



On the Communist Party of the Philippines, 1968-1999

jose maria sison

sison
reader
series **5**

julieta de lima
editor



Table of Contents

Title Page

Jose Maria Sison

Preface

Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party

1968 Constitution | of the Communist Party of the Philippines

Carry the Struggle against Modern Revisionism through to the End

Unite on the Basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought

Our Beloved Party Celebrates Its First Anniversary Under the Supreme Guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought

Political Report to the Second Plenum of the First Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines

Summing up our Experience after Three Years

The Party Enters Its Fifth Year Since Reestablishment

The Communist Party of the Philippines Enters the Seventh Year since Reestablishment

Long Live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Our Urgent Tasks

The People’s Revolutionary Strength Shall Prevail

On the Eighth Anniversary of our Party

CPP-NPA in Mindanao: | Going from Weak to Strong, Small to Big

Two Major Responsibilities

CPP, NPA in Eastern Visayas Rectify Errors, Redouble Revolutionary Efforts

Communique of the 1977 Central Luzon | Regional Party Conference

Build Close and Strong Links with the Masses to Advance the Revolution in Northeastern Luzon

Communique of the 1977 First Northeast Luzon Regional Party Conference

Prospects of the Revolution in the Philippines

On the Communist Party and Armed Revolution in the Philippines

Current Questions Concerning the Communist Party of the Philippines

Brief Review of the History of the Communist Party of the Philippines

Stand for Socialism Against Modern Revisionism

Unite to Raise Higher the Fighting Will and Capabilities of the Party and the People, Carry Out the Decisions of the Tenth CC Plenum

Celebrate the 25th Anniversary of our Party | and Lead the Philippine Revolution from Victory to Victory

Carry the Rectification Movement Through | to the End and Advance the Revolutionary Cause | in an All-round

Way

Celebrate 27 Years of Revolutionary Struggle Strive All-out to Fulfill the Tasks Set for 1996

Raise the Armed Revolution to a New and Higher Level

The Revolution Surges Forward

Hail the 30th Anniversary of the Communist Party of the Philippines

Greet the 21st Century and New Millennium | with the Resolve to Intensify the Revolution

Jose Maria Sison



*On the Communist Party
of the Philippines*
1968 - 1999



Sison Reader Series
Book 5



Julieta de Lima
Editor

Copyright © 2021

by International Network for Philippine Studies (INPS)

Published by

International Network for Philippine Studies (INPS)

Cover and Book Design by Lukas Mak

Preface

I am delighted that the *Sison Reader Series* has reached the point of publishing the most important documents of the Communist Party of the Philippines since its founding congress on December 26, 1968. I thank the International Network for Philippine Studies for accomplishing this. It is logical and necessary to present the Communist Party of the Philippines as the advanced detachment of the Filipino working class that leads the people's democratic revolution with a socialist perspective after the volumes *On the Philosophy of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism*, the *Critique of Philippine Economy and Politics* and *On the People's Democratic Revolution*.

Sison Reader Series Books 5 and 6 are *On the Communist Party of the Philippines*. They cover respectively the periods from 1968 to 1999 and from 2000 to 2022. They manifest and reflect the growth in strength and advance of the CPP in the last more than 53 years. They include documents in which I participated in drafting and finalization as well as articles and statements mostly under my noms de guerre.

It is necessary to start with the document of the First Great Rectification Movement, "Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party" in order to show that the CPP was reestablished under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The CPP learned positive and negative lessons from the theory and practice of the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands (CPPI-1930) and consequently became determined to rebuild the revolutionary party of the proletariat.

There are those who say that the proletarian revolutionaries of the 1960s should not have wasted time in joining the CPPI. But I assert that it was necessary to know and learn why the CPPI had floundered and never recovered from its most serious errors of line from 1942 to the 1950s under the general secretaryship of Vicente, Jose and Jesus Lava.

In the process of studying the history of the CPPI and conversing with veteran cadres we were able to know those who could help in rebuilding the proletarian revolutionary party. We were able to win over most of the veteran communist cadres who continued to desire the resumption of the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war.

In general, there was little to inherit from the CPPI in terms of useful Party literature and in terms of an effective Party organization from the level of the branch to the Central Committee or the Political Bureau leading the revolutionary movement. until his arrest in 1964, Jesus Lava was isolated from the masses and mass movement and was merely hiding underground.

There was no central committee or political bureau leading the revolutionary movement. We had to improvise the establishment of the Executive Committee which included mainly the Lava relatives (Vicente Lava, Jr. and Francisco, Jr) and their friends. Ignacio Lacsina and I were the only ones who were active cadres in the movement of the workers and youth.

Outside the Executive Committee, the two of us cooperated with the peasant movement through Felixberto Olalia and a number of peasant cadres from 1963 to April 1966 when we the proletarian revolutionaries decided to break away from the Lava revisionist group. Lacsina and I cooperated with Olalia in both the labor and the peasant movements but he was not welcome to the Executive Committee by the Lavas.

The issues between us and the Lava revisionist group simmered now and then until we decided to part from it in 1966. They pertained not only to issues in the Sino-Soviet ideological dispute but more importantly about the history of the CPPI, the grave errors of line committed by the series of Lava brothers who succeeded each other as general secretary and, most important of all, the question of what purpose was the legal democratic movement if not to prepare the people's war for a people's democratic revolution.

The CPP started from scratch on December 26, 1968, with scores of cadres from the mass organizations of workers, peasants and youth. Three months thereafter, on March 29, 1969, we were able to establish the New People's Army after we united with the proletarian revolutionaries in the old people's army after they broke away from the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique.

As soon as we established the CPP Central Committee, Political Bureau, Executive Committee and Military Commission, we started politico-military training in the border areas of Tarlac, Pampanga and Zambales in order to deploy CPP and NPA expansion teams to Northern Luzon, Southern Luzon and Western Visayas. The Kabataang Makabayan and other nationwide mass organizations of workers and peasants played an important role in preparing the ground for the establishment of the CPP and NPA nationwide.

We started with only nine rifles and 26 inferior firearms in the second district of Tarlac in early 1969. But in less than two years, we were able to seize from the enemy troops more than 200 automatic rifles. When the enemy unleashed Task Force Lawin consisting of 5000 troops against our far smaller force, we shifted the center of the CPP to Isabela in 1971.

There we were able to gain more territory, build more platoons for offensives and companies in guerrilla bases and train more proletarian revolutionary cadres for deployment in more than ten additional regions in Mindanao and the Visayas.

The suspension of the writ of habeas corpus on August 21, 1971 and the declaration of martial law on September 21, 1972, became strong stimulus for thousands of legal youth activists to join the CPP and NPA nationwide. On April 24, 1973, the Preparatory Commission of the National Democratic Front was established to build the antifascist, anti-imperialist and antifeudal united front. The Lava revisionist renegades totally discredited themselves when they publicly supported the Marcos fascist dictatorship.

From year to year, the CPP, NPA and NDF gained strength nationwide and revolutionary prestige internationally. Guerrilla fronts (combination of guerrilla bases and zones) spread. Party branches, NPA are armed propaganda teams, guerrilla squads and platoons, revolutionary mass organizations, NDF urban cells and local organs of political power flourished nationwide, especially in the countryside.

By the time that the 1975 plenum was held, I was absolutely sure that there was no way US imperialism and the Marcos fascist dictatorship could stop the growth in strength and advance of the armed revolutionary movement. Even when I was captured on November 10, 1977, I could tell Marcos to his face that he could imprison a revolutionary but not the revolutionary movement.

The nationwide scale of the people's war was ever expanding even as the focus of the most intense struggles shifted from one region to another from time to time. Under the direction of the CPP, the NPA mastered the strategy and tactics of guerrilla warfare and succeeded in confronting the enemy with the minor tactics of retreating in the face of a superior enemy force, harassing encamped enemy forces and advancing on the tired and retreating enemy forces as well as with the major tactics of concentrating, dispersal and shifting to counter large-scale campaigns of encirclement.

Exactly when the NPA was still no more than 2000 Red fighters nationwide and the best and most effective tactics at the stage of the strategic defense was to multiply the squads and platoons for mass work and guerrilla tactical offensives, the error of subjectivism arose within the CPP in 1979-1980. Its proponents asserted that the Philippines was no longer semifeudal but already industrial capitalist as Marcos claimed, that the Maoist line of protracted people's war was wrong and that the correct line was to build companies and battalions as soon as possible.

The "Left" opportunists put forward the wrong line of "strategic counteroffensive" and the "Red Area, White Area (RAWA)" strategy of prematurely regularizing the NPA into companies and battalions as offensive units; instigating people's strikes in urban areas; and in prematurely exposing cadres in the urban underground. When the "Left" opportunists line, especially RAWA, started to fail and cause damage to the people's war and mass base by 1985, the "Left" opportunists launched the hysterical self-destructive witchhunt Kampanyang Apos as well as similar campaigns in several other regions to blame so-called deep penetration agents as the cause of the failure of their wrong line.

But by and large the CPP and the NPA had an excellent ideological and political foundation and were developing well in most regions and nationwide. Despite the problem of "Left" opportunism in certain regions, the CPP, NPA and NDF became strong enough in 1983 to 1986 to become a major political force in the Philippines. The NPA had 5,600 Red fighters with automatic rifles before the end of 1985, excluding the people's militia and the self-defense units of the mass organizations.

Out of fear that the CPP and NPA would rapidly become far stronger than it was, the US decided to junk Marcos after he ordered the killing of his political rival, Benigno Aquino, in 1983. The legal patriotic and democratic forces and anti-Marcos conservative forces coalesced to fight the fascist regime. It was in 1984 that US recognizing the growing strength of the revolutionary movement decided to junk Marcos and compel him to hold presidential snap elections in 1986. The certain fraud that Marcos was expected to commit became the cause for the US to yank him out of power.

While turmoil escalated within the ruling system, rectification campaigns were carried out by the CPP in

particular regions on a timely basis. By 1988, the CPP accelerated the rectification movement in various regions. By 1992, the Central Committee of the CPP was ready to launch the Second Great Rectification Movement (SGRM) and issued “Reaffirm Our Basic Principles and Rectify Errors “ in order to confront and defeat the incorrigible “Left” opportunists who carried out wrecking operations and breakaways often with the assistance of Right opportunists who sought to appropriate a number of nongovernmental organizations which they milked.

The SGRM came to a conclusion in 1996 with overwhelming victory. The CPP became ideologically, politically and organizationally far stronger ever as it moved into the 21st century. The CPP and all other revolutionary forces regained and even expanded their mass base. Even as the reactionary factions of the exploiting classes were violently at odds with each during the entire regime of Cory Aquino, US imperialism has used every post-Marcos regime to launch strategic campaigns of suppression against the people’s democratic revolution. But these campaigns have failed from year to year and from one puppet regime to another.

In 1992 the Ramos puppet regime sought to engage the revolutionary movement in peace negotiations and made on behalf of the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) with the National Democratic Front of the Philippines The Hague Joint Declaration as framework for peace negotiations. But every post-Marcos regime has tried to use the peace negotiations as a mere device for surveillance and intelligence, sowing political intrigue and seeking the capitulation. of the revolutionary forces.

The worst of the post-Marcos regime is that of Duterte who has terminated the peace negotiations and scrapped all the agreements so far made, including The Hague Joint Declaration and the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law since 2017 and has vowed to destroy the armed revolution before the end of his term in 2022. He will surely fail because his grave crimes of treason, state terrorism, plunder and misuse of public resources and the persistence of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism provide the favorable conditions for the continuing rise of the armed revolution.

It is to the outstanding great credit of the CPP that it is one of the proletarian revolutionary parties of the world successfully leading the people’s democratic revolution through protracted people’s war under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It is widely recognized as a torch-bearer of the world proletarian-socialist revolution, whose resurgence is being ushered in by the anti-imperialist and democratic mass struggles all over the world and by the intensification of all major contradictions: between labor and capital, between the imperialist powers and the oppressed peoples and nations, among the imperialist powers themselves and the US and China as the chief imperialist rivals.

Jose Maria Sison

Utrecht, The Netherlands, November 20, 2021

Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party

This political report was drafted for ratification by the Congress of Reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines, on December 26, 1968.

Mao Zedong thought is our guide to self-criticism and party rebuilding

Mao Zedong Thought is the highest development of Marxism-Leninism in the present world era of the impending collapse of imperialism and the world triumph of socialism. A genuine proletarian revolutionary party must, in the present era, constantly strive for the integration of Mao Zedong Thought and revolutionary practice in order to achieve thoroughgoing victory.

Mao Zedong Thought is the supreme guide in analyzing and summing up the experience of the Communist Party of the Philippines. Our Party has been committed from the very beginning to Marxist-Leninist theory and its creative application to the concrete conditions in the Philippines in fighting US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. Availing itself of the constant advance of the theory and practice of the international communist movement, our Party is consequently committed to the theory and practice of Mao Zedong Thought which is now the highest development of Marxism-Leninism.

We are at the stage of world history and of the international communist movement when all parties and cadres of Marxist-Leninist standpoint are reexamining their experience in accordance with Mao Zedong Thought. Communist parties like the Communist Party of the Philippines, which so far have not established proletarian revolutionary power are confronted with the question of pursuing Mao Zedong Thought or otherwise. This urgent question is sharpened by the emergence and worldwide campaign of modern revisionism.

Mao Zedong Thought sets the demarcation line dividing the proletarian revolutionaries from the false pretenders to the title of revolutionaries in this period of great upheaval, great division and great reorganization of political forces. It now guides all proletarian revolutionary movements that are inflicting mortal blows on US imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction. The continuing failures of old parties that are not guided by Mao Zedong Thought only prove that without its guidance and faithful application the revolution cannot be won and consolidated. The experience of revisionist parties the world over provides more than sufficient proof. The history of our own Party is marked by failures on account of serious errors and weaknesses that need to be rectified now in accordance with Mao Zedong Thought.

As modern revisionism is being fostered and spread by the modern revisionist clique with its headquarters in the Soviet Union, all proletarian revolutionaries are impelled to express themselves and act in accordance with Mao Zedong Thought which is the acme of Marxism-Leninism in this world era. Two steps forward are now being made with Mao Zedong Thought. Under the direct leadership of Chairman Mao, the People's Republic of China has become the central base of the world revolution. It is the center of gravity of the world's countryside encircling the cities of the world.

In the Philippines that is not yet liberated from US imperialism and feudalism, revisionist currents are bound to develop as they have. Currents of Opportunism, with the local petty bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie as their fountain head, serve as the basis for the superimposition of modern revisionism from its world center in Moscow. If modern revisionism is not effectively combated with correct theory and practice, then US imperialism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism can persist in Philippine society.

II. Summing up our experience and drawing revolutionary lessons

It is our urgent task to analyze and sum up our experience as a Party. The sole reason for this analysis and summing-up is to draw revolutionary lessons, to identify errors and weaknesses, in order to enable us to rectify them, strengthen ourselves and rebuild a proletarian revolutionary party that is guided by Mao Zedong Thought.

When we criticize errors and weaknesses, it is "to learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones" and "to cure the sickness to save the patient." In the scientific spirit of Marxism-Leninism, we make our criticism in order to rebuild the Party on stronger foundations and build up revolutionary power. As the nucleus of proletarian dictatorship, the Communist Party of the Philippines must consolidate itself through the process of rectification.

Our Party has existed for the last 38 years and yet it has not won revolutionary power. The failures it has incurred should be clearly analyzed in accordance with Mao Zedong thought so as to enable the proletarian

revolutionaries of today to act correctly.

Only the broad outlines of Party history can be herein presented with the end in view of showing its dialectical development. This summing-up cannot possibly incorporate all the details that may be available. It is for further discussions among Party cadres to do this. However, our trusted comrades, old and new, have already engaged during the last three years in thorough discussions concerning the problems of the Party.

At the outset, let it be stated that in our summing-up, the handling of the three main weapons of the Philippine revolution assumes prime consideration. These are: the building up of a Marxist-Leninist party, armed struggle and the national united front.

Also in our summing-up, we shall cover the fields of ideology, politics, military and organization. As a matter of fact, the main body of this discussion is divided into these four aspects. However, before dealing with these, let us trace briefly the history of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

III. Brief historical review

A. Founding of the Party and Its illegalization

The national democratic movement in the Philippines entered a new stage when on November 7, 1930, the Communist Party of the Philippines was founded in Manila. The founding of the Party served to signify that the Filipino working class had advanced ideologically, politically and organizationally and had started to seek class leadership in the Philippine revolution. Thus, the era of the new democratic movement was ushered in with the emergence of a working class Party committed to the integration of Marxist-Leninist theory and Philippine practice.

As a newly founded working class party, the Communist Party of the Philippines was immediately based in the city among the most advanced workers represented by Crisanto Evangelista. Without sufficient consideration of and safeguard against the oppressive and coercive character of the US imperialist regime and the domestic ruling classes, the Party was publicly launched on the 13th anniversary of the October Revolution. Within a short period, on May 1, 1931 and subsequently, the reactionary authorities took punitive actions against the Party. Cadres and members of the Party were arrested and imprisoned. Mass organizations under the leadership of the Party were banned. In 1932, the Supreme Court formally outlawed the Party and its mass organizations and meted out prison sentences to their leading members.

At the time that the first line of Party leaders was incapacitated, no reliable second line of Party leaders had yet been developed to carry on Party work. Nevertheless, by 1935, there were already some elements who established Marxist study groups among the petty bourgeoisie in Manila. Some of these elements had their political education under the Right opportunist Browderite leadership.

In the period that the Communist Party of the Philippines was outlawed, the Socialist Party headed by Pedro Abad Santos was building up strength on the basis of a loose mass organization of peasants and agricultural workers in Central Luzon.

B. Merger of the Communist Party and Socialist Party

A merger was made between the Communist Party of the Philippines and the Socialist Party on November 7, 1938 after the leadership of the former was given conditional pardon by the Commonwealth government in accordance with the antifascist Popular Front policy. This merger came about with the assistance of James Allen, representative of the Communist Party of the United States of America. During this period, the Communist Party of the Philippines continued to be closely associated with the Browderite leadership of the CPUSA.

The open leadership elected by the merger congress was represented by Crisanto Evangelista as chairman, Pedro Abad Santos as vice-chairman and Guillermo Capadocia as general secretary.

The secret second line of leadership was represented by Vicente Lava whose time was mostly devoted to his full-time government employment at the Bureau of Science and whose political work was limited to leading a small progressive petty-bourgeois organization, the League for the Defense of Democracy. Lava epitomized party members of petty-bourgeois origin who were under the influence of the right opportunist Browderite leadership of the CPUSA. Other members of the secret second line of leadership were those who had limited success in urban party work, especially among petty-bourgeois elements, during the period that the party was outlawed.

The Communist Party (Merger of the Communist Party and Socialist Party) under the Evangelista leadership worked hard for a city-based antifascist movement, which advocated the boycott of Japanese goods and the creation of "labor battalions" under the auspices of a united labor front, the Collective Labor Movement, and with the cooperation of the Commonwealth government. Political work among the urban petty bourgeoisie was carried on by Vicente Lava.

With the aid of Communist cadres, the erstwhile Socialist leaders tried to raise the political consciousness of peasants in Central Luzon, but this was given only secondary importance. The main bulk of Party work was done in the city by a city-based and city-oriented Party.

C. The Party during the Japanese occupation

When the Japanese invaders occupied Manila in January 1942, the Party leadership took no steps to leave the city in an organized way so that soon after, the first line of leadership was easily arrested by the Japanese fascists. The second line of leadership and the mass of Party members who had also been concentrated in the city spontaneously fled to the countryside in various directions. Nevertheless, the majority of Party members fled to various towns in Central Luzon but without coordination.

The Central Luzon Bureau Conference was held on February 6, 1942 to discuss party policies in the face of the grave situation. It was at this conference that the decision to organize a guerrilla army was taken and the ascendance of the second line of leadership to the central leadership was formalized. Vicente Lava, who became general secretary, was elected in absentia as he had fled to Rizal province. Over a month later on March 29, the Hukbalahap (Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon) or the People's Anti-Japanese Army was established in Barrio San Lorenzo in Cabiao, Nueva Ecija.

Meanwhile, two principal leaders of the Party who had been arrested, Abad Santos and Capadocia, agreed to cooperate with the Japanese in convincing party members to desist from resistance. However, the former was incapacitated by illness and the latter was arrested by the Party when he attempted to implement his compromise. Later on, however, Capadocia was reeducated by the Party.

The Party and the army was based in the Mount Arayat area. It did not take long for the Japanese to pinpoint the area as the seat of the Party and in 1943 the Japanese launched the so-called March Raid which resulted in the capture of many leading Party cadres and members.

The "retreat for defense" policy meant the breaking up of all Hukbalahap "squadrons" (of company strength) and other units of platoon strength into minuscule units of three to five fighters. It promoted tactical passivity and helplessness in the face of the enemy. It fell in line with the "lie-low" policy of the USAFFE.

It was only as late as the Bagumbali Conference of late September 1944, when the Party declared the "Retreat for defense" policy incorrect, that the Hukbalahap "squadrons" were regrouped to take the offensive against the enemy. After a policy of active resistance was taken and implemented, the strength of the people's armed forces increased by leaps and bounds. But while this policy was adopted, the US air force had already started to bombard the Philippines, preparing for massive landing by the US imperialist military forces.

While the "retreat for defense" policy in particular was corrected and Vicente Lava was demoted from the general secretaryship, he retained his membership in the Central Committee to promote together with others a Right opportunist line. The Bagumbali Conference decided to prepare the establishment of the Democratic Alliance for parliamentary struggle upon the return of US imperialism and the Commonwealth government.

D. The Party upon the return of US imperialism

It was in the course of conducting a people's war during the Japanese occupation that the Communist Party of the Philippines gained real political power in certain areas, thus proving the great thesis of Comrade Mao Zedong that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

Nevertheless, an erroneous position was taken with regard to the central question of keeping the people's armed power in the face of the return of US imperialism and the concomitant reinstatement of landlordism in those areas where the people had asserted their own armed power. Among Party members and their mass following, the aggressive nature of US imperialism was not thoroughly exposed. Neither was the armed peasantry under the leadership of the Party mobilized on the basis of the new democratic stage of the Philippine revolution of which the peasantry is the main force. In areas where the leadership of the Party had been established, the anti-national and antidemocratic links between US imperialism and feudalism were not exposed and denounced for the guidance of the people.

Aside from deficiency in ideological mobilization and in grasping the mass line with regard to US imperialism and the agrarian revolution, the Communist Party of the Philippines did not succeed in developing a Party organization and armed force of a national scale even while developing its main force in Central Luzon. To a much larger extent, it was only in the Southern Tagalog region where Party units and armed units outside of Central Luzon were established towards the end of the anti-Japanese war.

At the end of World War II, the Party leadership decided to shift its headquarters and the center of its political activity from the countryside to the city. Relying on the word of US military agents, Party leaders took the Rightist line that the main form of struggle had changed into the parliamentary form, that the people were tired of war, that they could participate in bourgeois elections under conditions of "democratic peace." Thus, the central organs and newspapers of the Communist Party of the Philippines were shifted to the city.

In the countryside, the Huk Veterans League and the Pambansang Kaisahan ng Magbubukid (National Peasant Union) were set up as legal mass organizations to supplant the Hukbalahap and the BUDC (Barrio United Defense Corps). In the city, the Congress of Labor Organizations and other urban organizations were established. The Party and these mass organizations were to engage in legal and parliamentary struggle through the

Democratic Alliance. Within the Democratic Alliance, the Party itself was merely one of the organizations subordinate to the bourgeois personalities leading the alliance.

The policy of disarming and disbanding armed units of the people's army was adopted and implemented. The political power that had been gained by the people's armed forces was, therefore, broken when the arms became separated from the men who had wielded them. The party leadership, however, nurtured the illusion that whereas the "democratic peace" line of making a token surrender of arms to the Military Police was merely a "propaganda line," the "true line" was that the party was actually keeping caches of arms. Little was it realized that the enemy would not be fooled by a token surrender of arms and that the gap between the "propaganda line" and the "true line" merely confused the masses more than it misled the enemy. The basic fact was that armed units were disarmed and disbanded even as the enemy massacred entire "squadrons" of the Hukbalahap (like "Squadrons" 77 and 99) and took other forms of repressive measures against the masses and the Hukbalahap.

Under the direction of US imperialism, the Military Police and civilian guards gave armed protection to the landlords to enable them to recover control over their lands in Central Luzon and even to exact excessive demands, such as the collection of arrears on land rent, on the past years of the Japanese occupation. These subsequent developments proved the bankruptcy of the counterrevolutionary line of welcoming the US imperialists and abandoning the armed struggle.

During the period that the Chinese Communist Party under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong was setting the example of heightening its armed struggle and capability at a time that the US imperialists were maneuvering a Guomindang-controlled "coalition" government, the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines nurtured the illusion that it could engage in bourgeois parliamentary struggle through the Democratic Alliance and it did field its own candidates in the few areas where it held great political influence. Soon after the Party had taken the legal forefront in fighting against the Bell Trade Act and Parity Amendment and other imperialist-land-lord measures, Party-supported members of Congress who had been elected in the 1946 elections were unjustly ousted from Congress, thus exposing once more the bankruptcy of the policy of relying mainly on bourgeois parliamentarism.

During the early post-war period, the Right opportunist trend dominated the Party. Vicente Lava was most articulate and active in providing ideological support to this trend within the Party Central Committee. However, the party general secretaryship was left to Pedro Castro who wanted to develop an open mass party for purposes of bourgeois parliamentary struggle, and then to Jorge Frianeza who advocated a united front with the reactionary Roxas administration. The 1946 Constitution of the Party, like the 1938 merger Constitution, advocated parliamentary struggle as the main form of struggle. The counterrevolutionary revisionist line within the Party was aggravated by petty-bourgeois careerism, regionalism and by individual acts of flightism which seriously undermined the Party.

E. The Party in the period of military adventurism

It was in 1948 that the question of armed struggle was firmly raised by revolutionary Party cadres and the revolutionary masses in the face of fascist abuses perpetrated by the puppet government of Roxas against the Communist Party, Hukbalahap, democratic mass organizations and their leaders and the broad masses of the people. The question of armed struggle was however, interpreted by the Jose Lava leadership mainly on the basis of external conditions.

There was the one-sided expectation by the Party leadership that the near-violent split in the ruling classes due to the election frauds of 1949, the revolutionary victory of the Chinese people, the Korean War and the economic recession in the United States would absolutely open the way for the victory of the people's army in the Philippines, notwithstanding the internal weakness of the Party and the people's army due to previous Right opportunist errors. External conditions were interpreted as the very reasons for a quick military victory.

The Party leadership represented by Jose Lava failed to provide the most essential reasons for engaging in armed struggle, like a program of armed struggle against US imperialism and its local running dogs and for agrarian revolution among others, and equally it failed to recognize that armed struggle under the conditions existing in the Philippines would have to be protracted.

Against the superficial reasons provided by the Lava leadership to justify the policy of striving for a quick military victory, the Right opportunists took the line of converting the Communist Party of the Philippines into a big open mass party for purposes of the parliamentary form of struggle and took the narrow view that the trade

unionists should automatically prevail in the Party leadership.

Both opposing sides failed to consider extensively whether the Party's headquarters and center of political gravity should be the city or the countryside. Both Right opportunists and "Left" opportunists agreed that the Communist Party of the Philippines remain an urban Party.

Despite its advocacy of armed struggle, the Jose Lava leadership decided to command the People's Liberation Army (Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan) from the city.

Although it assumed the policy of armed struggle, the Jose Lava leadership did not lay down the correct theoretical and political basis for its organizational and military efforts. For this reason, it inconsistently allowed Luis Taruc as commander-in-chief of the people's army to negotiate for amnesty with the Quirino government.

The Politburo conference of January 1950 assumed a purely military viewpoint and drew up the "PB Resolutions" which maintained a line of rapid military victory. The Jose Lava leadership adopted a two-year time-table for seizing political power in the cities, without an all-sided and dialectical appreciation of the strength of the Party and the people's army on the one hand and the strength of the enemy on the other.

An adventurist military policy was initiated by a city-based Party leadership which was called the Secretariat or the Politburo-In. Instead of advancing in a series of waves within a protracted period of time, the people's army in the countryside was ordered to make simultaneous overextended attacks on the enemy at widely separated points in Central Luzon and Southern Luzon as part of the plan to prepare for the seizure of Manila. The military objectives were big military camps, cities and provincial capitals.

The attacks were done in a spirit of haste on March 29 and then on August 26, 1950 in accordance with the "PB Resolutions" of January 1950, without any thought of the forthcoming counterattack by the enemy with massive campaigns of "encirclement and suppression" and also without any serious thought of the necessity of being able to concentrate the forces of the people's army in order to deal with the subsequent enemy counterattack.

Overextended and inadequately armed units were also adventuristically deployed on the "gates" of Manila to bolster the illusion that the seat of reactionary rule was "soon" to fall. On the other hand, the headquarters of the Politburo-Out was snuggled in the unpopulated vastness of the Laguna portion of the Sierra Madre, isolated from the main force of the people's army.

As the Secretariat or the Politburo-In (the main party leadership) was separated physically from the Politburo-Out, so was the latter physically far separated from the people's armed forces that it was supposed to command upon orders of the Politburo-In. Military operations and the supply and communication lines were excessively stretched out over unreliable areas.

In October 1950, the Politburo-In was totally smashed in the city, with other Party members, sympathizers and couriers apprehended. A big harvest of Party documents, which included lists of members and tactical plans, was made by the enemy and this helped the enemy destroy the Party organization in the city and smash the people's armed forces in the countryside.

F. The Party in the period of continued military defeat

After the capture of the Secretariat or the Politburo-In in Manila, the Politburo-Out organized a Central Committee conference in February and March of 1951 in order to discuss the new situation. As clear proof of the increasingly desperate situation of the Party, the conference itself was under heavy military pressure by a massive enemy encirclement. With only a negligible armed force for protection, the conference could only depend on mere physical concealment within the encirclement.

The Central Committee conference failed to pose and criticize the adventurist errors of the Jose Lava leadership organizationally, politically and ideologically. The Jesus Lava leadership elected by the conference was essentially a part of the previous leadership; the Politburo-Out merely replaced the apprehended Politburo-In as the main leading body. At the most, the capture of the entire Politburo-In was narrowly adduced to tactical errors like negligence of security particularly in the city. The Central Committee failed to make a profound and systematic self-criticism as basis for a rectification movement.

The Central Committee Resolutions of 1951 merely reiterated mechanically with the same overconfidence as that of the Jose Lava leadership the PB Resolutions of 1950. Grossly ignorant of the strategy and tactics of people's war, the Jesus Lava leadership could not state categorically that the people's army was on the strategic defensive; instead it muddleheadedly considered the incumbent stage of armed struggle as strategic "counteroffensive."

As in previous stages of the Party history, a new situation within the Party developed due to grave errors of a

previous Party leadership and yet no rectification movement was launched to correct the basic mistakes and weaknesses in ideology, politics, organization and armed struggle.

The errors of the Jose Lava leadership were obscured by the inner-Party struggle which arose between Jesus Lava and the Taruc brothers on fragmented issues. In this regard, the Jesus Lava leadership resorted mainly to organizational maneuvers to cover up for the adventurist errors of the Party leadership and to combat the capitulationist ideas of the Taruc brothers.

As a result of the unrectified ideological and political weaknesses, and as a result of the disastrous military adventures of the Jose Lava leadership, capitulationism started to set in the ranks of the Party leadership and was represented by the disgruntled and traitorous Luis Taruc who surrendered to the reactionary puppet government of Ramon Magsaysay in 1954. The outright capitulationist trend was aggravated to become the principal current by successive military defeats and by the chronic incorrect handling of cadres and the sectarian and liberal manipulation of cadres to perpetuate the clannish chain of Lava leadership.

Upon its assumption of office, the Jesus Lava leadership was buffeted from one military defeat to another. After the 1951 Central Committee conference, the Party headquarters, with its complement of staff members and security force, divided itself into several smaller groups and these were in blind flight within the massive enemy encirclement that enveloped the Sierra Madre from Laguna to Nueva Ecija and on both sides of Quezon. At a time that the Party leadership needed to concentrate its armed forces and smash or break through the weak points of the enemy encirclement there was no sufficient number of men it could command.

From this time on, the Jesus Lava leadership was never in effective control of any sizable armed force because the strongest regional command (Reco 2) closely associated with Luis Taruc became disaffected with the Lava leadership and all other forces had been fragmented because of the overextended dispersal of armed units during the adventurist leadership of Jose Lava.

During the period of 1951-1954, many principal leaders of the armed struggle fell under the massive encirclement campaigns in Southern Tagalog, Central Luzon, Bicol and Panay. It was during this period that roving rebel tendencies developed in the HMB because of ineffective central command and the slicing-off tactics of the enemy.

Under the impact and conditions of military defeat, the Jesus Lava leadership decided to adopt parliamentary struggle as the main form of struggle in 1955, thus falling into the same capitulationist line of Luis Taruc. The policy of armed struggle was abandoned and those who had opposed this policy before became gleeful, wrongly feeling vindicated by the adventurist error of the Jose Lava leadership and by the Right opportunist about-face of the Jesus Lava leadership.

The Jesus Lava leadership went as far as deactivating armed units that were accessible to its command, and these were converted into so-called organizational brigades. Under the impact of the world revisionist campaign that was being waged by the Khrushchev revisionists, the Jesus Lava leadership in succeeding years felt more justified in its wrong policy.

Around 1958, he disbanded his own security men and fled from the countryside to the city to start the life of a city fugitive, isolated from the masses. This pattern of flight from the countryside to the city resulted in the capture of the principal leaders of the Party in the Greater Manila area. It signified the utter failure of the series of Lava leadership in the Communist Party of the Philippines.

Living the life of a city fugitive, Lava wrote political transmissions and directives and made appointments without the benefit of collective Party discussions. It was during this period that Jesus Lava acting alone decided to adopt the liquidationist "single-file" policy. This policy required one Party member to be in contact with only one other Party member. The whole Party organization was, at first, reduced to a few one-way files until the loss of only one member in a single file would result in the automatic disconnection of several others from the Party or the complete dissolution of the entire file. This process led to the grave disorganization of the Party. After a few more years, Jesus Lava was to lose contact with both legal and armed cadres of the Party.

It was during this liquidationist period that the Party fell behind, even behind the national bourgeoisie and urban petty bourgeoisie which were raising the banner of nationalism of the Recto brand as early as 1957 and more strongly in 1961. Until new Party cadres emerged and some Party members were reactivated, the Party fell too far behind the events of the day. Meanwhile, Jesus Lava made decisions for the Party all by himself as Party discussions would now reveal.

In May 1964, Jesus Lava was finally arrested in Sampaloc, Manila under circumstances which clearly showed that he surrendered himself. In the first place, he had deliberately, by his own Right opportunism, one-man flightism and liquidationism, placed himself into the urban mouth of the reactionary whale.

IV. Main error and weaknesses

A. Ideological weaknesses

The main ideological weakness of all previous leaderships of the Communist Party of the Philippines has been subjectivism, appearing in the form of dogmatism and empiricism, and resulting in Right and "Left" opportunist lines. The Philippines, being a semicolonial and semifeudal country, has a large petty bourgeoisie which serves as the historical and social basis for subjectivism. Since the Party exists in this kind of society, it is liable to reflect subjectivist trends from without and from within if it is not alert and careful in its Marxist-Leninist ideological building which is the first requirement in Party building.

The Party could be penetrated by a considerable number of Party members of petty-bourgeois orientation (middle peasants, intellectuals, handicraftsmen and other petty producers) who fail to remold their world outlook and methods of thinking in accordance with Marxism-Leninism and who fail to integrate revolutionary practice with dialectical materialism and historical materialism.

Although the first Party members were mainly from the working class represented by Comrade Crisanto Evangelista, the Party leadership erroneously put much reliance on open, legal, parliamentary and urban political activity which resulted in the paralyzation of the Communist Party of the Philippines once it was outlawed by the US imperialists and their running dogs. A revolutionary and thoroughgoing proletarian world outlook would have made the Party recognize the dialectics of the whole Philippine situation and would have enabled it to adopt the correct methods of legal and illegal struggle.

It was around 1935, however, while the Party was still outlawed by its class enemies when a considerable number of Party members of petty-bourgeois class status crept into a fluid underground Party that was deprived of a definite central leadership and tried to carry on political work, bringing with them their unremolded petty-bourgeois and bourgeois ideas. At the helm of this petty-bourgeois element within the Party were those who were greatly influenced by the empiricist and Right opportunist current spread by Browder. At this time, the Communist Party of the Philippines, under the auspices of the Communist International, was assisted by the CPUSA by seeing to it that cadres like Vicente Lava who became its leading representative would carry on Party work.

Subjectivism of the empiricist type was manifested by major political policies and developments such as the principal importance given to urban Party work before the outbreak of the Pacific war; the merger of the Socialist Party and the Party which artificially increased the membership of the latter; the Rightist preamble in the merger constitution; capitulationism towards US imperialism and the Commonwealth government; the absence of any plan to shift the Party headquarters from the city to the countryside; the adoption of the "retreat for defense" policy of 1943 and the belief of Vicente Lava that there could be no proletarian leadership in the countryside; the purely anti-Japanese line during the war period and the shift of the Party central organs to the city after the anti-Japanese war and the blatantly Right opportunist policies of Vicente Lava, Jorge Frianeza and Pedro Castro during the period of 1945-48.

Empiricism grows on a static underestimation of the people's democratic forces and on a static overestimation of the enemy strength. Party work becomes dictated by the actions of the enemy instead of by a dialectical comprehension of the situation and the balance of forces. Revolutionary initiative becomes lost because of static one-sided, fragmented and narrow view of the requirements of the anti-imperialist, antifeudal and antifascist struggle.

Thus, there is the overconcentration on urban political work because of the subjectivist and opportunist desire to compete or collaborate with bourgeois parties and groups, and beg for "democratic peace" from the US imperialists and local reactionaries in their own urban citadel. The countryside is grossly underestimated and thus, revolutionary initiative, the indispensable mass support of the peasantry and a wide area for maneuver are ignored. There is also the personal desire of the petty-bourgeois to enjoy the comforts and prestige of city life.

There is, however, the other side of the coin of subjectivism. Between 1948 and 1955, subjectivism of the dogmatist type prevailed during the first two years of the Jose Lava leadership and the first five years of the Jesus Lava leadership. This dogmatism grew on an overestimation of the people's democratic forces and an underestimation of the enemy strength, without taking into full account the painstaking process of the protracted people's

war.

Under the Jose Lava leadership, the strategic view was adopted that, in a brief period of two years, the Party was certain to seize power. The Jose Lava leadership did not take into full account the necessity of a concrete and extended process of Party building, building of a people's army and the building of a revolutionary national united front.

