

Politika at Panitikan sa Pananaw ni F. Sionil Jose: Isang Pakikipanayam /

Politics and Literature from the Point of View of F. Sionil Jose: An Interview

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Abstrak: Sa dami ng taon bílang isang manunulat na maraming parangal, nananatiling aktibo sa larangan ng panitikan ang awtor na si Francisco Sionil Jose, 93, sa pagpapatuloy sa paggabay sa mga batang manunulat, sa politikal na larangan, at sa panitikan. Kilalá sa kaniyang mga politikal na mga sanaysay at nobela, pinanghahawakan pa din niya ang Politika, na patuloy niyang inuugnay sa panitikan. Binibigyan ng papel na panayam na ito, ang perspektiba ng matandang manunulat, mula sa kaniyang mga karanasan sa Panahon ng Hapon, sa Batas Militar, hanggang sa kasalukuyan. Tinatalakay din nito ang kaniyang mga pananaw sa Administrasyong Duterte, ukol sa mga Amerikanong Base Militar sa Pilipinas, at sa pagiging isang nasyon ng ating bansa. Mahalaga sa panayam na ito ang kaniyang mga pananaw tungkol sa Rebolusyon, kung saan may pinanghahawakan siyang Marxistang pananaw; tinatalakay din ang pagbabago ng opinyon niya tungkol sa Komunismo, Kapitalismo, at pagiging isang bansa. Sa pangkalahatan, minamapa nito ang mga esensiyal sa kaniyang politikal na pananaw sa kasalukuyan, isinulat at ibinuod sa isang papel.

Mga Susing Salita: Politika, Panitikan, Rebolusyon, Nasyonalismo, Komunismo, Kapitalismo, Batas Militar

Abstract: Years of being a decorated writer, Francisco Sionil Jose, 93, remains active in the literary field, continuing to inspire and mentor young aspiring writers, both in the literary and political sphere. Known for his political essays and novels, Jose continues to hold politics dear, constantly integrating it with his literature. This paper interview serves to give an overview of the old writer, from his experiences during the Japanese Occupation, and Martial Law, to the current times. It explores his views on the current Duterte administration, on the U.S. military bases in the Philippines and the nationhood of the country. The interview also highlights his views on Revolution, in which he holds an essentially Marxist view, and explores the shifts in his views on Communism, Capitalism and Nationhood. Overall, it maps the essentials of his political views at the present, all transcribed and synthesized in this paper.

PANIMULA

Marami na ang nasabi tungkol sa tanyag na nobelista at Pambansang Alagad ng Sining sa Panitikan na si Francisco Sionil Jose (Ipinanganak: Disyembre 24, 1924): kilalá siya sa mga nobelang tumatalakay sa mga napapanahong isyu ukol sa politika at lipunan. kilalá din sa husay at kasanayan sa panitikan at dedikadong alagad nito, partikular sa pagtatag at aktibong partisipasyon sa Philippine PEN (Poets, Essayists, Novelists), at sa pagtanggap ng maraming karangalan sa dyornalismo at panitikan. Isang kontrobersiyal na pigura, marami ang hanga sa kasanayan niya sa pagsulat at malugod na isinasapuso ang progresibong mensahe ng kaniyang mga sanaysay at nobela; lalo't noong panahon ng Batas Militar ay marami din ang pinaratangan siya bilang komunista at matapat na tagasuporta nito; subalit marami rin sa kabilang bandá, ang kumukuwestiyon sa kaniyang katapatan sa pinanghahawakan niyang *rebolusyon*, na pinaratangan pa siyang ahente ng CIA para sa Estados Unidos, at kinukuwestiyon ang pagbaling ng kaniyang pananaw ukol sa mga Base Militar ng mga Amerikano sa bansa.

Sa panayam na papel na ito, tinuklas ng dalawang mananaliksik na sina Dr. Feorillo Petronillo A. Demeterio III at Mr. Joshua Mariz B. Felicilda ang politikal at panitikan sa pananaw ng isang F. Sionil Jose. Ngayo'y nasa hustong gulang na 93, kadalasa'y makikita ang awtor na nangangasiwa sa kaniyang munting bookstore na Solidaridad sa Ermita, Maynila. Hango at may inspirasyon mula sa *La Solidaridad* na pahayagan ng mga kilusang propaganda noong Panahon ng mga Kastila, ang munting bookstore na ito'y bukal na mayaman sa mahahalaga at klasikong aklat na ambag ng mahahalagang awtor sa panitikan, at nagsisilbing inspirasyon na magmumulat sa kasalukuyang henerasyon sa mga isyung politikal at panlipunang mga suliranin. Aniya'y gaya ng pagmulat ng *La Solidaridad* sa mga kapuwa Filipino at Kastila ukol sa pang-aapi ng mga kolonyal na kapangyarihan, ang *Solidaridad* (ang bookstore at ang pahayagan ni Jose) ay lunan ng pagmulat sa kasalukuyang henerasyon ukol sa pananamantala't pang-aabuso ng oligarkiya at ng mga nasa kapangyarihan.

Mula sa bookstore na ito matatanaw ang respetadong awtor, kung minsang tumatanggap ng mga bisitang interesante sa panitikan, mga munting makata't nobelista; kung minsan nama'y mga mananaliksik at

mga akademikong interesado sa kaniyang pananaw sa politika at karanasan. Hindi maipagkakailang kahit sa matandang edad ay masigasig at aktibo siya sa paghubog sa kamalayan ng mga susunod na henerasyon. Kaya't malugod din ang kaniyang pagtanggap sa mga mananaliksik na nakipanayam sa kaniya.

Nagmula ang proyektong ito sa may dalawang taon nang kolaborasyon nina Demeterio, bilang propesor sa araling Filipino sa Pamantasang De La Salle, at Felicilda, bilang mag-aaral sa programang masterado sa Araling Filipino sa nasabing pamantasan. Nakapaglathala na ng artikulo si Demeterio noong 2008 tungkol kay Jose, artikulong may pamagat na "A Comparative Study on the Theme of Human Existence in the Novels of Albert Camus and F. Sionil Jose," at napag-aralan na rin niya ang karamihan sa mga nobela ni Jose sa kaniyang disertasyong isinumite sa Pamantasan ng Pilipinas Diliman noong 2004. Kayâ noong naging mag-aaral niya si Felicilda ay iminungkahi ni Demeterio na si Jose ang maging paksa ng tesis masterado ni Felicilda. Nakapagsulat na ang dalawang mananaliksik ng artikulo tungkol sa ideolohiyang politikal na nakapaloob sa *Rosales Saga* ni Jose, at kasalukuyan itong isinailalim sa mabusising proseso ng review sa *Humanities Diliman Journal*. May nakatabi pang isang manuskrito ang dalawang mananaliksik na tungkol pa rin sa ideolohiyang politikal na nakapaloob naman sa nalalabing mga nobela ni Jose. Napagpasiyahan ng dalawang mananaliksik na para lubusan silang maging handa sa pagsusulat ni Felicilda sa kaniyang tesis masterado ay magsagawa sila ng pakikipanayam kay Jose tungkol sa kaniyang pananaw sa politika at panitikan.

