the offence similar to J.A.P.'s. She entered a plea bargain last year even if the charges against her were only a police afterthought when she accompanied her husband to the police station.

In a lecture delivered to us by a BJMP officer, the plea bargain is the “fastest” way to get out of jail considering the slow process of justice. “If you hold on to your pride and fight it out”, the officer said, “you will be waiting for long, long years. But if you go with the plea bargain, even

if you didn't do it, you will receive the minimum sentence, shortened further by your GCTA (Good Conduct Time Allowance). More often than not, the sentence you get has been overserved by the time a decision is promulgated."

Our prison population here is too small to represent national statistics. Or is it? Of the 20 or so women who have been released since I was detained, almost half had entered plea bargains whether they were guilty or not. Most have served more than their sentences. Also, among the present prisoners, more than ten percent have been previously imprisoned.

In a year of befriending women prisoners, I have learned that many are victims of incest, rape, trafficking, wife-battering, or child abuse. Many have been pressured by their partners to try drugs or deliver drugs to the latter's contacts. Some are in prison to protect, whether by choice or force, their parents, partners, or bosses who are the real culprits.

I have heard many life stories in my long involvement with the women's movement. But I am still saddened by these daily reminders of our situation as women, and appalled by the proportion of these victims in such a small prison population. But then, "a large number of women offenders worldwide are imprisoned for minor drug-related offenses, often as a result of manipulation, coercion, or poverty." (Commentary to the Bangkok Rules, UNODC 2010). This is not a small prison's sob story. This is a worldwide, and national phenomenon.

So, where is the safer nation the jail system is working hard to build? Is this nation safer for the children who have to grow up without parental guidance and face the stigma of having parents in prison? Safer for the women who daily suffer violence at home, on the street, at the workplace, and in the hands of state agents because, despite so many laws, this macho culture still considers violence against women as private or trivial? Safer for us political prisoners who are presumed guilty before proving ourselves innocent, and have to bear the punishing regimen of prison life for years until acquitted from trumped-up charges? Safer for hundreds of drug users who, instead of being sent to rehab, have to spend seven to eight years in prison before the clerk of court discovers their papers buried under tons of unresolved cases?

How much safer will this nation be if plunderers, drug lords in uniform, state-sanctioned killers and torturers do not roam free or throw their weight around?

How much safer if foreign mining corporations and giant plantations do not rob us, millions of Filipinos, of our livelihood, our ancestral lands, homes and patrimony? How much safer for generations

threatened by the crossfire of inter-imperialist wars because foreign troops are allowed to stay on our soil?

How much are the slogans “Changing Lives, Building a Safer Nation” on our prison uniforms worth?

Yes, Virginia, the answer is right before our eyes. We only have to look.

: : : : : :

Twice incarcerated under martial law, the story of Adora Faye de Vera is one of endurance and fortitude of spirit, having survived rape, torture and other grave injuries in the hands of the military. She was arrested again in August 2022 at the age of 67 and slapped with trumped-up charges of murder, frustrated murder and rebellion. She wrote this article while detained at a Bureau of Jail Management and Penology facility in Pototan, Iloilo.

Palestinian Resistance Galvanizing International Solidarity Movements For National Liberation

BY LLOYD NATIVIDAD



Drawing inspiration from the enduring Palestinian resistance against Israel's occupation and genocidal onslaught, people all over the world have mobilized in unprecedented massive protests in solidarity with the Palestinian people.

The world is witnessing the continuing isolation of the US-backed Zionist regime as the real motive of its unrelenting bombardment of Gaza under the guise of “self-defense” unfolds before their eyes.

In just over two months, Israel's military forces have killed more than 20,000 Gazans, most of whom are women and children. It becomes evident that Israel's siege of Gaza is not as much to destroy Hamas as to terrorize the local population to drive them off their lands. It is ethnic cleansing through and through, which explains the deliberate targeting of homes, hospitals, schools, refugee camps, worship places, and other civilian infrastructure.

Contrary to Israel's pretext of self-defense, the siege of Gaza is but a part of its long-term goal of crushing Palestinian resistance against colonization and struggle to create an independent Palestinian state. We have witnessed this in the Israeli-occupied West Bank where it has built an apartheid wall that robbed Palestinians of their lands and access to water resources, restricted their movements, and subjected them to regular surveillance and harassment, thus depriving them of their political, social, economic and cultural rights, and most importantly their national identity. Palestinians living in the Israeli-occupied territories are the largest stateless people in the world.



Filipinos come together in solidarity with the people of Palestine.