The Jose Lava leadership was fond of "Left" jargon so unrelated to the whole basic situation, a manifestation of subjectivism of the dogmatist type. This leadership took the style of confounding comrades with book knowledge and some supposedly special knowledge about the world situation and about the inner circles of the enemy. On the basis of such knowledge it took decisions that overstrained the Party and the masses beyond their capability and understanding. It did not care for painstaking work among the masses in the development of a protracted people's war.

On the other hand, subjectivism of the empiricist type manifested by the Vicente Lava leadership and the Jesus Lava leadership was the cowardly reaction to the incumbent military superiority of the enemy. These leaderships took the passive line both strategically and tactically. They lost sight of the possible development of revolutionary principles and policies correctly adopted and applied on the basis of the internal laws of development of Philippine history and society. They simply went with the tide of defeat, without trying to seize revolutionary initiative.

Empiricism and dogmatism are two sides of the same petty-bourgeois coin. A twirl of the coin of subjectivism will abruptly show this or that side. The subjectivist errors of the Vicente and Jose Lava leaderships were mainly empiricism and dogmatism, respectively. These errors spring from the same petty-bourgeois disease of subjectivism that has afflicted the Party and that has wrought havoc on the revolutionary movement.

Reversals from empiricism to dogmatism and from dogmatism to empiricism are peculiarly common to those who still retain the petty-bourgeois world outlook. Nevertheless, when one is the principal aspect of a subjectivist stand, the other is bound to be the secondary aspect and the secondary aspect becomes the principal aspect at another moment. That is the dialectical relationship of empiricism and dogmatism.

Comrades should not wonder why under a dogmatist leadership there should be cases of empiricism; what is common between dogmatism and empiricism is the use of narrow and limited experience as the basis for over-all subjectivist decisions. Also, comrades should not wonder why a leadership with the same petty-bourgeois orientation should swing from empiricism to dogmatism and back to empiricism, and so on and so forth. All subjectivists fail to grasp the laws of dialectical development and so they are volatile and erratic.

In 1951, the Jesus Lava leadership continued to carry the dogmatist line of the Jose Lava leadership. But, after a few years, subjectivism of the empiricist type started to dominate because of military defeats. The Jesus Lava leadership started to overestimate the strength of the enemy and it adopted parliamentary struggle as the main form of struggle, took flight from the countryside and then took up the so-called "single-file" policy based on its narrow individual experience.

In summing up the series of subjectivist leaderships, we can state that Vicente Lava, Jose Lava and Jesus Lava were responsible for the petty-bourgeois disease that has long afflicted the Communist Party of the Philippines. The traitorous bourgeois line of the Lava's continues to promote revisionism in the Philippines. It is essentially the inability to grasp proletarian revolutionary ideology and apply this on the concrete conditions of Philippine society.

The usurpation of the Party leadership by the Lava's during the last more than 30 years accounts for the fact that the Communist Party of the Philippines is still weak. Although the political errors of each Lava leadership became exposed in the wake of far-reaching damage, no thoroughgoing rectification movement had ever been conducted to expose and correct the basic errors in ideology.

Despite the fact that Vicente Lava's subjectivism as expressed by his "retreat for defense" policy had resulted in great damage to the Party, there was no subsequent rectification movement that could have prevented the Right opportunist errors of the subsequent early post-war years. Also, despite the serious errors of the Lava leadership, the subsequent leadership did not engage in any serious rectification movement.

Until now, despite the grave errors of the Jesus Lava leadership and those of other previous leaderships, there has been strong resistance to ideological, political and organizational rectification. The Party flounders from error to error when there is no systematic and objective evaluation of each error ideologically, politically and organizationally.

The fact that Party leadership was passed from one blood brother to another, a singular phenomenon in the entire international communist movement, could be taken as a magniloquent symptom of the subjectivism that had predominated within the Party.

The bourgeois reactionary line of the Lavas is careerism on a grand scale within the Party. A dangerous pattern has been established wherein Party responsibilities are apportioned to blood relatives on the basis of personal trust rather than on the basis of ideological and genuine Party trust. In this manner a mechanical and slavish artificial majority could always be depended upon to elect the Lava brothers as general secretaries of the Party in a series.

The evil of subjectivism is still persistent within the Party and must be eradicated. It still appears in the form of sentimentalism on the part of elder cadres who had received their ideological training from the previous leaderships. Sentimentally, they recognize the personal sacrifices of the Lava brothers but at the same time they do not see how many lives of people and cadres have been sacrificed at the altar of subjectivist errors and failures and they do not see that the so-called personal sacrifices of the Lava brothers were the very product of their subjectivist errors and failures.

This sentimentalism has become a hindrance to the rectification of ideological, political and organizational errors. It is combined with a subjectivist awe for high bourgeois academic degrees that some cadres have. It also appears in the form of personal trust for those who have had ideological training from and those who enjoy the sanction of the series of Lava leaderships.

The bourgeois reactionary line of the Lavas, as it has developed on the basis of subjectivism, now nourishes the growth of modern revisionism in the Philippines. Since we are determined to rebuild the Party, the bourgeois reactionary line of the Lavas and all errors of subjectivism must be resolutely opposed and weeded out by a thoroughgoing rectification movement.

In conducting such a movement it is not so much the persons of the Lava “dynasty” that we are after; what we are after is the rectification of subjectivist errors. If no rectification movement is to be undertaken, if no ideological consolidation of the Party is to be made, then modern revisionism would flourish to disarm and undermine the people’s democratic revolution.

Lava revisionism has been persistent for decades within the Party only because rectification, as demonstrated by Comrade Mao Zedong in the Chinese Communist Party, has never before been conducted as we have decided to do. A rectification movement within the Communist Party of the Philippines, the nucleus of the proletarian dictatorship, should be conducted in the Marxist-Leninist way that a cultural revolution is conducted under the proletarian state in order to combat Right opportunism and modern revisionism.

The preponderant form of subjectivism that has characterized the Lava leadership is empiricism. The dogmatist leadership of Jose Lava and, partially, of Jesus Lava was approximately a seven-year “Left” interregnum in what is more than 30 years of empiricism carried out mainly by the Vicente Lava and Jesus Lava leaderships.

Empiricism in philosophy results in Right opportunism in politics. Empiricism and Right opportunism in turn provide the basis for modern revisionism which is persistently advocated by the neo-bourgeois and revisionist renegade clique in Moscow. At present, modern revisionism is futilely trying to gain ground. The Communist Party of the Philippines must combat it thoroughly and seriously, especially now that Party rebuilding is being undertaken.

B. Political Errors

Right opportunism and “Left” opportunism have been committed in the history of the Communist Party of the Philippines. These political errors have emanated from the subjectivist world outlook. They have restricted the building of a Marxist-Leninist party that is firmly and closely linked with the masses on a national scale, that has a correct style of work and conducts criticism and self-criticism, that implements a program of agrarian revolution and that makes use of the national united front to broaden its influence and support in its struggle against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The urban, parliamentary and open character of the Communist Party of the Philippines during the early months of its existence in 1930 and 1931 was mainly responsible for the political disaster and difficulties that it soon suffered. During this early period, the Party leadership was given to the use of “Left” language in public against the entire bourgeoisie, and illegal work was not effectively carried out together with legal work.

The Party did not arouse and mobilize the peasantry as the main force of the revolution. Even when the

principal leaders of the Party and its mass organizations were banished to different provinces, they were not conscious of the significance of planting the seeds of the new democratic revolution in the countryside. The idea of the national united front was also not immediately taken up and adopted. Even the urban petty bourgeoisie was not given serious attention as a class ally and as a source of cadres.

However, during the period that the Party was outlawed, cadres of petty-bourgeois origin crept into the Party and by 1935 their presence therein became marked.

Because of their continued petty-bourgeois social status and their failure to remold their outlook, these cadres restrained the putting of emphasis on Party work among the toiling masses, especially in the countryside. In the trade unions, Party cadres working illegally could be counted on one's fingers. As late as 1937, only a few cadres were working among the peasants in a few towns of Central Luzon. It was the Socialist Party of Pedro Abad Santos, however, which had a large but loose mass following in the countryside. A few activists of this reformist party actually read Marxist literature but were lacking the discipline of Communist cadres.

It was through the merger of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the Socialist Party in 1938 that the bourgeois reactionary line of revisionism became formalized. The constitution of the merger party contained in its preamble the clause that it "defends the Constitution (of the US-puppet Commonwealth government) and the rights proclaimed therein..." and in Section I of Article III, the statement it "opposes with all its power any clique, group, circle, faction or party which conspires or acts to subvert, undermine, weaken or overthrow any or all institutions of Philippine democracy whereby the majority of the Filipino people have obtained power to determine their own destiny in any degree." Getting the good wishes of Quezon in the Popular Front preoccupied most of the Party leaders then.

The necessity of preparing and developing rural bases in the face of the growing threat of fascism was not fully grasped by the Party leaders; and even if it were so surmised, no adequate preparations for armed struggle were made. The international situation that was already clearly pointing to the imminence of World War II was not fully related to the Philippine situation. From 1938 to 1942, the first and second lines of leadership agreed on the principal importance of urban Party work and overconcentrated on defending "civil liberties" while minimizing the importance of Party building and army building among the peasants.

It was simply assumed that the merger of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party would bring the peasantry en masse to the side of the Party. Under the banner of the Popular Front and under the auspices of the Commonwealth government, leading Party cadres ran for electoral offices in the reactionary government, especially in Greater Manila and in a few provinces, and they did not pursue what was principal revolutionary work in the countryside.

At the outbreak of World War II, the Party submitted a memorandum to Commonwealth president Manuel L. Quezon for arms support from the bourgeois government; but the latter, sure of his class interests, refused despite the Popular Front. Instead of putting the main stress on the revolutionary work of arousing and mobilizing the peasant masses, the Party leadership chose to put the main stress on the secondary, which consisted of legal and urban work under the banner of the Popular Front. It was misled by the false prospect of arms support from a puppet government under US imperialist control.

When the Japanese imperialists invaded Manila, the first line of leadership was apprehended in the city and the rest of the city cadres did not exactly know where to retreat. At this point, we can see the error of Right opportunism as having grown within the Party without having been the object of critical exposure and thoroughgoing rectification.

Focusing Party work on parliamentary struggle, the merger party failed to make the most essential preparations for the antifascist armed struggle. The city cadres who fled to the countryside at the time of the Japanese invasion were unable to withdraw in an organized way, thus exposing the failure of the Crisanto Evangelista leadership to build the Party with deep foundations among the peasant masses on the basis of their struggle for land which is the main content of the people's democratic revolution. There was no rural base prepared for waging a people's war against the Japanese fascists.

Taught nevertheless by the immediate situation, the Party leadership held the Central Luzon Bureau Conference and soon after organized the People's Army Against the Japanese (Hukbalahap) to lead the popular resistance against the Japanese invaders and the puppet government. With the Hukbalahap under its command, the Party began to build political power in the countryside.

But the Right opportunist political line persisted and when the Party and the Army met their first serious setback in the anti-Japanese struggle during the “March raid,” the Vicente Lava leadership promoted Right opportunism by adopting the “retreat for defense” policy. It was a policy that contravened the Marxist-Leninist principle that Red political power could be built only by waging armed struggle. This policy was nothing but a variation of the USAFFE “lie-low” policy of avoiding armed struggle with the Japanese invaders. This Right opportunist line restricted the rise of people’s democratic power not only in the short run but even long after it was declared an erroneous policy.

The spontaneous resistance of the masses exposed the bankruptcy of the “retreat for defense” policy and the Bagumbali Conference declared this policy erroneous. Although the conference resulted in the demotion of some Right opportunists and in the regrouping of Hukbalahap “squadrons” for intensified resistance, the Right opportunist error was not thoroughly rectified and the Right opportunists still retained a big say in the Central Committee. Furthermore, the “Socialists” who had automatically become “Communists” by virtue of the 1938 merger were not provided by the Party leadership with the correct Marxist-Leninist education and were always susceptible to Right opportunism. The capitulationist and renegade Luis Taruc would remain to be the general representative of a great many of them who failed to advance to the level of Marxist-Leninists.

The abandonment of the “retreat for defense” policy resulted in some limited successes for the Party and the army. In a few months’ time, the area and the population covered by both increased to the extent that the greater part of Central Luzon came under the effective leadership of the Party and that the people’s army could send out sizable units to establish or reinforce armed bases in the Southern Tagalog area.

However, at the end of the anti-Japanese struggle when the US imperialists landed to reconquer the Philippines, the Right opportunist line would again strikingly emerge as the main line. There arose the illusion that the people were tired of war and that the Party could strive for the realization of its principles under conditions of “democratic peace” granted by US imperialism and the landlords. Against this illusion were the brutalities committed by the military police, the civilian guards and all kinds of American agents against the people and the unjust arrest and incarceration of the principal leaders and fighters of the Hukbalahap.

Thus, a strategic dual line was adopted with the so-called “propaganda” line differing from the so-called “true” line. The “propaganda” line was that the Party was publicly desirous of “democratic peace,” of participating in bourgeois politics through the Democratic Alliance; and the “true” line was that it was actually keeping its armed power in the form of concealed arms caches. The Party leadership ordered the disbanding of the majority of Hukbalahap “squadrons” and token arms surrender were made. It shifted back the center of its political activity to the city under the banner of bourgeois parliamentarism.

With the adoption of this strategic dual line, deception was idealistically intended as an essential component of the strategic line. But while the enemy was not fooled by the token surrender of weapons by the Hukbalahap, confusion was introduced into the ranks of the cadres and masses. The Party leadership failed to establish the correct mass line as it adopted a strategic dual line and lost its grip on the gun.

The 1946 constitution of the Party continued to carry the bourgeois reactionary line of revisionism by stating in its Article VIII, Section 2, “Affiliation with or participation in the activities of any group, class, faction or party which aims or acts to destroy, weaken or overthrow the democratic Constitution of the Philippines shall be punished with immediate ouster from the Party.”

Until May 1948, when the Jose Lava leadership assumed central responsibility, the Party experienced the blatant reign of Right opportunism or revisionism. During the early postwar period, the Right opportunist influence of Vicente Lava, Pedro Castro and Jorge Frianeza prevailed. The Pedro Castro leadership was denounced and replaced for Right opportunism and tailism and for advocating the development of a mass and open Party that was supposed to engage solely in bourgeois elections.

But the errors of this leadership were never consistently rectified ideologically and politically all throughout the Party although drastic organizational measures were taken against those who took sides with Pedro Castro without so much as an explanation to the masses of Party members. Jorge Frianeza replaced him and was soon removed from the secretaryship and expelled for Rightism but again no thoroughgoing rectification movement was conducted to weed out the persistent roots of the errors.

Without clarifying the ideological, political and organizational grounds for a protracted people’s war, the Jose Lava leadership merely took advantage of the Party’s and the people’s clamor that armed struggle was necessary

on account of the fascist attacks against them and a number of duly-elected representatives in Congress who opposed the Bell Trade Act and the Parity Amendment. This leadership automatically expected revolutionary triumph on the basis of external conditions.

Because of the absence of a thoroughgoing rectification movement against the previous Rightist leadership being conducted aside from organizational and administrative measures, Right opportunism could still persist as a strong undercurrent or secondary aspect of opportunism even under the “Left” opportunist leadership of Jose Lava.

Soon after its assumption of office and adoption of the line of armed struggle, it actually permitted Luis Taruc to negotiate the terms of surrender and amnesty for the people’s armed forces with the Quirino government. This was another instance of an opportunist line that undermined the revolutionary will of the masses more than it deceived the enemy. No genuine Marxist-Leninist party leadership would ever consider surrendering to or seeking amnesty from the enemy. To do so would be to betray the fighting masses, promote capitulationism and serve the enemy.

The Jose Lava leadership committed mainly the error of “Left” opportunism by dogmatically assuming that the class enemies of the proletariat were weakening and splitting up all the way on a straight line and that the Party could seize power within a very short period. There was a failure to recognize that in a semicolonial and semifeudal country, a protracted people’s war would have to be waged with due regard to the strength of the enemy.

The Party could depend only on the people in areas covered by the Hukbalahap and the Barrio United Defense Corps during the anti-Japanese struggle. Because of previous failure to distribute cadres to important parts of the country other than Central Luzon, Manila, Rizal and Southern Tagalog and because of the Right opportunism of previous years, the Party and the people’s army were not able to build up on a national scale and, therefore, were not able to unite with the people on a national scale. It would require a protracted period of time for the Party to convert into a revolutionary advantage the initial disadvantage of fighting for people’s democratic power in an archipelago like the Philippines.

The “Left” opportunist leadership of Jose Lava failed to understand comprehensively the requirements of a people’s democratic revolution. It failed to see the necessity of solid party building, the development of armed rural bases on the basis of an agrarian revolution and the national united front. If it recognized the necessary combination and correct use of these weapons, then it could have easily taken the view that people’s war is protracted and painstaking.

During this period, the notion became prevalent that the establishment of rural bases was a strange and utopian idea “because the Philippines is a small country and an archipelago having no rear adjacent to and contiguous with a big friendly country.” Jose Lava as general secretary dismissed arrogantly the concept of rural bases as a grandiose idea. Little was it realized that the rural base was itself the center of gravity or great rear of guerrilla zones. The camp of the Politburo-Out in the Laguna portion of the Sierra Madre depended merely on a hidden physical base instead of a rural base where the people’s support is strong by virtue of armed struggle and agrarian revolution.

A protracted revolutionary armed struggle should have been waged in combination with an agrarian revolution and the development of rural bases. The people’s army should have advanced in a series of waves from stable base areas but a petty-bourgeois leadership was too much in a hurry, too impetuous to capture within so short a period the bourgeois state power centered in Manila. This petty-bourgeois leadership never realized that the Party could fight the bourgeois state by establishing the people’s democratic power in the countryside.

At the height of the adventurist folly, Party leaders would bid each other goodbye in public with: “See you in Malacañang!” This infantile talk reflected the adventurist desire of the Jose Lava leadership to move the people’s army to the city gates within a short period of time without first developing the armed power of the masses and then advancing in a series of waves from well-consolidated rural bases.

The Central Committee plenary session which was held by the Politburo-Out under the Jesus Lava leadership in February-March of 1951 after the capture of the Politburo-In failed to clarify fully the building and wielding of the three weapons of the Philippine revolution; namely, party building, armed struggle and the national united front.

It obscured the basic errors of the Jose Lava leadership by superficial rationalization such as “carelessness” of the captured Party leaders and the tactical errors of lower cadres and commanders and the rank and file. A

rectification movement would have unfolded the ideological and political basis of the failure of the Jose Lava leadership and thus removed the danger of opportunism continuing in its Right or “Left” form.

Jesus Lava’s assumption of the Party leadership did not mean an immediate reversal of Jose Lava’s “Left” opportunist political line. It was when the Jesus Lava leadership lost effective central command over all units of the people’s army and was further burdened by the series of military defeats and difficulties inflicted by the enemy and by the capitulationism and splittism of Luis Taruc and his Titoite cohorts that it swung to the Right opportunist line. Its Right opportunism became most evident in the formal adoption of parliamentary struggle as the main form of struggle in 1955 and in the disbandment of armed units under its command. This Right opportunism would continuously be further borne out by the subsequent one-man flights of principal leaders of the Party from the countryside to the city.

This one-man flightism resulted in the worst policy of the Jesus Lava leadership, the “single file” policy, which meant the liquidation of the collective life of the Party and the dissolution of practically all Party units and armed units, thus defeating even the Right opportunist objective of engaging mainly in parliamentary struggle.

The militant resurgence of the Communist Party of the Philippines has been on account of the emergence of new Party cadres and reactivated Party cadres who are now guided by today’s highest development of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought.

At the present moment, however, the bourgeois reactionary line of the Lavas remains a pernicious influence within the Party. Afflicting the Party for an exceedingly long period, without having been profoundly criticized before this present stage of the development of our Party, this bourgeois reactionary line cannot be defeated within a few weeks, months or years. It cannot be removed from the Party even if its direct representatives are overthrown from their positions of Party authority unless we combat the ideological and political roots of their errors.

Considering the present circumstances, the dangers of Right or “Left” opportunism will always confront us. But those who hold on to the living study and application of Mao Zedong Thought and to the correct mass line of the Party will always maintain and heighten their revolutionary strength and courage in order to prevail.

It should be kept in mind, though, that the bourgeois reactionary line of the Lavas is mainly Right opportunism and secondarily “Left” opportunism. Today, some Party members overestimate the value of legal urban-based “nationalist” mass organizations like the Movement for the Advancement of Nationalism and such government measures as the Magna Carta of Labor, the Agricultural Land Reform Code and others.

On the other hand, there is a minor undercurrent of infantile “Left” opportunism of excessively underestimating the value of legal mass organizations and of resorting to “Left” phrase-mongering without actually engaging in thoroughgoing mass work and struggle against the exploiters of the people.

Modern revisionism has gained a small foothold in Philippine society through the Lava revisionist renegades and other Right opportunists. It is necessary to combat modern revisionism with the revolutionary theory

and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Otherwise, the Communist Party of the Philippines will continue to suffer stagnation and reverses in the struggle for people’s democratic power.

C. Military Errors

Errors in ideology and politics always lead to errors in the armed struggle. A party that does not seriously pay attention to this relationship is bound to fail in performing its central revolutionary task of seizing political power and consolidating it.

Armed struggle is the main weapon of the Communist Party of the Philippines in carrying out the people’s democratic revolution. Without a people’s army under the command of the Party, the people have nothing as Comrade Mao Zedong has taught us in his theory and practice of the Chinese revolution. Being in a semicolonial and semifeudal country, our Party must integrate three necessary and inseparable components in waging a people’s war in the countryside; namely, armed struggle, agrarian revolution and rural base building.

During the first 12 years of the existence of the Party, from 1930 to 1942, the Party did not immediately develop these three components. In 1931, it met its first concrete experience of suppression by US imperialism and its running dogs. The reactionary state with all the weapons of coercion at its command succeeded in creating grave difficulties for the Party for so many years.

When the Party finally organized the guerrilla forces of the Hukbalahap on the basis of the popular anti-Japanese resistance, the Party leadership did not have a clear understanding of what it took to wage a people’s war. When the Party and the army had their first serious setback at the hands of the Japanese fascists, the Party

leadership adopted the “retreat for defense” policy. This policy involved the dissolution of the Hukbalahap “squadrons” and the formation of minuscule units composed of only three to five men at a time that the people’s army needed to concentrate larger forces to deal punishing blows on isolated parts of the Japanese invasion forces and their mercenaries. The dissolution of the Hukbalahap “squadrons” had far-reaching debilitating effects on the people’s army.

The Party leadership had to abandon the “retreat for defense” policy and remuster the Huk “squadrons” in the face of persistent popular demand to annihilate the enemy. However, when US imperialism returned to reoccupy the Philippines, the Party and the Hukbalahap leadership again surrendered the military initiative to the USAFFE forces. Hukbalahap “squadrons” were too ready in welcoming and in merely assisting the US reoccupation forces when what was needed was for them to keep their forces distinct in fighting the retreating Japanese fascists.

The Party leadership was too ready to abandon the military initiative to US imperialism for it was bent on returning to the city and conducting peaceful parliamentary struggle. Even when US imperialism attacked the people and the people’s army in a campaign to restore landlord power in areas that the Party and army controlled, the Party leadership ordered the disbandment of armed units of the people’s army under the erroneous banner of “democratic peace” unlike in China where the vanguard Party held on to its arms and fought.

Under the Jose Lava leadership, the error of military adventurism and purely military viewpoint was perpetuated as an extreme reaction to Right opportunism. The petty-bourgeois world outlook was at the root of the “Left” subjectivist error of military adventurism. This outlook prevented the Party leadership from understanding the laws of development of a people’s war in Philippine society and thus from adopting the correct strategy and tactics.

The Jose Lava leadership was marked by military impetuosity and petty-bourgeois vindictiveness manifested inside and outside of the Party. What was, however, in common between the “Left” opportunism and the Right opportunism it opposed was the petty-bourgeois illusion that the people’s forces could be commanded from the city and that the city of Manila, the strongest base of the bourgeois state power, could be easily seized without building rural bases.

The selfish desire to seize power in the city in so short a time as two years without having laid down an extensive ground work among the people showed lack of understanding of protracted people’s war. As “Left” opportunism emerged as the principal aspect of the Jose Lava leadership, Right opportunism persisted as a secondary aspect or as an undercurrent represented by Luis Taruc. As the power of the reactionary ruling classes was estimated to be weak because it was wracked by an internal split, the Jose Lava leadership gave orders to direct fire only against Filipino puppet troops and to strictly avoid attacks against US military personnel.

The underestimation of US military support for the local reactionaries was primarily “Left” opportunism. At the same time, there was the false belief that avoiding military engagement with US military personnel would make the fight for the Red army easier. This was Right opportunism lurking behind “Left” opportunism and was still a carry-over of the counterrevolutionary rightist line during the anti-Japanese war that the United States would return to the Philippines in order to restore “democratic peace” after overcoming the Japanese fascists.

It was “Left” opportunism to hope for rapid military victory on such an illusion as that the bourgeois politicians, Laurel and Rodriguez, would lead revolts against the Quirino government from Batangas and Rizal in concert with the People’s Liberation Army. And yet the element of Right opportunism is to be found in giving bourgeois politicians a decisive role in so central a question as the actual seizure of power. At this time the HMB had not yet gained enough strength to capture Manila: no more than 3,000 Red troops could be massed for the purpose, with the sure difficulties of overstraining the people’s armed strength in all other places.

The predominating “Left” opportunist line of the Jose Lava leadership was evident in the issuance of military orders to the people’s forces in the countryside from the city-based Secretariat or Politburo-In. Even in the countryside the Politburo-Out was distant from the main military forces and relied on camouflage rather than on developing a stable rural base on which it should have relied. There was still a great gap between the Party leadership and the masses consisting of unstable areas in Central Luzon and blatantly White areas in Southern Luzon.

While the Party headquarters in the city was distantly separated from the Politburo-Out and the latter was in turn distantly separated from the main forces of the people’s army, orders were brought down making the people’s armed forces leap over unstable and unreliable areas to simultaneously attack widely separated targets such as military camps, cities and provincial capitals. This kind of armed movement overextended the strength of the

people's army and further strained what had already been the overstretched lines of communications and supplies.

The raids of March 29 and August 26, 1950 conducted by the people's army in accordance with the "PB Resolutions" of January 1950 demonstrated fully the adventurist impetuosity of the Jose Lava leadership. In essence, it failed to recognize dialectically the ability of the enemy to make a counterattack that could break the overextended lines linking the Politburo-Out to the regional commands and so on and so forth. The enemy did counterattack after the March and August raids by pitting 25,000 troops against the people's army of a lesser number dispersed all over Central Luzon, Manila, Rizal, Bicol and Panay.

A short while after the raids of August 26, the Party headquarters in the city was smashed systematically by the enemy in October 1950. Considering the extent of enemy success in this crackdown, the policy of rapid recruitment of Party members in the city was demonstrated to be a folly and a violation of the defensive and underground requirements of urban party work. No less than the highest organs of the Party were infiltrated by the enemy.

The failures of the military policy vis-à-vis the enemy were aggravated by the incorrect handling of Red cadres and fighters. Under the guise of "Bolshevization," the Jose Lava leadership adopted harsh methods on those who were found committing even minor errors. The death penalty was imposed on cadres and fighters even where a lighter punishment would have sufficed.

In meting out punishments, the life history of erring cadres and fighters was not considered seriously and oftentimes the immediate error was isolated from the circumstances. What was mistaken for "Bolshevization" were the rules of war from bourgeois military books. This mishandling of cadres and fighters worsened as the people's army suffered an increasing number of setbacks and a tendency towards disintegration occurred.

In its petty-bourgeois eagerness to seize power, the Jose Lava leadership instructed Party organs to put the military viewpoint in command, to make military-technical articles dominant in the HMB Bulletin and to study and adopt as a basic training guide the 90-week "Master Training Schedule"—a manual used by the US Army and the reactionary armed forces of the Philippines. These specific instances showed the utter lack of understanding of the nature of people's war.

As the armed struggle started to ebb during the latter part of 1951, the relationship between the people's army and the people was mishandled in a serious way. Distinctions were made between friendly and hostile barrios. The distinctions were made not for purposes of waging the correct propaganda campaign to win over the people from a hostile attitude to a friendly attitude but for purposes of making retaliatory and vindictive foraging attacks even against ordinary peasants some of whose work animals were confiscated to provide food for the beleaguered fighters of the people's army.

It was not fully realized that aside from being a fighting force, the people's army was a propaganda and productive force. It was as a result of the serious mistakes of the Jose Lava leadership and the effective counterattacks of the enemy that a tendency towards roving rebel bands and a degeneration of these bands became more pronounced. The absence of genuine proletarian discipline, the wanton dispersal of the people's army and the concomitant loss of effective central command led the Party from one disaster to another.

After the Jesus Lava leadership assumed command, "Left" opportunism continued in the form of roving rebel tendencies on the basis of forced dispersal of armed units. With the central command lacking a main armed force, the dispersed armed units subjected to massive "encirclement and suppression" operations by the reactionary army committed in the name of "struggle for survival" or "economic struggle" many abuses and excesses that the enemy used to its "psywar" advantage.

Taking advantage of real abuses and excesses of the "people's army," the reactionary army systematically used reactionary troops in civilian clothes to make their own abuses and excesses and blamed them on the people's army. A deep line of sectarianism within the Party leadership of Jose and Jesus Lava was taken advantage of by the enemy.

The Jesus Lava leadership could not correct the military adventurism of the Jose Lava leadership because it did not have any comprehensive understanding of the nature and requirements of a people's war. It was completely ignorant of how to conduct a people's war at its stage of strategic defensive and tactical offensives.

As before, it was completely ignorant of how to smash an enemy campaign of encirclement and suppression. Because of its failure to grasp Marxism-Leninism, it was never able to regroup the dispersed armed units of the

people's army which were attacked in a massive way by the reactionary army continuously from 1951 to 1955.

In 1955, under conditions of military defeat, the Jesus Lava leadership took a Rightist line and adopted parliamentary struggle as the main form of struggle. Jesus Lava became guilty of liquidationism when he actually disbanded armed units, including his own armed security, and chose to live the life of a city fugitive. The individual flights of the commander-in-chief of the people's army, Casto Alejandrino, and the general secretary of the Party, Jesus Lava, from the countryside to the city and their subsequent capture in the city proved conclusively the erroneous military line of the Party leadership.

It is only in the area of Regional Command No. 2, particularly in the province of Pampanga and partially in Tarlac, Bataan and Nueva Ecija where remnants of the People's Liberation Army have persisted. It is not those who have slavishly followed the leadership of the Lavas who are now waging the armed struggle. Nevertheless, a thoroughgoing rectification of the bourgeois reactionary line of the Lavas and the capitulationism of Luis Taruc must be waged particularly in this area.

Roving rebel tendencies and practices must also be corrected here. What is to be generated is a genuine people's army that is under the effective command of a Marxist-Leninist party guided by Mao Zedong Thought, that is a weapon for agrarian revolution and that builds up stable base areas.

It has been a disadvantage for the Party to have established its strength only in the areas of Greater Manila, Central Luzon and partially in Southern Tagalog although these areas have strategic value because it is here where bourgeois state power is most concentrated throughout the archipelago.

However, new military strategy and tactics in line with Mao Zedong Thought must be adopted taking into full account the weak links of the bourgeois state power on the basis of class analysis and turning the archipelago from a short-run disadvantage into a long-run advantage for the Party and the People's Liberation Army.

The development of the people's main military forces and rural bases in Luzon other than in Central Luzon should be well-considered; and the other islands of the Visayas and Mindanao should be utilized to disperse and dissipate the main forces of the enemy concentrated in Luzon.

D. Organizational Errors

Organizationally, the main disability of the Communist Party of the Philippines has been its failure to build an organization that has a broad mass character and that is national in scale. Where the Party has been built, the principle of democratic centralism has not been applied correctly in the organizational life of the Party, resulting in errors of sectarianism and liberalism, and commandism and tailism, because of subjectivism and opportunism.

Building a party of a broad mass character requires a national system of party cadres who build up a great mass following. Under the difficult conditions existing in Philippine society, it is a wise policy to build the Party carefully. Recruitment and development of cadres must always conform to the standards of a proletarian revolutionary party.

A party with a broad mass character means that party cadres have a big mass following due to the adoption of the correct ideology, political line, and principles and methods of organization. The Communist Party of the Philippines can have a broad mass character only if its cadres could truly lead masses of workers and peasants in revolutionary struggle. The Party guides the revolutionary struggle of the masses and in turn the struggle produces the best and most advanced fighters of the revolution who become party members.

Closed-doorism was a marked tendency of the Crisanto Evangelista leadership. Party work was concentrated in the trade union movement.

The Party gained strength during the anti-Japanese war only by waging revolutionary armed struggle and leading the peasant masses. In 1948, the Party regained revolutionary strength for some time until the errors of adventurism of the Jose Lava leadership undermined the revolutionary resurgence.

It was shown that the Party could gain real mass strength only to the extent that it merged with and led the peasant masses. In a semicolonial and semifeudal country like the Philippines, the Party can gain strength only by arousing, organizing and mobilizing the peasant masses in line with the agrarian revolution as the main content of the people's democratic struggle. In the final analysis, the proletarian revolutionary party in the Philippines can have a broad mass character only if it gains the mass support of the peasantry, particularly the poor peasants and farm workers.

Until now, Party members are relatively overconcentrated in Central Luzon and in the Manila-Rizal areas. Even in the previous high tides of the revolutionary movement in the Philippines, the Party did not succeed in

broadcasting sufficiently on a national scale the people's democratic revolution through the systematic deployment of cadres.

In the course of his long period of being a trade union leader, Crisanto Evangelista developed a small amount of relations with other trade union leaders in the Visayas. But he himself, even as late as the later part of the thirties, had the illusion that if the Party could gain control over Central Luzon, then the whole of Luzon would easily follow; and if the Party could gain control over Luzon, then the whole archipelago would follow.

At the beginning of the anti-Japanese war, there was an attempt to send a team of cadres to the Visayas but it was called off. During the war, the Party and the Hukbalahap were built up mainly in the single region of Central Luzon. Even in the accessible region of Southern Tagalog, the Party was not able to seize leadership and initiative in the anti-Japanese war from pro-US guerrilla units. After the war, the question of sending cadres out to other islands was not immediately taken up seriously.

It was only at the height of the armed struggle under the Jose Lava leadership that Party cadres were sent out to Cagayan Valley, Bicol, Panay, Ilocos and Mindanao to build the Party and army. But these pioneering comrades were clearly not able to build the Party and army on strong foundations. They did not have sufficient time to do so because of the failure of the Party leadership to adopt a correct political line. The main policy of rapid military victory did not allow the cadres sufficient time to build the Party, the army and the united front on a more massive and nationwide scale and to develop all requisites for people's democratic power.

During the entire period of the Jesus Lava leadership, the failure to build a national organization persisted. This leadership merely presided over and hastened the destruction of old Party units as well as new ones established outside of Central Luzon. Even during the latter part of the 1950s when legal mass organizations under the leadership of the Party could be established, there was no serious attempt made by the Party to build legal mass organizations as the medium for Party expansion.

It would only be after 1960 that, through the initiative mainly of new and reactivated old Party members, the Party would dare to push forward the resurgence of the revolutionary mass movement. Now the Party has started to make modest gains in building a Party that has a broad mass character and that is national in scale.

Through a national united front, the proletarian revolutionary party which is carrying out agrarian revolution, with the full support of the oppressed peasantry, can still broaden its support by allying itself with such supplementary revolutionary forces as the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie.

In the Philippines, the Party first experienced a united front policy when it opposed fascism during the days of the Popular Front. But during this period, the powerful influence of the petty bourgeoisie within the Party started to corrode the revolutionary will of the Party in a subtle way.

After the war, the Democratic Alliance was put up as a formal unified front organization. But this alliance served only to support Right opportunism and allowed some bourgeois personalities to assume the leadership. The Party practically carried the sedan chair for them for some time until they scurried away when the armed struggle became intensified.

During the Jesus Lava leadership, no genuine united front could be built because of the failure to build a strong Party, people's army and legal mass organizations under the leadership of the Party. At the time that the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie were being agitated by Claro Mayo Recto to join the anti-imperialist movement, the Party failed to take advantage of the situation fully because of the liquidationist policy that gravely hampered and threatened the very organizational existence of the Party.

The Party failed in many instances to combine legal and illegal struggle in its organizational work. At the time that the Party was outlawed for the first time soon after its founding, there was no secret second line of leadership that could carry out Party tasks legally and illegally. At the beginning of the war, a second line of leadership replaced an incapacitated first line but the former had in the main been detached from mass work previously, having only engaged in limited political work among urban petty-bourgeois elements.

As a result of erroneous political lines, grievous organizational errors were committed. Democratic centralism did not come into full play in order to arrive at the correct decisions. The development of the bourgeois reactionary line of the Lavas is the result of gross violations of democratic centralism. The astounding series of Lava leaderships has been the result of bourgeois maneuvers chronically causing falling-off and demoralization among Party cadres through a period of more than 30 years.

Liberalism in the most vulgar forms like nepotism and favoritism was practiced in the making of assignments

and appointment or election to leading positions. Liberalism marked the merger of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the Socialist Party. Members of the Socialist Party were taken wholesale into the Communist Party notwithstanding the ideological requirement of a Marxist-Leninist. The first and second lines of leadership adopted a liberal attitude to Party organization as they concentrated on urban and legal political work before the outbreak of the anti-Japanese war.

The big upsurge of liberalism and legalism represented by Vicente Lava, Jorge Frianeza and Pedro Castro after the anti-Japanese war had dialectical connections with an unrectified Right opportunist trend starting before the war. Jorge Frianeza advocated the complete dissolution of the people's army and a "united front" with the reactionary Roxas government; and Pedro Castro advocated the organization of a "mass party" for parliamentary struggle and the liquidation of illegal Party work. Within the Democratic Alliance, a liberal policy of allowing the predominance of bourgeois personalities occurred. It was itself an act of liberalism to allow the Democratic Alliance to play the central role in the political struggle of the masses.

Sectarianism was the principal organizational error of the Jose Lava leadership while liberalism was its secondary error. Isolated from the concrete conditions of the armed struggle in the countryside, this leadership was commandist in bringing down its orders. Among the fighting forces in the countryside, sectarian excesses occurred under the cover of the slogan of "Bolshevization." Contradictions among the people and minor infractions within the Party were considered as contradictions between the people and the enemy.

Whereas a policy of persuasion and leniency was required in many cases, the harshest penalties were imposed on erring Party members and Red fighters. In the city, sectarianism was also practiced in relation to the national united front. As a result of the failure of the Democratic Alliance, the importance of a consistent united front policy towards the middle forces was immediately discounted by the Jose Lava leadership.

Although the main organizational error of the Jose Lava leadership was sectarianism, it perpetuated liberalism in appointing to high Party positions and recruiting into the Party persons who happened to be relatives, personal friends and townspeople of the Lava family, without benefit of undergoing the tests of revolutionary mass struggle.