Matapos planuhin nina Demeterio at Felicilda ang daloy na pakikipanayam at talaan ng mahahalagang tanong, isinagawa ni Felicilda ang unang pakikipanayam kay Jose sa tanggapan niya sa itaas na palapag ng kaniyang Solidaridad Bookshop, Kalye Padre Faura, Ermita, Maynila, noong ika-8 ng Hunyo 2017. Pinag-aralan nina Demeterio at Felicilda ang transkrip at gumawa sila ng panibagong talaan ng mga susog na tanong at isinagawa ni Felicilda ang ikalawang pakikipanayam kay Jose noong ika-24 ng Hunyo 2017 sa parehong lokasyon.

Malinaw ang kaniyang prinsipyo't mensahe mula sa kaniyang mga nobela at mga sanaysay, at sa haba ng karera niya bilang isang manunulat, ay maraming munting pag-iiba at alterasyon sa kaniyang mga

paniniwala, ngunit sa sentro nito'y tila matatag ang kaniyang paghugot at sentimyento sa konsepto ng hustisya para sa naaapi, pagbuo ng isang bansa, at ang pinakamatinik, ang kaniyang pagkahumaling sa konsepto ng *rebolusyon* (na mariin niyang iginigiit sa panayam na ito). Paksa ito ng panayam na isinagawa ng mga mananaliksik kay F. Sionil Jose. Nagsimula ang mga mananaliksik sa pagtalakay sa politikal na aspekto ng panitikan ni Jose at ang mga salik na nagtulak sa kaniyang mga politikal na pananaw. Kronolohikong tinalakay sa panayam ang Politikal na kasaysayang nasaksihan at dinanas ni Jose, magmula noong Panahon ng Hapon, tungo sa Batas Militar at hangga't sa mga komentaryo nito sa Administrasyong Duterte.

Dahil sa lawak, lalim, bagsik, at halaga ng naging kabuoang transkrip, napagkasunduan ng dalawang mananaliksik na ilathala nila ito para mapakinabangan ng ibang Pilipinong may interes sa kaisipan ni Jose, pati na iyong mga Pilipinong may pakialam at malasakit sa bansa. Kayâ nabuo ang papel na ito na ipinakita muna kay Jose bago isinumite sa *journal* na ito. Marami nang nailathalang pakikipanayam kay Jose, ngunit ito pa lámang ang komprehensibo at intensibong tumutok sa ugnayan ng kaniyang politika at panitikan.

TRANSKRIP NG PAKIKIPANAYAM

Joshua Mariz B. Felicilda (JMBF): Bakit po matingkad ang politika sa inyong mga obra?

Francisco Sionil Jose (FSJ): *Because, lalo na sa bayan natin, almost everything is very political. You cannot avoid politics, hijo, wherever you turn. Art is political, life is political, meaning, there is always a question of conflict. Kapag nagkaroon ng question of conflict, politikal na iyan. And our society is filled with such conflicts you know. Some of them, we are incapable of resolving, because, these problems go back to the nature of man. So if it goes back to the nature of man, it becomes very philosophical, and it becomes even more difficult to resolve, those issues . . . of good and evil. In almost every case we try to break these things, these problems, sometimes we cannot do that because these issues are very complex. The nature of man is very complex. And the nature of man is also political. Naghalo-halo na iyan, hijo. The complexity of human beings is such that you*

embrace that all of mankind, in fact, the whole universe itself. . . . So, I am not saying this as an ex cathedra statement ha. But iyon ang pagtingin ko lang. . . .

JMBF: Sir, hindi po ba matagal na ninyong ginusto na maging manunulat?

FSJ: *Ahh, no. No, hijo. I wanted to be a doctor. I flunked biochemistry. That was what led me to become a novelist. Paz Latorena was my favorite teacher in the University of Santo Tomas. Sabi niya, "Sionil it is good that you flunked medicine." "Ma'am bakit naman ganun?" "Well," sabi niya, "when you become a doctor, you will become a lousy doctor because you have too much imagination." And, naisip-isip ko, tama nga siya siguro.*

JMBF: Bakit po noong kayo ay naging manunulat na ay doon kayo tumutok sa mga sosyo-politikal na usapin ng bansa natin?

FSJ: *Malawak iyan, hijo. That is a very broad problem. Perhaps, because of my own background, my own understanding of society itself. Kasi, I came from a very poor background. Mahirap kami, farming pa, but that is one thing I'd like to think about farmers, kahit pa tenant farmers ha. They are very close to the land. And the people who are closest to the land, in my mind, are the foremost nationalists of any nation eh. Kasi, they get to love the land, not only as something to love emotionally but physically because doon sila nabubuhay, iyong mga peasants. That is why there are also many peasant revolts, lalo na sa atin.*

JMBF: Sir, kapag babalikan natin ang kasaysayan, sa pananaw po ninyo, alin ang mas masahol, ang Panahon ng mga Hapon o iyong Panahon ng Martial Law?

FSJ: *Ahh, iyong Panahon ng Hapon, siyempre. But the Marcos years were also horrible. And this is one of the reasons why I don't like Duterte. I used to like Duterte very much. Pero when he said he was pro-Marcos, ahh, sabi ko, "wala na ito." I was just discussing this with a Japanese journalist na nanggaling dito. Kasi noong umpisa, I thought he would be a kind of Magsaysay because Magsaysay was our best. . . .*

JMBF: Maaari po ba ninyong ikuwento ang Panahon ng mga Hapon? Paano po ba kayo namumuhay noong panahong iyon?

FSJ: *Alam mo, noong primero, during the first year of the Occupation, the Japanese were, in a sense, very*

civil. But by April 1942, lumabas na ang natural nilang kulay. Because by that time, nangyari na iyong Bataan Death March. So, alam na namin na they were going to be brutal.

JMBF: Meron po ba kayong mga kakilalang napahamak noong Panahon ng Hapon?

FSJ: Ay oo, siyempre, may mga namatay pa. *My own cousin died in Capaz.*

JMBF: Paano po natin maihahambing ang antas ng pamumuhay noong Pahanon ng Hapon at ng Martial Law?

FSJ: Walang pagkain noong Pahanon ng Hapon. Sa panahon ni Marcos, may pagkain. Noon, talagang walang pagkain. *So, in Manila, there was actual starvation. So, people were killing rats and cats. I had to walk from Manila to Rosales, it took me one week. . . . Before the war, alam na naming dadating na ang mga Hapon, because they were already in China, they have occupied French Indo-China, Taiwan was already in their hands, and the war in China was already going on. So, before the war we had air raid drills, and we had black out and evacuation drills. Pero noong nagkagiyera na, wala namang nangyari. I had to go to Tutuban to climb into the windows to get into the train to go back to Rosales, and I was in my hometown noong dumating sila.*

JMBF: Paano po dumating ang mga Hapon?