© Bayan Muna

Global South is rising in solidarity with Palestine

Global outrage over Israel's massacre in Gaza is getting stronger despite and because of the staunch support of the US and other Western powers for Israel's atrocities. The US remains Israel's biggest donor of military aid. It has consistently rejected every international call for an immediate ceasefire, sending instead more weapons to sustain Israel's genocide in Gaza.

Opposition, however, is strongest among the people in the Global South who feel a deep kinship with the Palestinian resistance against the Zionists' campaign of extermination owing to their own struggle against colonialism and imperialism. The struggle for national liberation underpins this profound solidarity with the Palestinian people.

Many countries in the Global South have seen hypocrisy and double standards in how the Western powers have responded contrastingly to

Israel's genocide in Palestine and Russia's invasion of Ukraine. While they were quick to denounce Russia for violating international law when it launched an offensive against Ukraine, they have shown reluctance to denounce Israel's aggression in Gaza and even invoked its right to self-defense. They have refused to even call for a ceasefire.

Their actions have exposed selective application and blatant disregard of international laws and public opinion driven by their desire to secure their geopolitical interests in Asia and the Middle East, in particular.

Fight for self-determination

Palestinian resistance has found natural allies among the indigenous peoples (IPs) around the world. The oppression faced by Palestinians against the racist settler-colonial state resonates loudly with IPs who are waging struggles over the same issues faced by the former--the loss of their ancestral lands, rampant discrimination, deprivation of social services, and state repression.

State-backed land grabbing by Jewish settlers over Palestinian lands finds a striking parallel in the forcible displacement of IPs due to government policy of opening ancestral lands to big mining and logging companies, agribusiness plantations, pipelines, and renewable energy projects.

Acts of resistance are met by harassment, violence, and militarization of communities. By labeling resistance as terrorism, governments target IP rights defenders by criminalizing their works, dragging them into long and tedious court trials. IP organizations are vilified as terrorist fronts, their members facing surveillance and regular threats of arrest, enforced disappearance, or worse, death.

Just as Israel imposes repressive laws on Palestinians to stifle resistance and violate human rights, governments in many parts of the world are weaponizing the laws to suppress crucial human rights work. In the Philippines, for instance, government officials are now using the contentious anti-terrorism law to persecute rights defenders.



A victim-survivor of human rights violation expresses support for the Palestinian cause.

Just recently, the anti-terror council arbitrarily designated various human rights and IP rights defenders as terrorists and froze their assets and funds, which hindered them from carrying out their important human rights work.

Surge of protests

The Palestinian solidarity protests continue to surge with no signs of any letup thus far. Protesters are persistently demanding a permanent ceasefire in Gaza, unlimited humanitarian aid to victims of bombings, and an end to US military support for Israel. Calls for sanctions against Israel and a boycott of all products of Israel and international companies that are involved in Israel's violations of Palestinian rights are gaining ground in different parts of the world.

In the Philippines, the Philippines-Palestine Friendship Association (PPFA) leads mass actions to show solidarity with the Palestinian's resistance against Israel's aggressions. Founded in 2015, the PPFA is an initiative to promote a strong solidarity link between the Filipino and Palestinian people and highlight their common struggles against imperialism to achieve national self-determination and liberation.



Filipinos in the United States marched in the streets to oppose US-backed genocide in Palestine.

© Altermidya

The PPFA supports the urgent call for an international and independent investigation to hold Israel to account for its human rights violations and war crimes against Palestinians, including the US complicity in these crimes by providing arms and military aid.

Role of Social Media

While Western mainstream media have consistently shown their bias and double standards in covering Israel's atrocities against the Palestinian people, solidarity movements are utilizing social media to counter disinformation and false narratives being spread by Israeli state propaganda.

Moreover, they now consider social media a vital component of public awareness-raising, organizing, and mobilization. Social media has indeed facilitated communication and coordinated efforts among solidarity movements that generate international pressure on governments.

Historic moment

Israel's continuing genocide in Gaza and the US complicity in its crimes against the Palestinians have created massive waves of popular actions in solidarity with them. Remarkably, Palestinians' steadfast resistance against Israel's occupation has galvanized international solidarity movements, especially those from the Global South who view Israel's acts of impunity and US complicity through the lens of their own struggle against colonialism and imperialism.

Hence, the international solidarity movements must seize this historic moment not only to denounce Israel's genocide and expose the US' complicity in committing this crime but also to bring to the fore the legitimate Palestinian struggle against occupation and for self-determination, in which resistance in any form is a fundamental course of action to achieve national liberation.

: : : : :

Lloyd Natividad is a Filipino development worker involved in international solidarity work with the people of Palestine.

**THE
MONSTROSITY
OF FERDINAND
MARCOS JR.**



KARAPATAN