Certainly, liberalism was essentially involved in the rapid recruitment policy in the city of Manila, a policy which allowed the penetration of the Party by enemy agents. The cornerstone of this policy was personal trust. The ludicrous example of liberalism was the appointment of Paciano Rizal to a decisively important position on the narrow consideration that he bore the name of the bourgeois national hero, Jose Rizal.

The Jesus Lava leadership carried substantially for some time the sectarianism of the Jose Lava leadership. For a number of years, the Party leadership represented by Jesus Lava resorted to the sectarian method of intimidation to put Party members into line and there were many cases of cadres executed for flimsy reasons. On the basis of mere suspicion, Party members suffered the death penalty.

E. Symptom of the subjectivism that had predominated within the Party.

The traitorous bourgeois line. When Right opportunism prevailed, the Jesus Lava leadership practiced liberalism by coddling Party members whom it dissuaded from joining the revolutionary mass struggle. The main line of parliamentary struggle inevitably degenerated into liquidationism. The flight of the Party leaders from the countryside to the city resulted in the neglect of Party organizations in the countryside and in the disastrous liquidationist "single file" policy which destroyed in a big way the collective life of Party organizations, cut off lines of responsibility between higher organs and lower organs and isolated the Party from the people.

The Jesus Lava leadership became reduced to the general secretary alone, made one-man decisions, issued political transmissions from some secluded room and made appointments to high Party positions on the basis of blood and personal relations. During the late fifties, opportunities for regrouping Party and armed units in the countryside were completely disregarded and parliamentary struggle itself was not properly conducted. It would only be during the early sixties that party rebuilding and the establishment of mass organizations were affected by the Party members independent of the isolated Party leadership.

In the main, the bourgeois reactionary line of the Lavas is organizationally the disease of liberalism, liquidationism and the consistent violation of democratic centralism. A thoroughgoing rectification movement to remove the ideological, political and organizational roots of the bourgeois reactionary line of the Lavas must be conducted in order to rebuild the Party in accordance with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The bourgeois reactionary line of the Lavas can still persist if no serious efforts are taken to repudiate organizationally its ideological and political

agents within the Party.

V. Three main tasks

A. Party building

Without a revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement. The revolutionary movement must be guided by today's highest development of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought. In rebuilding the Communist Party of the Philippines, we must apply the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism on the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution, in party rebuilding, in developing the armed struggle and in utilizing the national united front to achieve the people's democratic revolution.

What we need to rebuild in the Philippines today is a proletarian revolutionary party that is armed with Mao Zedong Thought. The Philippine revolutionary movement cannot possibly advance without moving ahead with the theory and practice of the world proletarian revolution. The proletarian revolution has been continuously advancing, passing three major stages: the first stage was led by Marx and Engels by developing the theory of scientific socialism; the second stage was led by Lenin and Stalin by developing the theory and practice of proletarian dictatorship in the era of imperialism; and the third stage is now guided by Comrade Mao Zedong. Even in the second stage, Comrade Mao Zedong was already in the vanguard of the international communist movement by outstandingly developing the theory of people's war in a semicolonial and semifeudal country.

In this era of Mao Zedong Thought, the Communist Party of the Philippines cannot achieve its immediate goal of people's democracy and its ultimate goal of socialism without applying Mao Zedong Thought on the concrete conditions of the Philippines and without grasping the six components of today's Marxism-Leninism: philosophy, political economy, social science, people's war, party building and the proletarian cultural revolution. The Communist Party of the Philippines can be a proletarian revolutionary party only if it grasps the advances in philosophy, political economy and social science contributed by Comrade Mao Zedong and his theory and practice of people's war, party building and the great proletarian cultural revolution.

As a proletarian revolutionary party, the Communist Party of the Philippines comprehensively differentiates itself from bogus and revisionist parties and groups by adopting Mao Zedong Thought as its supreme guide and by applying it in revolutionary practice. The Party sets itself free from subjectivism, Right and "Left" opportunism and other manifestations of the bourgeois reactionary line by adhering to Mao Zedong Thought in theory and in practice. Only with the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought can the Party cleanse itself of the bourgeois reactionary line of the Lavas and all other ideological, political and organizational errors that have hampered and hindered the victorious advance of the people's democratic revolution in the Philippines.

Mao Zedong Thought draws the demarcation line between the true proletarian revolutionaries on the one side and the bourgeois pseudo-revolutionaries and revisionists on the other. In an international revolutionary movement that is beset with modern revisionism directed and led by the revisionist renegade clique in Moscow, Mao Zedong Thought stands out to illumine the whole world including the Philippines and to push to the darkest corners the treasonous modern revisionist concoctions of the three "peacefuls" and two "wholes."

Adhering to Mao Zedong Thought and holding firmly that the central task of a revolutionary movement is the seizure and consolidation of political power, the Communist Party of the Philippines cannot be confused by the false revisionist theory of peaceful coexistence, peaceful transition, peaceful competition, party of the whole people and state of the whole people being peddled by the Soviet revisionist ruling clique internationally and by the Lava revisionist renegades locally. Modern revisionism is the main danger today in the international communist movement and likewise in the Philippine revolutionary movement.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the People's Republic of China, however, has consolidated a great base area—an iron bastion—of the world proletarian revolution under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong and has arisen as the epoch-making weapon against modern revisionism in the whole world and against the restoration of capitalism within socialist society.

The People's Republic of China serves today as a stable base area of all revolutionary peoples now surrounding the cities of the world from the world's countryside of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Mao Zedong Thought has taken deep roots among 700 million Chinese people and in the whole world through genuine Marxist-Leninist parties that uphold Mao Zedong Thought as the Marxism-Leninism of this era.

In the Philippines today, Mao Zedong Thought is guiding a rectification movement within the nucleus of the proletarian dictatorship, the Communist Party of the Philippines. A thoroughgoing rectification movement, which is a widespread movement of education in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, is being waged to rid the Party and its mass organizations of the failures and errors of the Lavas that are persisting ideologically, politically and organizationally. The bourgeois reactionary line of the Lavas is in the main Right opportunism which is the bourgeois soil for modern revisionism in the Philippines.

The treasonous current of modern revisionism has taken roots in the subjectivist and Right opportunist line that the Lavas have perpetuated for the last more than three decades and that the semicolonial and semifeudal condition of Philippine society has encouraged. Under the banner of modern revisionism, the political agents of the Lavas are striving hard to cut off the armed struggle from the legal struggle by spreading slanders and lies against those engaged in developing armed struggle and against the most militant cadres of the Party.

A thoroughgoing rectification movement chiefly directed against the bourgeois reactionary line of the Lavas and modern revisionism should be carried out through to the end among cadres, following the pattern of unity-criticism-repudiation-unity. This rectification movement is a test of the ability of the Communist Party of the Philippines to make self-criticism and to rid itself of longstanding and major errors and shortcomings that have too long undermined the Philippine revolutionary movement and deprived the people of revolutionary triumph. Without this rectification movement, party rebuilding cannot be achieved.

Ideological building with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is the first requisite in rebuilding the Communist Party of the Philippines. The Revolutionary School of Mao Zedong Thought within the Communist Party of the Philippines is doing great service to the cause of the Philippine revolution by propagating Mao Zedong Thought and by playing a decisive role in the present rectification movement.

This rectification movement has to be done, especially at a time that we need to rebuild the Party on the solid foundation of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the activities of the local revisionist renegades are being intensified with the aid of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique and US imperialism to spread modern revisionism, develop a city-based and city-oriented Party that is afraid of armed struggle, foster relations between the reactionary Philippine government and the revisionist renegade ruling cliques and disarm the peasants politically by relying mainly on the reactionary government's "land reform" program.

Comrade Mao Zedong has said: "A well-disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people; an army under the leadership of such a Party; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party—these are the three main weapons with which we have defeated the enemy." These are the three main weapons that the Party and all its cadres and members must strive to develop in order to achieve the present main task of seizing political power.

The Communist Party of the Philippines must be rebuilt as the highest form of organization of the leading class, the proletariat. To be such, it must be armed with Mao Zedong Thought, the acme of Marxism-Leninism in this era. By grasping the proletarian revolutionary ideology, our Party affirms its class nature in a clear-cut way but the ultimate test lies in revolutionary practice and further revolutionary practice. It is not enough to lay down a nicely drafted program.

It is necessary to sustain it with consistent and arduous mass struggle, transforming Mao Zedong Thought into a powerful material force by arousing and mobilizing the broad masses of the people to take revolutionary action. In other words, our Party as a proletarian revolutionary party must integrate theory and practice.

Our cadres must go deep among the masses of workers and peasants. They must be well distributed on a national scale in order to build up a nationwide party. The Party must concentrate on arousing and mobilizing the peasant masses, including the farm workers, as the main ally of the proletariat and as the main force of the people's democratic revolution.

The Party must implement the great strategic principle of making the countryside surround the cities and put principal stress on party work in the countryside instead of in the city, but without neglecting party work in the latter. Our cadres must conduct their political work with the style of hard work and frugality and in the creative spirit of self-reliance and must always be ready to make self-criticism in order to improve their political work constantly. They must trust and rely on the masses, arousing and mobilizing them against the exploiters.

In the countryside, the people's army should be constantly built up from among the exploited peasantry under

the leadership of the proletariat and the Party. A program of agrarian revolution should be implemented in order to fulfil the main content of the people's democratic revolution. To make possible and protect the gains of the agrarian revolution, the Party should develop rural bases and direct a wide range of fighting areas, from stable base areas to guerrilla zones.

The Communist Party of the Philippines makes class analysis and distinguishes its friends from its enemies. The Party recognizes the poor peasants and farm workers as the most reliable allies of the working class. To succeed in the people's democratic revolution, an alliance of the working class and the peasantry must be developed as the basis for a national united front which includes the urban petty bourgeoisie and the patriotic sections of the national bourgeoisie as supplementary allies. At the same time, the Party is ever alert to the dual vacillating class character of the national bourgeoisie as an ally in the people's democratic revolution.

The Party, in keeping and utilizing the national united front, realizes that it should maintain its class leadership, independence and initiative. Proletarian class leadership, independence and initiative are best maintained as our cadres constantly build our Party and our people's army. The national united front should be lined up primarily against the class forces of counterrevolution: the US imperialists, the compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists; and serve the establishment and advance of Red political power. In the concrete conditions of the Philippines today, the Party should employ armed struggle and the national united front skillfully and likewise, legal and illegal methods and secret and open work.

Imbued with proletarian internationalism, the Communist Party of the Philippines is determined to fulfil its international obligation to fight US imperialism and all its local reactionary agents, the compradors, the landlords and bureaucrat capitalists through to the end. The Party assumes it as an international obligation to combat modern revisionism and a resurgent Japanese militarism now increasingly in alliance with US imperialism to keep the Philippines in colonial bondage.

The struggle of the Filipino people against these enemies of national independence, social liberation and progress is a contribution to the worldwide struggle now being waged by all oppressed nations and peoples. In Asia, especially in Southeast Asia, the Philippines has too long served as the bastion of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. If the Filipino people are to deal powerful blows against these, then they shall have assisted other oppressed nations and peoples through common struggle.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is aware that all other nations and people fighting US imperialism and its reactionary allies are reciprocally assisting the Filipino nation and people through common struggle. The Filipino proletariat is bound by the spirit of proletarian internationalism with all workers and peoples of the world.

B. Armed struggle

It is the fundamental task of the Communist Party of the Philippines to give proletarian revolutionary leadership to the peasantry. The people's democratic revolution which our Party is waging is essentially a peasant war. The struggle for land among the vast majority of our people is the main content of the people's democratic revolution that we are trying to achieve in our semicolonial and semifeudal country. The liberation of the peasantry from feudal exploitation and its mobilization as the main force of the people's democratic revolution are of decisive significance to the revolutionary triumph of the proletariat as the leading class.

Since industry is not well developed in our semicolonial and semifeudal country, the number of industrial workers is small. The proletariat through its party must therefore develop its alliance with the peasantry and lead the peasantry as the main force of the people's democratic revolution. Because of its exploited condition, the peasantry is the most reliable ally of the proletariat. Its massive strength provides the overwhelming popular support for the proletarian revolutionary party.

By giving this support, the peasantry ensures the victory of the proletarian class leadership. As a proletarian revolutionary party, the Communist Party of the Philippines must rely mainly on the peasantry to conduct armed struggle and seize power. The people's democratic revolution is basically a peasant war under the leadership of the proletariat and its party guided by Mao Zedong Thought.

In going to the countryside, the Party must make the correct class analysis and take the correct class line. In our semicolonial and semifeudal society, the peasant problem constitutes the main problem both politically and economically. It is therefore necessary for the Communist Party of the Philippines to conduct thoroughgoing class

analysis to be able to understand the problem in the countryside so that in giving leadership to the class struggle in the countryside it will be able to distinguish between its real friends and its real class enemies; so that it can mobilize the correct class forces to train their guns against their class enemies.

The basis for class analysis is the relationship between the exploited and the exploiter and the ownership of the means of production. By knowing the relations of exploitation we determine the economic position of each class or stratum and their corresponding political attitudes. Through their ownership of the means of production, the exploiting classes maintain a system of exploitation. In the countryside, they maintain a feudal and semifeudal system of exploitation.

In waging the people's democratic revolution, the Party aims at overthrowing this system of exploitation by launching a peasant war against the feudal and semifeudal exploiters. In the countryside, the main exploiter is the landlord class. This class relies mainly on feudal exploitation. The landlord owns lands tilled by poor peasants who pay rent to him and who are further exploited in several other ways, such as usury, menial service and tributes.

The rich peasant stratum also engages in exploitation; a considerable part of his living depends on exploitation but the rich peasant is distinguished from the landlord in that although he owns lands more than sufficient for his household, he still tills the soil. The rich peasant participates in exploitation by hiring farm workers, renting out surplus land, surplus work animals and implements, by practicing usury and other forms of exploitation.

The middle peasant owns a piece of land sufficient for his family; but his status ranges from being on the edge of bankruptcy to having a piece of land a little more than sufficient for his household needs and having other sources of income.

The poor peasants and farm workers are those who have to work mainly for the landlords and be exploited by them. They are the most oppressed stratum of the peasantry and they are, therefore, the most interested in the people's democratic revolution and the most reliable allies of the proletariat. They compose the majority of the rural population in the Philippines.

The correct line in the countryside can be implemented by arousing and mobilizing the poor peasants and farm workers mainly and by winning over and uniting with the middle peasants, especially the lower-middle and middle-middle peasants, into an antifeudal revolutionary united front. The rich peasants, including those who have traditionally taken leading positions in the barrios, can be neutralized with the growing might of the poor peasants and farm workers.

The Party must do painstaking work to arouse and mobilize the poor peasants and farm workers and raise their prestige so that they can assume responsibility for the revolution. The Party must see to it that a revolutionary antifeudal barrio committee, controlled by the poor peasants and farm workers must ultimately replace or take over the "barrio councils" controlled by the landlords, corrupt government official and rich peasants.

The implementation of the class line in the countryside would depend on painstaking remolding of the attitudes of Party cadres towards the poor peasants, lower-middle peasants and farm workers. The Party must educate its cadres through revolutionary practice to make them understand that once the poor peasants, lower-middle peasants and farm workers have been aroused and mobilized they are the staunchest supporters of the revolution.

The social base of the revolution in the countryside are the poor peasants, lower-middle peasants and farm workers. It is important to keep this in mind in our mass work in the countryside among the peasantry. It is not only in the national-democratic revolution that we must rely mainly on the poor peasants, lower-middle peasants and farm workers; after the seizure of state power by the proletariat and during the period of transition to communism, these strata will continue to be the social base for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Communist Party of the Philippines must rely on peasant revolutionary bases to defeat the reactionary state power in the countryside before capturing the cities. Comrade Mao Zedong has extensively shown with genius in theory and in practice how the countryside can encircle the cities in the course of armed struggle in a semi-colonial and semifeudal country. The universal truth of the theory of using the countryside to encircle the city has been proven invincible. There are, however, the local revisionists who reject the universal truth of this revolutionary theory and who overstress the fact that the Philippines is an archipelago, unlike China with a vast contiguous land area and population, with the view of obscuring and denying the basic class analysis and dialectics involved in the theory of using the countryside to encircle the city.

The theory of people's war applies to Philippine conditions. Because of the uneven development of politics

and economy in the era of imperialism, the weak links of bourgeois state power are to be found in the countryside. The counterrevolutionary army is spread thinly over the country in maintaining control over main communication and transportation lines. This disposition of counterrevolutionary forces would leave the widest areas of the countryside for the development of the peasant war under the leadership of the proletariat.

C. The national united front

The national united front is an integral part of the political line of the Communist Party of the Philippines. The Philippine revolution is a revolution of the toiling masses against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The national united front must serve this political line.

The highest task of the people's democratic revolution is the seizure of state power by armed force and the consolidation of people's democratic power as the transitional stage toward socialism. The national united front must serve this central task. The Communist Party of the Philippines stands firmly wielding and utilizing both weapons of armed struggle and the national united front against the enemy. Through the national united front, the Party extends widely its political influence and gains the widest support of the masses and other progressive classes and strata as it establishes the independent strength of the leading class, the proletariat, through a national war or an agrarian revolution supported mainly by the peasantry.

For failure to clarify and use correctly the national united front as a weapon of the people's democratic revolution, previous Party leaderships have been responsible for several revisionist misconceptions regarding it. There are those who regard the national united front as the opposite of armed struggle. Violating the Marxist-Leninist theory of state and revolution, they also consider the national united front as the main weapon and parliamentary struggle as the main form of struggle. The Lavas are mainly responsible for this revisionism, this treason to Marxism-Leninism.

Before the outbreak of the anti-Japanese war, the Popular Front was considered by the Party leadership as merely the license for engaging mainly in parliamentary struggle; no preparations for antifascist armed struggle were seriously made. During the war, the Right opportunists ludicrously maintained the antifascist united front against Japan as a "united front" mainly with US imperialism and the Commonwealth government so that the line of opposing the return of US imperialism and its puppet Commonwealth government was obscured.

After the anti-Japanese war, the Democratic Alliance, as a formal united front organization, assumed leadership over all progressive forces; and bourgeois personalities close to the Lava brothers assumed the leadership and initiative therein. The Party lost strength, initiative and independence when its leadership decided to lay down its arms and to engage mainly in parliamentary struggle through the Democratic Alliance.

Until now, there is the false notion fostered by Right opportunists and revisionists that a national united front must always have a definite organizational form like the Democratic Alliance or the Movement for the Advancement of Nationalism whose unity, for the purpose of parliamentary struggle, must be preserved by all means and above all. In the broad experience of successful revolutionary movements, the national united front does not necessarily have a formal organization. Neither is its function limited to parliamentary struggle.

As a matter of fact, the best form of united front is one in which the Party has an independent and strong people's army to command. If the Party is involved in any formal united front organization in the course of either armed struggle or legal struggle, it must always be prepared by having its own independent strength and initiative to meet any betrayal or compromise with the enemy that the national bourgeoisie might make due to its dual class character.

The key question in the national united front is whether a proletarian revolutionary class leadership is at the helm of all other progressive forces fighting in common against the enemy in the armed and legal fronts. Whether there is a formal united front organization or not, the Communist Party of the Philippines must maintain its revolutionary vanguard role, its independence and initiative.

The Communist Party of the Philippines must engage in the national united front in order to tap all positive forces in the armed and legal fronts against the enemy. The national united front policy is pursued in order to expand the influence of the revolutionary armed forces, isolate the enemy and its diehard elements and recruit the broad masses of the people to the side of the people's democratic revolution.

The special task of the national united front is to win over the middle forces and elements in order to isolate

enemy diehards. To be able to do this, the Party must make clear and repeated class analysis which can distinguish the middle forces and elements from the diehard reactionaries, the principal enemies from the secondary enemies, the enemies of today from the enemies of tomorrow; and among friends, the reliable from the unreliable.

The Party's policy of the national united front is a proletarian policy concerning classes in Philippine society. In developing the national united front, we must distinguish our enemies from our friends and vice versa.

Chairman Mao has said:

“Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of first importance for the revolution A revolutionary party is the guide of the masses, and no revolution ever succeeds when the revolutionary party leads them astray. To ensure that we will definitely achieve success in our revolution and will not lead the masses astray, we must pay attention to uniting with our real friends in order to attack our real enemies. To distinguish real friends from real enemies, we must make a general analysis of the economic status of the various classes in Chinese society and of their respective attitude towards the revolution.”

The national united front should be based on the alliance of the working class and the peasantry under the leadership of the working class and the Communist Party of the Philippines. The national united front should include other progressive classes and strata in Philippine society which unite with the masses on the basis of a common political program. This political program, accepted in common by the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie, should correspond to the general line and program of the Communist Party of the Philippines. This political program must serve to weld together the broadest unity of progressive forces and groups to isolate US imperialism and the diehard reactionaries, composed of the comprador big bourgeoisie, the landlord class and the bureaucrat capitalists.

The program of the Party and the national united front should include mainly the liquidation of feudalism and the free distribution of land to the poor peasants, lower-middle peasants and farm workers, and the nationalization of industries and enterprises owned and controlled by the foreign monopoly capitalists and the comprador big bourgeoisie. This program can be achieved fully only with the seizure of state power through armed force by the people under the leadership of the proletariat. The state sector in the present economy and “land reform” under the reactionary state should not be confused with the real nationalization of the economy and agrarian revolution in the liberated areas or in the people's democratic state.

In adhering to the national united front, the Communist Party of the Philippines must maintain its independence, ideologically, politically and organizationally. It must unite with the progressive forces within the national united front but it should not surrender its fundamental class interests and those of the proletariat and the peasantry to the bourgeoisie. It must always conduct independent mass work, mainly among the peasants, so that it has its own political strength to rely on in any event. The national united front is essentially an instrument to win over the middle forces and elements and to isolate enemy diehards.

It is the relationship of the Party with the national bourgeoisie within the national united front that requires special attention. This is primarily because the national bourgeoisie has a dual class character, one aspect of which is progressive and the other reactionary. In dealing with the national bourgeoisie, we must avoid two dangerous pitfalls; namely, “Left” opportunism and Right opportunism. To dismiss the national bourgeoisie as completely reactionary is “Left” opportunist and sectarian; and to regard the national bourgeoisie as completely revolutionary is to be Right opportunist and capitulationist.

It is necessary at all times for the Party to adopt a revolutionary dual tactic towards the national bourgeoisie, combining unity and struggle. If the Party loses sight of the reactionary aspect of the national bourgeoisie, it would be unprepared for any betrayal of the revolution by this class. Revolutionary vigilance is required in our relations with the national bourgeoisie. If the Party loses sight of the progressive character of this class and does not recognize it as an ally within a certain period of time and to a certain limited extent, it would fail to take advantage of actual contradictions between this class on the one hand and foreign monopoly capitalism and feudalism on the other.

In order to develop the cooperation of the national bourgeoisie, the Party must have its own strength; otherwise, this class and its representatives would be reluctant to cooperate. The Party must respect the legitimate interests of all middle forces, with concessions actually granted to them without undermining the interests of the people and the leadership of the proletariat. At all times, resolute struggle must be waged against the enemies of the national united front so that trust in the Party would grow among the people and all middle forces.

In its relations with revolutionary forces throughout the world, the Party pursues the policy of the international united front. All revolutionary and progressive forces that can be united against the main enemy of the peoples of the world, US imperialism, should be united. Modern revisionism with its slogan of “united action” should be rejected as the ideology of the international scabs who are serving and seeking peace and détente with US imperialism.

In the international communist movement, the biggest danger today is modern revisionism. Likewise in the Philippines the main danger is modern revisionism in the form of the Lava revisionist renegade line and all other forms of Right opportunism. The collaboration between US imperialism, modern revisionism and all forms of reaction should be continuously exposed and attacked by the international united front and the national united front.

US imperialism and all other reactionaries are paper tigers. All the nuclear weapons and all the military technology of US imperialism cannot frighten us. Although our fraternal people, the Chinese people, have the atom bomb for the defense of the revolutionary peoples, what is more important for all fighting peoples is the human factor, the surging forces of the masses under the inspiration of Mao Zedong Thought and under the leadership of the proletariat and the Communist Party. Mao Zedong Thought is their spiritual atom bomb. They are bound by the spirit of proletarian internationalism in the world proletarian revolution and in the international united front against US imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction.

Although our Party and people welcome political and material support from fraternal parties and peoples, under the spirit of proletarian internationalism and within the framework of the international united front, we must rely mainly on ourselves first of all and wage the people’s democratic revolution as part of the world proletarian revolution.

Armed with invincible Mao Zedong Thought, the Communist Party of the Philippines will surely triumph and the Filipino people under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat will achieve people’s democracy first and socialism next.

**Ratified by the Congress of Reestablishment
of the Communist Party of the Philippines
December 26,1968**

of the Communist Party of the Philippines

Preamble

The integration of the universal theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution is the highest task of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is a revolutionary party of the proletariat that draws lessons from all previous revolutionary struggles of the Filipino people and from the great teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Zedong. It is in stride with the advance of the theory and practice of the world proletarian revolution guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

The Communist Party of the Philippines firmly opposes modern revisionism and all currents of subjectivism, Right or "Left" opportunism, liberalism and sectarianism, which must all be the target of relentless rectification and revolutionary vigilance. The Party constantly strives to develop the closest links with the masses of workers and peasants in the entire archipelago. It employs criticism and self-criticism to maintain the correct class standpoint and style of work.

The Party determinedly struggles to be the most advanced detachment and principal instrument of the Filipino working class, upholding proletarian revolutionary leadership in the ongoing stage of national democratic revolution against two principal enemies, US imperialism and feudalism, and in the subsequent stage of socialist revolution.

In order to defeat the US imperialists, the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlords, the Party uses the weapons of protracted people's war and national united front. The Party upholds the leadership of the working class, builds the basic alliance of the working class and the peasantry, and also attracts the petty urban bourgeoisie and the patriotic national bourgeoisie to the side of the national democratic revolution.

In waging the people's war, the Party relies mainly on the mass support of the peasantry, especially the poor peasants and farm workers. The Party develops the revolutionary forces in the countryside to destroy the pillars of feudalism and the armed counterrevolution there and surround the cities from revolutionary bases until the people's democratic forces are ready to seize power in the cities.

It is both the patriotic national and internationalist duty of the Communist Party of the Philippines to overthrow US imperialism, feudalism and all domestic reaction. The national and social liberation of the Filipino people shall help weaken the imperialists and all reactionaries on an international scale; strengthen fraternal parties and peoples in their own just and progressive struggles. Through coordinated actions on the basis of proletarian internationalism and according to the policy of international united front the complete overthrow of imperialism and the world triumph of socialism in the era of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought will certainly be achieved.

Let us arm ourselves with invincible Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought!

Article I. Name, Flag and Emblem, Anthem and Pledge

Section 1. The name of this organization shall be Communist Party of the Philippines. If necessary, the Party shall differentiate itself by name and content from the Communist Party of the Philippines (Merger of the Communist and Socialist Parties) by adding the phrase Marxist-Leninist or Mao Zedong Thought in parenthesis.

Section 2. The Party flag and emblem shall be red with the hammer and sickle in gold or white at the middle.

Section 3. The Party anthem shall be the Internationale.

Section 4. The Party pledge shall be as follows: "I, _____, declare my full agreement with the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Zedong Thought, with the Program and Constitution of the Communist Party of the Philippines and with all decisions taken by higher Party organs and the Party unit to which I am assigned to work.

I pledge to perform all my duties and responsibilities to the best of my ability, to raise my proletarian revolutionary consciousness, to serve the people constantly and be close to them, to defend and fight for the interests of the people, to keep high the integrity and prestige of the Party, to safeguard the security of the Party and all my comrades at the cost of my life if necessary, to criticize my own mistakes and weaknesses and those of others with the fullest honesty so as to improve work and style of work and so as to build up unity and strength, and to advance the interests of the Party and the masses. I shall take every opportunity to propagate

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and implement the proletarian revolutionary line of the Party.”

This pledge shall be taken when a person enters the Party as a candidate-member and when a candidate member is accepted as a Party member.

Article II. Membership

Section 1. Any citizen or resident of the Philippines, of at least 18 years of age, who accepts Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the Program and Constitution of the Party and agrees to work diligently in one of the Party organizations, carry out the decisions of the Party and pay the entrance fee and regular monthly dues may be accepted as a member of the Party.

Section 2. Party membership shall be valid only on an individual basis and in keeping with the following methods of arranging the acceptance of members:

a. Workers, farm workers, poor peasants, poor fisherman or urban poor may become members of the Party on the recommendation of two Party members of good standing after having been accepted by a decision of a branch meeting, or as the case may be, the branch executive committee and after having completed a period of six months as candidate-members.

b. Middle peasants, middle fishermen, office workers, handicrafts-men, intellectuals or professionals, students and other segments of the petty bourgeoisie may become members of the Party on the recommendation of two Party members each of whom shall have been a member of good standing for at least one year, after having been accepted by the branch executive committee or Party group in a mass organization and after having completed a period of one year as candidate-members.

c. Persons of social positions other than those mentioned in sub-sections a. and b. above may become members of the Party on the recommendation of two Party members, each of whom shall have been accepted by the branch executive committee and after having completed a period of two years as candidate-members.

Section 3. Every Party member who recommends a person to become a Party member shall provide a responsible and true statement to the Party concerning the ideology, political record and personal character and life history of the person concerned. He shall give his recommendee an adequate understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the Program, Constitution, policies and decisions of the Party. The recommendee shall formally answer a standard set of questions formulated by the Party.

Before taking any decision accepting a candidate-member, the branch executive committee or Party group concerned shall appoint a Party functionary to hold the broadest possible exchange of views with the person wishing to become a Party members, in order to get to know him and verify all pertinent information.

Section 4. Under special circumstances, higher Party committees and Party groups in mass organizations may directly accept a new member.

Section 5. Party organs concerned shall provide candidate-members with basic Party education on Marxism-Leninism and the Party Program and Constitution, require trial Party work and raise their political quality.

The branch meeting, the Party committee or Party group may pro-long or shorten the period of candidacy based on the performance and conscientiousness of the candidate-member.

The status of candidate-member shall be withdrawn if it becomes clear that the candidate-member does not meet the requirements of becoming a Party member.

Article III. Rights and Duties of Members

Section 1. The duties of Party members shall be as follows:

To build up the unity and strength of the Party by raising the level of their understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and by applying this universal theory on the concrete problems of the Party and the people's democratic revolution.

To place the interests of the Party, i.e., the interests of the masses of the people, above personal interests, serve the masses of the people without reserve, learn from them as well as clarify to them policies and decisions of the Party and make prompt reports to the Party regarding the people's needs and aspirations:

To combat revisionism and all erroneous trends of thinking and action within the Party;

To abide by the Party Constitution and Program;

To carry out thoroughly the Party line and all particular assignments given to them;

To master their line of work and become models of discipline, hard work, modesty and simple living in Party organizations, mass organizations and among the people;

To conduct criticism and self-criticism in order to present mistakes and weaknesses, to try earnestly to overcome and correct them and to improve political work;

To work in a particular Party organization and to attend meetings regularly;

To attend study courses regularly and to read and disseminate

Party publications regularly;

To be loyal and honest to the Party and present all facts necessary for making correct decisions;

To pay dues promptly; and

To be alert to anything inside or outside the Party which endangers the Party and to oppose everything harmful to the interests of the Party and the people.

Section 2. The rights of Party members shall be as follows:

- a. To participate freely in discussions during Party meetings concerning theoretical and practical problems regarding the Party line, policies and decisions;
 - b. To vote and be elected within the Party;
 - c. To submit proposals, statements or complaints to any party organization or organ at any level;
 - d. To criticize any Party organization, organ or member in Party meetings;
 - e. To check the qualification of any candidate to any position or committee;
 - f. To appeal any decision to a higher Party organ up to the Central Committee and National Congress; and
 - g. To be present in any meeting called to evaluate their characteristics, work or any disciplinary action to be meted out on them, except when the security of the Party demands otherwise.
- Section 3. The duties and rights of candidate-members shall be the same as those of Party members, with the exception that they do not have the right to vote or be elected and do not have a voice in decision making within the Party.

Section 4. Candidate-members or Party members shall be free to resign from the Party. Every resignation shall be fully explained within the Party committee concerned.

Section 5. Every Party member regardless of merit and functions who fails to fulfil his duties or fails to respect the rights of his comrades shall be criticized and educated. Serious violations of rights and duties shall be met with proper disciplinary measures.

- a. Any disciplinary action against Party members shall be decided by the branch or group in a mass organization to which they belong, but if the punishment meted out is expulsion, the approval of the Party committee immediately above shall be necessary.
- b. Any disciplinary action against a member of a Party committee shall be decided by the conference that elected him into that office or by a higher Party committee.
- c. Any disciplinary action against a member or candidate-member of the Central Committee shall be decided by the Central Committee plenum.

Section 6. Disciplinary measures shall be meted out according to the gravity of the violation of Party discipline and shall take any of the following forms: warning, strong warning, removal from assignment, provision of trial

work, suspension or expulsion from the Party.

Section 7. Every Party member shall adhere to the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the Party's class analysis of current Philippine society, the general line of new democratic revolution, the leading role of the working class through the Party, democratic centralism, the principle of proletarian dictatorship in the form of people's democratic dictatorship and other basic principles of building socialism. Any Party member who does not or who ceases to adhere to any of the aforesaid shall be asked to resign from the Party and if possible become an ally after an effort is exerted at further education deemed sufficient by the higher organ immediately above.

Article IV. Principle and Structure of Party Organization

Section 1. The structure of the Party shall be based on the principle of democratic centralism; meaning to say, centralism based on democracy and democracy under centralized leadership.

The basic conditions shall be as follows:

- a. Leading organs of the Party at all levels shall be elected and shall be responsible to the Party organization or conference that elected them.
- b. After free and thorough discussion, decisions taken by the Party shall be implemented.
 - (1) The individual is subordinate to the organization.
 - (2) The minority is subordinate to the majority.
 - (3) The lower level is subordinate to the higher level.
 - (4) The entire membership is subordinate to the Central Committee and to the National Congress.
- c. Leading organs of the Party shall always pay close attention to the reports and views of lower Party organizations and of the masses of Party members and they shall constantly study concrete experiences and render prompt assistance in solving problems.
- d. Lower Party organizations shall give regular and special reports about their work to the organizations and of the masses of Party members and they shall request instructions promptly concerning problems, which require the decision of a higher Party organization.
- e. All Party organizations shall follow the principle of collective leadership and all-important questions shall be decided collectively.

Section 2. A Party organization shall be established on the basis of territorial division or sphere of work.

- a. The Party organ which arranges Party work in a given territory shall be the highest organ in that territory.
- b. The Party organ which arranges Party work in a given territory or in a mass organization shall be the highest organ in that sphere of work or mass organization.

Section 3. The structure of the Party organizations and their leading organs shall be as follows:

- a. For the whole of the Philippines, there shall be the entire national Party membership, the National Congress and the Central Committee.
- b. For the regions, there shall be the regional Party organization, the regional conference and the regional committee.
- c. For the province, there shall be the provincial Party organization, the provincial conference and the provincial committee.
- d. For the regular district, there shall be the district Party organization, the district conference and the district committee.
- e. For the municipality, there shall be the Party section committee, section conference and section

committee.

f. For factories, mines, plantations or haciendas, barrios, streets, offices, schools and residential areas, there shall be the Party branch, the branch meetings and the branch executive committee.

Section 4. The supreme leadership of the entire Party shall be the National Congress; that of a region, province, district and section shall be the corresponding conference; and that of a Party branch shall be the branch meeting.

Between branch meetings, Party conferences and national congresses, the Party committee shall be the leading organ of the Party organization at each level.

Section 5. All leading organs shall be elected:

- a. The Central Committee shall be elected by the National Congress.
- b. The committees at every level shall be elected by the Party conference at each corresponding area.
- c. The branch executive committee shall be elected by the branch meetings.

The Central Committee shall set the standard requirements and procedures for elections. Where circumstances may not permit the holding of elections the leading Party organs shall be appointed by higher Party committees.

Section 6. Members of the Central Committee must have been in the Party as an active member for at least three years.

Section 7. Leading organs or their members may be dissolved or dismissed by the Party organizations which elected them or by the Party organs that appointed them even before the completion of their term of office.

Between Party conferences at any level, the higher Party committee may, if it deems necessary, remove functionaries of lower Party organs.

Section 8. The establishment of a new Party organization or the dissolution of an existing one shall be decided upon by the organization or party organ immediately above it.

Section 9. Party committees from the section to the regional Party organization shall set up departments, bureaus, commissions and other necessary organs in accordance with requirements.

Section 10. Party organizations at any level may hold various types of meetings, seminars or conferences of cadres and active members to review or plan their work or to discuss important decisions of higher Party organs.

Section 11. Prior to the policy decision taken by a leading party organ, lower Party organizations may freely discuss the issue and put forward proposals to the leading Party organ. After a decision has been taken, they must abide by it.

However, if they hold the opinion that the decision does not accord with conditions in a certain territory or sphere of work, reconsideration of the decision may be requested. If the higher Party organ stands by its decision after making the proper reconsideration, lower Party organizations shall be obliged to carry it out.

Section 12. The Central Committee shall be the organ that makes decisions and issues statements on questions of policy regarding national issues; although lower Party organizations and leading organs may discuss these issues and are expected to submit their opinions to central leading organs but they shall be entitled to take their own decisions and issue their own statements only on local matters within their territorial scope.

Section 13. All Party publications must popularize the decisions and policies of the Party. All Party organizations must disseminate Central Committee publications. Local Party publications are required to get the approval of the leading Party organ immediately above them.

Article V. Central Organization

Section 1. The National Congress shall be called and convened by the Central Committee every five years, unless it is deemed necessary to hold it later or earlier. If a majority of regional Party Committees formally requests that the congress be held, then the Central Committee shall accede to the request.

The announcement of the holding of the National Congress shall be made at least one month in advance. The number of delegates and the method of their election by the lower Party organizations or selection by lower Party organs shall be decided by the Central Committee.

Section 2. The power and functions of the national Congress shall be as follows:

- a. To discuss, ratify, review or amend the Program and Constitution;
- b. To decide upon the political line of the Party;
- c. To elect the members and candidate-members of the Central Committee and other central organs after determining the appropriate size of membership in each organ;
- d. To receive, discuss and endorse reports of the Central Committee and other central organs; and
- e. To create central organs other than the existing organs, if necessary.

Section 3. Between national congresses, the Central Committee shall lead the entire work of the Party, implement the decisions of the National Congress, make current decisions and solve current problems, establish Party organs and lead their activities, direct and allocate Party cadres and attend promptly to appeals from lower Party organizations and individual members in cases of disciplinary action.