FSJ: *First they had high-flying planes, they were dropping propaganda leaflets. Noong malapit nang dumating sila, we went to the far flung villages and it was from the distance, on the main highway that we saw them. Nakabisikleta lang sila. Then, we went slowly into town and found that they were very civil. Wala pa naman noong nangyayari. But then immediately at the start of the rainy season, after April, they started slapping. They became very viscious.*

JMBF: Personal po ba ninyong naranasan ang kanilang karahasan?

FSJ: Ilang beses akong sinampal. *I experienced so much physical punishment under them. You just don't know how much I hated the Japanese. I never thought that I'd be able to have social relations with them. First, food rationing, and of course, walang damit, walang food and medicines. Wala lahat ang mga iyan. Kinukuwento ng iba, in the streets of Manila, iyong niyog, it was roasted in the streets at pinagbibilihan. Ang tawag doon*

“casta-niyog,” from castanyas. Iyong mga wala nang masigarilyo, some smoked papaya leaves. Ginagamit iyong peryodiko at pahina ng telephone directory as cigarette paper. Noong bandang huli, wala nang damit. So, iyong mga farmers, iyong sako, iyon ang suot nila. Ang mga sako noon, hindi katulad ng mga sako ngayon. The old sacks were rough, kasi they were made of jute from Bangladesh. Tapos iyong mga nasa Maynila, wala nang sapatos. So, they started making shoes. Kayâ handcrafted iyong mga sapatos. Wala na iyong mga movies. Pero, nandoon pa ang mga plays. The first class theatres in Manila exhibited plays, some of the classics like Cyrano de Bergerac.

JMBF: Ano pa ‘pong nangyari?

FSJ: *Then, dumating na iyong mga Amerikano. I was in Rosales when they arrived. The first air raid pala, September 20-something, kasi nagbukas na noon ang mga klase. Not all the schools, but University of Santo Tomas opened its campus in Intramuros. Kasi iyong Santo Tomas sa España, that was were the allied prisoners, and the civilians were imprisoned. I attended the Santo Tomas classes at Intramuros. . . . We had Japanese lessons noong nagkaroon ng first air raid. They were flying very low, so nakikita namin iyong mga pilots nagwe-wave na noon. We were having Japanese classes, and when we realized they were American planes, we started jumping. San Juan de Letran is still the same, hindi siya nasira. If you go to Intramuros, it is still the same. The Japanese placed anti-aircraft guns there. So when the first air raid started “Boom! Boom! Boom!” So the old windows in the buildings nagbukasan para makita. That was in the afternoon. Pagkatapos noon, wala nang klase. It was two o'clock in the afternoon, I was staying in Antipolo Street and you could here them whirring, “wooooooh..” and I was like, “nako andiyan na!” The sky was black with airplanes talaga. Tapos iyong anti-aircraft guns, kapag puputok there were puffs of black smoke. Pagkatapos, that was very dangerous pala. Some were wounded or killed from the shrapnel. Then doon, naghigpit na. That was September; October, by November umuwi na kami. Wala nang pagkain sa Maynila.*

JMBF: Ano pong ginawa ninyo?

FSJ: *That was when we walked all the way, at night. Wala nang tao all the way from Manila, through*

Pangasinan. There were no more people along the highways, because they already evacuated. So we would sleep a few houses from the highway, and under the houses. And we could hear the Japanese marching at night. And in the daytime, mga American planes would be flying so low, the air was controlled by the Americans na. And the highway, andaming táong naglalakad kagaya namin. So that was it.

JMBF: Ano naman po ang inyong karanasan noong Panahon ng Martial Law? Personal po ba ninyong naranasan ang karahasan ng panahong iyon?

FSJ: Ayy, marami! *We suffered. Solidarity, the journal I was editing, had a subscription of I think 8,000 copies or more from the government. That alone, took care of the printing cost. So noong Martial Law, inalis kaagad iyon. At saka it was taken over by Kerima Polotan's publication. Tapos, one of my best-selling books, The Management of Men, textbook iyan sa business schools, ninakaw ng isang major. He totally just photographed it, reprinted it and sold it himself. Sabi ko noon, "you were supposed to protect us! Why did you do this?" Ayy, galit siya. Wala akong magawa. I can't complain. Tapos, some of my books, like My Brother, My Executioner, were banned. Hindi pinalabas. It was ready to go to press. . . . Tapos, iyong libro ni Fr. Horacio Dela Costa, ganoon din. Malaking gastos iyon kasi they were ready to go to press. Yung play by Nina Estrada Puyat, na-censor iyan. Iyong isang novel ni Bienvenido Santos, these are already about to go to press. Gumasta na ako ng thousands doon, tapos, wala. Na-censor.*

JMBF: Sir, iyong nobelang *Mass*, nai-publish po ninyo iyan habang umiiral na ang Martial Law. Paano po iyon nakalusot gayong iyon ang pinakalantarang bumabatikos sa Martial Law?

FSJ: Ganito iyan. *I presented the manuscript to two publishers. I forgot the name, basta iyong protestante na publisher. . . . ayaw niya i-publish. She said, "Frankie, if I use this, lagot ako." And so I gave it to Eugenia Apostol, publisher ng Inquirer, kumadre ko iyan, ha. It's the same thing. So what I did was to mimeograph it, iyong ginagawa ng mga Russians. I distributed 20 copies to friends. So, the reason I couldn't publish it was not because I was afraid. It was because I have no money, kasi naghirap kami noong Martial Law. I almost sold my house kasi andami kong utang eh. It was an*

economic problem for us. So, my Dutch publisher, Sjef Theunis, asked about the book. I don't know how he learned about it. So, sabi ko, "Yes, I have a new novel." So I sent it to him. He put it out immediately. It was a best seller in Holland. So, noong dumating iyong royalties ko dito, inilabas ko na rin ang nobela. I had it printed.

JMBF: Ano pong nangyari noong nai-publish na ninyo ang nobela dito?

FSJ: *So noong lumabas na, some of my friends said, "Naku, Frankie, kawawa ka. Lagot ka ngayon kay Rolando Abadilla." But I took a gamble. Because you know, for all these things that Marcos did that were very bad or the country, he was a deliberate man. Deliberate si Marcos, iho. This was confirmed to me by Jose "Pepe" Diokno. Kasi, after two years, Marcos released him from imprisonment, pero hindi niya ni-release si Ninoy Aquino. . . . Sabi ni Pepe, "Frankie, you must understand that Marcos is a very deliberate man, na he does not do things for vengeance." "He looks at events and how they affect him," sabi niya. "First, I have no presidential ambitions. Second, he knows that I don't have a political machine like Ninoy; or the following that Ninoy has. So, there is no use putting me in jail and letting me suffer. Because even if I can go around the country making all those speeches, he is firmly in power, and he knows I cannot dislodge him." And so, I took a gamble. First, Marcos knew that Filipinos didn't read novels.*

JMBF: May iba pa bang anyo ng karahasang nangyari po sa inyo noong Panahon ng Martial Law?