Section 4. The Central Committee at its Plenum shall elect the Political Bureau, the Executive Committee, the General Secretariat, and the Chairman and Vice Chairmen of the Central Committee, the General Secretary and other secretaries of the Central Committee.

- a. The Political Bureau, together with its Executive Committee, shall exercise the power and functions of the Central Committee between plenums.
- b. The General Secretariat of the Central Committee shall take charge of the daily administration, routine activities of the Party under the leadership of the Political Bureau.

The number of members and candidate-members of the Political Bureau, the Executive Committee and the General Secretariat shall be determined by the Central Committee. Vacancies occurring shall be filled ordinarily by candidate-members.

Section 5. The Central Committee shall form and lead such special organs as the Military Commission, the higher Party school (The Revolutionary School of Mao Zedong Thought) and central publications aside from the Secretariat and its departments for organization and education.

Section 6. The Plenum of the Central Committee shall be convened once every six months by the Political Bureau. However, the Political Bureau or a majority of the Central Committee may decide to hold it earlier or later. Members and candidate-members of the Central Committee shall attend the plenum with candidate-members having speaking rights but no voting rights.

Article VI. Territorial Organizations of the Party

Section 1. Territorial Party conferences shall be held regularly, in the case of regions, once every three years; in the case of provinces and districts, once every two years; and in the case of sections, once a year. Conferences may be held anytime, however, upon the decision of a higher Party organ or upon the petition of a majority of lower Party organs.

Section 2. The powers and functions of regional, provincial, district and section conferences shall be:

- a. To receive, discuss and endorse the reports made by the Party committees and other Party organs at the same level;
- b. To adopt resolutions on organizational and political questions; and
- c. To elect the Party committee after determining the appropriate size of membership.

Section 3. At their respective plenums, territorial Party committees shall elect an executive committee and a secretariat (the secretary and deputies). The Secretary shall chair the plenums, the executive committee and the secretariat.

Regional committees shall hold plenum once every six months, provincial committees, once every three months and district and section committees, once every month.

Section 4. The regional, provincial, district and section committees, shall carry out the decisions of the higher Party organizations, create provisional lower Party organs, direct their activities and allocate Party cadres.

Section 5. The regional, provincial, district and section committees shall call work and study conferences every year to be attended by delegates elected by the Party branches and groups in mass organizations below. These conferences are empowered to make recommendations to leading Party organs, especially to the leading committees, regarding organizational work and, political problems.

Article VII. Basic Organization of the Party

Section 1. The branch as a basic Party organization shall be established wherever at least three Party members can work together as a collective unit, according to place of residence, place of work and place of study. Party branches shall be established in factories, mines, plantations or haciendas, barrios, schools, streets, offices and residential areas and in every company of the people's army. If in such places, there are less than three members, these Party members shall attach themselves to the nearest basic Party organization.

Section 2. If a Party branch exceeds fifteen members, the whole membership shall be divided into branch groups for purposes of convenience and security, unless the branch is in a secure revolutionary base area. Each branch group shall never exceed ten members.

Section 3. The most fundamental task of the basic Party organization shall be to develop the closest links between the Party and the masses of the people.

The general responsibilities of the branch shall be:

- a. To carry out propaganda and organizational work among the masses so as to implement the Party line and the policies and decisions of higher Party organs;
- b. To learn from the masses their aspirations and demands make timely reports to the higher Party organs, give direction to and participate in the political, economic and cultural life of the people;
- c. To muster material and moral support for the armed struggle waged by the New People's Army;
- d. To recruit new Party members and Red fighters, collect dues of Party members, examine reports from Party members and safeguard Party discipline and security among members;
- e. To organize the study of Party members and the dissemination of Party publications; and
- f. To recommend Party members for cadre training at higher levels up to the Revolutionary School of Mao Ze-dong Thought.

Section 4. Branch meetings shall be held at least once a month. These shall be attended only by heads of branch groups if in an unstable and unprotected area it is difficult for all branch members to attend.

Branch meetings shall elect the branch executive committee and a secretariat (secretary and deputy secretaries) and appoint the heads of branch groups. The tenure of office of all these shall be one year.

Branch meetings shall approve applications for Party membership, receive and discuss reports of branch meetings and committees and decide upon the work of the entire branch.

Section 5. A Party member may belong to two basic Party organizations (Party branch or group in a mass organization or institution) and pay his dues to only one, upon the permission of a higher Party committee.

A Party member transferring from one branch to another shall carry the prior authorization of the section committee above the branch from which he is transferring.

Article VIII. Party Groups in Mass Organizations

Section 1. Party groups shall be secretly created at every possible level in labor organizations and in mass organizations of peasants, youth, student, women, cultural workers, professionals, handicraftsmen and the like where there are at least three Party members. The responsibilities of these Party groups shall include the implementation of Party policies and decisions, strengthening unity with non-Party activists and developing close ties between the Party and the masses within the mass organizations.

Section 2. Party members in bourgeois institutions of broad scope shall likewise organize themselves secretly into Party groups. Their responsibilities shall include the implementation of Party policies and decisions,

gathering of information useful to the Party, exposure of the wrongs and weaknesses of the exploiting classes, and the recruitment of Party members from the ranks of the urban petty bourgeoisie.

Section 3. The membership of Party groups shall be fixed by the Party committee leading them. Party groups at every level in mass organizations shall have a secretary and deputy secretaries.

Section 4. The status and rights of Party groups in the National Congress and in Party conferences shall be determined by the Central Committee.

Article IX. The Party's Relationship with the New People's Army

Section 1. The Party, through its Military Commission under the Central Committee and through its cadres at every level, shall lead and command the New People's Army and guide it in the study and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and shall develop the most advanced fighters into Party members.

Section 2. The Rules of the New People's Army shall recognize the absolute leadership of the Party and its Military Commission and shall require the assignment of political officers to every armed unit of the New People's Army.

Section 3. The New People's Army shall be the main weapon of the Party in the people's democratic revolution and in the subsequent socialist stage. It fully welds the basic alliance of the working class and the peasantry. In the countryside, it shall create an independent regime through armed struggle, agrarian revolution and rural bases.

Section 4. A Party branch in every command and a Party group in every platoon and squad shall be organized within the New People's Army. Leading committees shall be created from the level of the branch to the highest military formation.

Section 5. The New People's Army shall develop three main forms of armed forces: regular mobile forces, guerrilla units, and militia or self-defense corps. It shall be a force for fighting, for propaganda and for production.

Section 6. The Party shall develop the closest ties between the army and the people, between the Party and the army and between officers and men in a proletarian revolutionary spirit.

Section 7. The New People's Army shall adhere strictly to the
Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points of Attention:

The Three Main Rules of Discipline are:

- Obey orders in all your actions.
 - Do not take a single needle or piece of thread from the masses.
 - Turn in everything captured.
- The Eight Points of Attention are:
- Speak politely.
 - Pay fairly for what you buy.
 - Return everything you borrow.
 - Pay for anything you damage.
 - Do not hit or swear at people.
 - Do not damage crops.
 - Do not take liberties with women.
 - Do not ill-treat captives.

Article X. Party Finances and Resources

Section 1. The Party shall be financed by members' entrance fees and dues, by productive undertakings of the Party and by unconditional contributions and by fundraising.

Section 2. The urban and rural poor shall pay fixed monthly membership dues of fifty centavos.

Section 3. Persons wishing to enter the Party shall be obliged to pay an entrance fee equal to the amount of one month's dues. Dues shall be paid monthly and shall be equivalent to 2.5 percent of the member's income. However the payment of membership dues may be adjusted based on individual conditions, such as changing income, higher or lower income or greater needs of the family.

Section 4. Special assessments shall be made on members upon the approval of the Party committee concerned.

Section 5. Party members who hold positions made possible by the Party in non-Party entities shall hand over their earnings to the Party and shall receive an amount determined by the Party according to regulations and the necessities of the members.

Section 6. The Central Committee shall receive eighty percent of entrance fees, membership dues and other monthly income and shall apportion the amount at various levels. Twenty percent shall remain with the Party branch.

Article XI. Amendments and Extraordinary Circumstances

Section 1. This Constitution shall be amended by a simple majority of the National Congress.

Section 2. If the Party or any Party organization cannot function in full accordance with this Constitution because of extraordinary circumstances, the forms of organization and methods of work shall be determined by the Central Committee or the Political Bureau.

Ratified by the Congress of Reestablishment
of the Communist Party of the Philippines
December 26, 1968

The revisionist renegades are creating trouble locally and all over the world and are vainly trying to impede the victorious advance of the people's democratic revolution in the Philippines and of the world proletarian revolution.

It is impossible to fight and defeat US imperialism and local reaction without fighting and defeating modern revisionism. Modern revisionism performs the special task for US imperialism and local reaction of undermining and sabotaging the revolutionary movement from within.

For a long period of time in the Philippines, Lavaism and Tarucism—the two major local sources and bases of modern revisionism—derailed the Philippine Revolution and besmirched the honor and prestige of the Communist Party of the Philippines. At present, they continuously try to hamper the advance of the revolutionary movement by spreading slander against proletarian revolutionary cadres, by betraying them to the enemy and by resorting to intimidation.

Though they have their own contradictions, the two “independent kingdoms” of the Lava revisionist renegade clique and the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique, employing the same dirty tactics, consistently attack the Communist Party of the Philippines inspired by Mao Zedong Thought.

Though it appears that the Taruc-Sumulong clique is the more dangerous of the two revisionist renegade cliques in the country today, it is the Lava revisionist renegade clique that actually poses a greater danger to the Party of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. It consistently performs revisionist work ideologically, politically and organizationally. Its “intellectual” bluster is quite impressive to the social strata prone to subjectivism and opportunism: the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. The Lava clique tries to spread the spirit of reformism among the peasants and workers. The Taruc-Sumulong clique is so bereft of any kind of mass support now that it has become a purely crime gang.

The Lava revisionist renegade clique carries the support of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. Though it is wracked by internal contradictions, a majority within determines the character of the clique as a puppet of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. With the knowledge and tacit approval of the reactionary government, it was able to send five “secret” delegates to the “World Communist Conference” organized by the Brezhnev revisionist renegade clique.

The Lava revisionist renegade clique is the purveyor of the worst sustained attacks against Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. At every turn it defends the most glaring acts of Soviet social-imperialism such as the Soviet aggression against the Czechoslovak people and the armed provocations against the Chinese people on China's frontiers.

The Lava revisionist renegade clique stands to gain temporarily from the “new” foreign policy of the reactionary government and the current attempts to “legalize” the Communist Party of the Philippines. The principal leaders and henchmen of this clique are openly in the payroll of the reactionary government, in the state university, in “brain trust” groups for high reactionary politicians and in business enterprises.

It is necessary for the Party of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to sustain a protracted struggle against modern revisionism, whether it be of the Lava or of the Taruc-Sumulong brand. All proletarian revolutionary cadres should always maintain the spirit of carrying through to the end the rectification movement and the fight against modern revisionism, Lavaism and Tarucism.

Under the present historical circumstances, the heirs and propagators of Lavaism and Tarucism have a resilience that can be fatal to genuine Marxist-Leninists if there is no constant revolutionary vigilance and active struggle against their revisionist intrigues and machinations.

The proletarian revolutionary cadres of the Communist Party of the Philippines should steadfastly rebuild and consolidate the Party. Armed with Mao Zedong Thought; they should strengthen the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally on the basis of resolute mass struggle against the class enemy.

A small number of persons has been complaining loudly that the Communist Party of the Philippines has been “throwing away too many people.” Some of these call themselves “communists” or “nationalists.” Others are blatantly anticommunists like the traitor and scab Luis M. Taruc and Gen. Manuel T. Yan, chief of staff of the reactionary armed forces.

These complainants do things in common. First, they fail to give primary importance to the fact that the rebuilding of the Communist Party of the Philippines is under the supreme guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Second, they refuse to recognize that in this era Marxism-Leninism has advanced to the stage of Mao Zedong Thought. Third, they always insinuate or harp on the malicious claim that it is sheer ambition or “careerism” that motivates proletariat revolutionaries in keeping firmly to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

Our single answer to these complainants is that the Communist Party of the Philippines has not thrown away a single person who is a proletarian revolutionary with a clear record of adhering in theory and practice to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Before the actual reestablishment of the Party, what the proletarian revolutionaries did precisely was to analyze and summarize the entire experience of the Party. Everyone who has steadfastly participated in the struggle against the bourgeois reactionary line of such renegades as the Lavas, Tarucs and Sumulong is in the Communist Party of the Philippines today. It is not a matter of arrogance but a matter of truth to say that those who have struggled best and with utter clarity for the ideological supremacy of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and who have most courageously persisted in revolutionary armed struggle are today concentrated in the Communist Party of the Philippines and are in its Central Committee. This matter of truth should be patiently and modestly explained to all Party members and to those who are outside of the Party or those who seek Party membership.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is the most advanced detachment of the leading class, the Filipino proletariat. It adheres to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought ideologically, politically and organizationally. While it will never hesitate to keep out modern revisionists, Right and “Left” opportunists, pretenders to centrism or neutrality, double-dealers and traitors, it will always painstakingly develop and temper proletarian revolutionaries in the course of struggle, arouse and mobilize the broad masses of the people for the new democratic revolution and continuously seek allies under its united front policy.

There are those who call themselves “communists” and who feign modesty but who refuse to recognize that Mao Zedong Thought has become the demarcation line between fake communists and real communists. These fake communists are guilty of extreme arrogance. They wish vainly to negate the fact that Chairman Mao Zedong is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era and that he has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism creatively and comprehensively and has brought it to a higher and completely new stage, the stage of Mao Zedong Thought.

To talk of “unity” without reference to ideological correctness, especially at a time that we are still at the critical stage of repudiating and learning from the errors of such renegades as the Lavas, Tarucs and Sumulong and that modern revisionism centered in the Soviet Union is furiously trying to sabotage the international communist movement and the people’s democratic revolution in the Philippines, is to talk of “unity” in the abstract or in a counterrevolutionary way.

Principled unity among all our comrades on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought should be truly the apple of our eyes. Both old and new members of the Party who fail or are slow in making criticism and self-criticism to improve their revolutionary practice on the theoretical basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought should be helped or repudiated if they refuse to be helped. It is not the proletarian revolutionaries who split the Party but it is in the first place those who carry the “communist” signboard but who violate Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. At the stage that we are rebuilding the Party and building up its revolutionary integrity from the ruins of the revolutionary mass movement that were wrought by the class enemy and such big opportunists as the Lavas, Tarucs and Sumulong, we should be careful and arduous in our efforts to fulfill the first requirement in Party building, which is ideological building. Without a revolutionary theory, there can be no

revolutionary movement. This is what Lenin pointed out a long time ago and it is still true today. It is correct theory that can make a revolutionary weather and outlast all kinds of adversities and make it triumph in the long run. We should, therefore, give primary importance to our ideological work. We should never underestimate it lest we lose our proletarian revolutionary unity and integrity and lest we allow the intrusion into the Party of certain elements who carry dubious credentials based on previous failures and isolation from the masses.

Lenin parted ways with the Second International when such scoundrels as Kautsky and Bernstein overran it and opposed Leninism. He never felt compelled to be bound by bourgeois unity with such “Marxists” as Kautsky and Bernstein to be able to lead the Bolsheviks triumphantly. In our case, we could have never reestablished the Communist Party of the Philippines if we did not repudiate such renegades as the Lavas, Tarucs and Sumulong who flaunted their “formal authority,” their “artificial majorities” in their narrow clique and their “revolutionary practice.”

Despite their pious protestations, the fake communists who talk emptily about “unity” and hypocritically denounce “personal ambitions” where questions of Marxist-Leninist principles are involved actually set themselves apart from the proletarian revolutionaries and they unite with the reactionary general Yan who wrote conversely about the Communist Party as a “house divided.” Yan creates a straw figure which he calls the “communist movement” and in which he maliciously lumps together the Lavas, Tarucs and Sumulong and the Communist Party of the Philippines. Certainly, the reactionaries will defeat such a “communist movement” in which the proletarian revolutionaries shall have become counterrevolutionaries by joining up with such counterrevolutionaries as the Lavas, Tarucs and Sumulong. But the happy truth is the reverse. The Communist Party of the Philippines has firmly repudiated these scoundrels and has correctly rebuilt itself and has become stronger by doing so. That is the reason why the spearhead of attack from US imperialism, modern revisionism and local reaction is directed against the real communists who are inspired by invincible Mao Zedong Thought.

In upholding a universal revolutionary theory, it is not immediately a question of numbers at the initial stage in a particular country. The question of ideological correctness and applicability takes priority over the question of immediately enrolling a big number of Party members. Neither the Nacionalista Party nor the Liberal Party can belittle us simply because of the present numerical superiority of their members to ours. Ours is a protracted revolutionary struggle against the ruling classes and all their agents in the first place. From the revolutionary mass struggles that we have begun to develop, we shall surely derive a huge number of proletarian revolutionaries to become cadres and members of our Party. And yet the fact today is that the cadres and members and the mass following of the Communist Party of the Philippines are far greater in number than those motley elements misled by the Lavas, Tarucs and Sumulong and the situation of US imperialism, modern revisionism and local reactions is getting worse everyday.

It is inconceivable to have any unity with revisionist renegades who wildly slander us daily and who concoct such lies as vile as the intrigue fed to a nationalist senator that he is on the “death list” of the New People’s Army. Machiavellian tricks are feebly calculated to isolate us from possible friends and to blackmail us from conducting constant class analysis of our friends and enemies. The revisionist renegades are stupidly helping the reactionary general Yan dig their own graves. The reactionaries are actually planning to assassinate more political leaders both in the city and the countryside and blaming the evil deed on the “struggle for power” within the “communist movement.” As a matter of fact, the reactionary authorities have already spread the intrigue that government officials are in the black list of the New People’s Army. This is actually a preparation for the reactionary armed forces themselves to perpetrate their “Monkees” business on a wider scale.

Let it be known to all that the rectification movement being conducted resolutely by the Communist Party of the Philippines is basically an educational movement in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. It is a large-scale campaign for ideological study, criticism and self-criticism, in which all proletarian revolutionaries are further tempered and such incorrigible degenerates as certain renegades of the Lava, Taruc and Sumulong types are repudiated and cast away in order to bring about a higher level of unity in revolutionary theory and practice.

We are uniting with the majority of the people who have remained true and faithful to the national democratic revolution. We extend our helping hand to all those who seek the road of armed revolution. We punish only the proven traitors who are only a handful. We consider as reprehensible any indiscriminate punitive action and everything else that the broad masses of the people whom we serve do not approve.

Our Beloved Party Celebrates Its First Anniversary Under the Supreme Guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought

Ang Bayan, Vol. II, No. 1, January 15, 1970

Our beloved Party, the Communist Party of the Philippines, celebrates with boundless joy the first anniversary of its reestablishment under the supreme guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. All proletarian revolutionary cadres and all Red fighters of the New People's Army seriously review today a whole year of revolutionary struggle to strengthen further their determination to fulfil definite tasks in the year ahead. They wish to serve the people better and make revolution more effectively, by adopting the style of hard work and simple living; and using criticism and self-criticism to achieve the best results.

The most important achievement of the Communist Party of the Philippines during the past year is its embodiment of the truth that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought has taken roots in the practice of the people's democratic revolution in the Philippines. Proletarian revolutionary cadres have succeeded to reestablish the Party after a long period of struggle against modern revisionism, subjectivism and opportunism to clear the ground of such counterrevolutionary rubbish that the bourgeois reactionary line of the Lavas, Tarucs and Sumulongs has strewn about in the old merger party of the Communist and Socialist Parties. As a result of the rectification of old and persistent errors, the strong foundation for proletarian revolutionary leadership in the people's democratic revolution has been laid.

Not only has the Communist Party of the Philippines upheld the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought but has also started in accordance with such a powerful theory to engage in the practice of armed revolution against armed counterrevolution. The principal activity of the Party now is developing the armed struggle in the countryside in a protracted way and upon the basis of steadfast political mobilization of the masses against US imperialism, the comprador bourgeoisie, the landlord class and the bureaucrat capitalists. Because of its firm revolutionary class standpoint, the Party and its army, the New People's Army, are now subjected to the most hysterical, vicious and futile attacks of the reactionary armed forces directed by US imperialism and by the Marcos puppet regime.

Starting early on the road of armed revolution, the Communist Party of the Philippines is truly performing its role as the most advanced detachment of the working class and the entire Filipino people. It has opened the correct way for people's war in the Philippines at a time that US imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and the Philippine reactionary government are inextricably sunk in the most serious political and economic crisis. It has taken a definite and firm step in the worldwide preparedness against war.

It is correct for the Party to fight resolutely the fascist regime of the Marcos reactionary clique which has been resorting to counterrevolutionary dual tactics to embellish the abuses and atrocities it is widely perpetrating against the broad masses of the people in both city and countryside. Marcos describes himself as nationalist but actually he is a fascist puppet of US imperialism and is the chief representative of the most rabid local reactionaries. Marcos describes himself as a protector of democratic rights but actually he attacks the broad masses of the people, especially the peasant masses, with all the force he can command.

He talks of repealing the Anti-Subversion Law but actually he is plotting to destroy the Communist Party of the Philippines with the use of military force and reformism. He talks of independence in foreign relations but actually he is taking every step to implement locally the dictates of the counterrevolutionary alliance of US imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and Japanese imperialism against the people, communism and China.

The Marcos reactionary clique has become so desperate that it is seeking to manipulate certain pseudo-revolutionary groups against the Communist Party of the Philippines. But the diehards of these pseudo-revolutionary groups are increasingly isolated everyday as the ideological and political work and the revolutionary armed struggle directed by the Party are exposing them to public hatred and shame. Efforts to sow intrigues and spread slander against the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army have miserably failed.

First, the Lava revisionist renegade clique is disintegrating as fast as the Soviet social-imperialists are exposing their true evil nature. Second, the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique is already beset with numerous quarrels among its criminal ringleaders and reactionary allies over their loot. Third, the fake "revolutionary council" has been

exposed as a mere handful of broker and careerists maliciously usurping the names of people's organizations. Fourth, the motley bunch of petty-bourgeois anarchists and reformists imitating the American "New Left" has become as confused as ever and the greater number of student and intellectual activists are moving rapidly towards the Party.

The Communist Party of the Philippines has achieved so high an ideological, political and organizational unity that it has unanimously and resolutely decided to wage revolutionary armed struggle. That is because it puts Mao Zedong Thought in command of everything. The Party has successfully brought together all proletarian revolutionaries with all the Red fighters who have heroically persisted in armed struggle for a long period of time.

It has been fortified by the resounding triumph of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the Ninth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party. It has learned positive lessons from all Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations that have steadfastly adhered to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. It has also learned valuable lessons from the negative examples of parties and groups which had at first condemned modern revisionism only to defect or veer towards it later.

The Communist Party of the Philippines calls on all its cadres and members at every level and in every unit of work in local areas as well as in the New People's Army to intensify Party building. As everyone knows, Party building involves ideological, political and organizational building. The importance of ideological work, making Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought the guide to all our activities, is made even more urgent by the enemy intensification of counterrevolution. We must always solve our practical problems and march forward by using the correct theory and thereby giving life to it. This is the best and only way of persisting in revolutionary struggle.

Mass mobilization on the basis of a revolutionary class line is the objective of all our political efforts. We must grasp the mass line in order to get the majority at every step and isolate the enemy diehards. The Party has made the initial steps in organizing the basic Party and people's organizations all over the country. The urgent task now is to enlarge and deepen the mass base of the Party through persistent mass work and concrete military struggle.

Every step that is taken to bring up the level of armed struggle must always be related to the degree of success achieved in Party building and political work, especially among the oppressed masses of workers and peasants. Failure to do so spells defeat or setback anywhere. At the moment, the Party and the people's organizations we have set up in the countryside are coming under the acid test of reactionary violence. That the enemy is attacking us only proves that we are doing well our revolutionary work and that we are, indeed, so antagonistically opposed to all that the enemy is made out of.

The enemy has the foolish wish of suppressing us at an early stage. That only goes to show that he is in panic, that he is in hysterical fear of Mao Zedong Thought, the ideology that can make us persist in revolutionary struggle. We must continue to fight. But to be able to continue fighting we must fight even better and more vigorously. In order to be invincible, we must always take the revolutionary class line in the countryside, that is to say, we must link up inseparably with the poor peasants and farm workers, the semi-owner peasants and all other semiproletariat. They are the superlative allies of the Filipino proletariat.

So that the revolutionary armed struggle that we are preparing and initiating at several strategic points in the countryside will succeed, we must create the broadest national united front to isolate the enemy and put him at the weakest position for our mortal blows. We must make use of the national united front to create a revolutionary high tide on a national scale and to prepare the subjective conditions for linking up the several revolutionary base areas that we are bound to develop in the protracted course of the armed struggle. The objective conditions for the rebellious spirit of workers, peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and progressive sections of the national bourgeoisie to rise even higher continue to become graver and more insoluble for the enemy classes. US imperialism and the Marcos puppet regime are increasingly oppressing and exploiting the broad masses of the people. Both the national situation and the international situation are already in such a hopeless mess for US imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and all reactionaries.

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought!

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Long live the Filipino people and the Philippine revolution!

Long live the Filipino working class!

Intensify Party building and the armed struggle!

Fear neither hardship nor death!

Fight through to the end for the people's democratic revolution!

Central Committee
Communist Party of the Philippines
December 26, 1969

Political Report to the Second Plenum of the First Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines

First published as *Ang Bayan* Special Release, October 15, 1970

I. From the 1960s to the 1970s

The decade of the sixties was marked by great upheaval, great division and great reorganization. The fundamental class contradictions of the world underwent deep-going development. US imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and all reaction met with disastrous defeats one after the other.

Amidst the turmoil of great revolutionary struggles, the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought emerged triumphantly and gloriously to give correct direction to the revolutionary people of the world.

As soon as the decade of the seventies set in, the flames of revolutionary struggle rose higher and shone brighter throughout the world and in the Philippines. More and greater victories beckoned to the world's proletariat and the broad masses of oppressed people.

Chairman Mao has correctly pointed out: "Revolution is the main trend in the world today." In preparing against war, the people of the world are waging fiercer revolutionary struggles. The more US imperialism and its counterrevolutionary allies threaten and provoke a global war the more do they find themselves encircled by a ring of fire which they have to go against like mad bulls.

The overextension of US imperialism throughout the globe has become wilder and more self-defeating. It is more than ever hopelessly spread thinly and open to the deadly blows dealt by the people of the world, including the great American people. Chairman Mao has correctly described the nature of US imperialism: "US imperialism, which looks like a huge monster, is in essence a paper tiger, now in the throes of its deathbed struggle." No one fears the vicious grimaces of a moribund monster. Though ferocious in appearance, US imperialism has been rendered weak by revolutionary struggle. Its losses in so many parts of the world are now resulting into its internal decline.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the latest epochal achievement of Marxism-Leninism, has frustrated the desperate efforts of US imperialism and world reaction to use modern revisionism to corrode and destroy the forces of world proletarian revolution from within.

Under the correct leadership of Chairman Mao Zedong, the Communist Party of China, together with the Albanian Party of Labor and all other Marxist-Leninists of various countries, has forthrightly and firmly stood up against the treacherous attempts of Soviet social-imperialism to prolong the reign of imperialist oppression and exploitation.

In the transition from the decade of the sixties to that of the seventies, the single most important development in the Philippines was the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines as a revolutionary party of the proletariat holding aloft the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. In so short a time since its reestablishment, the Communist Party of the Philippines has attained leadership over the armed struggle and the national united front against US imperialism and all its reactionary allies.

The Philippines is now in the throes of a national democratic revolution. The broad masses of the people are fast rising up against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. Trying to recover its losses in other parts of the world, US imperialism has intensified the oppression and exploitation of the Filipino people. By doing so, it has only engendered popular resistance. The broad masses of the people find immeasurable inspiration and strength in Chairman Mao's thesis: "A weak nation can defeat a strong, a small nation can defeat a big. The people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country, if only they dare to rise in struggle, take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country. This is a law of history."

In addition to their own strength within their own country, the Filipino people can count on the powerful support of so many other people abroad who are fighting against US imperialism and all its counterrevolutionary allies. By uniting in waging revolutionary struggles, the people of the world can defeat US imperialism and all its running dogs. It is the broad masses of the people who are the real gigantic force. It is their enemy who is puny.

II. The world proletarian revolution

The world proletarian revolution is sure to win victory. We are now in the era when imperialism is heading for

total collapse and socialism is marching toward world victory. The revolutionary people of the world are rapidly grasping Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as their invincible weapon.

The great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China under the direct leadership of Chairman Mao, the Lenin of the present era, has successfully led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution to solve the problem of preventing capitalist restoration in a socialist society and to smash the bourgeois headquarters of the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shaoqi.

The People's Republic of China has become ever more consolidated as the center of the world proletarian revolution. Tempered by the process of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship, the 700 million Chinese people are the iron bastion of the worldwide anti-imperialist struggle. They provide an invulnerable rear for the revolutionary people of the world. They are thoroughly prepared against the war conspiracy of US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. They are the shock force of the world proletarian revolution.

In Europe, the Albanian Party of Labor led by Comrade Enver Hoxha has also successfully conducted an ideological revolutionization movement among the Albanian people. Albania stands today as a powerful bulwark and inspiration for all people in Europe resisting US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

All over the world Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations have grown rapidly in strength and maturity. While old revisionist parties continue to disintegrate, Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations have emerged to give correct direction and to lead revolutionary struggles. With greater confidence, the people of the world are steadfastly advancing.

The main regions of the storm of world revolution are Asia, Africa and Latin America where armed struggle is raging in more than thirty countries. People's war is being waged vigorously in the whole of Indochina, Thailand, Burma, Malaysia, Indonesia, India, Palestine, Mozambique, Angola, Congo (Kinshasa), Dhofar, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, and so many other countries that make the world's countryside. The people are held in bondage by arms; only by arms can they liberate themselves. They recognize unflinchingly that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.

The expansion of the US war of aggression in Vietnam and Laos to Cambodia have only multiplied the losses of US imperialism and enlarged the scale of its defeat in Indochina. Contrary to its sinister expectations, US imperialism has not gained anything but aggravated its hopeless situation by engineering the coup d'etat of the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique in Cambodia. Under the powerful counterattack of the Cambodian people and the people of the world, US imperialism has been forced to feign a voluntary withdrawal of its aggressor troops from Cambodia. It is now callously sending in cannon fodder from southern Vietnam and Thailand and flaunting its air power.

While the Cambodian people are surging forward to wipe out their enemies, the south Vietnam and Laotian people's armed forces are also advancing without letup. The National United Front of Kampuchea, the Laotian Patriotic Front, the South Vietnam National United Front for Liberation and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam have forged an unbreakable revolutionary unity. The three Indochinese peoples are closely fighting together against US imperialism and its running dogs. Furthermore, all the Indochinese people have the most powerful rear in the world, the People's Republic of China.

The revolutionary armed struggles waged by the people of Thailand, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, Kalimantan Utara and the Philippines are immeasurably supported by the heroic resistance of the Indochinese people for liberation and national salvation. So are the agrarian revolution now waging in India and the Palestinian and Arab struggle against US imperialism and Israeli Zionism supported.

The determination of the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan, of the Korean people to reunify their fatherland and of the Japanese people to fight US domination and the resurgent militarism of the Japanese reactionaries has risen ever higher.

US imperialism cannot escape from being swept away from the wide storm belt in Asia, ranging from the Philippines to Palestine. It cannot escape the wrath of the people. The upsurge of people's war all over Asia spells the doom of US imperialism and its running dogs.

US imperialism tries by every means to push forward its global alliance with Soviet social-imperialism. It also tries to use Japanese militarism as its fugleman in Asia. But it can never escape its responsibility as the principal aggressor. Its co-aggressors, no stronger than itself, are only bound to suffer its fate.

Soviet social-imperialism has become utterly rotten to the core and has become as overextended as its US imperialist master. Within its own borders, revolutionary organizations are steadily growing to oppose monopoly

bureaucrat capitalism, social-fascism and social-imperialism. The people of some countries in Eastern Europe and Outer Mongolia which are under revisionist and social-imperialist rule are straining to be liberated. Soviet social-imperialism has become isolated even in areas long known to be its sphere of influence. That is why it sends its hundreds of thousands of aggressor troops into Czechoslovakia and threatens fascist aggression against other countries in Eastern Europe. As the new tsars, the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists madly insist on the conquests of the old tsars and try to grab more territory from China. Their adventures have met powerful rebuffs from their intended victim. The bankrupt “peaceful” revisionism of Krushchov has become the more bankrupt violent revisionism of Brezhnev; all along modern revisionism has not meant peace but imperialist violence against the people.

Japanese monopoly capitalism has found it profitable to stand in support of US imperialism, as in the Korean War and the current war in Indochina. But its rapid remilitarization and its boasts of carrying out anew its policy of “greater East Asia co-prosperity sphere” under the Nixon Doctrine of “making Asians fight Asians” will doom it to worse defeat. The artificial strength of Japan dependent on US loans and raw materials from abroad cannot long stand the blows of the Asian people. Within Japan and abroad, especially in Asia, Japanese militarism is incessantly detested by the people. By becoming a tool of US imperialism, it is bound to suffer a more disastrous defeat than in World War II in the present period when a great socialist giant and powerful national liberation movements are growing in the East.

Within all the imperialist countries, the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is developing in depth. Within the United States, the black and white proletariat are joining up rapidly with the student youth in fighting monopoly exploitation, arms expansion and wars of aggression. Within the Soviet Union, the proletariat is thoroughly disgusted with the betrayal of Leninism and is developing underground organizations to overthrow the revisionist rulers. Within Japan, revolutionary mass actions are becoming bigger and bigger both against US imperialist domination and the resurgent Japanese militarism.

Though they are engaged in all-round counterrevolutionary alliance against China, communism and the people, US imperialism, Japanese militarism and Soviet social-imperialism are at the same time contending with each other for world hegemony. Among all imperialist powers, there is ceaseless strife for raw materials, markets, dependencies, strategic points and spheres of influence. Objectively, they are eating up each other's strength.

The firm proletarian dictatorship in the People's Republic of China and the People's Republic of Albania guarantees a socialist future for the entire world. The imperialist countries cannot make light of the strength of these socialist countries. Their revolutionary victories in class struggle have directly promoted production and scientific experiment. The People's Republic of China has nuclear power and has struck into outer space. These technological achievements signify a powerful modern industry in the service of the world proletarian revolution.

In all major contradictions of the world today, it is imperialism and social-imperialism that are at the losing end. The oppressed people and nations are striking at every tentacle of US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. Within the capitalist and revisionist countries, the proletariat is waging unprecedented struggles against the bourgeoisie. Among the imperialist powers themselves, they cannot help but act according to their imperialist nature despite their anticommunist alliances. In an international situation where all exploiters of the world led by US imperialism are going downhill, the socialist countries increase their strength, lend support to the revolutionary people and lead the entire world to socialism.

Arising from the major contradictions in the world today is an ever expanding international united front led by the revolutionary proletariat. US imperialism and its running dogs are becoming rapidly more isolated while the socialist countries and the revolutionary people who are fighting for national liberation and democracy are growing stronger.

At any time, US imperialism may try to provoke a global war along the wide arc from the Korean peninsula to Indochina. We are now witness to a powerful united front that will destroy imperialist aggression along the same arc. US imperialism may try to provoke a global war anywhere else. It will still meet a more expanded and more powerful international united front than the present one that now girdles the entire world.

Imbued with the revolutionary spirit of proletarian internationalism, the Communist Party of the Philippines is leading the Philippine revolution arduously and self-reliantly not only so that the Filipino people shall be liberated in their own land but also so that the entire mankind shall be liberated from US imperialism and its running dogs. The Communist Party of the Philippines is ever grateful to the people of the entire world for their resolute struggle

against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction.

To heed Chairman Mao's call in his May 20th solemn statement for the people of the world to unite and defeat the US aggressors and all their running dogs is to move closer to communism.

III. The true state of the nation

1. The political situation

To make up for its losses elsewhere in the world, US imperialism sucks more blood from the broad masses of the people. Its political puppets headed by the fascist chieftain Marcos resort to every foul trick to prolong and intensify the colonial rule of US imperialism. The puppetry of the Philippine reactionary government to US imperialism has caused the broad masses of the Filipino people to rise up more vigorously than ever before. They can no longer stand the oppression and exploitation imposed by US imperialism and its local running dogs.

The Philippine reactionary government is increasingly characterized by fascism. It has become daily fare for the fascist puppet chieftain Marcos to issue secret orders for the arrest and murder of democratic elements who dare to expose the scheme to prolong and intensify the subjugation of the people. In both city and countryside, martial law is in fact already in operation against specific targets of the Marcos fascist puppet clique. Not satisfied with so many assassinations, kidnappings and massacres already perpetrated by his minions, Marcos threatens almost daily to formally declare martial law and ban democratic mass organizations all over the country to forestall the mounting revolutionary mass movement.

But the people dauntlessly chant in demonstrations, strikes and other protest mass actions that people's war is the answer to martial law. They are not afraid even to express their support for the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army. The demand for armed revolution has become stronger and stronger since the storm of the first quarter of this year. Despite the ruthless killing of several demonstrators by the fascist brutes, the people have remained fearless in launching powerful mass actions against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The Communist Party of the Philippines firmly maintains leadership over the New People's Army which is courageously carrying forward the banner of armed struggle. Workers, peasants and the national minorities are enthusiastically raising arms against the reactionaries at various points in the country. The determination of the people to wage armed struggle against their enemies grows daily. The targets of their hatred are US imperialism and its local running dogs; namely, the big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists.

The Marcos fascist puppet clique has completely proven the bankruptcy of the present political system by employing fraud and terrorism on an unprecedented scale in the last elections. The broad masses of the people have become fully convinced of the necessity of taking direct democratic action because of the overexposed futility of the "normal" channels of the reactionary state. A chain of killings and other criminal abuses continue to intensify the internal contradictions of the ruling classes. This only serves to step up the people's repudiation of the present political system.

As usual in moments of crisis for a despotic regime, the despots are worried to death both by the surging revolutionary mass movements and the threat of a coup d'etat from the direction of a rival faction. The Marcos fascist puppet clique is trying every ruthless measure to give its armed minions the upper hand.

In a desperate attempt to keep his limited ground, Marcos makes use of counterrevolutionary dual tactics. He proclaims himself as neither Left nor Right and accuses both Left and Right of unwittingly helping each other to topple him down. He calls himself an adherent of "liberal democracy." Despite all the sham professions he makes, his criminal fascist actions against the people have become too conspicuous and callous.

Resorting to counterrevolutionary dual tactics will not help the Marcos fascist puppet clique the least. The revolutionary masses are now singly determined to strike against the rightist regime. They firmly shout to the face of Marcos that he deserves a beating because he is already vicious enough against the people. When he himself becomes more vicious or some other more vicious clique should replace his clique, then they would only intensify their revolutionary struggle and destroy anyone who stands to oppose them.