FSJ: *This bookshop was. . . nagkaroon ng break-in dito. At saka, there was a time when I was leaving for abroad; hindi na ako pinayagan at the airport. There was even a case against me. . . of theft against me. Nagnakaw daw ako ng 900 peso Seiko watch. So, hindi ako makaalis, after I was already granted permission to leave. I couldn't travel for four years immediately after Martial Law was declared. Every time I went to get my passport, ang sabi nila I cannot leave.*

JMBF: Para po bang pinatawan kayo ng travel ban noong Martial Law?

FSJ: *I had to pull strings with people I knew. Number one, because at least Marcos knew I was for his land-reform program. I have a friend, Robert Tilman. He was a dean of College of Liberal*

Arts yata, nakalimutan ko lang kung saan. In the University of North Carolina yata. . . . Pumunta siya dito, nag-usap kami. . . . So ang sabi ko, "Will you do me a favor?" Sabi niya, "yes, Frankie." I asked him, "Will you write me an official letter inviting me to a non-existent conference on land reform?" And so, sumulat siya. So, si Francisco "Kit" Tatad, you know, kaibigan ko siya. He was the Information Secretary of the regime. . . . Sabi niya, pumunta ako sa Secretary of Foreign Affairs. . . . The Secretary of Foreign Affairs at that time was Manuel "Maning" Collantes. . . . and we were quite close. . . . Sabi niya, "you should have come to me earlier; noon pa." . . . So, he opened one of his drawers, and there was a list of blacklisted people, ang kapal!

JMBF: Ano po ang dahilan kung bakit nakasama ang pangalan ninyo sa *blacklist* na iyon?

FSJ: *Then, Maning asked me, "what's wrong between you and Johnnie?" Johnnie is Juan Tuvera, a presidential assistant, from Moncada, Tarlac. He was a college friend and we worked together in the Manila Times. Ito iyong asawa ni Kerima Polotan. Para kaming magkapatid niyan. . . I told him, "wala naman. We are very good friends." So, sinabi ni Maning kay Johnnie sa telepono, "Johnnie, I'm removing Frankie from the blacklist." Tapos ang sabi niya sa akin, "Ano ba iyang PEN (Poets, Playwrights, Editors, Essayists, and Novelists) na iyan, komunista daw iyan?" So, sabi ko "no, it is a world-wide organization. It's not communist." "Well whatever it is," sabi niya, "ako na ang bahala. Wala ka na dito sa blacklist." . . . One of my closest friends, hanggang ngayon, I don't know why he put me there. I can only surmise that he knew I disliked Marcos.*

JMBF: Ano po ang naging epekto ng Martial Law sa inyong politikal na pananaw?

FSJ: *None. Hardly any impact. By the 1960s, I have told you, that was when I have accepted revolution. It hasn't changed. Even up to now, I still believe in it.*

JMBF: Masasabi po ba ninyong tumindi ito dahil sa Martial Law?

FSJ: *In a sense, yes. Well, sabi ko noon, Marcos was the best recruiter of the New People's Army.*

JMBF: Pinatawad na po ba ninyo ang mga Hapon?

FSJ: *Oh yes. Yes, I have. Otherwise, I would not have Japanese friends. But not forget ha. Not*

forget. I would not have had any social relations with the Japanese. Some of them have been very good friends. Naging kaibigan kong matalik ang Japanese translator ko eh. They are like other people. They can be very reclusive, but they can also be very warm.

JMBF: Bakit po ninyo napatawad ang mga Hapon, habang si Marcos ay parang hindi pa rin?

FSJ: *Very good question. I have never thought of that. If you did not ask me that, I would not have thought about it at all. Malalim ang galit ko talaga kay Marcos eh. I don't know why. Maybe I should ask myself. Maybe even, I should re-examine my conscience; because by the time I reached 70, all the people who have done me wrong, I have forgiven them; but not forget ha, like I said. And it was a big load of mine. Pero hanggang ngayon I haven't forgiven Marcos. I haven't forgiven him, because of the harm that he did to this country was really malalim. He decimated a whole generation of possible leaders. Remember that.*

JMBF: Malalim po ang sinabi ninyong "nilipol ni Marcos ang isang salinlahi ng mga umuusbong na pinuno." Pero hindi din po kayâ mahirap patawarin si Marcos dahil hanggang sa kasalukuyan ay nagdudusa pa rin ang ating bansa dahil sa mga nagawa niya?

FSJ: *Yeah of course! This is what many Filipinos don't realize. Because on the contrary, he could have done so much. That's the other side of the coin. He wasted all those years*

JMBF: May mga pagbabago po ba sa inyong politikal na pananaw matapos mapatalsik si Marcos?

FSJ: *One basic change was my attitude towards the American bases, and on communism. One thing you must remember, about my generation, the Post-war Filipino writers, most of us were kaliwete. Several things influenced them of the west. And also for those of us who come from very poor backgrounds, our own past had something to do with it. And also because, the so-called intellectual attraction of communism. May kasabihan nga noon na "communism is the opium of intellectuals," like "religion is the opium of the masses." So, that kind of intellectualism was also an attraction. And then the other of course, like me, part of the background, is the situation of the oppressed, as well as the climate also.*

JMBF: Paano po kayo napunta sa hanay ng komunismo?

FSJ: *I was introduced to the communist way way back in the 1940s, probably in 1947. Because, when I was studying in Santo Tomas, one of my first jobs was being a reporter for the Commonwealth, this is the Catholic weekly, and my bit was in labor. I was at the Congress of Labor Organization (CLO). It was in Azcarraga Street, in front of the old Carmelo and Bauerman Office. . . . That was where I met Mariano Balgos, Guillermo Capadocia, Amado Hernandez, kasama si Luis Taruc. So, that early, I was exposed already to the left. And emotionally I was with them.*

JMBF: Tumagal po ba ang emosyonal na attachment ninyo sa komunismo?

FSJ: *In 1967, I was the only Filipino writer invited to the 50th Anniversary of the October Revolution, in Moscow. I was invited there by the Writers' Union, because by that time I already started the Philippine Chapter of PEN. Before going to Moscow, I toured the Eastern European countries. So I was in Prague, Belgrade, iyong mga Eastern European capitals, and of course Moscow. And that was where I was very very disappointed by what I saw in these so-called communist countries. So that the next time I went to Moscow, because I went there several times, I already had to bring my own toilet paper, toiletries. But in 1965, I was invited to the Congress for Cultural Freedom Conference in Berlin. In that year, I spent a month also in the Basque region of Spain. And that's where I wrote "The Pretenders." It was in that month when I was in Spain in 1965 that I was already veering towards revolution, in my thinking ha, but it was in 1965 when I fully accepted the idea of revolution, ideologically ha. And it had nothing to do with communism. So, when I accepted that belief, I felt as though I was liberated hijo, a great sense of liberation.*

JMBF: Ano naman po ang pagbabago sa inyong pananaw tungkol sa mga base militar ng mga Amerikano?