The counterrevolutionary revisionist renegades and clerico-fascists attack the revolutionary masses and single out the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army for the most vicious attacks. They vehemently denounce the masses whom they describe as "pressing Marcos to the wall" and making the "insignificant Marcos" the "sole culprit." They echo the threats of Marcos to attack the people even more viciously in a futile attempt to discourage the revolutionary mass movement.

The counterrevolutionary revisionists and clerico-fascists are colluding with the Marcos fascist puppet clique. All of them say that they are for “peaceful revolution” in a vicious campaign to mislead the people. The Lava revisionist renegades and the clerico-fascists have for quite a long time been toadying up to the Marcos fascist puppet clique through the Movement for the Advancement of Nationalism and the Christian Social Movement, respectively. In the rotten 1969 elections, the leaders of these organizations scandalously deodorized Marcos as a “nationalist.” Marcos has frequently found their endorsements handy for covering up his fascist character.

The Marcos type of nationalists, the Lava revisionist renegades and the clerico-fascists continue to conspire in peddling the malicious line of letting the Filipino people “Filipinize” the economy by “buying out the US monopolies” or letting the landless tenants become owner-cultivators or even landlords by “buying out the landlords.” All of these counterrevolutionary reformists ceaselessly sing hymns of praise for the Investment Incentives Law and the Agricultural Land Reform Code. They harp on such counterrevolutionary requirements as “constitutional due process” and “just compensation.” They misrepresent the so-called Magna Carta of Social Justice and Economic Freedom as a progressive resolution, despite its thinly veiled endorsement of domination by US imperialism and feudalism through “joint ventures” and “foreign loans.”

All the counterrevolutionaries are rallying round the farce of constitutional convention. They wish to hoodwink the people into believing that a mere rewriting of a colonial document by the delegates of the reactionary classes can write off the basic problems of the Filipino people. The dirtiest politicians of the Nacionalista Party, the Liberal Party, the Christian Social Movement and various other organizations parade themselves as “independent individuals” worthy of being delegates to a counterrevolutionary convention.

The constitutional convention is nothing but a device to sanction the prolongation and intensification of the oppression and exploitation of the people by US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The US imperialists and their international allies will be allowed to enjoy undiminished property and investment rights. The landlords will continue to ride roughshod over the poor peasants and to taunt them with impossible offers of land sale. Clerico-fascist organizations will still make high profits, be exempted from taxes and enjoy more feudal privileges. The bureaucrat capitalists will still be around to serve their imperialist and feudal masters.

The most reactionary forces in Philippine society today are performing all kinds of antics, including the imitation of genuine protest actions, in order to drive in the lie that they are progressive and that the present reactionary government deserves the support that it does not. The clerico-fascists manipulated by the CIA and the American Jesuits render a special service to the Marcos fascist puppet clique by trying to head off the revolutionary mass movement.

The Marcos fascist puppet clique has the illusion that by repealing the Anti-Subversion Law and opening trade and diplomatic relations with Soviet social-imperialism it can pass itself off as pursuing a “left” and “independent” policy. The Lava revisionist renegades are gleeful that the Philippines is being included in the global counterrevolutionary alliance of US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. They also help the pro-Japanese clique of Laurel in pushing ahead the interests of the Japanese militarists in the Philippines.

The other pack of renegades, the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique, has utterly disintegrated with the surrender of “Commander” Sumulong. This is the culmination of the efforts of the chieftains of the clique to spread the poison that the Marcos fascist puppet clique is capable of solving the problems of Central Luzon. Upon his surrender, the common criminal Sumulong volubly praised the reactionary government and blatantly exposed himself as the enemy’s special agent assigned to misrepresent and attack the revolutionary mass movement.

The special services of the Lava revisionist renegades and the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique to the class enemy have become too blatant and in fact violent. They have gone to the extent of carrying out the fascist policy of the Marcos puppet clique. Adopting the swindler outfit called “Armeng Bayan” as their goon squad and becoming enmeshed in the activities of the “Monkees,” the Lava revisionist renegades have merely imitated the Soviet revisionist example of discarding the “peaceful” mask of Khrushchov in favor of the out-and-out policy of aggression of the Brezhnev gang. The Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique and the Lava revisionist renegades are no different from each other in employing tactics of bloody intrigue in Central Luzon and elsewhere.

By resolutely waging armed struggle and winning more and more friends under the national united front, the revolutionary standing of the Communist Party of the Philippines has never been higher. The Party is looked up to by the Filipino people as the vanguard of the new democratic revolution.

2. The economic and social situation

The most incontrovertible sign of the economic and social crisis of the Philippines today is the rapidly rising prices of basic commodities and all other commodities. The value of the peso has sunk so low and is still sinking fast to the detriment of the oppressed masses of workers and peasants and the petty bourgeoisie who have low and limited income. The national bourgeoisie is also suffering from the devaluation of the peso.

The material basis for the unrest now sweeping the whole country is the intensification of US imperialist oppression and exploitation of the people. There has never been a better instance than now in explaining to the people the full range of causes for their suffering.

US imperialism has caused the Philippine reactionary government to incur an enormous amount of internal and external debt. There are two outstanding reasons for the consistent pressure of US imperialism to weigh down its puppet government with exceedingly heavy financial obligations. First, it seeks to make up for its losses elsewhere in the world by taking advantage of its stranglehold on the economy. Second, it seeks to perpetuate its monopoly of privileges in the country in the face of the people's clamor for the abrogation of unequal treaties and agreements by pursuing the tactic of bogging down the puppet government into enormous debts.

At the beginning of this year, the internal debt of the Philippine reactionary government reached ₱4.7 billion and the external debt, \$1.5 billion. After only six months, these debts again leaped to close to ₱6.0 billion and \$1.9 billion, respectively. These debts have been used mainly to benefit the imperialists, compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists at the expense of the broad masses of the people. Through excessive spending for non-productive purposes, the reactionary government has contributed heavily to the inflation.

The excess supply of the peso has been used only to buttress and fatten up further the local exploiting classes and encourage the production of raw materials for export, such as sugar, coconut, copper and logs, and the internal distribution of imported finished manufactures from the imperialist countries led by the United States and Japan.

The dollar loans taken by the reactionary government from the International Monetary Fund, World Bank, consortia of US private banks and other foreign banks have been used to cover the increasingly large deficits incurred in the unequal exchange of raw material exports and finished manufacture imports; the local borrowing, remittance of profits and foreign payments of US firms; the servicing of accumulated loans; and payments for construction equipment and engineering services provided by foreign equipment and construction firms. In his state-of-the-nation address last January 26, Marcos repeatedly dished out the lie that the equipment imported at great overprice for his infrastructure program (roads, bridges, ports and irrigation facilities) will result in the expansion of local manufacturing.

An integral element in the depletion of financial resources in a semicolonial and semifeudal society is the bureaucratic corruption and the profligate luxury spending by the local exploiting classes. US imperialism would not persist in controlling the Philippines were it not for the bribes that it gives to its puppets.

The wanton depletion of the financial resources of the puppet government is subsequently taken as a cause for US imperialism to step in and hypocritically call for fiscal restraint and imperiously demand the devaluation of the peso. The puppet government cannot beg for additional loans to pay off old loans and import essential commodities unless it accepts the impositions of US imperialism. Thus, the reactionary government is dictated upon to issue a hypocritical call for "austerity" and "self-discipline." It uses these catchphrases to lay off government employees and reduce public services, increase taxes ostensibly on those who receive higher income but which are actually passed on to the toiling masses in the form of higher prices, give more incentives to raw material exporters and subsidize finished products imports, increase costs of basic public services like transportation, light and water; and subject the peso to rapid devaluation.

The devaluation of the peso currency is a vicious clever trick of US imperialism to practice international usury. With the peso equivalent of the dollar reaching up to more than ₱6.3 from a previous level of ₱3.9, the external debt of the reactionary government increases in value and becomes more difficult to pay back. The value of local US assets becomes automatically inflated far beyond the wishful thinking of nationalist reformists who expect to buy out the US monopolies in the stock market. The US dollar can now grab more raw materials at a lower dollar cost, take over dollar-starved local enterprises that depend on imported capital goods, spare parts, fuel and raw materials and make more profits from the importation of finished manufactures. The result is the aggravation of the economic crisis and the continued enslavement of the Philippines.

The toiling masses of workers and peasants suffer the main brunt of rising prices. Essential commodities are

imported at a greater peso cost. There is not a single commodity in the Philippine economy, whether partially or wholly processed in the Philippines, that does not entail the use of certain imported commodities. Oil is one commodity monopolized by US imperialism which affects every commodity or service marketed in the Philippines. Appropriately, US monopoly control of oil has been the target of repeated general strikes by the workers. The Rockefeller monopoly group controlling oil also controls fertilizers and pesticides the increased price of which has also hit the peasants severely.

Unemployment has become aggravated. Government offices and private enterprises have already laid off 10 percent to 65 percent of their employees. Those who are retained in their work have to submit themselves to depressed wages. The reactionary government has fixed the new minimum wage at ₱8.0 for industrial workers and ₱4.75 for farm workers. But this is inadequate and still subject to circumvention by the exploiting classes. The peso has been devalued by at least 61.5 percent and yet the minimum industrial wage has been increased by only 33 percent and the minimum farm wage, by only 30.28 percent. Hardly had the wage earners coped up with the effects of the 1962 devaluation, they are subjected to a second devaluation further depressing their wages in 1970. Now a third devaluation looms before they can cope up with their present hardship.

The land reform program of the reactionary government becomes more exposed as a sham. It becomes starkly clear that the reactionary government is in no position to make even a token land reform. From 1963 to 1970, the actual amount appropriated for the Land Bank was a measly ₱13.0 million, an amount manipulated by the landlords and bureaucrats. The amount appropriated for the counterrevolutionary armed forces to suppress the people ran into billions for the same period. The amount appropriated for the Philcag alone is already several times more than that appropriated for the sham land reform program. Not a single tenant has been able to afford to buy a hectare of land at the high redistribution price set by the reactionary government and the landlord class. That is why the reactionary government is now talking of setting up state farms and “cooperatives” under the management of the big landlords. The biggest comprador firm in the country, the Ayala, Soriano y Cia; the Christian Social Movement; such counterrevolutionary organizations as the Federation of Free Farmers, Masaka (Lava) and the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement and such landlord personages as Montelibano and Bishop Fortich are busy deceiving poor peasants and farm workers.

The landless peasants who have settled in forest regions are today being squeezed by the economic crisis and the intensified landgrabbing operations of landlords, bureaucrats, mining speculators, timber concessionaires and all kinds of exploiters.

Together with the national minorities who inhabit the hinterlands of the country, they have no alternative but to fight against the counterrevolutionary armed forces and the private armed gangs of the reactionaries.

At a time that the people are subjected to an ongoing inflation and repeated devaluation, the reactionaries taking the guise of “progressives” talk of “profit-sharing.” It is vicious to compel the workers to buy shares of stocks in corporations with a part of their starvation wages or their future wages. Obviously, the call for “profit-sharing” is merely a trick to cover up the raids being made by the reactionaries on the entire financial system. It is also a trick for US companies in the Philippines to create the illusion that they are reducing their equity by “going public.” Even the petty bourgeoisie, with its limited fixed income, is increasingly threatened with bankruptcy. Many of those who belong to the upper section of the petty bourgeoisie have been swindled of their savings in the stock market on fake mining issues.

Under the pretext of campaigning for tourism, the puppet government and the reactionaries are preparing public opinion throughout the country for the perpetuation of US imperialist privileges. Patriotic mass actions are being slandered as “inhospitality” to foreign guests. Every town or barrio is expected to put up a façade as a “tourist spot” and yet because of the sinking value of the peso the few foreign tourists that come into the country exchange their dollars in Hong Kong or Los Angeles at rates higher than what the Central Bank offers.

The Laurel-Langley Agreement will be allowed to lapse. But even before the termination of the treaty, there are already the Investment Incentives Law and Export Incentives Law which allow 100 percent foreign ownership and control of local enterprises. The constitutional convention of 1971 will be held to put out new phrases sanctioning these iniquitous laws. The US-RP treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation is under preparation to sum up and elaborate on the laws that US imperialism is already getting piece by piece in its favor. More economic enclaves of US imperialism are being put up by US imperialism in the form of plantations enjoying “grower agreements”; “industrial estates”; mining camps and free trade zones like the Mariveles free trade zone.

In an attempt to obscure the fact that it is the main exploiter of the Filipino people, US imperialism is further encouraging its Japanese monopoly wards to participate in the exploitation of the Filipino people. Resurgent Japanese militarism has turned the Philippines into its raw material base and has assumed the status of being the biggest foreign investor next only to the United States. The Marcos fascist puppet clique has long put the unequal Japan-RP Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation into effect through executive permits even before its ratification.

Marcos does all sorts of errands for the biggest US running dog in Asia, thus becoming the dog of a dog. He insists that the unequal Japan-RP Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation be ratified. Under his regime, Japanese monopoly firms have expanded their business operations in the Philippines. Japan has been relied upon for public construction and for the establishment of new sugar mills and mines. It is now engaged in the construction of the strategic "Japanese Friendship Highway" and is also helping in the establishment of a local munitions plant.

Japanese imperialism has gone deep into the Philippine economy through an extended period of time by using its programs of reparations and "regional arrangements" like the Asian Development Bank, Asian Pacific Council (ASPAC) and others which are masterminded by US imperialism.

The revisionist countries headed by Soviet social-imperialism are also being manipulated by US imperialism to dangle false hopes to the reactionary government, crop exporters and the national bourgeoisie for relief from the present economic crisis. Soviet social-imperialism wishes to draw superprofits from the Philippines like US imperialism and Japanese militarism.

3. Cultural situation

The most striking development in the cultural situation of the country today is the rapid growth of mass actions among the student youth and the increasing number of those politically advanced among them who go to the factories and the countryside to arouse the workers and peasants to rise in widespread and concerted mass actions against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

A cultural revolution has broken out. At the beginning of this year and of this decade, an unprecedented storm of demonstrations, people's marches and people's congresses unfolded in Manila with the repeated participation of hundreds of thousands of students, intellectuals, workers and peasants in opposition to US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. This cultural revolution is essentially a propaganda movement for people's war to achieve national liberation and people's democracy.

The patriotic mass actions surged to an unprecedented high during the entire first quarter of the year. The people, especially the student and out-of-school youth, repeatedly rose up in mass protest despite the concentration of major combat contingents of the Armed Forces of the Philippines to intimidate them and actually to murder some of them. Even as the reactionaries exacted seven deaths from the demonstrations, the people were not cowed but inspired by the martyrdom of their fallen comrades. The Manila demonstrations shook the entire nation and were reflected by demonstrations in other parts of the country. The reactionary state bared fully its nature as a violent instrument of the exploiters and compelled the broad masses of the people to fight back.

Learning a lesson from their experience in city demonstrations that they needed an even greater mass support, the student youth spread out during the summer vacation to factory centers and various parts of the country in a massive movement to arouse the people to revolution. They had been preceded there by quite a number of their fellow students who had quit school to devote themselves to revolutionary work. Even as the student youth spread out to arouse the masses, the fascist brutes tried vainly to track down their movement and harass those they could come across. The reactionary government hurried to create terror squads like the Barrio Self-Defense Units and the "provincial strike forces."

The entire nation, especially the youth, has been angered by the fascist arrest of the national chairman of Kabataang Makabayan who was conducting rural investigation and mass work in a barrio in Southern Luzon. His arrest, imprisonment and trial on the basis of a fascist law, the Anti-Subversion Law, has been used not only to abuse his democratic rights but also to attack the Kabataang Makabayan and the entire national democratic movement. This event has only served to underscore the numerous abuses inflicted by the fascist state on young militants, which abuses include massacre, selective murder, frame-up, illegal detention and searches, torture, trailing, eavesdropping and the like.

Coming back to school for academic year 1970-71, the students have continued to arouse and mobilize their

own ranks. They have found common cause in demanding the freedom of the KM national chairman and the end to persecution of the national democratic movement. They have also intensified their struggle against the reactionary orientation of educational institutions and academic authorities. An upsurge of militant student mass actions is to be expected during the last quarter of the year.

Since last year, the student youth have conducted nationwide campus revolts on issues ranging from the economic to the political. In a moment of crisis as the present, the struggle against higher tuition fees is necessarily joined with the struggle against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. State violence has only served to teach more and more students and people to fight back in great mass.

The predominant influence of US imperialism, under the guise of “liberalism” in the state university, has been vigorously repudiated by the students. The exposure of the Americanization of the University of the Philippines has served to arouse students all over the country to question the reactionary orientation of their respective schools. In all state schools, the students condemn the Marcos fascist puppet clique for having funds only for projects that suit US imperialism and the exploiting classes.

Cleric-run schools have been subjected to attacks by their own students as purveyors of medieval obscurantism and reactionary bourgeois ideas. In an attempt to deceive the people, church authorities are busily engaging in “social action” and “ecumenism.” Yet they fail to mislead their own students. Clerico-fascist propaganda masterminded both by the Catholic hierarchy and the American Jesuits is mainly directed towards spreading anti-communist hysteria and upholding the present system of oppression and exploitation.

The clamor for a national, scientific and mass culture has stirred the student youth and teachers to their very souls and has involved the entire people. The cultural revolution now raging reflects the struggle for national liberation and people's democracy against the political oppression and economic exploitation inflicted by US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

To draw powerful and correct inspiration, the student youth have turned to the assiduous study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. They strive to remold their thinking for fiercer revolutionary struggles. There is now an upsurge in the living study and application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought among the student youth, workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals. Publications and teach-ins widely disseminate Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Quotations from Chairman Mao are courageously written on placards raised in demonstrations and on wall posters. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is guiding the cultural revolution.

Dramatic presentations depicting the heroic struggle of workers, peasants and revolutionary fighters are being made in schools, city plazas and streets and in barrios by the revolutionary youth. They are bringing to the fore the revolutionary struggle of the people in a conscious effort to supplant the reactionary content of the mendacious and vulgar culture peddled by the people's enemies in the radio, movies, TV, comics, magazines and other vehicles of propaganda. The revolutionaries are now trying to infuse revolutionary content in various forms of art and literature.

The fascist puppet chieftain Marcos has not stopped having nightmares since the January 26 and 30-31 demonstrations. Repeatedly he expresses fright at the powerful influence of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought among the youth and at the fact that not only the youth but also the oppressed masses have begun to grasp this great fighting and liberating ideology.

Diehard reactionary elements in the schools, press and government who take pride in their reactionary education and opinions are getting fast isolated. The entire cultural system is increasingly regarded as a brainwashing machine designed to produce intellectual robots to support the system of oppression and exploitation.

The propaganda agencies of US imperialism and the Marcos fascist puppet clique are further aggravating the counterrevolutionary character of the cultural system. Turning black into white, they picture the exploiting classes and their political representatives as “peace-loving” and “freedom-loving.” They obscure the atrocities committed by these monsters against the people.

Reacting to the new wave of revolutionary culture, the reactionaries outrightly dish out anticommunism, revisionism and what is pompously called the New Left. Those who stand on the revolutionary principles of Mao Zedong Thought are also being misrepresented as anarchists while the reactionaries misrepresent themselves as “men of peace” and as “conciliators” in the class struggle.

All these tactics only serve to isolate the reactionaries further. Their lies are exposed by their own deeds. The

cultural revolution against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism is exposing their rottenness and hastening their defeat.

4. Military situation

The fascisation of Philippine society continues unabated. The present reactionary government is preoccupied with its US-dictated policy of counterinsurgency. It blatantly admits that it is afraid of the broad masses of the people. Boggled down in political and economic crisis, it has to rely on armed force to suppress the growing protests of the people. It tries to make use of anticommunism as its last refuge.

Whereas the Marcos fascist puppet clique repeatedly admits that it has no more funds for its many pompously-la-beled projects, it does not hesitate to ask for a ₱1.4 billion appropriation for “national security” and calls it a small amount. From year to year, appropriation for the reactionary armed forces has risen. The appropriation in 1968-69 was ₱513 million; and in 1969-70, ₱670 million. For the fiscal year 1970-71, the appropriation is ₱740 million. Over and above these open appropriations are funds rechanneled to the armed forces from other items in the budget.

US imperialism is goading the reactionary armed forces to attack the people. During the first half of the year, it supplied \$60 million worth of helicopters, jeeps, armalites, patrol boats and other military goods through the JUSMAG under the US-RP Military Assistance Treaty. The AID Public Safety Division through the Police Commission has stepped up the training of local police forces in “anti-riot” techniques and the installation of communication facilities.

It is US imperialism which pushes the puppet armed forces to unleash a brutal war against the people. Increasingly, US military advisers are seen in the field on the ground or aboard observation planes.

From the time that the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the formation of the New People's Army came to light, the reactionary armed forces have incessantly waged campaigns of encirclement and suppression or search and destroy operations. Underestimating the strength of the people's army, the fascist brutes probed the field with platoon-sized patrols before June 1969. As the New People's Army fought back effectively, the enemy would deploy a battalion and then a whole regiment in conducting raids with the support of heliborne troops. By the end of May 1970, the enemy started to deploy an entire division to swoop down on an unprecedentedly large area at every raid. Task Force Lawin is now often joined by the Tabak Division which is a strategic reserve force.

As the enemy intensifies military operations, more massacres, assassinations, mass arrests, kidnappings and lootings are inflicted on the peasant masses. Peasants are being rounded up to be tortured and then misrepresented in the press as surrenderers from the New People's Army. Under the cover of large military campaigns, the reactionary troops and their gangster agents called the “Monkees” and BSDUs go on a rampage. The Marcos fascist puppet clique imagines that the brutality of its minions will terrify the people. The truth is that it is only hastening the advance of the revolutionary masses.

In Central Luzon, the activities of the “Monkees” have been expanded and intensified despite the mendacious press releases of Marcos and his running dogs “dissolving” these murder outfits several times over. The Home Defense Forces (another name for the infamous US-inspired “special forces”) take charge of banding together local ruffians into the so-called Barrio Self-Defense Units. Five to ten military troops supervise the predatory activities of about ten ruffians in every barrio. These outfits are avowedly for protecting the exploiting classes and suppressing Communists and the peasant masses. In the course of their anti-people activities, they engage in murder, extortion, robbery and other evil activities.

To create the false illusion that the BSDUs are publicly demanded, barrio councils are compelled by the Philippine Constabulary and by local tyrant officials to sign resolutions “requesting” the creation of local BSDUs. If a local barrio council so much hesitates to sign the resolution, it is subjected to the worst atrocities such as the Tarlac massacre. The signal for the creation of the BSDUs was the kidnapping and murder of the chairman of the association of barrio captains in Tarlac who led a demonstration of 50,000 peasants in Concepcion, Tarlac against the abuses of the Philippine Constabulary.

The people hate the BSDUs; they have had enough of the civilian guards in the 1945-55 period. Even the factions of the ruling classes that are not yet in power recognize in this monster an instrument of factions incumbently in power for monopolizing seats in the government. The creation of the BSDUs has been used to favor local tyrants subservient to the Marcos fascist puppet clique.

As of July 1970, there were already 304 barrios ruled by BSDUs with a total force of 3,040 members. They are concentrated in Tarlac where there are 164 units. Pampanga has 87 units; Bataan, 29 units; Nueva Ecija, 12 units; Pangasinan, 7 units; and Zambales, 2 units. The enemy makes it a point to cover the whole of the second district of Tarlac and important points at the boundaries of provinces adjacent to Tarlac.

The enemy has been able to pass arms to the BSDUs because of the new supply of weapons from the Jusmag to regular troops. Thus, US imperialism is manipulating the landlords and the local gangsters to ride roughshod over the people. In some towns of Bulacan and Nueva Ecija, the Masaka (Lava), Armeng Bayan and the “Monkees” collaborate with each other so that there are yet no BSDUs there. These collaborate with each other in attacking the people, the Party and the New People’s Army.

All over the country, the Marcos fascist puppet clique enjoins the local tyrants to organize “provincial strike forces.” The rise of the revolutionary mass movement is anticipated everywhere. Brute military force is the answer of the enemy to the nationwide campaign of the Party and the New People’s Army to arouse the broad masses of the people. But instead of being able to suppress Communists who closely link themselves with the masses, the “provincial strike forces” only hasten the people’s understanding of the need for rising up in arms. These murder gangs are used indiscriminately by local tyrants to settle scores even with their non-communist enemies. The pillage of Bantay is a handiwork of Crisologo’s “provincial strike forces” in Ilocos Sur. The deadly struggle between the Sulu provincial governor and the mayor of Jolo or between the Ifugao provincial governor and the mayor of Banawe is a struggle of “strike forces.” There is actually nothing new in the “strike forces,” only another label for the goon squads of local politicians.

The infamous Philcag has been brought home as a result of public indignation and also as a result of its failure as a mercenary force to assist the US war of aggression in Vietnam. Until now, the Philcag remains an object of public derision for its puppet and corrupt activities in the Vietnam war and also for the private manipulation of funds given by the United States to pay for its equipment, maintenance and services. It has been relabeled as the ACAG (Army Civic Action Group). It has been brought home only to be deployed against the people particularly in Central Luzon. It continues to engage pretentiously in propaganda activities mislabeled as “civic action.” Actually it engages mainly in intelligence work and is described in complete scorn by the people as the “eyes and ears” of murderers.

The criminal depredations perpetrated by the reactionary state is not limited to the countryside. Demonstrations and workers’ strikes in cities and provincial capitals have been brutally suppressed by the reactionary military troops and police. Unarmed demonstrators and strikers have been attacked with full force in Manila and other urban areas. So many of them have already been murdered and maimed with gunfire and truncheon blows in the course of demonstrations and strikes. Thousands have been wounded and arbitrarily arrested. Patriotic mass organizations and their democratic leaders have been subjected to assassinations, arrests and various forms of harassment.

The Marcos fascist puppet clique shamelessly boasts that it will use all the forces at its command to suppress the democratic rights of the people. It can only fan the flames of revolutionary war in the country. Everyday it finds itself bogged down deeper in its puppetry and is terrified by the advancing waves of the revolutionary mass movement. It finds it necessary to intimidate the people and make frantic preparations for more vicious campaigns of suppression.

US imperialist agents are frenziedly hastening the fascisation of the country. Special warfare training is being intensified under the close supervision of the Jusmag. The CIA-controlled Polcom and the AID Public Safety Division are tightening their grip on local police forces. The National Defense College and the Philippine Military Academy are being used to teach military officers how to tighten their hold over the reactionary government gradually or through a coup d’etat.

Military officers in the ROTC and PMT are now trying to step up anticommunist hysteria among the students. Even elementary school children are subjected to a heavier dose of anticommunism from the USIA, the Peace Corps and the Department of National Defense. Nevertheless, because of the consistent rise of student demonstrations and the fascist suppression of these demonstrations, the officer reserve trained under the ROTC by the reactionary military is now seriously undermined by the fascist brutes themselves. A movement to have the ROTC and PMT abolished is fast growing among students.

More and more out-of-school youth are being called for military training in so-called Home Defense centers.

Nevertheless, these trainees only develop contempt for the corrupt and hazing practices perpetrated by the fascist brutes. An increasing number of the youth being called for training duty now simply refuse to report or they escape from their training camps. Those who cannot escape the draft call think of using their military training in the service of the revolution.

The reactionary state is already politically and economically bankrupt and yet it has a mere 50,000 troops to preserve itself militarily. It cannot give decent wages to its mercenaries. Supplies in camps are big rackets for officials. Even the pension funds for the rank and file are manipulated and pocketed by the officers. The reactionary troops are demoralized and are maltreated and cursed like the filthiest dogs by their own superiors. Troop demoralization on the side of the enemy has reached such a point that top-ranking officers are forced to take to the field themselves in order to direct company operations.

The reactionary state tries to lessen its expenses by organizing the BSDUs. But these units have started to demand compensation and other things given to the regular troops. These units insist on being paid because they are even the ones who are ordered to be out front fighting the battles for the regular troops and who are taking more risks in their barrios. In the absence of any compensation for them, they make use of their arms to rob and extort from the people and thus only incense the people.

Just as the increase of regular military troops is not limitless, that of the BSDUs is likewise not so. Momentarily the organization of BSDUs has been stopped pending the arrival of more arms from the United States. The PC provincial command of Isabela keeps on clamoring for more troop reinforcements and BSDUs but cannot be given enough of such. Everywhere in the archipelago, the reactionary armed forces are kept occupied by concerted armed uprisings of peasants and national minorities, by strikes and demonstrations and by the increasingly bloodier factional struggles of ruling politicians.

With US imperialism bogged down in so many wars throughout the world, the exploiting classes in the Philippines cannot expect their state power to be limitless in the face of the people and the Communist Party of the Philippines which is assiduously applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

5. Foreign relations

Caught in insoluble contradictions at home and abroad, US imperialism through its chieftain Nixon has issued the Nixon Doctrine of “making Asians fight Asians.” This is clearly a maneuver to pass on to Asian puppets the increasing military burden and cover up the increasing US defeats all over Asia. Nixon has even hypocritically called for “self-reliance” among puppet states like the Philippines. It means to say that there is no more point in talking about “altruism” as US imperialism sucks more and more blood from colonies and semicolonies.

While the Nixon Doctrine implies that US imperialism is facing total defeat in the Asian mainland, Nixon minces no words in insisting that by all means US imperialism will fight to remain a Pacific power. In this regard, US imperialism will never withdraw from the Philippines unless forced to by the Filipino people through revolutionary struggle. The Philippines is a strategic base for US control of the Pacific and is a forward staging area for US aggression in the whole of Asia. Talks of US withdrawal from Asia are being deliberately spread by the reactionaries to throw cold water on the flaming anti-imperialist struggle.

The Nixon Doctrine is nothing but a formal declaration of the regional collaboration of US imperialism and Japanese militarism in oppressing and exploiting the Asian people. Japanese militarism has been revived and is being ordered by US imperialism to participate actively in the counterrevolutionary plot against the people, communism and China. In exchange for its services as the fugleman of US imperialism, Japanese militarism is being accommodated in areas like the Philippines which are under US imperialist domination. Being extremely isolated, US imperialism goes to the extent of foisting the much-hated Japanese militarism on the Asian people.

US imperialism entertains the vain illusion that it can make use of Asian manpower as cannon fodder. It brazenly states that it will only supply weapons and war material to local puppets who will do the fighting. Thus, there are such lies as “Asianization” and “Vietnamization” repeatedly spouted by Nixon. But Nixon never hesitated to deploy US aggressor troops in Cambodia when he saw that the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak coup merely caused an avalanche of people’s war. The US imperialist chieftain describes the mere rotation of troops in Indochina as “withdrawal” and shamelessly boasts in gangster fashion that he shall not preside over any military defeat of US imperialism.

The Philippine reactionary government is in complete agreement with the US policy of making Japan its fugleman in Asia. The Marcos fascist puppet clique abjectly kowtows to Japan as the “regional leader” in Asia. In no

uncertain terms, Marcos has declared that only Japan should fill the “vacuum” that will result from US withdrawal from Asia. Japanese militarism boasts of preparing for an all-out war against the Asian people over Taiwan, Korea and what it calls its “entire lifeline” in Asia. The resurgence of Japanese militarism has been due to war profits made possible by the US war of aggression in Korea and lately in Indochina. Because it has to depend on a raw material base and market abroad which are controlled by US imperialism, Japanese militarism has no alternative but to join its imperialist master in launching war for the retention of these.

The US-Japan imperialist combine is being used to keep the Philippines in tow. Their joint control of the Asian Development Bank is a clear manifestation of the “co-prosperity” arrangement between these two imperialist powers. Through Japanese militarism, US imperialism maintains firm control over such “regional alliances” as the Asian Pacific Council (ASPAC) and Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). In turn, US imperialism keeps Japanese militarism in tow through such puppet governments as the Philippines.

The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) is being reinforced by the ASPAC and the ASEAN and is now in the process of reorganization to get rid of such dissatisfied member nations as France and Pakistan and pave the way for the more aggressive activity of US imperialism and Japanese militarism.

When the Marcos fascist puppet clique talks about hewing an “independent” foreign policy, it is merely to help US imperialism tighten its control over its puppets. Marcos proposed the Asian Forum for the purpose, as he himself has admitted, of building up the ASPAC, ASEAN, SEATO and other puppet alliances. Soon after his call for an Asian Forum, the reactionary government ironed out its kinks with “Malaysia,” prated more about strengthening puppet alliances in the region and made more bellicose statements against the People’s Republic of China.

As soon as the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique made the coup d’etat in Cambodia at the bidding of the CIA, the Philippine reactionary government met with other Asian puppets of US imperialism in what they called the “Asian Pacific Conference on Cambodia” which was hosted in Jakarta by the Suharto military fascist clique at the bidding of US imperialism. In this puppet forum, the coup d’etat against the legitimate government of Cambodia was wildly endorsed and the Asian puppet governments talked bellicosely of preserving the “peace, neutrality and independence” of the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak puppet clique. They boasted about US, Japanese and Soviet support for the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique and about their own puppet conspiracy. Marcos calls this gangster meeting a realization of his Asian Forum.

The Marcos fascist puppet clique has aggravated its mercenary role in Indochina. Despite the so-called withdrawal of the Philcag from south Vietnam, Filipino mercenaries still abound not only in one Indochinese country but in the whole of Indochina under the Philcon, Operations Brotherhood and other aggressive outfits in the pay of US imperialism.

In line with the US imperialist policy of employing Soviet social-imperialism against China, communism, revolution and the people, the Philippine reactionary government is steadily establishing relations with the revisionist countries headed by the Soviet social-imperialists. Several economic and cultural missions from the revisionist countries have already paved the way for diplomatic and trade relations with Soviet social-imperialism.

The amount of Philippine-Soviet contacts so far made has been turned into an occasion for reactionaries to whitewash the Marcos fascist puppet clique as “left-leaning” and “independent.” The Soviet monopoly bureaucrat capitalists find the local puppet bureaucrat capitalists convenient tools for the plunder of Philippine natural resources and raw materials as they have found the bureaucrat capitalists in India, Indonesia, Burma and other countries.

On all international issues within and without the US-controlled United Nations, the Philippine reactionary government has obdurately taken the counterrevolutionary line set by US imperialism. The reactionaries either raucously attack the People’s Republic of China or endorse a two-China policy. They cling tightly to US imperialism in every eventuality in Southeast Asia. They play up every nuance of imperialist and Zionist propaganda against the Palestinian and Arab people. To know the policies of the US State Department is to know the foreign policy of the Philippine reactionary government. What is utterly wrong in this regard is the betrayal of national interests and of genuine internationalism in favor of US imperialism.

IV. The rapid growth of the party

1. Ideological

The Communist Party of the Philippines has been reestablished under the supreme guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. It continues to be built in accordance with this correct proletarian ideology. It

recognizes the principle that party building is first of all ideological building. Party cadres and members in mass organizations as well as in the New People's Army are deeply aware that the living study and application of Mao Zedong Thought is of primary importance. Without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement.

The living study and application of Mao Zedong Thought has been enthusiastically carried out by Party cadres and members and a rapidly increasing number of people outside the Party. The Party Central Committee has indefatigably led the Revolutionary School of Mao Zedong Thought as the higher Party school, Ang Bayan (The People) as the central publication of the Party and the education department of the Party secretariat in the dissemination of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

The rectification movement continues without letup against the counterrevolutionary revisionist ideas emanating from such anti-Party and anticommunist traitors as the bourgeois reactionary gang of the Lavas and the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique as well as those emanating from abroad, principally from the Soviet social-imperialist scoundrels.

Being circulated extensively as the basic documents of the Party and the people's army are Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong and Five Golden Rays ("Serve the People," "In Memory of Norman Bethune," "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains," "Combat Liberalism" and "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party"). Translation work is being vigorously undertaken in order to make more writings of Chairman Mao available to the toiling masses of workers and peasants.

Embodying the efforts of the Party in integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the concrete conditions of the Philippines is the Guide for Cadres and Members of the Communist Party of the Philippines which is a compilation of "Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party," "Program for a People's Democratic Revolution," "Constitution of the Communist Party of the Philippines," "Declaration of the New People's Army" and the "Rules of the New People's Army."

Philippine Society and Revolution is another document which strives to present the history, basic problems, character, motive forces, targets, strategy and tactics and perspective of the Philippine revolution from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. This is a basic textbook for mass political education as well as for basic ideological training within the Party.

The firm unity now obtaining in Party ranks is based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Close links are maintained with the broad masses of the people on this basis. Criticism and self-criticism to improve work and style of work is conducted regularly and as often as necessary. The entire Party always analyzes and sums up its experiences under the clear illumination of Mao Zedong Thought.

A high tide in the living study and application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought has been kept up since the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines. As a matter of fact, this is at the core of the upsurge of the national democratic cultural revolution that is sweeping the whole country and fanning the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside.

Cadres and members of the Party are being tempered in the furnace of the revolutionary mass movement. Their grasp of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought has been made more firm through revolutionary practice. Their theoretical knowledge has been enriched by the process of turning revolutionary ideas into a material force against the enemy.

2. Political

Since the reestablishment of the Communist Party, unprecedentedly great mass struggles have broken out in both city and countryside. These prove the correctness and effectiveness of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as the supreme guide of the Party in making revolution. In so short a time, the Party has been able to hold firmly the leadership in the revolutionary mass movement.

The Party has succeeded in bringing the broad masses of the people around itself. The broad masses of workers, peasants, student youth and the intelligentsia all look up to the Party for revolutionary leadership, whether it be in city demonstrations and strikes or in the armed struggle in the countryside.

The road of armed revolution has been opened. More and more people are joining the united front against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The upsurge of cultural revolution all over the country has cleared the way for the intensification of the armed struggle. The spark of the armed struggle is turning into a prairie fire.

We are indefatigably building the organs of political power in the countryside, the barrio organizing

committees and the revolutionary barrio committees. We are also organizing underground committees of revolutionary workers, students and intellectuals and residents in cities and town centers. Our mass organizations and armed propaganda teams are all over the country to arouse the people.

As this decade started, the people's cry for armed revolution drowned out the empty slogan of "peaceful revolution" raised by the reactionaries. Resort to deception and armed force by the reactionaries has only enraged the people into fiercer revolutionary action. The political and economic bankruptcy of the reactionary state has become too obvious.

The enemy is frenziedly hunting for Communists. The Marcos fascist puppet clique raves mad about the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the propagation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. We can only be complimented by the attacks made by the enemy. But no matter how savagely he tries to hunt us down, he cannot get us. That is because we are so closely linked with the broad masses of the people.

The enemy is so completely at a loss that it even tries to dangle the bait of legalizing the Party and offering amnesty while at the same launching every form of suppressive and intimidatory action against the Party and the people.