FSJ: *Now, but even before that, shortly after the independence in 1946, when the Americans imposed on us parity and American bases, I was very opposed to both. I changed my mind on the bases, late na, because my immediate opposition to them was based on 1) they were developing a system of dependency on the Filipinos, and 2)*

they were hampering the nationalist growth of this country. Those were my major reasons. I changed my mind eventually when I realized that even the Japanese were paid for the bases. So, nawala iyong argument ko. How did Japan, Taiwan, and Korea develop, considering that these countries also have US bases? So the basis for my argument, nawala. And so I changed my mind. . . .

JMBF: Ano na po ang kasalukuyang paninindigan ninyo tungkol sa mga base militar ng mga Amerikano?

FSJ: *Now? Sometimes, I think that we should not have let the American bases go eh. Because when we let them go, lumakas ang loob ng mga Tsino na ito, eh. They gained courage. Like for instance, in Panatag Shoal, noon, doon nagtatarget practice and US Navy, eh.*

JMBF: Ibig po ba ninyong sabihin ay naging tagasuporta kayo ng komunismo noong kabataan ninyo?

FSJ: *In a sense yes, because hanggang ngayon, I am for revolution. I still think it is necessary for this country, hijo. But not revolution by the Duterte. I was discussing this with a Japanese journalist kanina. I said that revolution must have a moral foundation. How can Duterte have a moral foundation when he sided with the Marcoses?*

JMBF: Isinulat po ninyo ang *Mass* sa kasagsagan ng Martial Law, habang iyong ibang nobela ng *Rosales Saga* ay nakonseptuwalisa na ninyo bago pa man ang Martial Law. Naiiba po ba ang politikal na paninindigan ng *Mass* kung ihahambing sa ibang nobela ng *Rosales Saga*?

FSJ: *Not much. Not much. Because my basic belief is a revolution that need not be violent. Although, violence is a choice. Huwag mong alisin ang option na iyan. That is always an option.*

JMBF: May mga pagbabago ba sa inyong politikal na paninindigan?

FSJ: *Oh yeah, yeah. Like for instance, I was totally against the oligarchy, the very rich. I have sort of tempered my view on that, because, I don't know if this was conditioned by me growing old, or simply an acceptance that you cannot make a general rule.*

JMBF: Kailan po nangyari ang pagbabagong ito?

FSJ: *Since the 80s siguro. Because I can see quite a few wealthy Filipinos who sympathized with me. And I can see that some people, like Betsy in Mass, are very sincere, but ang problema niyan. . .*

*Okay, I'll give you a very interesting anecdote, ha. My father-in-law, who was a medical doctor, who actually believed in me, and who was a surrogate father to me. . . . At that time, he was downstairs, and who would come in but Luis Araneta and Raul Manglapus. We were downstairs, nagtutuksuhan kami sa babâ. And when they left. My father said, "Frankie, what would happen to your revolution when some of your friends belong to the oligarchy?" And so I said, "**Papa, I'll cross the bridge when I get there.**" But the fact is, some of these people also who share my ideas. So, I said, "ano ito?"*

JMBF: Parang sinasabi po ninyo na may masasamang *oligarch* at may mabubuting *oligarch*. Paano po natin malalaman na ang isang *oligarch* ay mabuting tao at mabuting Filipino?

FSJ: Pag-aralan mo *where he puts his money*. How his money is invested. Pag-aralan mo 'yung mga charities niya, because there are a lot of rich people who give to charity but they don't want it mentioned. At saka, madali lang iyan, eh. Where do they really put their money? Gaya ko halimbawa, if I were any of the Ayalas, kasi for instance, I have 10 billion. Of course kunwari lang, Joshua, ha. Wala naman talaga akong ganoong pera. I would put, say, 100 million in America, 100 million in Japan, and 100 million in Europe. Sobra na iyon. Sobra na iyon para maging *nest egg*, just in case. Sobra na iyon. The rest, dito na. I would invest number 1, most importantly, in agriculture. Kasi wala tayong food security. Then I would invest in food industries to see to it that we have food security during the lean months. Lalo na during the times that the Filipinos only eat twice a day, or even once a day. How do you stop that from being an annual threat to the country?

JMBF: Bukod po sa agrikultura at food industry, saan pa dapat maglagat ng investment ang mabubuting *oligarch*?

FSJ: Noong araw pa, sa *The Pretenders*, remember? I wrote that during my late teens and early twenties. **You could already see there my interest in industrialization.** Because steel mill ang number one doon. It was because, during the war, I was very much impressed by the Japanese. Teenager ako, I was wondering how they were able to be so powerful to challenge even the United States. My uncle was a surveyor. I think for two to three months, he had a contract with the Japanese to

survey an area in Floridablanca in Pampanga, to be an airbase. I was a laborer there. In the air field, we were close, I could see at close range the Japanese bombers and fighter planes. And nagtataka ako how they were able to build so much of this potential. So during the war, whatever material I could get from Japan, and after the war, I read on Japan. I came to the conclusion reading about modernization is that the basic industry for a country to develop is steel, because it is the basis of modernization. So you could see in The Pretenders, nagtayo ng steel mill si Don Manuel Villa.

JMBF: Ano po pala ang ibig ninyong sabihin sa salitang "rebolusyon"?

FSJ: Basically, I have a **Marxist definition: the transfer of power from the oppressor to the oppressed.** How it is done, we can have a lengthy discussion on that. . . . Because I think it can be done **through the ballot. In which case, violence is not necessary.** Ang problema, like for instance EDSA I, power was handed down to Corazon Aquino, who was herself a member of the oligarchy at wala naman siyang ginawa. But can you imagine if it was handed over to another person, who has an ideological mind like mine?

JMBF: Ibig po ba ninyong sabihin ay kapag naisalin lámang sana ang kapangyarihan sa mas tamang pinuno ay nagkaroon tayo ng tunay na rebolusyon?

FSJ: Well, 'yan ang pinag-usapan namin kanina, eh. **If change should come, the primary job of the leader of that change is to create jobs.** To create as many jobs as possible. Kahit ngayon halimbawa, if we can convince all our wealthy Filipinos not to build malls and gambling dens, but instead put that money into two things, infrastructure and production, basic yan. . . . And good government, so that you can collect taxes. **Okay lang to be populist, but look what happened to Venezuela. Ang malungkot sa atin, iyong EDSA I, which was replicated everywhere, but the essence of EDSA I, hindi pumasok sa puso ng mga leaders natin, the real essence. . . .**

JMBF: Sa palagay po ba ninyo ay kailangan pa rin natin ang rebolusyon sa kasalukuyang panahon?

FSJ: Yes of course! Why do you think the Middle East hanggang ngayon, they still believe in revolution? . . . even in South America. Of course. **As long as there is hunger, poverty, injustice. . . . Much of these jihadists, they are fueled by injustice.**

JMBF: Ano po ang tingin ninyo sa jihad?