The ideological difference between real Communists and sham communists has become more conspicuous in the course of massive political struggles. Both the Lava revisionist renegades and the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique have not only excluded themselves from the great mass struggles but have also sought to attack them out of desperation. Every time that they open their mouths against the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and the truly patriotic mass organizations they only succeed in displaying their treachery and isolation from the broad masses of the people. These traitors to the revolutionary cause have become as isolated as the Marcos fascist puppet clique which they always try hard to please.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is courageously and firmly wielding the two weapons of armed struggle and national united front under the powerful inspiration of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

3. Armed struggle

In so short a time following its reestablishment, the Party has succeeded in forming the New People's Army by repudiating the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique and by uniting all Red fighters and commanders who have persisted in revolutionary armed struggle.

The revolutionary armed struggle led by the Party is daily gaining strength and expanding its area of operations. The New People's Army has won brilliantly victories in the battlefield over the reactionary armed forces and has steadily wiped out local spies and tyrants despite the continuous enemy campaigns of "encirclement and suppression" or "search and destroy" operations.

Within the period of March 29, 1969 to March 29, 1970, the level of revolutionary armed struggle was raised with more than 200 enemy troops, spies and local tyrants wiped out in at least 80 operations fully supported by the masses. In addition, 17 US military personnel were punished, with 11 of them killed and 6 seriously wounded. Starting from a capability of annihilating isolated enemy troops, spies and local tyrants one by one, the New People's Army progressed to annihilating half squads. Now it can annihilate whole squads and scores of encamped enemy troops and BSDUs which are in platoon size.

Since the beginning of this year, our attacks against the enemy have become fiercer and more frequent. The rate at which we are launching operations and at which we are annihilating the enemy is at least double the rate of last year.

The organization of the BSDUs has only served to spread the strength of the enemy thinly. There are now more isolated outposts to attack than before and diehard counterrevolutionary elements of the barrios have become more exposed. While enemy troops in division size have been frequently concentrated against us, their movements have been an occasion for our circling round and attacking enemy weak points not only in Central Luzon but also elsewhere.

The fiercer the enemy becomes the more he incurs the ire of the people whom he arbitrarily attacks. The application of counterinsurgency tactics not only in Central Luzon but in other parts of the country has only served to aggravate the internal contradictions among politicians of the ruling classes and to teach the masses to defend themselves and assert their own power through armed struggle. The enemy is stupidly importing tactics that have failed in south Vietnam.

The successful ambushes, raids and arrests being made by the New People's Army in the plains of Tarlac and

Pampanga and some other provinces is possible only because of its close links with the broad masses of the people, especially with the peasants, and because of its utter devotion to their national democratic interests. The people have become thoroughly hateful of the abuses perpetrated by the fascist brutes of the reactionary state. The New People's Army has always put politics in command of military activities. No military operation has ever been launched without a thorough consideration of its service to the people.

The number of Red fighters and commanders has increased several fold. There are more armed propaganda teams and guerrilla squads and platoons that the enemy has to reckon with. There are now widespread militia units to give auxiliary support to the regular units of the New People's Army. The regular and irregular units of the New People's Army are no longer confined to one or two provinces or a few towns. Guerrilla zones in Northern and Central Luzon are increasing and expanding rapidly.

The Party and the people's army are exerting every effort to develop guerrilla warfare at several points in the archipelago. The expansion and consolidation of guerrilla zones are being conducted with the view of creating one or more stable base areas. Certain areas have already been identified as the most promising.

The New People's Army has inspired the upsurge of the revolutionary mass movement in urban areas. In turn the gigantic demonstrations have inspired the New People's Army to greater effort. The Party is firmly upholding the revolutionary leadership of the proletariat in both city and countryside.

4. Organizational

Democratic centralism is faithfully followed in the Communist Party of the Philippines and in the New People's Army. The essence of this organizational principle is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. There is conscious discipline in the ranks of Party members and the Red fighters. This accounts for the organizational strength of the Party.

Party branches and groups have been set up in the mass organizations and in the New People's Army. Cadres within the people's army and in mass organizations have arduously worked together to create people's organizing committee in barrios, factories, schools and other areas to serve as the organs of political power or as the embryonic organs of political power.

The Party has taken roots in the six regional areas defined by the First Plenum of the Central Committee. These are Northern Luzon, Central Luzon, Greater Manila, Southern Luzon, the Visayas and Mindanao. The distribution of the Party strength is uneven as in the nature of all things in development. In four regions, the Party has struck deep roots in the countryside. In all regions, ideological work is being carried out to prepare for further organizational and political advance by the Party.

From the current upsurge of the revolutionary mass movement, the most advanced elements are being sifted to be developed as cadres and members of the Party. The new Party cadres and members will in turn create greater mass struggles which again will create more Party cadres and members.

Though the actual number of Party cadres and members is still relatively small, their capabilities have been well tested by the current upsurge of the revolutionary mass movement in the city and countryside. They have been able to prove the correctness of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and of the political leadership of the Party. In the next few years, the Party is certain to grow big and strong on the basis of revolutionary struggle.

Since the First Plenum of the Central Committee, the number of revolutionary cadres abandoning the old Communist Party and joining the ranks of genuine Communists has been mounting. The bankruptcy of the Lava revisionist renegades has become all too clear. We have also welcomed into our ranks a number of comrades who at first were hoodwinked by the revisionist scoundrels and who attacked us but did not commit serious offense. We welcome them because they have proven their sincerity.

We have a fighting, hardworking and persevering Central Committee which uses every second of an hour for the revolutionary cause. That the Party Central Committee shares the risks and sacrifices of the rank and file of the Party and the people's army is well proven by the martyrdom of a number of our comrades in the Central Committee. To them we pay the highest and most heartfelt tribute for laying down their lives in the service of the people.

To all Party members and Red fighters who have suffered martyrdom and torture in the hands of the enemy we pay tribute equal to that which we pay to our fallen comrades in the Central Committee. They have not died nor suffered in vain. Their sacrifices have greatly contributed to the advance of the Philippine revolution. We will continue to avenge their death. We will always turn our grief over the passing of our comrades into revolutionary

strength.

5. Production and finance

The Party and the New People's Army have production units. These are completely integrated with the revolutionary struggle. In certain cases, these can take care of a great portion of the needs of particular fighting and organizing units of the Party.

The greater portion of the overall income of the Party and the New People's Army, accounting for about 90 percent, is in the form of voluntary cash and grain contributions from friends of the revolution, mainly from the peasant masses. We have always followed the policy of receiving contributions from the oppressed masses with the closest consideration of how much we have actually done to serve them or increase their own income. We have been willing to receive only a very small fraction of any increase of income among them resulting from rent reduction or effective seizure of landlord property.

In the case of contributing allies, we have always made it a point to maintain our independence and initiative even while accepting their aid. In return, we protect their legitimate interests and we avoid putting them in difficult situation.

Direct and exclusive income for the Party and the New People's Army from the confiscation of enemy property has been marginal. Confiscation of cash from the enemy is practically nil. From annihilated military personnel, we have only taken away their arms and ammunitions.

The income of the Party and the New People's Army is limited and irregular in quantity. But it can adequately sustain a certain regular level of activity which we have maintained. The Party manages to support Party cadres and units of the New People's Army in expansion work.

The Party has endlessly emphasized the need for self-reliance. An austere style of living is demanded of all Party cadres and members and Red commanders and fighters. Every centavo is accounted for. Allowances for personal needs are now collectively decided by every unit of the Party or people's army to which the individual belongs.

There are some comrades who expect heavy material support from fraternal parties. The best support that our comrades abroad can extend and have extended to us takes the form of political support. We are already enormously supported by their resolute revolutionary struggle against our common enemy, US imperialism.

V. Tasks of the Party

A. Build the Party!

In building a truly revolutionary party of the proletariat, the most important and fundamental task is to raise the ideological consciousness of the entire Party membership through the living study and application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. There must be a definite educational plan and curricula ranging from the basic to the advanced. To deepen, realize and heighten the ideological consciousness of the entire Party, sustained political campaigns must be waged in order to arouse and mobilize the masses. There must be clear policies emanating from the leading organs. To sustain the revolutionary struggle and lead the ever surging waves of the masses, the Party must constantly be enlarged and must draw the most advanced elements from the masses. There must be an organizational plan to build the membership of the Party in the ranks of the proletariat, peasantry, students and intelligentsia.

1. Educational plan

In all study courses as well as during practical work, the Five Golden Rays and the Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong should be used extensively and often referred to in the ideological remolding of entire units and individual members of the Party.

All study courses should fall under the direction of the Revolutionary School of Mao Zedong Thought. However, it is the responsibility of the education department to handle instruction in primary and intermediate courses from the branch to the regional level. Studies should be conducted locally. At this stage, however, the central office of the education department should often take a direct hand in instruction in order to develop cadres for the people's army and local Party organizations.

The primary course should cover Philippine history, the basic problems of the Filipino people, the people's democratic revolution, Party history, Party program, Party constitution, history of the people's army, rules of the New People's Army, organs of political power and the current political report of the Central Committee. The basic texts of the primary curriculum should include *Philippine Society and Revolution*, Guide for Party Cadres and

Members of the Communist Party of the Philippines, On People's War, Organs of Political Power and the current political report of the Central Committee.

The intermediate course should cover materialist philosophy, class analysis and social investigation, party building, armed struggle, united front, economic work and land reform, and culture. Complete texts of the writings of Chairman Mao should be studied. These are contained in the list entitled "Schedule of Reading, Translation, Reproduction and Distribution of Chairman Mao's Works." Those attending school are expected to have read these in advance and to express their understanding of Chairman Mao's works and bring up theoretical and practical problems for exhaustive discussion. At the present stage, cadres assigned to work of district scope should undergo the intermediate course.

Upon the recommendation of the education department, those who have finished the intermediate course shall take the advanced course under the central teaching staff of the higher Party school, the Revolutionary School of Mao Zedong Thought. The advanced course should cover dialectical materialism, political economy, history of the international communist movement, strategy and tactics, and the Party. The texts for study should include the works of the great Communist thinkers: Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Zedong.

The Central Committee should lead in ideological study. It should hold theoretical conferences as often as once in four months or in combination with timely working conferences. It should cause to be published in Ang Bayan articles and directives that concern problems that arise from time to time so that the Party rank and file can be guided properly and participate in the tackling of problems. Wherever they are, members of the Central Committee should lead in ideological study on a daily basis.

Publications of the Party Central Committee, Ang Bayan and special pamphlets, should be diligently distributed to all Party members. All Party members should be made aware of important developments throughout the country and the world. Local publications, newspapers or leaflets should be put out by local cadres subject to control by leading Party organs.

The Party should ceaselessly conduct mass education not only to raise the consciousness of the masses in general but also to develop Party members from their ranks. Mass schooling should be undertaken by Party members, branches, groups or teams. *Philippine Society and Revolution*, *Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong* and the three constantly read articles ("Serve the People," "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains" and "In Memory of Norman Bethune") are the basic texts for mass schooling. The basic principles of revolution should be related to the concrete local situation. The cadres can impart revolutionary principles to the masses in a simple and effective way only after learning the local situation through close investigation.

Educational mobilization of the masses should be effected for revolutionary struggle. Party cadres should frequently conduct struggle meetings in order to strengthen their revolutionary outlook and denounce the exploiting classes in a concrete way. In this manner, the masses also educate themselves and assume responsibility for their own struggle. By letting the masses speak up, the Party can choose those who are most articulate, boldest and most reliable in opposing the enemy. The Party can also draw from the masses the sharpest slogans to cast against the enemy in this manner.

Cultural activities should be conducted among the people in order to advance the revolutionary propaganda of the proletariat. Stage performances, especially drama, song festivals and speeches, should be utilized to the fullest extent to arouse the people for a new democratic revolution. The unity and discipline of the Party can be maintained and strengthened only by doing our ideological work well. Our link with the masses can withstand the worst attacks of the enemy only if we have done well in our propaganda work.

2. Political mobilization

All Party members should recognize the importance of policy. The Party Central Committee exists to decide on policy. Without a policy on a situation, there would be confusion even if the most diligent efforts were exerted by everyone. There must always be a guide in doing things.

The Party Central Committee and all leading organs should take the matter of policy seriously. Correct policies should be drawn from revolutionary practice. It is extremely important for leading bodies to meet regularly and as often as necessary in order to receive reports and to analyze and sum up the situation so that policies can be correctly laid down in a collective way.

It is our constant policy to arouse and mobilize the masses for revolution. Any deviation from this single policy is counterrevolutionary.

The Party should maintain and intensify its leadership over the great mass struggles that have erupted in both city and countryside. It should consistently engage in mass work in the ranks of workers, peasants, student youth and the intelligentsia so as to be able to lead and launch bigger revolutionary mass actions against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

It should build mass organizations of workers, peasants, student youth, women and the intelligentsia and place itself at their core. Through the gigantic and militant actions of these mass organizations, the Party can advance the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution. The ultimate object of all mass actions is to spread and heighten the consciousness of the need for people's war to counteract the rise of fascism and the intensified political and economic oppression of the people.

The Party should make use of the mass struggles initiated by the students and the intelligentsia to effect a nationwide new awakening to the need for armed revolution in the face of increased oppression and exploitation. Immediately in the city, the Party should bring together the most advanced activists from the ranks of the students and the intelligentsia with the bigger masses of workers. They should also be encouraged to go to their respective provinces of origin to promote the people's democratic revolution among the oppressed masses in their own hometowns and barrios.

The Party should take steps to arouse and mobilize the workers into political and economic struggles. These will certainly entail attacking the oppression of the people by the reactionary government, exploitative employers and yellow labor leaders. Workers' caucuses must be used to start campaigns of exposing the rottenness of the entire system and educating the workers on the necessity of staging general strikes and the inevitability of armed revolution. These should lead to the organization of workers' organizing committees and then genuine unions with a Party branch at the core.

In the countryside, the peasant masses should be aroused and mobilized in order to weaken and destroy the pillars of feudalism. Among the rural masses, barrio organizing committees and then revolutionary barrio committees with a Party branch at the core should be organized. The peasant masses must be made to recognize the need for armed force to achieve their ends. Stable base areas and guerrilla zones must be created among them in order to advance the entire people's democratic revolution. Farm workers, the national minorities, fishermen, and transportation, logging and mining workers must be given close attention in areas where they are to be found with the peasant masses.

The Party can be strong only if it succeeds in transforming the masses into a vast sea of flames where the enemies of the people's democratic revolution are consumed. The mass line must be firmly grasped by the Party so that it enjoys at every step the all-powerful support of the masses.

3. Organizational plan

With the present number of Party members as a clear base, it must be clear as to how the general membership can be increased. It is good enough that though the present number of members is relatively small, they are already capable of carrying out great mass struggles and waging armed struggle. But as the ruling system becomes more rotten and the people become more eager to strike blows at the enemy, the Party must have more cadres and members to be able to perform its revolutionary leadership adequately.

There must be an organizational plan to build the Party within the New People's Army and in mass organizations. In our present guerrilla zones, the New People's Army can be expected to make a bigger harvest of victories only if the Party within it is strong and also if at the same time the Party in local areas is strong. Having a Party that is organizationally strong and that is soundly based on the masses is a guarantee for the growth and success of the New People's Army and the consolidation of people's democratic power.

All-out efforts should be made within the next whole year to accomplish the organization of the six regional committees of Northern Luzon, Central Luzon, Greater Manila, Southern Luzon, the Visayas and Mindanao. Where there are already regional committees of a provisional and appointive character, all-out efforts should be made to have regional committees elected by provincial and district Party representatives. We must exert all efforts to have at least provisional regional committees in those regions where we have only a few Party members. These shall be organized and strengthened under the supervision of the Central Committee with the assistance of the organization department.

In establishing Party regional committees, the Central Committee should see to it that the committee members are of the highest ideological and political quality and are resourceful in conducting organizational work.

They should be able to draft a regional program of action based on their local investigation and actual mass work.

Party branches should be set up where they can be set up. But the Central Committee and all other leading organs should see to it that there are areas of priority to which Party cadres can be assigned to conduct mass work, Party building and army building. These areas of priority should be determined by the Central Committee in order to achieve the wisest disposition of reliable Party cadres available for expansion work.

The correct form of organization and organizing method based on the mass line should be grasped by all Party cadres and members. People's organizing committees, such as barrio committees in the rural areas and workers' committees and student committees, should be formed to prepare for mass struggles and Party building.

Democratic centralism should be the main guiding principle in the organizational life of the Party. The leading organs should meet as often as necessary to strengthen ideological and political unity. They should receive reports both regularly and on a timely basis from lower organs and units. At the same time, frequent consultations with lower Party organizations within the New People's Army and in local areas should be made so that the leading organs will always have intimate, correct and sufficient knowledge of the situation and will be able to direct the revolutionary struggle.

B. Build the New People's Army!

To build the New People's Army, the Party must accelerate political-military training and raise the level of armed struggle, carry out firmly the revolutionary agrarian policy and move towards the establishment of base areas. The Party must respond to the people's call for armed revolution now reverberating in both city and countryside.

1. Military training and armed struggle

There must be a political-military training program. It should be intended mainly to develop cadres who can serve as commanders and political commissars in the New People's Army. This training is not only intended to develop combat skills. It is conducted in a way as to put the New People's Army under the command of politics, under the leadership of the Party. It is thereby to build a people's army that is good in political and ideological work, good in working style, good in military training and good in arranging everyday life. After finishing their political-military training, Party cadres should be immediately dispatched to lead or join armed propaganda teams or guerrilla units. The cumulative increase of cadres for the people's army will certainly lead to the emergence of larger fighting forces and more fighting units of the New People's Army. The level of armed struggle should be raised on the basis of ample political preparations. In the near future, the New People's Army should be able to annihilate repeatedly a platoon or a company of the enemy at an average per operation. While making an ambush or attacking an isolated outpost, reinforcements should also be attacked and their paths mined. This is a dialectical development of the present capacity of the New People's Army to easily annihilate a squad of the enemy. Our guerrilla squads and platoons should in due time develop into guerrilla companies. These should in turn develop into regular mobile forces in the future. In preparation for further growth, our fighting units which are dispersed to arouse and to organize the masses should be repeatedly concentrated to launch larger operations which are not possible when these are dispersed. At all times, we should maintain our guerrilla units and militia units both in areas where we have regular mobile forces and where we do not yet have them. The armed city partisans should specialize in sabotage work and in limited punitive actions.

2. Revolutionary agrarian policy

The Party should see to it that the New People's Army carries out what is mainly a peasant war. A revolutionary agrarian policy should be implemented in the countryside so as to get the massive support of the peasantry for the people's democratic revolution. Our guerrilla zones cannot be expanded and consolidated without fulfilling certain reforms that a genuine people's army should conduct. Rent and interest rates should be greatly reduced and local landlord despots, local bullies, fascist marauders and bad elements like bandits and cattle rustlers should be punished and done away with. There should be a great difference between our presence and absence in a particular area. When we are around, the peasant masses should enjoy so many benefits that they inevitably lose should the enemy take full control of the area. The peasant masses should be made to realize that should the New People's Army wipe out the counterrevolutionary armed forces, feudal and bureaucrat tyrants and bad elements in a given area, it shall be in a position to distribute land to those who have none or those who do not have enough, wipe out usury completely, heighten productive cooperation among the peasants and strengthen the people's organs of political power. In carrying out the agrarian policy of the Party, the New People's Army should arouse and

mobilize the masses to attack their own exploiters and assert their democratic power. We should never flinch from our policy of relying mainly on the poor peasants, winning over the middle peasants and neutralizing the rich peasants to isolate the enemy. Without losing sight of the main direction of their work and of their attacks against the enemy, the Party and the people's army should employ guerrilla zones to open the way for the development of one or more stable base areas and to be able to strike at the enemy at several points.

3. Stable base areas

Three basic conditions must be gradually fulfilled for a stable base area to emerge: the people's armed forces are well built up; the enemy has repeatedly suffered defeats; and the people are aroused. At this early stage, we should seriously consider creating an armed independent regime. Conditions for survival and growth of a stable base areas should be properly attended to. These are: (1) a sound mass base; (2) a sound Party organization; (3) a fairly strong Red army; (4) terrain favorable to military operations; and (5) economic resources sufficient for sustenance. To be able to win the revolution we must be able to destroy the enemy in ever increasing numbers. This will entail and result in the liberation of large areas by the New People's Army. The Party and the New People's Army should have a good grasp of the strategy and tactics of people's war. There should be a clear view now as to how to create stable base areas. These shall be the centers of gravity for widespread guerrilla actions.

C. Build the united front!

The Party must build a united front for armed struggle. In this regard, the revisionist renegades and other saboteurs of the Philippine revolution must have no place in the united front envisioned by the Party. The Party must use the weapon of united front as its shield and the weapon of armed struggle as its spear in making its resolute revolutionary advance. Wielding one weapon without the other will be damaging to the Party and the people.

Now that the Party has the New People's Army, it should have the National Democratic Front in due time in order to combine all patriotic and progressive forces against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The committee entrusted with the task of preparing for the establishment of the front should perform the task of coordinating patriotic classes, organizations, groups and personages under the principle of a national united front.

The program of the National Democratic Front must affirm the general line of national democratic revolution and must be in basic agreement with our Party's Program for a People's Democratic Revolution. All patriotic and progressive classes, parties, groups and personages participating in the front must be allowed initiative and independence and must maintain the broadest unity and cooperation against the enemies of national liberation and democracy.

The Party must strive to build the national united front on the following ten points: 1. Fight for national democracy against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism; 2. Create people's organizing committees to arouse and mobilize the broad masses of the people for armed revolution; 3. Campaign for the establishment of a united front government of all democratic classes, parties, groups and individuals; 4. Adopt a truly democratic system of representation based on free and popular elections undominated by the reactionary parties; 5. Give material and moral support to the people's armed forces; 6. Solve the land problem by liberating the peasants from landlord oppression and fostering agricultural cooperation; 7. Build a national economy free from foreign monopolies and protect the people's livelihood; 8. Promote a national, scientific and popular culture; 9. Unite with all national minorities with genuine respect for their rights to local autonomy; and 10. Support the international united front against US imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, Japanese militarism and all reaction, and maintain an active and independent foreign policy based on mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Draft Approved by the Political Bureau

Communist Party of the Philippines

September 22, 1970

Summing up our Experience after Three Years

First published as *Ang Bayan* Special Release, March 3, 1972.

Introduction

On the whole, the revolutionary work of the Communist Party of the Philippines since its Congress of Reestablishment has been exceedingly vigorous, militant and fruitful. It is wrong, however, to appraise our work either from the viewpoint that everything is positive or from the viewpoint that everything is negative. We should be analytical in summing-up our work and the undertakings of the masses. We have to know our achievements, difficulties and shortcomings in the context of historical development. In that way, we can have a full grasp of our situation. We can draw lessons from our experience and rectify errors and weaknesses. As a result, we can muster greater strength and take up new tasks in the revolutionary struggle for people's democracy against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The propagation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought

We have won great ideological victories. The single most important of these is the reestablishment of the Party on the theoretical basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. We have cast away modern revisionism projected from the Soviet Union and practiced locally by the Lava revisionist renegades. We have also rejected modern revisionism cowering behind centrism. We have kept a firm grasp of the most comprehensive, most advanced and most powerful ideological weapon in the present era and have managed to put on the correct road the glorious Communist Party of the Philippines.

To the best of its ability and as far as its limited circumstances can permit, the Party has attended to ideological building as the first requisite in rebuilding itself. It has taken the lead in the propagation, that is to say, in the study and application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in a living way in the Philippines. In so short a time, it has become a formidable ideological and political force against US imperialism and all its reactionary stooges. The enemy fears us the most. The broad masses of the people regard us today as the most significant and consistent revolutionary force.

We have reopened in an unprecedented way the great treasury of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to Filipino revolutionaries. We have made available to them as constant reference in their daily work the Five Golden Rays and Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong and as texts for more extensive and profound study Chairman Mao's works under the seven headings of philosophy, class analysis and social investigation, party building, armed struggle, united front, economic work and land reform, and culture. We have also circulated the works of the great predecessors of Chairman Mao: Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. As the great communist works are increasingly made available, especially in Pilipino translation, we can expect the ideological foundation of our Party to become stronger; we can expect the Party cadres and members to improve their grasp of the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, viewpoint and method.

To give a national form to the universal theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought or to link the world proletarian revolution with the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution, we have had the "Guide for Cadres and Members of the Communist Party of the Philippines" since the early part of 1969 and *Philippine Society and Revolution* since the late part of 1970.

The Guide for Cadres and Members of the Communist Party of the Philippines contains the basic documents of the Party Congress of Reestablishment and those pertaining to the formation of the New People's Army. The document of rectification, "Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party," upholds the most advanced theory of the proletariat, unfolds the history of the Party and the grave errors of the Lava revisionist renegades and states the three main tasks of the Party. The Party Program correctly defines the people's democratic line for the Philippine revolution and states our general and specific tasks. The Party Constitution elaborates on the principle of democratic centralism and guides our work of rebuilding the Party.

The document of rectification for the people's army, "Declaration of the New People's Army," repudiates the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique as a historical ramification of Lavaite opportunism and paves the way for the formation of New People's Army. The Basic Rules of the New People's Army recognizes the absolute leadership of the Party and lays down points for building the people's army.

Philippine Society and Revolution is a comprehensive study on Philippine history, on the basic problems of the Philippine Revolution and on the people's democratic revolution. It presents the basic character, motive forces, targets, tasks and perspective of the Philippine Revolution. It has served as a basic textbook for Party mass education. At the same time, it has served to guide further study and investigation of Philippine conditions.

The Party Central Committee has adopted and circulated the political reports of the Political Bureau and has put out statements and comments on current national and international issues. These have been popularized through *Ang Bayan*, publication of the Central Committee. Towards the establishment of regional Party organizations, the Party Central Committee has time and again dispatched and urged Party cadres to make surveys and investigations of varying scope, from the regional to the barrio level. Local Party organs have also issued statements and manifestos on local and current issues to arouse and mobilize the masses. Party groups in various mass organizations, large and small, have caused revolutionary propaganda to spread on an unprecedented scale throughout the archipelago.

Struggling through to the end against modern revisionism, the Party Central Committee has put out Report on Lavaite Propaganda for Revisionism and Fascism to smash the slanderous filth of the Lava revisionist renegades and expose their utter degeneration into fascist puppets of Soviet social-imperialism and the US-Marcos clique. Recent articles of such scoundrels as Jesus Lava and Luis Taruc against the Party have been subjected to effective counterattack. We have undertaken thorough criticism and repudiation of William J. Pomeroy's noxious works which express most the counterrevolutionary line of Soviet modern revisionism and social-imperialism and are much circulated by the Lava revisionist renegades. Our critical and repudiatory articles are now being compiled under the general title, *Pomeroy's Portrait: Revisionist Renegade*.

In firmly upholding the correct ideological guide and combating modern revisionism, the Party as a whole has succeeded in avoiding ideological errors of such gravity as to prevent its steady and consistent advance. But still the shades of grave errors, shades that can become disastrous if unrectified and magnified through time have appeared within the Party. In certain parts of the Party at certain times, grave errors have also made their full appearance. In general, we may say that mistaken ideas or erroneous tendencies have cropped up within our ranks.

Subjectivist trends of the dogmatist and empiricist type are most likely to beset a Party that is actually still in the process of formation. We may even say that our Party has just been reborn and is still in the stage of infancy. The cadres and members, except a very few, are new in the revolutionary struggle and are liable to commit many errors and shortcomings. We have our weaknesses in being a newly established party and furthermore, we live in a semicolonial and semifeudal country. We are surrounded by the pernicious influence of the ruling classes as well as of the petty bourgeoisie which is of considerable number and influence.

Within the Party itself, there are many Party members of petty-bourgeois origin and many of them are most likely to bring in bourgeois or petty-bourgeois "tails." We have a basis for saying that within the Party there is class contradiction and class struggle and there are currents and countercurrents of ideas. Our Party members have different class backgrounds and have been exposed to various negative influences. Because it is impossible for anyone to be born Red, even our Party members of workers and poor peasant origin—like those of petty-bourgeois origin—have ideological weaknesses and have to undergo an unremitting process of remolding themselves through revolutionary study and work.

There are comrades who are smugly satisfied with the thought that they have read a few or a big number of Marxist books and that they can memorize quotations and utter certain phrases to impress people. They do not care to learn from the masses, investigate local conditions and relate through concrete analysis whatever general principles they may know to concrete reality. When inevitably they are confronted with certain conditions, they fail to see through the surface in order to reach the truth or they try to distort and force the facts to support their preconceptions. They feel lost when they cannot find in their books an explicit explanation for a specific problem or situation that arises before them. We speak here of the dogmatists. In the Party today, most of them have a distinctly petty-bourgeois background. It is also the characteristic of some of these to use their old learning from the bourgeois universities as support for their stereotyped learning. They know more about foreign lands than their own country.

There are also comrades who carry their disdain for book learning to the point of refusing or being reluctant to raise their theoretical knowledge. They even go around bragging that their experience alone can make them good revolutionaries. We speak here of the empiricists. They do not care to relate their limited experience to general

principles and the rich experience of the world proletariat. They do not even care to relate their limited experience to conclusions derived from research into the economic, political, military and cultural history and current situation of their own country. They forget that the experience of a single man or a small group can be nothing but partial, narrow and one-sided if unrelated to or isolated from the totality of the revolutionary movement. Even in their own units, the empiricists fail to sum up and draw lessons from their own experience and they act in the most slipshod and unplanned manner.

Because the Party has set the correct ideological and political line and has continued to struggle resolutely against modern revisionism, whose main advocates and spokesmen in the country are outside the Party, we have to be most alert within the Party to the current of dogmatism that is “Left” in form but Right in essence. It has been observed that at a level as high as the region there are certain comrades who try to beat down each other by simply calling each other “opportunists” without so much as providing concrete facts and concrete analysis and without using the method of persuasion towards erring comrades. There is evidently an erroneous tendency to duplicate the same methods of struggle that we have employed against the Lava revisionist renegades; it must be borne in mind that the Lava revisionist renegades have been called to account and have been repudiated for lines and policies having disastrous effects on the old merger party through more than three decades.

The current of empiricism is due mainly to the fact that the Party has just been reestablished and it is normal for new Party members, who are in overwhelming numbers, to grope because of limited experience. Furthermore, we have quite a number of Party members of peasant origin who barely fulfil the basic literacy requirement for Party members. They can develop the habits of reading and study, especially now that we can provide them with Marxist-Leninist works in Pilipino. In this regard, we are determined to break what appears to be some monopoly of higher knowledge by the dogmatists.

All Party members should learn from each other such that those who have more theoretical knowledge can learn from those who have more practical experience and those who have more practical experience can learn from those who have more theoretical knowledge. United together, all our Party members should draw lessons from the toiling masses and from revolutionary practice with them. Learning from each other with modesty will certainly strengthen our unity. Party cadres who can handle study classes are steadily increasing in number and are expected to conduct ideological study in a lively way.

Study classes and programs of reading are supposed to be carried out at the three levels of the primary, intermediate and advanced. At all levels, it should never be forgotten that we must consistently develop among Party cadres and members their ability to keep to the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, viewpoint and method in dealing with the problems of the Philippine revolution.

The primary course is aimed at making all Party members and candidate-members grasp the basic Marxist-Leninist principles of the Party and their application on the general practice of the people’s democratic revolution. The intermediate course is aimed at making all Party members relate Marxist-Leninist theory to their own practice, sum up their experience and exchange experience with one another. The advanced course is aimed at developing among Party members an all-around knowledge of the basic teachings of the great communist teachers. Political-military training in the New People’s Army is being conducted by Party cadres. This entails the primary and intermediate courses of study plus military training.

The biggest shortcoming in our ideological building during the last three years was the failure to put out a definite educational plan. Even only the definition of the three courses of study and the listing of study materials for the primary and intermediate levels were made only in September 1970. In the countryside, the holding of study classes was too shifty, irregular and sporadic due to the difficulties peculiar to guerrilla zones and to the scarcity of political instructors for the people’s army.

In the Manila-Rizal region, where political instructors could have been drawn for the countryside since 1969, the system and methods of educating Party members were too complicated and reading requirements were so heavy and difficult to fulfil. In this light, it is clear why we have been very slow in developing Party members from the ranks of workers. From early 1969 to the end of 1970, there were also too few cadres who could be assigned as political instructors in the New People’s Army and in rural areas. Also, we had difficulties in providing enough reading and study materials.

Since the beginning of 1971, ideological study has been intensified by a rapidly increasing number of Party members and candidate-members. There have been such favorable conditions as the upsurges of the

revolutionary mass movement and the increased ability of our Central Publishing House to produce reading and study materials. The number of copies of our publications have leaped from a general average of a few hundreds in previous years to a general average of several thousands, varying from a minimum of 2,000 copies to a maximum of 10,000 copies per publication. Of course, this count does not include the far bigger volume of newspaper copies and manifestos of various mass organizations which carry the Party line. To serve our Party members and the broad masses of the people who cannot read foreign languages, translation work into Pilipino principally and local dialects secondarily has accelerated and is bound to further accelerate.

We are aware that so far only the primary course has been fulfilled on a wide scale. This course can easily be fulfilled in Party branches and groups or by individual Party members who are responsible for the ideological and political education of applicants for Party membership. But, whereas before we were worried about fulfilling the primary course, our worry now is to deepen the understanding of the primary course among all Party members and to fulfil the intermediate course on a wide scale.

Our problem now is to select competent political instructors to conduct the primary and intermediate courses. In the meantime, we pin our hopes on all Party members taking the initiative to read and study the materials that we are distributing in advance. With regard to the advanced course, the Party Central Committee is expected to take the lead in conducting it among Party cadres through the higher Party school, the Revolutionary School of Mao Zedong Thought.

For this year, an educational plan has been submitted by the Party Secretariat and endorsed by the Executive Committee to the Central Committee; it is synchronized with an organizational plan. This plan seeks to heighten ideological study among several thousands of candidate-members and full members of the Party. It seeks to actually improve the grasp of the entire Party rank and file of the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, viewpoint and method. Materialism and dialectics should always be their powerful weapons for solving problems. We expect that our Party cadres and members will become better equipped ideologically to integrate theory and practice, undertake criticism and self-criticism and link themselves with the masses more closely. In the final analysis, we engage in thoroughgoing study only to apply what we have studied in the service of the people.

If ideological building is not seriously undertaken, there can be no organizational building and there can be no victory of the revolution for that matter. We have to make sure that our Party cadres and members have an adequate and deep understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and apply it creatively in the course of the revolutionary struggle for people's democracy. The enemy cannot be defeated without a powerful unity that springs from ideological unity and conscious discipline.

Problems cannot be solved by us if we do not keep to the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, viewpoint and method. The Party has from the beginning adopted a correct ideological and political line. But in saying so, we cannot rest assured that all problems have been solved. There are so many problems always arising at various levels and in various areas of work. As old problems are solved, new ones keep on arising. Old problems become more complicated when they are overtaken by new ones. All of these can be dealt with only if we have a good grasp of the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, viewpoint and method.

The organizational growth of the Communist Party of the Philippines

In reestablishing the Party, we started practically from scratch. The Lava revisionist renegades had for decades done great damage to the organization of the old merger party and had tried with might and main to prevent the advance of the revolutionary mass movement and of a genuine proletarian revolutionary party. Despite our limited number, it is basically our correct ideological and political line that has made it possible for our Party to rebuild itself and continue to lead the revolutionary mass movement. We have been able to consolidate the small yet fresh ranks of proletarian revolutionaries to isolate the stale and far smaller number of Lava revisionist renegades and as a result we have been able to march forward at the vanguard of the revolutionary masses.

Since December 26, 1968, we have grown into an organization of at least 2,000 members and candidate-members. If only a few scores of Party members in 1969 and a few hundreds in 1970 and 1971 could lead great mass struggles in the countryside and cities, we can be optimistic that as we grow into several thousands more this year and the next we will be able to exert greater revolutionary efforts and achieve greater revolutionary victories. What makes our Party distinctive today is that majority of its members have cadre quality and are in leading positions in the New People's Army and in various mass organizations (urban and rural) whose membership is relatively large.

Based on the last count at the beginning of this year, about 55 percent of our membership are in the countryside and about 45 percent are in the Manila-Rizal region and other urban areas all over the archipelago. About 53 percent of the Party membership are of peasant origin, about 4 percent of worker origin and about 43 percent are of petty-bourgeois origin. Only recently, there has been some considerable increase in the membership of peasant origin. And we expect that soon we can draw even more Party members from the ranks of the toiling masses as we intensify the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside and build up the revolutionary workers' movement in factories and workers' communities. In the Manila-Rizal region, where the working class is most concentrated in our country, only 20 percent of the regional Party membership are of worker origin; this fact proves that we have plenty of work to do in order to draw Party members from the ranks of workers.

If we recall the Party Congress of Reestablishment, there were three delegates of worker origin and nine of urban petty-bourgeois origin. In its First Plenum, the Central Committee was able to add to its ranks eight members of worker-peasant origin who could open wider the field for building the Party in the countryside.

It is to the great credit of the Party that it was able to establish in three months' time on March 29, 1969, the New People's Army and at the same time repudiate and isolate the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique. The First Plenum of the Central Committee in May 1969 ratified the establishment of the New People's Army as the main form of organization and filled up the Party central organs with more personnel. But in this plenum, those who assumed posts in the Party central organs were not as yet very clear about the particular tasks that they had to carry out and also about the methods by which to carry these out.

What may be considered the most serious error incurred within the Party during the last three years is sectarianism, which greatly hampered the organizational building of the Party. Though the revolutionary mass movement had advanced rapidly during the whole of 1970, it was not until the September 1970 meeting of the Political Bureau and then the Second Plenum of the Central Committee in April 1971 that it became clear to all, especially among leading cadres, that thousands of advanced elements could be chosen and recruited into the Party within a short period of time from the revolutionary mass movement in both countryside and cities. In the previous years, a considerable number of cadres, including leading organs, seemed satisfied with our small membership and the slow rate of recruitment. Yet we had taken up the gigantic tasks of the revolution which call for large masses of Party members. And indeed, there were so many possible Party members accumulating rapidly in the ranks of the revolutionary masses. Sectarianism aggravated and complicated such difficulties as lack of experience, limited size of membership and scarcity of resources that were peculiar to a Party starting from scratch.

Though Party members in the Manila-Rizal region had the head start over those in the countryside in recruiting Party members, they persisted in a "small group" mentality, complicated the methods of increasing their membership and failed to recruit several hundreds of mass activists into the Party. They failed to relate the organizational growth of the Party to the revolutionary mass movement. They failed to recruit more Party members from the ranks of the workers and even from the ranks of the revolutionary youth. The result was that Party cadres could be sent to the countryside in mere trickles. In the New People's Army, the demand for political officers could not be met from early 1969 to the late part of 1970.

Without a strong Party organization at its core, the New People's Army is weak and cannot do well its work of all-around consolidation in the barrios that it reaches. It then becomes easy for such erroneous trends as the purely military viewpoint, roving rebel ideology, commandism and conservatism to merge. Because the Party leadership is not asserted and reinforced, the people's army would tend to rely only on the thin existence of the barrio organizing committees. Before the Party could provide cadres and before the work of all-around consolidation could be done well in our first guerrilla zone in Tarlac, the enemy stepped up its campaign of bloody suppression and consequently we had to suffer grave difficulties there.

The September 1970 meeting of the Political Bureau in Isabela clarified how the Party and the New People's Army could establish barrio revolutionary committees as organs of political power and mass organizations at the barrio level. In this regard, the necessity and possibility of hastening the organizational building of the Party in the countryside were stressed. It was, however, in the Second Plenum of the Central Committee in April 1971 that we were able to discuss more extensively and approve the comprehensive "Organizational Guide and Outline of Reports". This guide shows how the Party organization can be built in the New People's Army, the mass organizations and localities.

In the New People's Army, the Party branches are to be based temporarily on the regular platoons because

regular companies are still to arise. Party groups at the squad level are to be consolidated and they are to engage in Party building in the localities. Party groups are to be created from the advanced elements in barrio organizing committees and in the mass organizations (for peasants, workers, youth, women and cultural activists) and in local guerrilla and militia units. These Party groups can be subsequently consolidated into a local Party branch. The local Party branch will then be in a position to lead and participate in the barrio revolutionary committee.

The “Organizational Guide and Outline of Reports” also shows how Party branches can be established in factories, urban communities and schools and Party groups in urban mass organizations. The leading activists or advanced elements in people’s organizing committees, trade unions, youth organizations, women’s organizations and other mass organizations can be recruited into the Party and these can be deployed to establish local Party branches in town centers and urban areas.

The Second Plenum of the Central Committee decided to implement the policy of expanding the Party boldly and not letting a single undesirable in. It stressed the principles of expanding the Party on the basis of the revolutionary mass movement. Every Party member was expected to recruit six other members before the end of 1971. It was noted that the target for recruitment could be easily overfulfilled because there were so many possible Party members that had already accumulated in the ranks of the revolutionary masses. Indeed the target for recruitment would subsequently be overfulfilled and we would still observe that there was still a considerable number of possible Party members who had been waiting in vain for recruitment.

To make sure that the Party would expand on a national scale, the Second Plenum also pressed for the appointment or election (as the case may be) of regional Party committees to build regional Party organizations in Northern Luzon, Central Luzon, Manila-Rizal, Southern Luzon, the Visayas and Mindanao. As a result, we now have relatively stable regional Party organizations in all regions except Mindanao where Party cadres are now working hard to form a stable Party organization. Our strongest regional Party organizations are in Northern Luzon, Manila-Rizal, Central Luzon and Southern Luzon which account for 30 percent, 18 percent, 16 percent and 7 percent of our membership, respectively.

Our regional Party organizations in Western Visayas and Eastern Visayas account for 6 percent and 2.5 percent of our membership, respectively. Deployed at various points in Mindanao are 2.5 percent of our membership who are coordinated by a provisional revolutionary secretariat. It may be noted that two regional Party organizations, one for Eastern Visayas and another for Western Visayas, have been established in the Visayas. Because of its large population and land size, Mindanao may also be divided into two or three regions.

The regional Party committees are an effective instrument for observing collective leadership in the various regions of the archipelago. However, there are still tendencies here for one or two cadres to monopolize decisions. Another erroneous tendency that may arise here is bureaucratism, which appears in the form of building bureaus down to the level of the district committee at the expense of the urgent task of establishing Party branches and groups at the base of the regional Party organization. Such a tendency goes against the principle of letting the Party take roots among the masses.

The establishment of the regional Party organizations and their corresponding leading organs will eventually solve the problem of extended periods of time between plenums of the Central Committee and also between meetings of the Political Bureau. Because of the small number of Party cadres, most members of the Central Committee and also of the Political Bureau have had to attend to so many tasks at distantly separated places. In due time, it will be quite easier to convene plenary meetings of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau. To carry on collective leadership on a daily basis, the Executive Committee of the Central Committee has been acting in the name of the Party Central Committee and the Military Commission has been supervising the New People’s Army and directing the Party organization therein.

Central organs directly under the Party Central Committee and all bureaus under the organization and education departments of the General Secretariat have become better staffed as a result of the efficient recruitment of Party members after the Second Plenum of the Party Central Committee. The Party Central Committee now has adequate apparatuses for performing a wide range of work and can attend to solving problems in a more concentrated way than before when the central staffs and offices were grossly inadequate. The staff members of all offices of the Central Committee, including the Secretariat, absorb 18 percent of the total Party membership; this is exclusive of the 82 percent deployed in various regions.

There have been no serious violations of the principle of democratic centralism, except in certain cases which

have been properly dealt with. The Central Committee has maintained its overall leadership within the Party. On the whole, leading organs at every level have conducted themselves well. It is to the credit of the Party rank and file that they have exercised their freedom to speak up and make proposals and criticisms and at the same time to accept the discipline required in implementing collective decisions and instructions from leading organs. Most, if not all, infractions of the principle of democratic centralism whether big or small have come under criticism and discussion by Party organs or Party organizations concerned.

Because of its iron discipline and unity, the Party has been able to build its organization several fold and has been able to defend itself from every attempt of the enemy to subvert or smash it. We have completely frustrated the enemy's vile hope of "nipping it in the bud." In the countryside, we have withstood campaigns of "encirclement and suppression." Even in the cities where we are supposed to be most vulnerable, the Party was able to function smoothly even at the height of the anticommunist white terror following the Plaza Miranda massacre of August 21, 1971. In the countryside or in the city underground, we have effectively foiled many enemy attempts to destroy our organization from within or from without. The most important effect on us of enemy attacks is that we have become tempered and we have learned much. We are confident that all Party cadres and members are determined to face all hardships and sacrifice to win victory.

For this year an organizational plan has been submitted by the Party Secretariat and endorsed by the Executive Committee to the Central Committee. The Executive Committee has also improved on the first edition of the "Organizational Guide and Outline of Reports" on the basis of experience and has put out the second edition to guide overall organizational work. Under the organizational plan, the Party membership is expected to increase several fold on the basis of the revolutionary mass movement in the countryside and cities.

The regional Party committees and the regional Party organizations are called upon to fulfil this plan conscientiously by establishing more Party branches and Party groups. Adjustments in certain regions may be made on the ground that the general target is too high or too low in different regions. But we are confident that the general target will be overfulfilled. We expect that Party members of workers and peasant origin will increase. We are determined to make such an increase.

To win victory in the Philippine revolution, we need several hundreds of thousands of Party members. Out of these there should be tens of thousands of Party cadres capable of leading the masses in the rural areas and urban areas. On the basis of the number of barrios in the entire country, we need at least 35,000 cadres to be able to create more powerful tidal waves on a nationwide scale. We do not yet have hundreds of thousands of Party members and tens of thousands of Party cadres. But surely we are going to have them and even now we have become a significant revolutionary force. That is because we have the correct ideological and political line.

Perseverance on the road of armed revolution for people's democracy

The Communist Party of the Philippines has correctly adopted the general line of people's democracy. In carrying out this line, we are waging armed struggle as the principal form of revolutionary struggle and we are working hard to fulfil the main content of the revolution which is the peasant struggle for land. By waging armed struggle and agrarian revolution, we can establish and consolidate revolutionary base areas from which to advance to win nationwide victory. In a semicolonial and semifeudal country, there is no other place but the countryside to build the people's army, develop the main force of the revolution and have enough space to maneuver in before uprisings can be successfully staged in the cities. We, therefore, have to apply Chairman Mao's line of using the countryside to encircle the cities and finally capture them.

The Party and the New People's Army have already established 735 barrio organizing committees and 60 barrio revolutionary committees. These people's committees govern a total population of about 400,000 and are found in a total of eighteen provinces: seven in Northern Luzon, five in Central Luzon, four in Southern Luzon and two in Western Visayas. We have been able to reach so many provinces by two methods of expansion: 1) by advancing wave upon wave and using border areas of several provinces, and 2) by leaping over White areas and sending single cadres or teams to separate strategic points. Northern Luzon has 515 barrio organizing committees and 50 barrio revolutionary committees and Central Luzon 150 and 10, respectively. Southern Luzon has 60 barrio organizing committee and Western Visayas, 10.

The establishment of a barrio organizing committee signifies that a regular squad or an armed propaganda team of the New People's Army has already conducted thorough social investigation, has held general meetings for pouring out grievances and discussing problems along the people's democratic line and has already grouped

together the relatively most advanced elements among the masses for committee membership. The barrio organizing committee is a preparatory committee for setting up the barrio revolutionary committee; it is an instrument for transforming an unstable area into a stable area.

Under the barrio organizing committee, the reduction of land rent, the elimination of usury and the practice of simple forms of cooperation are achieved. The people support the annihilation of enemy troops and the elimination of landlord despots, enemy spies and such bad elements as cattle rustlers, extortionists, robbers, murderers, arsonists and the like. The officers and members of the committee serve as the embryo of the organization, education, economic, defense and health committees of the future barrio revolutionary committee and can initiate the creation of these committees and also of the local mass organizations for peasants, workers, youth, women, children, cultural activists and the like.

The barrio revolutionary committee is inaugurated to replace the barrio organizing committee when the peasants are well assured of their ownership of land and continue to engage in simple forms of cooperation, when the people's armed forces are already well developed and the barrio has been cleared of the enemy, when the various mass organizations have been actively performing their tasks, when the five committees which are actually governmental departments of the barrio revolutionary committee have been fully organized and when a local Party branch and several Party groups have already arisen from the mass movement.

The single most important task of the barrio revolutionary committee is to train the people in self-government and develop the barrios into political, economic, military and cultural bastions of the revolution. So far, we have been most successful in building the barrio revolutionary committees in areas that are hilly and forested or are remote from concentrations of enemy strength. But they have also arisen to some extent in plains.

The main instrument of the Party in establishing the barrio organizing committees and the barrio revolutionary committees is the New People's Army. We started to establish the barrio organizing committees when within the months of March and April 1969 we were able to form nine squads and field them over the entire second district of Tarlac and certain limited parts of Pampanga, Zambales and Nueva Ecija which were all adjacent to Tarlac. During the same period, we also started to dispatch cadres to Northern Luzon and other strategic points in the country. From the outset, we were keenly conscious of the fact that the fagots were extremely dry in Northern Luzon and a single spark here would kindle the fire of the people's democratic revolution. At the same time, we were also concerned with preserving and expanding our forces and source of means in Central Luzon.

After three years, we now have in the New People's Army the strength of 72 regular squads or 800 regulars armed with modern weapons. These should be equivalent to eight full regular companies. But we are still in the general process of bringing squads into regular platoon formations. There are now ten regular platoons. Apart from these platoons, we have one regular company and are in the process of building another one. It is only a matter of a short period that we shall be able to adequately put up commands at the company level.

In Northern Luzon, we have 51 squads in such various formations as one regular company, seven regular platoons and 21 separate regular squads. In Central Luzon, we have 15 squads in such various formations as three regular platoons and six separate squads. In Southern Luzon, we have four regular squads. In all regions, including Eastern Visayas and Mindanao, we have cadres with political-military training and their propaganda teams can be easily transformed into fighting units at the appropriate time.

The armed strength of the people's army includes not only its regular fighters but also about 1,500 local guerrilla fighters armed mainly with old single-action rifles and homemade rifles of the shotgun type and about 16,000 militia members (estimated conservatively at 20 members per barrio) armed mainly with homemade handguns and such indigenous weapons as bolos, spears, bows and arrows, hidden spikes and traps, and others. Local guerrilla units vary in strength from one full squad to a full platoon in a barrio; full guerrilla platoons are characteristically found in forest regions.

As we are now systematically manufacturing shotguns, we can build local guerrilla units faster. As we are now launching the explosives movement in the countryside, both the local guerrilla and militia units can become a more powerful auxiliary force and reserve force, respectively. The widespread use of homemade grenades and land mines can cause incalculable casualties and damage on the enemy and strain his morale.

The New People's Army has engaged in a wide range of military operations against enemy troops and military establishments, landlord despots, informers and bad elements. These operations include arrests, ambushes, raids, sabotage and others. We have inflicted some 1,700 casualties on the enemy in the process. Of these, about

800 were enemy troops who were either killed or seriously wounded. About 900 informers, landlord despots and bad elements were killed. So far, only 22 US military officers have been killed. On the basis of these figures, our armed struggle takes the form of the agrarian war or civil war. Though US military advisers and US military planes occasionally accompany the local reactionary troops, direct and largescale actions by US military personnel are not yet being undertaken against us.

However, whenever the occasion arises, we always attack major Philippine and US military installations and command posts. Among those that we have attacked are the main administration building of the JUSMAG in Quezon City and command posts of the Task Force Lawin in Central Luzon and Northern Luzon. We have successfully raided the Philippine Military Academy in order to seize arms. We have destroyed or damaged six enemy aircraft, including five helicopters; military trucks, jeeps and armored cars; communications equipment; and various military supplies.

We have also taken steps to disintegrate the enemy armed forces. We have disseminated revolutionary propaganda among officers and men in the regular enemy service, military trainees in schools (ROTC and PMT) and in "home defense" centers and students in the Philippine Military Academy. The revolutionary examples of two comrades in leaving the reactionary armed forces and joining the New People's Army have given rise to the Corpus-Tagamolila Movement. Under the direction of the Party, this movement is secretly and systematically conducting political work among enemy officers and men.

We have made considerable headway in disintegrating the "barrio self-defense units." Without firing a single shot, we have managed several times to dissolve entire "BSDUs" by persuading their personnel to turn their arms against their PC "supervisors." A great number of "BSDU" men are secretly in contact with us and are cooperating with us. Our policy towards the "BSDU" is to exert every effort to frustrate its establishment and, if the enemy still succeeds in establishing it through coercion, to maintain secret contact with the "BSDU" men (some or all, as the case may be), get information from them about the enemy and then instruct them to join the people's army with their arms at an appropriate time.

The fundamental weakness of the "BSDU" is that it serves the people's enemies, it is created through coercion and it is actually a form of dispersal of enemy strength. Since it is imposed by the enemy on the people who have started to rise up, the key to disintegrating it is to make full use of the good relations between the Party and the people's army on the one hand and the people on the other. Only the few real enemy diehards among the "BSDU" men are singled out for punitive action.

There is no doubt that the New People's Army has achieved brilliant successes under the leadership of the Party. But these are still small in comparison to what is still to be achieved. It is of great importance to consider our difficulties, shortcomings and mistakes so that we can advance further. Since the Party had correctly defined the road of armed revolution as the road of winning victory, there is less danger within the Party and the New People's Army of Right opportunism than of "Left" opportunism. There is definitely no serious trend in the Party to abandon the armed struggle and take up parliamentary struggle as the main form of struggle. But bourgeois reactionary ideas can take "Left" forms to advance the essence of Rightism even as we are steadily advancing. At the moment, we have to be most alert to "Left" opportunism as the main internal danger.

It should be clear at the outset, however, that we speak of only a danger and that so far not a single "Left" opportunist error of such gravity as to seriously damage or totally wreck the entire revolutionary movement has yet occurred. Even as we cite actual cases of adventurism committed by certain units or certain cadres of the Party, our criticism would have nothing in common with the babble of the Lava revisionist renegades that the Party as a whole has bogged itself down in "Left" opportunism.

They pretend to attack "Left" opportunism only to defend the Right opportunism promoted by Jesus Lava from 1955 onwards and then bequeathed by him to them. In fact, they also defend the "Left" opportunism represented in the past by Jose and Jesus Lava. This ties up with their present anti-Party and anti-people revisionist fascist activity in connivance with the reactionary state. Modern revisionists, who have even become fascist agents, are absolutely incapable of determining what is "Left" opportunism and what is not.

In our previous statement of facts regarding the barrio organizing committee and the barrio revolutionary committees, there is a noticeably great disparity between the number of the latter and the number of the former. This signifies a great disparity between consolidation and expansion, between guerrilla base areas and guerrilla zones or between stable and unstable areas. Certainly, consolidation can easily fall behind expansion; there is the

law of uneven development.

But it is not good to keep consolidation too far behind expansion at the ratio of less than one barrio revolutionary committee for every ten barrio organizing committees. What would certainly be a better situation than now is to have one or two revolutionary committees for every five barrio organizing committees. The general view that we wish to bring out is that consolidation work should be done well even as we boldly expand so that small units of the New People's Army do not flounder in too large an unreliable and unconsolidated area.

It is easy for the ideology of the roving rebel bands to gain ground where consolidation work is not done well. There is the danger of related mistaken ideas like the purely military viewpoint, ultrademocracy, disregard of organizational discipline, absolute egalitarianism, subjectivism, individualism or putschism to arise. Without consolidation and, therefore, adequate Party leadership and powerful mass support, our fighting units are susceptible to losing the correct direction. There is always the danger of adventurism, of launching offensives even only of a tactical character with no rear base to rely on.

The great disparity between the number of barrio organizing committees and that of barrio revolutionary committees is not the result of a willful design or gross negligence by any leading organ. Rather it arises mainly from certain objective conditions that a newly reestablished Party has had to face. Our ideological and political line has been comprehensively laid down in the basic documents of the Party as well as of the New People's Army from the very beginning. But during the last three years, especially from 1969 to 1970, the number of Party cadres and members was grossly inadequate for conducting all-around consolidation.

Furthermore, those few who were available for revolutionary work in the countryside were still lacking in experience. Thus, the original squads that the Party fielded in Central Luzon tended to rely on their previous experience. They had to rely mainly on the barrio organizing committees, without a clear view of what to do next. They keep on creating the barrio organizing committees because they were most acquainted with this form of organization and thought that it was the best way of guaranteeing mass support in the face of intensifying enemy campaigns of "encirclement and suppression."

The second district of Tarlac, where we fired the first shots to reopen the road of armed revolution, had the specific advantage of having a large mass of people with a fine revolutionary history. But at the same time, it has the specific disadvantage of being the site of large US military bases and Philippine military camps and of being on the plains. There is no barrio here which cannot be reached in a few minutes' time by armored car or helicopter.

Further making our situation difficult from March 1969 to the later part of 1970, the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique tried to block us from the south in Pampanga and the Eduardo Cojuangco clique also did the same from the north in the first district of Tarlac. We were not only hemmed in by these two reactionary cliques; the Monkees-Ar-meng Bayan-Masaka gang of the Lava revisionist renegades at first surreptitiously and then openly assisted the Task Force Lawin in perpetrating crimes of bloody intrigue calculated to discredit us.

From March to June 1969, the reactionary armed forces made probing attacks against us with the use of platoon-size patrols and a considerable number of spies. We had no alternative but to wipe out these spies and prevent the enemy troops from becoming effective against us. We also picked off isolated enemy troops in order to seize arms. Intensifying his platoon-size operations, the enemy was able to intrude into the office of the Central Committee, disrupt our work and seize a number of documents on June 9, 1969.

From this day, Task Force Lawin started to field and concentrate a full battalion against us in every "search and destroy" operation. By July 1969, the reactionary armed forces started to station PC troops at the fringes of our guerrilla zone and undertake "clear and hold" operations. By September 1969, they were already forcing large numbers of "barrio councils" to set up the "barrio self-defense units" in an attempt to move in on us and deprive us of area for maneuver.

Certain barrios, mainly those in the center of our guerrilla zone, and also the scarcely wooded Tarlac part of the Tarlac-Zambales mountain range were deliberately left open for us by the enemy who had the intention of making these his "killing zones." At the same time, he fielded "civic action" teams (spy and deception teams) in some of the barrios here, especially along the national highway. He, therefore, conducted counterrevolutionary dual tactics.

Throughout 1970 and 1971, he tried to make use of his predetermined "killing zones" by conducting surprise raids and savage abuses here in regimental or divisional strength through the combined forces of the Task Force

Lawin and the Tabak Division. By early 1971, the reactionary military authorities boasted that the New People's Army had already been crushed in Central Luzon and that its last remnants had either fled to Isabela or were hiding themselves in the Tarlac-Zambales mountains. Puppet chieftain Marcos echoed his fascist henchmen in his January 1971 state-of-the-nation address.

But the truth is the opposite of the enemy's claims. We have never been crushed in Central Luzon. By employing flexible tactics and effective underground methods, we have managed to preserve ourselves here and we have repeatedly attacked the enemy despite his constant heavy pressure. It is true, however, that most of our barrio organizing committees collapsed for a time; unconsolidated areas gave way to the enemy and our squads became more easy prey for enemy attacks. Also, it is true that in the face of an overwhelming enemy force on a terrain not so favorable to us we have had serious difficulties and shortcomings in giving full play to battles of annihilation against the enemy.

But on the whole in Central Luzon, we have advanced although not as rapidly as in Northern Luzon. Since the second Plenum of the Central Committee, which analyzed and summed up our experience in armed struggle, we have proceeded to steadily recover temporarily lost ground in Central Luzon and to deploy units of the New People's Army far beyond the confines of the first district of Tarlac. We have also been favored by the disintegration of the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique in September-October 1970.

Our Tarlac experience from 1969 to 1971 cannot be taken in isolation from our overall efforts on the road of armed revolution. Tarlac was the best possible place to establish a people's army and start revolutionary armed struggle in early 1969. By starting with the revolutionary forces there, we were able to arouse the entire nation for the people's democratic revolution and to create a larger scale for people's war in Luzon.

Now, we do not only have Central Luzon but we also have Northern Luzon and other areas. By paying too close an attention to such a narrow area as the first district of Tarlac, the enemy paid scarce attention to the emergence of guerrilla base areas and guerrilla zones in Northern Luzon. From the beginning, we were aware of the difficulties that we have had to face in Central Luzon and we did immediately exert efforts to open new battlefields.

In our efforts at nationwide expansion, we have also suffered some serious but temporary reverses. It is important to cite the most glaring cases in the Visayas during the last three years in order to emphasize the point that there is great need for doing consolidation work while doing expansion work. It is obvious why in areas distant from the Party headquarters in Luzon there is even greater need for such. It is difficult to replace our very new and very few cadres in the Visayas and Mindanao if they should be encircled and crushed by the enemy before they can have some rear base to rely on.

If we recall our Negros Occidental experience of 1969, we can easily see how grossly erroneous it was for a small group of armed men to seek battle with the enemy even without having organized a single barrio organizing committee in the area. In the case of the Capiz experience of 1971, the armed propaganda team had been able to organize five barrio organizing committees but these proved to be insufficient for coping with an enemy campaign of "encirclement and suppression."

These negative experiences are educative for anyone if they were analyzed and summed up. As we have long ago stated, the archipelagic character of the country is at first a disadvantage for us. But through expansion and consolidation, and vice-versa, the guerrilla base areas and guerrilla zones that we can create in the Visayas and Mindanao will cause in the long run a more serious dispersal of enemy forces favorable to all revolutionary forces.

The Party and the New People's Army in Northern Luzon are now getting the concentrated attention of the enemy. Though revolutionary forces here are relatively larger and more advanced than those in other regions, it should be borne in mind that these still have to pass so many severe tests, especially as the enemy keeps on intensifying its campaigns of "encirclement and suppression" here. The regional organization and particular units of the Party and the New People's Army also have had their mistakes and weaknesses. Most of these spring from the great disparity between consolidation and expansion. A squad or a platoon which covers tens or scores of barrios and which does not do well its consolidation work is susceptible to the mistakes and weaknesses of a roving rebel band.

However, it is to the great advantage of the Party and the New People's Army in Northern Luzon that before the enemy could exert pressure on the area in the same manner that he had done in Central Luzon our Party cadres and Red fighters have already learned much from the Second Plenum of the Party Central Committee, from the concrete experience of their comrades in other areas and from their own experience and study. Furthermore,

there are in Northern Luzon such specific conditions favorable to the revolutionary forces as the extreme impoverishment of majority of the people, a mountainous and hilly terrain and a highly diversified agriculture.

As of now, the National Operational Command of the New People's Army cannot easily meet very often inasmuch as its composites, including the commander-in-chief and his deputy commanders, are tied down either to the Northern Luzon Operational Command or the Central Luzon Operational Command. The Military Commission of the Central Committee therefore performs so many functions which in the future can be passed on to the National Operational Command as a whole.

The Party as a whole should exert more efforts to develop more military commanders and more Party cadres adapted to work in the New People's Army. As a result of these efforts, we shall be able to set up capable military subcommissions and regional operational commands. Through intensified political-military training and through actual revolutionary armed struggle, more Party cadres and military commanders will certainly emerge to cover wider battlefronts and fill up the command structure of the New People's Army.

To prepare for the next important stage of development in the growth of the people's army, we need to develop vigorously a sufficient number of cadres who are ideologically, politically and technically competent to lead and command at least twenty regular companies. Our success in developing a strong leadership in the revolutionary armed struggle depends on our success in arousing and mobilizing the people and, of course, on correctly undertaking consolidation and expansion in our mass work. Our Red fighters are drawn from the ranks of the masses and the great bulk of our regular mobile forces will continuously be drawn from local guerrilla and militia units. Our army will march forward victoriously and accumulate strength along the way so long as it can rely on the broad masses of the people.

Building the anti-imperialist and antifeudal united front

The Filipino proletariat as the leading class in the Philippine revolution has sent its most advanced detachment, the Communist Party of the Philippines, into the midst of its most reliable, most oppressed and most numerous ally—the peasantry. An alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry has been forged. This alliance of the toiling masses who compose the vast majority of the Filipino people is the basis for the national united front for people's democracy against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

It is an alliance built by indefatigable mass work in the countryside and tempered by armed struggle under the leadership of the Party. It comes into force in the unity of the proletarian cadres and the peasant fighters in the New People's Army and also in the unity of the proletarian cadres and the peasant masses in the localities.

To develop the peasantry as a powerful force and ally in the revolutionary struggle, we are carrying out a revolutionary class line in the countryside and we are in this regard building an antifeudal united front. We rely mainly on the poor peasants, win over the middle peasants and neutralize the rich peasants in order to isolate and destroy the feudal tyrants and the reactionary armed forces. We also work hard to unite with the agricultural workers in the haciendas. In the forest and mountainous regions, we pay special attention to developing the revolutionary movement among the logging and mining workers and the national minorities. Along the long coastlines of our archipelagic country, we also exert vigorous efforts to arouse and mobilize the poor and middle fishermen.

It is often the case that when we set up the barrio organizing committee there is not a single Communist in the locality and therefore it is only the relationship between the Party in the New People's Army and the peasant masses that bears out the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry. In due time, however, the various organizations for workers, peasants, fishermen, youth, women and cultural enthusiasts emerge to give comprehensive support to the barrio organizing committee.

Subsequently, Party members are recruited from the mass activists of both the barrio organizing committee and the mass organizations. When a local Party branch arises in the barrio, the barrio organizing committee easily matures into the barrio revolutionary committee and the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry becomes firm.

The barrio organizing committee is merely a preparatory committee for the barrio revolutionary committee. The barrio revolutionary committee serves as a full organ of political power and has the character of a local united front government. Party representatives take only one-third of the committee membership. The next one-third goes to the representatives of the poor peasants and the lower-middle peasants; and still the other one-third goes to the representatives of other progressive classes and strata.

Communists do not monopolize discussions, decisions and activities in the overall barrio revolutionary

committee as well as in the five governmental committees on organization, education, economy, defense and health. They also encourage the mass organizations to take initiative. In other words, Communists have faith and trust in the masses and work hard in order to unite with them.

Of course, all barrio revolutionary committees and barrio organizing committees in a municipality are led by the Party section committee or by some higher Party organ functioning in a particular area. But, when circumstances permit, higher levels of the people's government are established. As a matter of fact, we are now on the threshold of establishing people's councils at the municipal level through municipal conferences of delegates from the barrio level.

From the municipal level, it will again be possible to proceed to the establishment of the provincial people's councils through provincial congresses. But before this, the provincial Party committee will directly supervise the municipal people's government at every level. This will embody our united front policy of "three-thirds." Our barrio revolutionary committees are the foundation of our national united policy and are the embryo of the national coalition government or the people's democratic republic of the future.

In the countryside, the proletarian revolutionaries have maintained close alliance with the petty bourgeoisie. The middle peasants are encouraged to join the simple production, marketing and credit cooperatives set up and controlled by the poor peasants under Party leadership. Intimate relations have been developed with both barrio and town schoolteachers, high school students, college students, professionals, artisans and merchants.

Many activists of these petty-bourgeois groups, especially the teachers, students and professionals, are very articulate in promoting the general line of the Party and are very much interested in purchasing and reading our Party literature. Party members have been recruited from the most advanced mass activists of petty-bourgeois background.

We rely mainly on the voluntary contributions of the poor peasant masses and also on production plots of the people's army and the local mass organizations. But aside from these, we are also getting some supplies from the rich peasants, national bourgeois elements, merchants and logging, plantation and mining enterprises. Their support for us and our support for their legitimate interests are expressions of the national united front.

As our political and armed struggle continues to rise and win more victories, we are increasingly in a better position to apply a fair policy of taxation to support the people's government and the people's army. Our united front with and policy of fairness towards the middle bourgeoisie in the countryside is a good preparation for future relations with the middle bourgeoisie in the cities.

We have closely studied and used the contradictions between the reactionary parties and cliques at the provincial, district and municipal levels. There are also contradictions between the lower reactionary leaders and higher reactionary leaders. We have also made practical use of these contradictions to favor the revolutionary mass movement. It is characteristic of the reactionary parties and cliques to control and base their strength on the "barrio councils."

By having alliance with some of the reactionaries against the diehard reactionaries, we have been able to neutralize or win over so many "barrio councils" which are ordinarily dominated by rich peasants or upper-middle peasants and consequently we have been able to conduct independent mass work among the peasant masses with less danger of being reported to the reactionary armed forces or to an antagonistic local police force.

The more violent and bitter the contradictions among the reactionaries, the graver are the abuses committed against the people and the bankruptcy of the reactionary government becomes more exposed. Contradictions among the reactionaries are sharpening every day, every month and every year. These merely widen our area for maneuver, encourage the broad masses of the people to move to us and split the local police force and the reactionary armed forces into warring factions.

The consistent rise of "private armies" serves to aggravate the internal split among reactionaries. The call for "peace and order" hypocritically made by the US-Marcos clique is nothing but a call for its monopoly of arms and the fascist suppression of all democratic forces. The reactionary elections held every two years have irreversibly led to the concentration of arms in the hands of the reactionary cliques. Since the Plaza Miranda massacre of 1971, the rise of "private armies" has been accelerated and the US-Marcos clique has further tightened its grip on the reactionary armed forces.

The danger of Right opportunism has been minimized in the firm efforts of the Party to build a united front that is for armed struggle. But as stated before, our inadequacies in arousing and mobilizing the peasant masses

as the main ally and main support for the revolutionary struggle have created “Left” opportunist tendencies which involve mainly the failure to base our military actions on our actual political strength. In two years of the past three years, we relied mainly on the thin existence of the barrio organizing committees; there was a tendency among us to think that it was enough for armed squads to create and link up these preparatory committees over large unconsolidated areas. In the relationship between the armed squads and the barrio organizing committees, it was often the case that the squad leader simply gave orders to the chairman or the local head for defense on matters that could have been settled through consultations with the local people’s committees and through mass meetings and mass mobilization.

There were great shortcomings in mobilizing the people for the agrarian revolution; the implementation of even our minimum land reform program of reducing land rent and eliminating usury was grossly uneven in areas where we had already an armed force. In our relationship with allies other than the peasantry, there was a discernible tendency to rely solely on the coercive value of our small armed strength.

A great deal more of propaganda and organizational work among the petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie in the countryside could have been done. However, there was no design or line at all to lessen mass mobilization or shunt away possible allies. The Party was simply short of cadres, and those few who were available were lacking in experience. Even now that the number of Party cadres and members has significantly increased, tendencies of the recent past persist.

Even as the danger of “Left” opportunism exists, the danger of Right opportunism does not lurk far behind if we do not go deep enough among the peasant masses or if we do not fully mobilize them for the agrarian revolution. It is a fact that it is relatively easier for us to approach for the first time a barrio that is under the influence of some local reactionaries who ally themselves with us against the reactionary diehards.

But to convert the “barrio councils” automatically into the barrio organizing committee or to dillydally in transforming the barrio organizing committees into barrio revolutionary committees is to allow the old influences of the reactionaries to persist. By being over reliant on temporary allies, we can easily make mistakes in our efforts to create our own independent strength and maintain full initiative. So, whenever our temporary allies betray us, our barrio organizing committees would collapse so easily. That means to say that we do not succeed in leading the peasant masses on a revolutionary course.

The national united front cannot be conceived without an understanding of the relationship between the cities and the countryside. The antifeudal united front and the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside inspire revolutionary mass activity in the cities and impress upon the allies that are centered in the cities to rely on the revolutionary party of the proletariat. Of course, we are in turn inspired by the revolutionary forces in the cities and we receive actual support from them.

Revolutionary mass activity in the Manila-Rizal region has set off a chain reaction of revolutionary mass activity in other urban areas and has also influenced the vast number of people in the countryside throughout the archipelago. Since this carries the great red banner of the people’s democratic revolution, we have gained influence on a national scale far in advance of the actual armed strength that we have. Both the revolutionary workers’ movement and the democratic cultural revolution of a new type have produced and tempered so many mass activists to become Party cadres and members, capable of serving as seeds of the revolution all over the country in both cities and countryside.

The revolutionary workers’ movement is developing fast under the leadership of the Party. This is the logical result of small but steadfast efforts that we have exerted in the trade union movement before and after the reestablishment of the Party. In workers’ strikes where we have Party cadres as trade union members or where we have some other links with the strike-bound union, we have always worked to raise the level of the economic struggle to that of political struggle. In our desire to reach the masses of workers, we have not shirked doing political work within the reactionary trade unions.

Since January 1971, in the course of the mass struggle against the US oil monopolies, we have succeeded in bringing out workers from the factories to marches and demonstrations in several thousands, a number far exceeding workers’ participation in any anti-imperialist mass action during the last two decades. Since May Day of 1971, when once more several thousands of workers came out for mass actions under the red banner of the people’s democratic revolution, we have become convinced that a new level of revolutionary consciousness and activity has arisen among the workers. Undaunted by the May Day massacre, workers have continued to march forward

in increasing numbers. What is more important is that they are doing so in opposition to the yellow labor bosses who have always tried to rein them in.

The resurgence of the revolutionary workers' movement has been spearheaded by the proletarian revolutionaries. But there is no doubt that mass activists of various youth and student organizations have also given valuable assistance to them. The joint efforts of workers and student activists go on today at the picket lines, in mass demonstrations and in study sessions. These signify the wonderful worker-student alliance, the biggest possible alliance of progressive forces concentrated in the city. Such an alliance is exceedingly important and should be developed further. We have as yet so few Party cadres who can work in the workers' movement and they certainly need the support of mass activists of various democratic mass organizations.

These mass activists have contributed a lot by doing propaganda work on the program for a people's democratic revolution in workers' communities as well as in factories where there are no trade unions yet or where reactionary unions reign. At the same time, we are aware of the danger that some wrong ideas and bad influences of the petty bourgeoisie have been brought into the workers' movement to some extent, especially in cases where the workers are not promptly disabused of the notion that only those with higher educational attainment in the reactionary schools can lead. On the opposite side, however, there is the erroneous trend to dismiss nonworker activists as incapable of giving assistance to the revolutionary workers' movement. It is the duty of proletarian revolutionaries to develop firm links between worker and student activists in line with the people's democratic revolution.

We have had to face enormous difficulties in developing the revolutionary workers' movement. The more than two decades that the Lava revisionist renegades have sabotaged its resurgence and also the more than two decades that such labor aristocrats as Lacsina, Cid and Oca have prevailed in the trade union movement have served as stumbling blocks. Yet our Party cadres who could work in the trade union movement have been few in number and many of those few have had to be shifted to the countryside time and again. Thus, for sometime before 1971, we were restricted to leading only a few unions directly and had to work mostly within some reactionary labor federations and unions.

The democratic cultural revolution of a new type in the cities has apparently gone far ahead of the revolutionary trade union movement because of the past more than two decades. However, this cultural revolution has assumed unprecedented magnitude, scale and depth only since the first quarter storm of 1970. Of course, this historical phenomenon was prepared for directly by a full decade of anti-imperialist mass actions launched mainly by the youth (coming from the urban petty bourgeoisie) and partly by the working class.

Upon the advent of the widespread campus strikes of 1969 against the reactionary policies of school authorities, it was already evident that a powerful revolutionary storm would be unleashed by the youth against the entire ruling system. Our reestablished Party has been responsible for bringing this democratic cultural revolution of a new type to heights never before witnessed in Philippine history. This propaganda movement carries the program for a people's democratic revolution, and broadcasts on a nationwide scale the Party's line and slogans on particular issues against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

Aside from proving the leadership of the Party and bringing out the enthusiastic broad mass support for the general line of the Party, the democratic revolution of a new type has unfolded in a big way the great alliance between the revolutionary proletariat and the urban petty bourgeoisie, especially the students, teachers and other professionals, and has also pointed to the urban petty bourgeoisie as a basic force of the revolution with the special task of bringing all other middle forces towards the side of the revolutionary proletariat.

The various mass actions for national freedom and democracy repeatedly launched in the Manila-Rizal region and other urban centers in the archipelago have tempered tens of thousands of mass activists and hundreds of thousands of organized and unorganized masses and have won the sympathy of millions of people throughout the country for the revolutionary cause. Repeated acts of massacre and other criminal abuses perpetrated by the US-Marcos clique have not only failed to stop big mass actions but have served to make them even bigger. The revolutionary martyrs from the ranks of workers and students have always inspired fiercer revolutionary courage among the broad masses of the people.

From the crucible of the democratic cultural revolution of a new type, a significant number of mass activists have come forward to assist the revolutionary workers' movement and also to join the revolutionary armed struggle at several points in the countryside. It goes without saying that many of the mass activists have come forward

to join the Party. The propaganda movement for a people's democratic revolution is guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. This revolutionary theory of the proletariat is now at the core of the revolutionary thinking among mass activists in the cities today.

But there is also quite a lot of chaffy and eclectic thinking among them. Quite often there are some mass activists from among the petty bourgeoisie who are still misled by social-democratic and other reactionary ideas. The policy of the Party is to win over all elements that have revolutionary tendencies through persuasion; this involves at the same time being on guard against all kinds of erroneous ideas being smuggled into the ranks of the revolutionaries.

Hard pressed by US imperialism and Japanese monopoly capitalism, which are now in the paroxysms of crisis and are desperately trying to suck more blood from colonies and semicolonies, the national bourgeoisie is slowly coming to recognize the necessity and importance of allying itself with the revolutionary mass movement. The clamor being made by the left and middle wings of the national bourgeoisie for the nationalization of the economy and the broadening of diplomatic and trade relations is becoming more and more insistent.