FSJ: *Kasama iyan. Kasama iyan. I was in Sulu during the Kamlon campaign during the 1950s. I was there for four months during the campaign. I knew then that the solution was not military. They could not even capture Hadji Kamlon with his 100 men. Ilan bang battalion ang ipinadala doon bilang combat team? Maybe I am simplifying it too much, ha. It is far from simple. It is far more complex than that. Lalo na ngayon, iyong Mindanao problem, iyong mga clan doon, iyong relationship with the people in power, lumalabas na iyon, ha. That was already true before but in a much broader scale now.*

JMBF: Nabanggit na po ninyong kailangan pa rin ng kasalukuyang panahon ang rebolusyon, ngunit uubra ba ito sa kasalukuyang kumpigurasyon ng kapangyarihan?

FSJ: *Yes of course. Why not? It is always possible. Itong nangyari kay Duterte, in a sense it is a revolution. Why do you think the people voted for Duterte? Because they are mad of the corruption! Ang problema niya is that, he cannot shed of his "mayor of Davao" image.*

JMBF: Sa lahat po ng presidente ng Pilipinas na personal ninyong naobserbahan, sino ang pinakamabuti?

FSJ: *Madali iyan, iho. Si Magsaysay. The worst would be Marcos because he dragged the country down. Ramos was also good but not too good. I ranked them from one to ten eh. The highest was nine, wala nang nakaabot ng ten. It would be Magsaysay, then Quirino and then Ramos. I knew Magsaysay very well, I knew him personally. I was telling my wife the other night, because I saw both the funeral of Ninoy and the funeral of Magsaysay. There were far more people sa funeral ni Ninoy kaysa sa funeral ni Magsaysay. The difference, hijo, is that I did not see a single person na umiyak noong kay Ninoy. Noong kay Magsaysay, andami. You could see the people weeping.*

JMBF: Masasabi po ba natin na ang pagiging pangulo ni Magsaysay ay isang uri rin ng rebolusyon?

FSJ: *Well of course! Of course. Alam mo, Joshua, itong mga rebelde na ito. . . . kasama na diyan si Joma Sison. They cannot beat the Armed Forces of the Philippines! That and coupled with the people who believe in maintaining the Republic. That's what I said, "You cannot dismember this country now!" It could have been possible in 1946-1947, but*

you cannot do that now! Number one, you cannot defeat the armed forces, and if the armed forces is supported by the population that does not want this country to be dismembered. Also, the Americans will not permit the country to be dismembered. They will not! You look at the map and see how strategic our position is.

JMBF: Sa tingin po ba ninyo ay ang pakikibaka ng CPP at NPA ay talagang isang walang pag-asang kawsa?

FSJ: *Matagal ko nang sinasabi iyan. These moro rebels, andaming nasayang. How many lives have been lost? Mas maigi pa if they did it through the ballot. And it can be done.*

JMBF: Paano po ito maaaring mangyari?

FSJ: *Well, number one: Paano ba nanalo si Magsaysay? And number two: Paano ba lumakas ang Iglesia ni Cristo? All we have to do is to empower the lower classes. I am writing about this, eh. Can you imagine if the El Shaddai, the INC, the Black Nazarene devotees, tapos the earlier peasant groups, the HUKBALAHAP, the Colorums, kung nag-iisa iyan, with a political ideology. Kung 'yung Iglesia ni Kristo nga lang, kung may political ideology; magmartsa sila sa Congress, sa Malacanang, and then sa Forbes Park, shouting "Justice! Justice!" Tignan lang natin kung hindi natakot iyang mga politiko na iyan. Before EDSA, there were massive student demonstrations. They were burning shops in Quiapo, pati ang maliit na shop ko, they tried to burn it down. Ano ang ginawa ng mga taga-Forbes park. They all went to the hotels kasi natakot sila na baka sugurin sila.*

JMBF: Nasa masa po ba ang pag-asa ng bansa natin?

FSJ: *Ang ating masa, iyan ang ikinalulungkot ko. They are not politicized. Can you imagine if halimbawa, 'yung Iglesia ni Cristo lang, were politicized, or if the Church was able to politicize people who go and kiss the feet of the Black Nazarene, if they were politicized. Every so often, sometimes twice a year, the National Defense College asks me to speak before their students. . . . I described to them our armed forces, which comes from the masa. And all the soldiers came from the masa. It has always been that way. During the revolution, the Filipino-American war, the soldiers were from the masa. The Officers, hanggang ngayon, also come from the masa. Because the students of the PMA, this is their key towards social mobility. . . . So ito ang*

sinasabi ko sa National Defense College, "if our soldiers who come from the masa, fight the rebels who also come from the masa, who profits? When the poor kill the poor, who profits?" I always end my speech, "of all bureaucrats of this country, it is only you, the soldiers, who are pledged to die for this country. Nobody is pledged to die for this country except the soldiers." So ang sabi ko, "are you going to die for the Ayalas, the Cojuangcos, the Lucio Tans?" Sigawan sila!

JMBF: Bakit po nabanggit ninyo kanina na ang pagsuporta ng maraming Filipino kay Duterte ay para na ring isang uri ng rebolusyon?

FSJ: *Well, that's what he said he will do. . . But there were several things that Duterte did that I appreciate. **His declaring war with the oligarchy**, that's number one. The other thing I liked is when he challenged the Catholic Church. I also liked his approach to Russia and China, but not to denigrate the United States, and not to abandon, na parang kinalaban mo na ang America. Because you cannot do that. **If you want to stay in power, you have to accept certain realities.** One of them is that, he has **to have the loyalty of the army.** If you study the army, it's an American trained army. Its highest officers are graduates of West Point and Annapolis, and then you have a population that is very pro-American. **The Filipinos are not pro-Chinese. There is a latent anti-Chinese feeling over Southeast Asia, strongest in Indonesia, and weakest dito.** And these are the realities. A politician must face these realities. Can he go against these? Maybe, but he has to work hard.*

JMBF: Paano po sana maging tunay na rebolusyon ang pagkapanalo ni Duterte?

FSJ: Pagkapanalo ni Duterte, **tapos he declared a revolutionary government, rebolusyon na iyon.** But he did not, he did not declare a revolutionary government. Another thing is change, that means justice. Because you cannot have change kung wala namang justice. Wala. *It doesn't mean successfull ang revolution. Because you must **mention the change in terms that people can identify with.** Justice means three meals a day; it means a roof over their heads; it means education for their children! And these are basic things that are available in western democracies. . . . Why do you think Fidel Castro lasted for so long? Because the Cubans knew there was justice under*

*Castro. Hindi naman sila yumaman. They didn't have skyscrapers immediately, but they had food. They have free hospitals, free education. Iyon ang dinala ni Castro. That's why he lasted for so long. . . . On the other hand, makikita mo Venezuela; it was a government that was ushered by a populist who said that he was going to do what Castro did. Ang problema, they did not produce. Nagkaroon tuloy ng *anarchy*: walang gamot, walang pagkain. So populist demagogues can really destroy any government . . . if leaders do not produce.*

JMBF: Ibig po ba ninyong sabihin, ang pagkapanalo ni Duterte ay inisyal na *victory* lámang, at dapat itong sundan ng mas puspusang pagtatag ng makatarungang pagbabago?

FSJ: *Once you have achieved a revolution, meaning the transfer of power from the oppressor to the oppressed, that is the time that the revolutionaries should work the hardest. Even harder than when they were mounting the revolution. That was the time when they must change from conspirators to executives and work harder. Otherwise, walang mangyayari sa rebolusyon nila. **Revolution's success isn't the beginning, it's at the end. At dito sa atin, we cannot have it until we are united.** The success of a revolution is congruent to our development as a nation. And all these problems which disunite us could have been settled a long time ago if our leaders had vision. You need several things to build a nation: **1) you need to have a very reliable armed forces, that's what Magsaysay did; 2) you need to have a very reliable bureaucracy, that's what Magsaysay had; and 3) you need to have also, a very reliable popular support.** All of these Magsaysay had. But he did not have, however, an intellectual base, but he brought with him the most brilliant leaders of his time. Itong si Duterte, wala siyang intellectual base. . . Iyan ang kulang niya.*

JMBF: Sa ngayon po, saan ninyo ihananay si Duterte? Sa mabubuting pangulo ng bansa ba o sa masasama?

FSJ: *That is a big question mark. He still has five years to go. And another thing is, akala ko, **hindi siya malleable eh. But he backtracks din.** So, he is not absolutely hopeless. But when he accommodated the Marcoses, doon ako nag-alangan. Doon na ako nawalan ng ano. . . So, bahala na. **Titingnan ko na lang kung ano ang gagawin niya. But I***

really lost interest in him when he accommodated the Marcoses.

JMBF: Ano po kayâ ang dapat gagawin ni Duterte para lubusan natin siyang maihanay sa mabubuting pangulo ng ating bansa?

FSJ: *Number one, naisulat ko na ito: his think tank should look at the issues that unite us, and concentrate on them. And he should concentrate soonest on these terrorists. . . . At saka tama 'yung New York Times, eh: he was so concerned with the drug war that he failed to look at other issues. At saka, madami siyang napatay na hindi dapat namatay. And those are things that will backfire*

JMBF: Noong iginawad sa inyo ang karangalang maging Pambansang Alagad ng Sining noong 2001, may mga pagbabago pa bang nangyari sa inyong politikal na paninindigan?

FSJ: *No, wala na. It had remained constant na.*

JMBF: Sa pananaw po ninyo, umayos ba ang *political landscape* ng Pilipinas mula noong Panahon ng mga Hapon, hanggang sa Martial Law, at hanggang sa kasalukuyan?

FSJ: *Oh, that is not a question. Alam mo, there are two anthropologists who have been coming here for the last 40 years or more, almost 50 years na. One is Yasushi Kikuchi from Waseda University, he has ties with La Salle, and the other is Masaru Yamamoto from the Osaka Museum. They are working in Palawan and Mindoro, iyong mga Mangyan. So, this is the question I posed to both of them, because they are Japanese, eh, I wouldn't have asked them if they were not Japanese: "Do you feel that we are finally becoming a nation?" And both of them answered, "Yes, the Philippines is becoming a nation." That pleased me very much. We are on our way to becoming a nation, hijo.*

JMBF: Sa palagay po ninyo, ano kayâ ang kanilang batayan para masabi nilang nagiging bansa na tayo?

FSJ: *It takes years, centuries, for a country to become a nation, and there is no hurrying it. Because this is one of our basic problems. We have all the institutions of a modern state, but we are not yet a nation. A nation is a country that is "loved" by its own people. You know I was with a third generation Chinese, last month. Businessman ito. You know, iyong mga first generation Chinese*

Filipino, you can give them a big question mark; second generation, ganoon din, big question mark; third generation, not so much anymore; fourth generation, mga Pilipino na ito, and you don't have to worry about them. But the first and second, it is very possible that their loyalties are still in China. . . . So, itong third generation Chinese na ito, he treated me to lunch because I was giving his daughter advice because his daughter has very good possibilities as a writer. So, he was telling me about our problems, he was telling me about corruption still. But then he said, "Alam po ninyo, ang pananaw ko, karamihan sa mga leaders natin, hindi nila mahal ang bayan na ito." Because that is the core, hijo, that is the core. When people don't identify themselves with this country and love it enough. . . .

JMBF: Ang mga Filipino po rin ba ang ugat ng mga problema ng ating bansa?

FSJ: *Oh yeah! Of course we are the problem! We are the major problem, hijo.*

JMBF: Bakit po nasabi ninyo iyan?

FSJ: *Well, mahaba na iyan, hijo. We have to talk about the nature of man, about geopolitics, history, culture, so many things. It is a very complex question. There are no hard and easy answers. I've been wrestling with this all my life. I don't want to sound like our problems are easy to solve ha. They are not. And there are more powerful people who have looked at it.*

JMBF: Dahil po ba ito sa ating kolonyal na karanasan?

FSJ: *Halo-halo. Part of it, we are shaped by the past. Well, there are two important things to consider. The two great religions of Asia, Hinduism and Buddhism, did not come here. Iyong Buddhism, may ancestral worship iyan, the same with Hinduism. So, their sense of memory is much much better than ours. Because we have very little memory eh. At isa pa, the Hindus have a strong tradition of philosophy. Meron din naman tayo, if we go back to Christianity and how Western and Greek thought were passed on to us. But it is not as emphasized as it is with the Hindus. They breathe philosophy, eh, and that is why kung may kakilala kang mga Indians, nako, they are so argumentative. They read a lot because of their philosophical tradition. And so, culture, and history, halo-halo na iyan. And we are shaped also by our Spanish past, eh. The arrogance, the racism. . . .*

JMBF: Maaari po ba ninyong bigyan ng buod ang kasalukuyang politikal na paninindigan ng isang F. Sionil Jose?

FSJ: Mahirap, iho. Alam mo, *there were people who called me a communist. There were people who called me a CIA agent. I'd like to think of myself only as a Filipino writer, because, politically, I changed my mind, eh. However, I identify myself more on socialism, eh. Not on communism. Although there was a time when I was very pro communist. Most of my generation was.*

JMBF: *On the other hand, what do you think of Capitalism?*

FSJ: Pakinggan mo 'yung sinasabi ng Santo Papa. *Capitalism will lead to the destrucion of this planet. That is why it is necessary, Joshua, to limit growth, because American Capitalism as it is now, unlimited growth 'yan e. It's motivated by greed. That is why ethics is very important. But to be ethical, you don't have to be a communist. And revolution, do not remove violence, ha, It is a crucial part of revolution. But it is possible to have change without that kind of killing. . . If you can have change without violence, why not? Sa EDSA I, ilan ang namatay? Kakaunti. But that was to me a revolution.*

KONGKLUSYON

Hindi kumukupas ang politikal na dimensiyon sa dyornalismo at panitikan ni Jose. Mula pa noong panahong nag-aaral pa lámang siya sa pamantasan hanggang sa kasalukuyan, ang pagiging isang politikal na manunulat ay naging isang bokasyon na. Ang malawak na koleksiyon ng mga nobela, sanaysay, dula, at maikling kuwento ay nagbubukal sa misyon at paninindigan ng isang indibidwal para baguhin ang kamalayan ng kaniyang mga mambabasa, lalo na iyong nasa loob ng ating bansa. Dahil sa tinahak niyang landas, tinamo niya ang maraming papuri, kasama na rin ang ilang kritisismo at pati na banta sa kaniyang kaligtasan. Sa edad na 92 ay patuloy siyang sumusulat at nagmumungkahi ng kaniyang nalalaman mula sa karanasan bílang magsasaka, makata, kritiko ng lipunan, at Pambansang Alagad ng Sining.

Para sa dalawang mananaliksik na may adhikaing lalo pang maintindihan ang politikal na paninindigan

ni Jose at ng kaniyang panitikan, ang pakikipanayam na ito ay nagdulot ng maraming kabatiran. Una, nagsusulat si Jose batay sa kaniyang sariling karanasan. Lumaki siyang mahirap at mula sa pamilyang magsasakang walang sariling lupa. Hindi niya maaaring talikuran bílang pundamental na dimensiyon ng kaniyang politikal na paninindigan ang pagkiling sa sektor ng magsasaka at mga taong namumuhay malapit sa lupa. Nasaksihan din ni Jose ang Ikalawang Digmaan at ang karahasan ng mga Hapon. Aminado si Jose na malalim ang impluwensiya ng Ikalawang Digmaan sa paghubog ng kamalayan ng mga intelektuwal mula sa kaniyang henerasyon. Nakasalamuha ni Jose ang hanay ng komunismo, ngunit nadismaya siya nang makita ang tunay na kalagayan ng ilang komunistang bansa sa Europa. Nilisan niya ang komunismo ngunit bitbit ang paniniwala sa halaga ng rebolusyon. Naranasan din ni Jose ang pang-aabuso, panggigipit at kasakiman ng rehimeng Marcos. Para sa kaniya, kahit mas masahol ang pamumuhay noong Panahon ng Hapon kaysa noong umiiral ang Martial Law, napatawad na niya ang mga Hapon, ngunit hindi si Marcos. Ang naisip niyang dahilan ay ang paglipol ni Marcos sa isang salinlahi ng mga umuusbong sanang pinunò, isang paglalapastangang damâ pa rin hanggang ngayon ang epekto at patuloy maramdaman ng mga Filipino sa darating pang mga taon.

Pangalawang mahalagang kabatirang nalikom ng dalawang mananaliksik mula sa pakikipanayam kay Jose ay ang pagbanggit ni Jose na may ilang pagbabago sa kaniyang politikal na paninindigan. Nangyari ito sa kaniyang pananaw sa mga Hapon, sa mga base militar ng mga Amerikano, sa oligarkiya, pati na sa pamumunò ni Pangulong Duterte. Ang pagpasok ng mga bagong sirkumstansiya, datos, at realisasyon ang mga sanhi ng pagbabagong ito. Patunay ito na tuloy-tuloy ang pagsusuri ni Jose sa mga usaping politikal. Isang magandang kaisipan na umusbong mula sa pag-inog ng kaniyang politikal na paninindigan ay ang kaniyang pagkakaroon ng distingsiyon sa masasamang *oligarch* at mabubuting *oligarch*. Ang masasamang *oligarch* ay iyong mga naglalatatag ng puhunan sa labas ng bansa, at kung sa loob man ng bansa maisipan nilang maglatag ng puhunan ay kadalasang sa pagpapatayo ng mga shopping mall at casino. Ang mabubuting *oligarch* ay naglalatatag ng puhunan sa loob ng bansa, lalo na sa agrikultura, sa agrikultural na industriya, at sa mabibigat na industriya.

Pangatlong mahalagang kabatirang nalikom ng dalawang mananaliksik mula sa pakikipanayam kay Jose ay ang kaniyang pagpaliwanag sa kaniyang kontrobersiyal na paniniwala sa rebolusyon. Para kay Jose, ang rebolusyon ay ang pagsalin ng kapangyarihan mula sa kamay ng mga panginoong may lupa at *oligarch* patungo sa kamay ng sinumang kinatawan ng nakararaming Pilipino. Ang pagsalin na ito ay maaaring madugo at maaari ding mapayapa. Ngunit hindi magtatapos ang rebolusyon sa pagsalin na ito. Sa oras na naisalin na ang kapangyarihan, ang mga pinunò ng bagong kaayusan ay may mas mabigat at mahirap na tungkulin na baguhin ang lipunan batay sa prinsipyo ng hustisya para ang lahat ng Pilipino ay magkakaroon ng marangal at desenteng pamumuhay at edukasyon para sa kanilang mga anak. Binigyang-diin ni Jose na ang tagumpay ng isang rebolusyon ay hindi masusukat sa umpisa nito, kung hindi sa dulo nito kung nagkaroon ba ng makatarungang pag-unlad sa pamumuhay ng mga Pilipino.

Pang-apat na mahalagang kabatirang nalikom ng dalawang mananaliksik mula sa pakikipanayam kay Jose ay ang kaniyang optimistikong paniniwala na unti-unti nang nabubuo ang pagiging bansa ng Pilipinas. Kahit nagkukulang ang ating mga politiko sa pagmamahal sa ating bansa, parami nang parami na ang bílang ng mga karaniwang Pilipinong mas tunay na pagmamahal sa ating bansa. Para kay Jose, ang pagmamahal ng mga Pilipino sa bansang Pilipinas ay ang unang hudyat na nabubuo na ang ating pagiging bansa.

Panlimang mahalagang kabatirang nalikom ng dalawang mananaliksik mula sa pakikipanayam kay Jose ay ang kaniyang matalas na pagsubaybay sa administrasyong Duterte. Alam ni Jose ang mga kalakasan at pagkukulang ni Pangulong Duterte, at alam din niya ang magaganda at kuwestiyonableng nagawa ng isang taon pa lamang na pamumunò. Malalim ang kaniyang pagkadismaya sa pagkiling ng Pangulong Duterte sa mga Marcos. Parang nagkaroon ng mga katanungan si Jose. Paano niya maitatag ang mabuting pamamahala kung pumanig siya kay Marcos na naging sagisag na ng masamang pamamahala? Paano niya maitatag ang isang makatarungang lipunan kung pumanig siya kay Marcos na naging sagisag na ng kawalan ng katarungan? Paano niya lalabanan ang korupsiyon kung pumanig siya kay Marcos na naging sagisag na ng korupsiyon? Pero nananatiling bukás si Jose sa posibilidad na káya pang baguhin ng Pangulong

Duterte ang takbo ng kaniyang administrasyon, at sa pagdating ng panahon ay ilalagay ng kasaysayan ang Pangulong Duterte sa hanay ng mabubuting pangulo ng ating bansa.

Dahil sa lawak, lalim, bagsik, at halaga ng naging kabuoang transkrip, napagkasunduan ng dalawang mananaliksik na ilathala nila ito para mapakinabangan ng ibang Pilipinong may interes sa kaisipan ni Jose, pati na iyong mga Pilipinong may pakialam at malasakit sa bansa.

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