Nevertheless, the right wing of the national bourgeoisie entertains hopes of getting into "joint ventures" with the foreign monopoly capitalists and is being drawn by the comprador big bourgeoisie to support the sinister campaign for "incentives" and "national treatment" (another fancy legal phrase to replace "parity rights") to benefit these monopoly capitalists. Blinded by their loyalty to the big bourgeoisie, especially the Soviet monopoly bureaucrat bourgeoisie, the Lava revisionist renegades unite with the Trotskyites in attacking the entire national bourgeoisie. Cloaking themselves as "Left" in this respect, they actually support the big bourgeoisie.

So far, only elements of the national bourgeoisie who are in areas where we are strong have directly given concrete support to the revolutionary armed struggle. The national bourgeois groups and personalities in the cities have deemed fit in the meantime to give concrete support only to the democratic mass organizations in the cities, especially in the Manila-Rizal region. In due time, the national bourgeoisie will extend support in greater amount to the revolutionary mass movement as they will recognize more the need for a national united front. The national bourgeoisie is weak and many of the present organizations it belongs to are dominated by the big bourgeoisie.

The executive, legislative and judicial branches of the reactionary government and the current reactionary constitutional convention are basically opposed to national democratic demands. The national bourgeoisie has some representatives in both the Nacionalista Party and the Liberal Party but these parties are dominated by the powerful representatives of the big bourgeoisie and the landlord class. Since the national bourgeoisie does not yet have any close alliance with us, there is yet no immediate danger of being outwitted or smothered by them. What is even needed today is to gain more support from them for the armed revolution. The danger of political error at the moment lies in allowing some of our Party members to think that the national bourgeoisie is completely reactionary.

We employ national united front tactics on reactionaries not only at the local level but also at the national level. The Nacionalista Party and the Liberal Party and various groups within each divide the ranks of the reactionaries in many ways. Should the ruling clique of the ruling party or any combination of cliques decide to launch an anti-communist onslaught, we can have some temporary alliance with the other reactionaries in order to parry off the blows of the enemy diehards and destroy our enemies one by one.

It is well proven in history that whenever the reactionary diehards resort in desperation to fascism they try not only to destroy the illegal opposition but also all kinds of legal opposition. In this light, we can appreciate the correctness of our position in having some temporary alliance with all kinds of opposition that the US-Marcos clique attacked after the Plaza Miranda massacre of 1971. A temporary alliance with some reactionaries against other reactionaries is a necessary part of general efforts to immediately bring the majority of the people to a common front against the common enemy, as sharply shown in World War II in the national united front against the Japanese fascists.

It is at times when the national united front is broadened to the extent that some reactionaries are included that the danger of Right opportunism is most acute. For example, within the Movement of Concerned Citizens for Civil Liberties during the period of the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, the reactionaries tried to monopolize the speakers' platforms and restrict all mass organizations to promoting only one official manifesto which misrepresented the revolutionary masses as beggars of concessions from the common enemy, the US-Marcos clique. While the Right opportunist tendency of capitulating to the reactionaries surfaced, certain Party members

went to the other “Left” extreme of immediately leading mass activists to denounce the leadership of a certain mass organization without any prior discussion and settlement of problems within the Party.

The armed struggle of the national minorities in Mindanao for self-determination and land is of national significance and of great importance to the Party. The emergence of this armed struggle has to some extent divided the attention of the enemy and lessened its capability of concentrating overwhelming armed forces in Luzon. Objectively, the armed struggle in Mindanao and our revolutionary armed struggle in Luzon help each other. In this sense, we have a united front with the national minorities in Mindanao. Though there is yet no formal agreement with them, their leaders do understand that revolutionary armed struggle elsewhere in the country helps their struggle for self-determination and democracy.

A significant number of youth organizations from the national minorities in Mindanao have taken the line of people’s democratic revolution and have allied themselves to revolutionary mass organizations, as well shown in their repeated joint mass actions in Manila-Rizal, Eastern Visayas and Mindanao. Some of the youth from the national minorities have also taken the initiative of requesting us to give them political-military training and they have received such training in our guerrilla base areas and guerrilla zones in Luzon. In the process, a few Maguindanaos, Maranaos and Tausugs have become members of the Party.

To bring the armed struggle to a higher level in Mindanao, we have dispatched Party cadres there with the explicit instructions of having a united front with the present rebel leaders, especially on the question of self-determination and democracy, and of building our own independent strength by stressing the land question among the peasant masses of the national minorities and by uniting them with the poor settlers against the landlord and the landgrabbers, irrespective of religious beliefs. We have also sent Party cadres to areas in Mindanao that are populated predominantly by poor settlers from Luzon and the Visayas.

The US-Marcos clique is deliberately fanning the flames of religious strife so as to obscure the real problems of Mindanao and impose its fascist rule. It has deployed there large armed forces under Christian chauvinist officers and has armed the “Ilagas” (lumpen proletarian elements of Christian chauvinist mentality) to split the national minorities from the poor settlers, drive them away from their lands and to massacre them repeatedly. The real targets of the revolutionary movement are US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

Because it is facing an avalanche of mass resistance all over the country, the US-Marcos clique is frantically demanding bigger military appropriations for increasing troops and equipment of the reactionary armed forces under the pretext of a “self-reliant defense posture.” At the same time, US imperialism is obsessed with providing war materiel for the reactionary government in line with the “Nixon doctrine.”

It has become too clear to the broad masses of the people that US imperialism and its local reactionary stooges protect their oppressive and exploitative system by armed force and that these can be overthrown only by revolutionary armed force. The brazen parasitism and brutality of the reactionary armed forces is daily exacerbating the people’s suffering from inflation, higher taxes, shrinking income, severe unemployment, bureaucratic corruption and so many evils of the ruling system. Under these conditions, the national united front is gaining strength rapidly.

We are vigorously trying to build the national united front of workers, peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie. In all our efforts at building this, we are implementing the policy of developing the progressive forces and winning over the middle forces in order to isolate the enemy diehards. Our most important efforts are now being exerted in the countryside as earlier explained. The local organs of political power that we are setting up are the foundations of the future People’s Democratic Republic of the Philippines.

Even as we are setting these up, we have created a special organ, the Preparatory Commission of the National Democratic Front, to help the Central Committee in winning over allies in the cities and to prepare the way for the National Democratic Front as an intermediate step towards the people’s democratic republic. However, we are not in a hurry to set up any formal national united front organization. The national united front is basically a policy of the Party regarding classes in Philippine society. The results of the work of the Preparatory Commission for a National Democratic Front are not surprisingly very limited at this stage because the revolutionary armed struggle has still to develop further.

In waging revolution in our country, we as Communists never fail to relate our efforts to the world revolution. We are both patriots and internationalists. The Philippine revolution is part of the world proletarian revolution. The broad masses of the Filipino people are in the world anti-imperialist struggle, and together with other peoples

of the world they face common enemies.

US imperialism is the biggest foreign exploiter and oppressor of our people and is also the most vicious protector of the big bourgeoisie and the landlord class. Japanese militarism is resurgent and its zaibatsus have once more invaded our country under the sponsorship of US imperialism. Soviet social-imperialism has the Lava revisionist renegades as its advance agents and these specialize in counterrevolutionary anti-Party and anti-people activities while donning the mask of anti-imperialism.

We welcome anything in the world that serves to divide, weaken and destroy all these imperialist forces. All defeats suffered by them in the hands of the revolutionary peoples abroad are also our victories. In the spirit of proletarian internationalism, we are performing our own share of liberating mankind from the scourge of imperialism by fighting US imperialism and all its running dogs in the Philippines.

The main trend in the world today is revolution. And, as we scan the world, we can also see that countries want independence; nations want liberation; and people want revolution. There is no doubt that the international united front is growing even stronger. Close to us, the Chinese people continue to advance in their socialist revolution and are even determined to liberate Taiwan. Close to us, the Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian peoples are fighting fiercely for national liberation and national salvation in the main battlefield against US imperialism. We ourselves are actively in the midst of the revolutionary armed struggles of the peoples of Southeast Asia.

In Northeast Asia, the Korean people are determined to reunify their fatherland and the Japanese people are vigorously resisting the resurgence of Japanese militarism and the scheme of making Japan the fugleman of US imperialism in Asia. In the Middle East, the Palestinian and Arab peoples persist in their revolutionary struggle against Israeli Zionism and against the two superpowers, US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. In the Asian subcontinent, the Indian and Pakistani peoples also persist in their struggle against US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. All over Asia, Africa and Latin America, the people's anti-imperialist movement continues to cut down the areas for unhindered exploitation by the imperialist powers.

As the world anti-imperialist struggle reaps great victories, all capitalist countries are wracked by deepening crisis and by the powerful revolutionary movements of their own people. They find themselves more and more at odds with each other as each one tries to relieve itself of its own crisis at the expense of the others. Their contradictions become more severe and disruptive of the old counterrevolutionary alliances as they continually maneuver against each other to redivide the world or that increasingly small part of the world which they can still redivide. Under such circumstances, the international united front against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction can be easily broadened, strengthened and moved up to fight the imperialist monsters one by one while they are in disarray.

The Party Enters Its Fifth Year Since Reestablishment

Ang Bayan special release, December 26, 1972

The Communist Party of the Philippines has successfully undergone the test of four years of difficult revolutionary struggle since the Congress of Reestablishment on December 26, 1968. By keeping to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, this revolutionary party of the proletariat has steadily grown and steeled itself in the crucible of armed revolution against armed counterrevolution.

The emergence of the US-Marcos dictatorship has only served to show the utter bankruptcy of imperialist and feudal rule and to underscore the fact that the Communist Party of the Philippines is the party that is most prepared and most capable to lead the broad masses of the Filipino people in the life-and-death struggle for national freedom and democracy.

As the Party enters its fifth year since its reestablishment, it has to fight ever more vigorously and ever more militantly against a fascist dictatorship that knows no bounds for its puppetry, brutality, corruption and mendacity. A new and higher level of revolutionary struggle has come about; conditions for waging armed revolution against armed counterrevolution are more than ever excellent. The widespread criminal abuses of the fascist dictatorship have not cowed the people but have roused them to exert greater revolutionary efforts along the course charted by the Party and the proletariat.

The Party develops the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, viewpoint and method

Because it is firmly founded on the theoretical basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the Communist Party of the Philippines is bound to outlast the US-Marcos dictatorship. Under the impact of the revolutionary movement resolutely led by the Party, the US-Marcos dictatorship is bound to be swept away into the dustbin of history. This fascist dictatorship is a mere passing phase in the evil career of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. On the other hand, the Party shall live on as the revolutionary leader in the national-democratic and socialist stages of the Philippine revolution.

The determination of the Filipino people to achieve national freedom and democracy is most concentrated in our Party which, acting as the most advanced detachment of the proletariat, constantly strives to apply the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought on the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution. Among Party cadres and members, the works of Marx, Engels, Stalin and Mao Zedong are disseminated, read and studied in order to shed light on the Philippine revolution and develop the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, viewpoint and method.

The scientific teachings of Marxism-Leninism are the reservoir of revolutionary strength for the Party and the people. As the Philippine revolutionary struggle intensifies, the persistent struggle of the Party against modern revisionism, purveyed by the Soviet social-imperialists and the Lava revisionist renegades, is serving well the cause of national freedom and democracy. The Party remains firm in striving to fulfill its central task of overthrowing the reactionary state and can more easily than before its reestablishment avoid the pitfalls of subjectivism, either in the form of dogmatism or empiricism.

The Central Committee has always taken the lead in the Party in giving a national form to Marxism-Leninism. It has issued comprehensive and concrete analyses of Philippine society and revolution. It has not allowed a single major national issue or problem to pass without concrete analysis and without expression of a definite political stand. It has issued timely statements against the puppet and comprador-landlord US-Marcos dictatorship, exposing its fascist character and defining the current tasks of the Party.

The plan to provide Party members and candidate-members with primary education on Marxist-Leninist principles and on Philippine society and revolution is well fulfilled. The Central Committee and the regional committees are working hard to carry out the intermediate and advanced courses of study. In line with their Marxist-Leninist education, Party cadres and members at every level and in every unit of work sum up their work on a regular and timely basis. Criticism and self-criticism is carried out in order to rectify errors, improve the style of work and raise the level of work.

The Party maintains its political leadership in the revolutionary struggle

The Communist Party of the Philippines has asserted its leadership in the Philippine revolution by correctly

setting and pursuing the general line of the people's democratic revolution against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. It draws strength from the revolutionary armed struggle that it is indefatigably waging in the countryside and from the national united front that it is patiently developing. Having a full grasp of the correct political programme, the Party can avoid major errors of policy, such as Right opportunism and "Left" opportunism, or rectify them whenever they occur.

The New People's Army is the Party's principal instrument for bringing together the proletariat and the peasantry, for carrying out the agrarian revolution, for building mass organizations in the countryside and for establishing local people's government in preparation for nationwide seizure of political power. It has been steeled by persevering revolutionary struggle against fascist counterrevolution. It has not only preserved itself against military "task forces," the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus and now the declaration of martial rule and the advent of a full-fledged fascist dictatorship but has continued to advance and wipe out enemy forces in ever increasing numbers.

The New People's Army has wiped out landlord despots, including incorrigible bad elements, and several thousands of enemy troops since 1969. Since the formal declaration of martial rule, it has wiped out enemy troops at an accelerated rate far exceeding any previous rate and on a rapidly expanding scale. More guerrilla base areas and guerrilla zones are arising in every major region of the country. Furthermore, the Mindanao national minorities are now politically and militarily coordinating with the Party and the New People's Army. But what is most fearsome to the enemy is that the Party has provided the New People's Army and the peasant masses the Revolutionary Guide for Land Reform in order to systematize, expand and intensify the agrarian revolution and fulfill the main content of the people's democratic revolution. The land reform hoax of the US-Marcos dictatorship is bound to go the way of all such hoaxes in the past in the face of the agrarian revolution.

The political and economic crisis of the ruling system has become so grave that the US-Marcos dictatorship has been set up to oppose the rising tide of the revolutionary movement. This fascist dictatorship is in line with the "Nixon doctrine" and is specifically calculated to retain and enlarge US imperialist and comprador-landlord interests in the country. The Marcos constitution rammed through the 1971-72 reactionary constitutional convention reflects the malevolent schemes of the US imperialists and their most rabid running dogs. The new turn of events in the Philippines demonstrates the common bankruptcy of the fascists, revisionists and various stripes of reformists who have harped on the line that the "new constitution" is the "last hope of the people."

In the present situation, the national united front is expanding rapidly as a result of the wanton assaults of the US-Marcos dictatorship on the broad masses of the proletariat, peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. Among those assaulted are also the Liberal Party, certain sections of the Nacionalistas, the overwhelming majority of the legal press, the national minorities and others who have opposed the flagrant abuses of the US-Marcos clique. The fascist dictatorship has in effect isolated itself from the broad masses of the people and at the same time aggravated its violent conflicts even with other reactionaries. The imposition of the present fascist rule is the culmination of the second Plaza Miranda massacre and all other massacres perpetrated by the US-Marcos clique.

The Party is enthusiastically bringing together all democratic classes, groups and personages in a broad national united front against the US-Marcos dictatorship. The most solid expression of this united front is the establishment of local organs of political power in countryside. The barrio revolutionary committees and barrio organizing committee being built in guerrilla base areas and guerrilla zones, respectively, serve as the basis for the development of the national united front and the people's democratic government. Having revolutionary foresight, the Party has seen fit to put these committees in their proper context by issuing the Guide for the Establishment of the People's Democratic Government.

In the cities, the Party is also actively striving to bring together a broad range of allies who look forward to a coalition government on a nationwide scale and who are at any rate contributing what they can to the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside. Despite enemy assaults, the workers' revolutionary movement and the cultural revolution continues to advance. The many democratic mass organizations, especially those in factories, schools, communities and offices, have gone underground. But they continue to conduct mass work and effective propaganda against the US-Marcos dictatorship. At the same time, so many mass activists who are in the blacklist of the enemy have been integrated into the New People's Army.

Party members are drawn from the ranks of the revolutionary masses

The Party continues to draw its members and candidate-members from the ranks of Red fighters and activists in the mass organizations and localities. The Party has a broad mass character. Its cadres and members are tested revolutionaries with the capability of leading large numbers of masses. Furthermore, the Central Committee has during the last two years been quite successful in deploying cadres to all major regions of the country and in creating provisional and duly elected regional committees which have in turn created Party branches and groups in units of the New People's Army, localities and mass organizations.

Largely due to its correct ideological and political line, the Party has been able to develop its present organizational strength. It has now a few thousands of Party members and candidate members. But this number is still small in relation to the gigantic tasks at hand and ahead. Many functions are still crying for more revolutionary cadres. As a matter of fact, most members of the Central Committee are tied down to regional work. Because of the infancy of the Party, violations of democratic centralism and sectarianism do occur at certain levels and in certain areas. However, these mistakes are being vigorously counteracted by the Central Committee and the whole Party.

Since last year's suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, efforts have been intensified to develop the revolutionary underground on an extensive scale. Thus, upon the imposition of martial rule, the Party has been able to avoid the crushing blows of the enemy. It now functions as the core of a much-expanded underground. However, there is a continuing need to develop the underground and the system of communications between the Party center and the regions and within the regions. The enemy is hell-bent on employing its superior system of communications to its advantage and to deliberately trying to cut off one area from another. So far, we have been able to counteract his tactics and circumvent or penetrate his blockades. We are also determined to disrupt his system of communications. Every unit of the Party and also every unit under Party leadership should strive for self-reliance. Also, the style of hard struggle and simple living should characterize all Party cadres and members while they exert all efforts to improve the people's livelihood by carrying out the agrarian revolution, the workers' strike movement and other like struggles. The Party should see to it that the people's democratic government and the people's army are supported not only through contributions, taxes and confiscations but also through productive activities.

The Philippine revolutionary struggle enjoys the support of the world's peoples

The revolutionary struggle led by the Communist Party of the Philippines is immensely supported by the great achievements of the Chinese people in socialist revolution and socialist construction, the victorious advance of the Indochinese people against US imperialism, the revolutionary struggles of all other Southeast Asian peoples and the revolutionary unity of the Chinese, Japanese, Korean and other peoples of Asia against US imperialism and Japanese militarism

The revolutionary struggles of the Palestinian and Arab peoples against Israeli Zionism and the two super-powers; of the Africa peoples against colonialism, neocolonialism and racial discrimination; of the Latin-American peoples against US imperialism; of the Eastern European peoples against Soviet social-imperialism; of middle-sized and small countries against big-power chauvinism and nuclear blackmail; and of all working people in capitalist countries also constitute powerful support to the Philippine revolution.

The revolutionary struggles and victories of the peoples of the world have drastically weakened the imperialist countries to the core and lessened the area for unhindered imperialist exploitation and oppression. US imperialism is increasingly finding itself hemmed in and in contradiction even with its own capitalist kindred, like Japan, Western Europe and the Soviet Union. Suffering serious setbacks all over the world, US imperialism is increasingly unable to cover up its deep-seated contradictions with the American proletariat and people. The revolutionary mass movement in the United States is steadily gaining ground.

Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations the world over are increasing in number and raising their fighting prowess. They serve as the guarantee for the advance of the world proletarian revolution. They lead the peoples of various countries in a resolute struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is determined to lead the Philippine revolution from victory to victory. It is exerting all efforts to arouse and mobilize the Filipino people, achieve the people's democratic revolution against US imperialism and its local running dogs and fulfill its share in the liberation of mankind from the scourge of imperialism.

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought!

Unite to overthrow the US-Marcos dictatorship!

Fight for national freedom and democracy!

Expand and intensify the revolutionary armed struggle!

Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory!

Down with US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism!

Long live the Philippine revolution!

Long live the Filipino people!

The Communist Party of the Philippines Enters the Seventh Year since Reestablishment

First published in Vol. VI, No. 4, December 26, 1974

The Communist Party of the Philippines now enters the seventh year since its reestablishment on December 26, 1968. The broad masses of the people and the rank and file of the Party and the New People's Army have great cause for rejoicing in this fact.

Year after year the Party has accumulated revolutionary victories and proven itself as the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat in the protracted struggle for national freedom and democracy against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

There is no party today in the country that is more tempered and more qualified ideologically, politically and organizationally to lead the revolutionary struggle for the broad interests of the people against the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique.

Victories of the Communist Party of the Philippines

The reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines on the theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is a victory without which the Philippine revolution could not have taken a single step forward during the last six years. We have followed the principle that ideological building is the first requisite for Party building. Thus, we have vigorously propagated the scientific proletarian principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao and sought to apply them on the concrete conditions of our own revolutionary struggle.

The treasury of Marxist-Leninist works is so vast. But we have put stress on the reproduction, translation and circulation of those works that are most fundamental and most relevant to the present stage of the Philippine revolution. These works have reinforced our primary and intermediate courses of study and have also been of such a latitude as to allow anyone to do advance reading, especially for the advance course of study.

We have promoted not only the reading of Marxist-Leninist works, regular study classes and theoretical conferences for the purpose of achieving a comprehension of the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method but also the application of such a stand, viewpoint and method through researches into the history and current circumstances of our people as well as social investigation at the grassroots for the purpose of ensuring and enhancing correct revolutionary activity.

Our struggle against Soviet modern revisionism and the Lava revisionist renegades has been very fruitful. This has served to heighten our ideological and political level. This has served us to seek a better grasp of the revolutionary ideology of the proletariat and guard against our own weaknesses and negative tendencies. Correct ideas flourish in contention with wrong ideas.

Total victory has been decisively won against the Lava revisionist renegades. Before their shameless open surrender to the fascist puppet dictatorship, these traitors, hooligans and swindlers were defeated ideologically by our Party. We have stood in the forefront, together with the Communist Party of China and other Marxist-Leninist parties in combating Soviet modern revisionism and social-imperialism. Our Party enjoys a high prestige not only within the country but also throughout the world.

Under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, especially that of Chairman Mao on revolution in a semicolonial and semifeudal county, we have correctly adopted the general line of people's democratic revolution through a people's war over a protracted period of time. The strength of the Party lies in its correct ideological and political line. We owe to this line every victory that we have won in the face of enemy military task forces, the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus and more than two years of unbridled fascist martial rule. A newly reestablished party with an incorrect line would have collapsed in the face of such enemy onslaughts.

The Party has scored a victory in preserving and tempering itself against such powerful odds. But the victory does not stop there. The Party has dealt hard blows against the enemy and has gained political strength by courageously leading the New People's Army and promoting an antifascist national united front.

The New People's Army created and led by the Party stands today as the only revolutionary army that the broad masses of the people have against the fascist counterrevolution in all regions of the country, with the exception of Southwestern Mindanao where the Bangsa Moro Army is fighting for national self-determination. In every major region in the country, we are engaged in guerrilla warfare.

Our people's army has grown from a few guerrilla squads and a few rifles in one province in 1969 to several guerrilla companies and hundreds of rifles, distributed to several strategic points in the archipelago. In many areas we are now capable of wiping out whole enemy squads and in a few areas we are also capable of wiping out whole platoons and half-companies.

Our Party has struck roots in the regions of Cagayan Valley, Ilocos-Montañosa-Pangasinan, Central Luzon, Manila-Rizal, Southern Tagalog, Bicol, Eastern Visayas, Western Visayas and Mindanao. We have won a victory in being able to shift Party cadres and members from Manila-Rizal to various other regions and from the cities to the countryside under extremely adverse conditions. Being a newly reestablished Party, enjoying the advantageous conditions provided by the first quarter storm of 1970 and the succeeding upheavals, we could not have one-sidedly attended to work in the countryside.

The Party has laid the main stress on mass work in the countryside. We adhere strictly to the strategic principle of encircling the cities from the countryside, where the people's army can be built and fight over a long period of time. Under the leadership of the regional Party committees, created and nurtured by the Central Committee, the New People's Army is developing guerrilla base areas and guerrilla zones.

The Party within the people's army and the localities is the leading force in the building of the organs of democratic political power, mass organizations of various types and local armed forces of various types. In this regard, we have carried out an antifascist and antifeudal united front policy of relying mainly on the poor peasants and farm workers, winning over the middle peasants and other middle elements to participate in the armed resistance and encouraging the rich peasants, local entrepreneurs, enlightened landlords and anti-Marcos power groups to support the resistance in one way or another against fascism and the worst of feudalism.

On a wide range in both urban and rural areas, we are indefatigably developing a national democratic front which involves developing the leadership of the proletariat through the Party, forging the basic alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry, winning over the urban petty bourgeoisie as a basic revolutionary force toiling masses and encouraging the national bourgeoisie and the anti-Marcos sections of even the comprador-landlord class to support the armed resistance against the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique.

The antifascist underground has developed well. Being a party that has taken the road of armed revolution soon after its reestablishment, we have maintained the lead in building an antifascist underground spanning the entire archipelago and ranging over the rural and urban areas. Our allies have their own underground networks. And underground committees and groups of a united front character have been established.

A number of regional Party and army organizations have achieved self-reliance, especially in the areas of fierce fighting where there is no recourse but to be self-reliant. The productive efforts of the people, people's army and mass organizations have often been disrupted by enemy military operations. But even then our army units have not ceased to live and work with the people through thick and thin. We have succeeded to some extent in land reform work and tax collection and our allies have been generous to us.

The Party is still small and weak. We have barely started to fight. We are still in the early substage of the strategic defensive in our protracted people's war. But certainly we have the strength to help destroy the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique within a relatively short period of time, especially now that the domestic crisis and the world crisis of capitalism are daily worsening. Our participation in the antifascist united front is of decisive significance even now.

Whatever we have achieved can never be properly appreciate. without a consideration of the difficulties that we have had to overcome and the sacrifices and martyrdom that have had to be incurred.

We started from scratch. The grave errors of the Lava-Taruc opportunists and revisionists had deprived us of the gains made by the people in previous revolutionary struggles. And we have had to fight soon after the Party was reestablishment an armed struggle against a crescendo of armed reaction in a small archipelagic country, which is under the sway of one imperialist power and where there is neither an open war among the reactionaries nor an inter-imperialist war.

The Party members in general are deeply imbued with a conscious iron discipline and spirit of self-sacrifice and service to the people. They recognize the rigors and risks of revolutionary struggle and they constantly remold their thinking so that they can do their revolutionary duties better with no fear of death or sacrifice and with no thought of seeking high positions, fame or wealth. Their honor lies in living, working and, if need be, dying for the revolution.

Only a handful of traitors and misfits have dropped out of Party ranks. They come into the sharpest contrast with those who have suffered martyrdom and those who have withstood torture in the hands of the enemy. They are shamed by the overwhelming number of Party members who have persisted in revolutionary struggle and who continue to increase. Indeed, the Party itself is not exempt from the universal law of contradiction.

Favorable conditions for advancing the revolution

The objective conditions in the Philippines are more than ever favorable for advancing the revolution. The fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique has only served to aggravate the political and economic crisis of the Philippine ruling system. In the entire semicolonial history of the Philippines, there has never been a regime more brutal, more servile, more corrupt, more bankrupt and more disorderly than the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique. In other words, there has never been a regime more hated by the broad masses of the people since the end of World War II.

The fascist dictatorship has not only failed to crush the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army but has also created the conditions for them to enjoy the highest prestige among all antifascist forces and to increase their strength in many respects throughout the archipelago.

The armed struggle for self-determination carried out by the Moro National Liberation Front and the Bangsa Moro Army has only intensified and expanded as a result of the criminal actions of the fascist regime. This struggle has served to weaken the enemy in every region of the archipelago.

The terror effect of the Marcos rightist coup has worn off and the situation is perking up for all antifascist forces. Because of the raging economic crisis, the fascist dictatorship will only hasten its downfall should it resort to terror worse than it has already unleashed. The weaknesses of the fascist dictatorship are already showing in its admission of the economic crisis and its increasing pretenses at reconciliation with its victims.

More and more leading elements of what the fascist dictator has sweepingly categorized as the Right have started to fight back. Marcos is now the one terrified by the united front between the Left and all other antifascist forces. His berserk attacks against all political forces and organizations that were in any degree critical of him has left him all alone at dead center.

The split within the reactionary ranks is not only something between some expatriates in the United States and the fascist dictatorship. Significant sections of the Catholic clergy and laity, some local power groups and anti-Marcos groups within the reactionary armed forces have started to stir. Marcos now is definitely more terrified by the possibility of a coup d'etat against him and his fascist clique than by the military operations of our people's army. Certainly, he is most terrified by the combined strength of the antifascist united front which has already isolated his regime.

US imperialism has already gotten all that it wants from its fascist puppet and it calculates that it can keep these better by changing horses. It would not stake its interests on one puppet alone, especially when that one has become more of a liability than an asset in the face of the raging antifascist revolutionary movement. US imperialism is adept at making scapegoats out of its own puppets.

At this time, Marcos is already caught in a dilemma between maintaining the rigidity of his rule and opening the floodgates of public condemnation. Either way, he is bound to fall ignominiously. He cannot escape an ignominious downfall, except by going promptly against his own imperialist master and changing to some extent acceptable to the people the antinational and antidemocratic character of his regime.

Marcos has left himself with no quarters by slavishly giving way through the Marcos constitution to US privileges far exceeding those under the 1935 constitution and the Party Amendment and by reversing principles settled by decisions in the Krivenko, Quasha and Luzteveco cases. He gains no new quarters by continuing to make anti-communist onslaughts. The Party always gives the highest priority to fighting its worst enemy.

All the bluff and bluster of the fascist dictator about "peace and prosperity" of his "new society" is gone. He cannot deny the misery and disorder of this old semicolonial and semifeudal society gone worse than ever before. He himself fallaciously said that autocracy and political tyranny are justified and tenable only when these bring about economic prosperity. But the truth remains that autocracy and political tyranny become even more unjustified and untenable under conditions of worsening economic misery.

Soaring prices, rampant unemployment, food shortages, continuous devaluation of the currency, increasing tax burden, excessive foreign and local borrowing, depressed prices of traditional exports and large trade deficits, increasing foreign domination of the economy and accelerated remittance of profits by US and other foreign

monopoly capitalists and unbridled deficit spending for the parasitic military, nonproductive projects and grossly overpriced infrastructure projects—these are the economic characteristics of the fascist dictatorship.

The fascist dictatorship shamelessly takes the utmost pride in suppressing the workers' trade union rights, particularly the right to strike, and in keeping Philippine labor cheap for the US and other foreign monopoly capitalists to exploit. The rate of unemployment and that of disemployment are running high and the soaring prices of basic commodities are ruthlessly eroding the stagnant wages of workers who manage to remain on their jobs.

The Marcos "land reform program" is all a farce. The "temporary land transfer certificates" are mere pieces of paper that tell the peasants that they can never afford to buy land from the landlords. Not a single poor peasant has acquired a single square inch of land from any landlord. On the contrary, the peasant masses are the principal target of enemy military operations and are required to render extra tribute through various organizations imposed by the fascist regime. Large tracts of land have been rapaciously seized from poor settlers and the national minorities for the benefit of US and Japanese agro-corporations. Feudal and semifeudal exploitation reigns with intensified rapacity in the countryside.

The urban petty bourgeoisie do not only find their democratic liberties suppressed but also find their fixed salaries or small nonsalary incomes assailed daily by the inflation. The national bourgeoisie find themselves pushed out of business more than ever before by the foreign monopoly capitalists.

Millions upon millions of the people suffer intolerable exploitation and oppression. In the face of the fascist tyranny, they see no way out but to support or participate in the armed revolution. Marcos is our best teacher on state and revolution by negative example. Long after his downfall, the profound education being gained by the people now will continue to undermine foreign and feudal domination.

The fascist dictator disclaims responsibility for the economic crisis just as he disclaims the massacres, arson, torture and other barbarities committed by his regime. Before Proclamation No. 1081, he blamed everyone else but himself for the crisis. But now that he has a monopoly of reactionary authority and responsibility, he blames the entire world for the graver crisis that has arisen.

Marcos cannot explain away his own culpability by simply referring to the "world crisis" or "crisis caused by outside forces." It is true that the crisis of US imperialism and the entire world capitalist system and the heavy toll of the two superpowers' struggle for world hegemony and arms supremacy are shifted to semicolonial dependents like the Philippines in a more bitter form. But it is equally true that the fascist dictatorship is culpable for unbridled puppetry to US imperialism.

The corruption of the Marcos fascist clique is one big multiplier of the ills transmitted to the country by US imperialism. Marcos enjoys being a puppet to US and other foreign monopoly capitalists because he is well bribed for being so. This arch oligarch knows no bounds for amassing wealth in both stockholdings and lands. There is not a single privilege, concession, license, contract or loan agreement of some considerable value that does not involve a share for him.

The present crisis of US imperialism and the entire world capitalist system has been the severest and most turbulent since the end of World War II. The results for the Philippines are terrible. Inflation is imported through the commodities that are imported and the big comprador and bureaucrat capitalists combine to make the inflation even worse. Because of the breakdown in their industrial production at home, the foreign monopoly capitalists seek to maintain a high rate of profit by depressing the prices of raw materials from the developing countries like the Philippines. At the same time, they accelerate the remittance of profits on direct and indirect investment here and impose more and more loans that carry extremely profitable terms for them.

Like the US imperialists, Marcos harps on the line that the oil-producing Arab countries are responsible for the current world inflation. There has never been a more absurd line, especially as he obscures the role of the US oil majors and also the fact that developing countries have to cope with the crisis caused by the imperialists in the first place.

The most profound causes of the present crisis of the world capitalist system lie in the two superpowers' struggle for world hegemony and arms supremacy, the accumulated defeats of US imperialism in wars of aggression, the wanton overprinting and overspending of US dollars abroad and the imperialists' profligate consumption of the world's resources.

Under the pressure of the world capitalist crisis, the fascist dictatorship has encouraged trade relations with the People's Republic of China and has gone so far as to acknowledge interest in diplomatic relations. It is entirely

correct for China to remain firm on its policy of developing relations with the Philippines on the basis of the Five Principles of peace coexistence.

Any step towards full diplomatic relations between China and the Philippines constitutes a further defeat of the old anti-China policy of US imperialism, a counteraction to the two superpowers and a development of the relations between the Chinese people and the Filipino people, no matter what may be the subjective wishes of the Philippine reactionary government. The policy of peaceful coexistence is an integral part of the proletarian foreign policy of a socialist country.

China's relations with the Philippines serve to take advantage of a breach in the traditional hold of US imperialism over a semicolonial dependent and therefore serve in a certain way to support the Philippine revolution. Nevertheless, the relations between a socialist country and a reactionary country are distinct from the relations between the ruling class or clique and the revolutionary masses in the reactionary country.

The objective conditions in the world are favorable for advancing the Philippine revolution. US imperialism is in rapid decline and there is great disorder between this superpower and the other superpower, Soviet social-imperialism. Countries wanting independence, nations wanting liberation and the people wanting revolution are isolating and dealing hard blows on the two superpowers.

China and other socialist countries continue to make great advances in socialist revolution and construction as well as in their international relations. The Third World, including China as a developing socialist country, is firmly conducting an anti-imperialist struggle for national independence and state sovereignty. The lesser capitalist countries are also increasingly at odds with the two superpowers.

Even as they continue to oppose revolution and the people and create the illusion that there is detente and diminution of their arms expansion and war preparations, the two superpowers are ceaselessly contending for spheres of influence, sources of raw materials, fields of investments and strategic positions. They keep on creating disorder and resorting to foul acts that threaten world peace and stunt the progress of mankind.

But then, they merely create conditions on which revolutionary movements thrive. The revolutionary forces are confident of winning victory in their respective countries because of their just cause and self-reliant efforts and also because the two superpowers are encircled ring upon ring by countries, nations and the people fighting for their legitimate interests.

Tasks of the Communist Party of the Philippines

We have stated situation our accomplishments and presented the overall situation. Inevitably, the tasks that the Communist Party of the Philippines must carry out need to be laid down. In this regard, problems that we face must also be pointed out. A firm grasp of the problem does not only clarify the tasks but also the methods for carrying them out.

To everyone interested in raising his ideological level, reading and studying Marxist-Leninist works are indispensable. But to do so exclusive of the concrete conditions of the Philippines is to fall into dogmatism. To muddle through in practice without theoretical guidance is to fall into empiricism. Both trends of subjectivism must be combated.

The problem of dogmatism arises not simply because we devote our attention exclusively or mainly to the reading and study of Marxist-Leninist works. The fact is that we are not yet well-read and well-versed in these. The fact is that we are still ill-experienced. Indeed, we are a newly established party,

To combat subjectivism, we must apply ourselves to the task of linking revolutionary theory to revolutionary practice. Certainly, we must diligently read and study the Marxist-Leninist works and thereby grasp the fundamental laws of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. But the point is to link these with our concrete practice of the Philippine revolution.

To do so is not simply to plunge into practice and let practice pile on practice. Researches into the history and concrete circumstances of the Philippines must be continuously done. Social investigation of varying scope must be made wherever we are. Our practical activity must be summed up periodically and at critical junctures. In any case, the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, viewpoint and method must be applied. Of course, there is a division of work in the making of researches, social investigation and summings-up. But these are done to raise the ideological level and deepen the knowledge of the entire Party within and outside of regular courses of study.

There are those who do not delve into the specific characteristics of the Philippine revolution. They engross themselves with looking for similarities between the Philippine revolution and other revolutions abroad and

disregard the differences. They are obsessed with simple parallelisms and analogies. They forget that principles and basic lessons may be drawn from revolutionary experience in other countries but these should not be superimposed mechanically on our own history and current circumstances. They forget that the soul of Marxism is the concrete analysis of concrete conditions.

There are those who pick out the biography of a great communist leader and impose this or parts of it on everyone as the sole measure of being a revolutionary. There are those who content themselves with reciting quotations and casting labels without investigation and analysis of the situation. There are those who move from one barrio to another without any social investigation and delivering the same set speech in the style of a preacher.

Even in the handling of the Party's basic documents, which are certainly attempts at linking revolutionary theory with revolutionary practice, there are those who cannot place matters in their correct historical context and would rather learn by rote what they can and forget all about what they cannot. Terms that we have used in critical writings against the Lava revisionist renegades who misled the Party for more than thirty years and who sabotaged a relatively large people's army are indiscriminately applied on anyone irrespective of circumstances and scope of responsibility.

Those who are relatively better read within the Party come from the petty bourgeoisie. If they do not cut off their petty-bourgeois tails, the Party members from the toiling masses would always be able to insist that their individual knowledge is better founded on experience, no matter how limited. Definitely, there is much more learning to be found among the toiling masses than among petty-bourgeois elements who regard books as fetishes to impress people with. The correct thing to do is to let our Party members who are better read and those who are barely literate to help one another and advance together ideologically.

2. We have already pointed out that we are still in the early substage of the strategic defensive in our protracted people's war. We are not yet strong enough to be mainly responsible for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique. However, we can state correctly that we, together with the Moro National Liberation Front and the Bangsa Moro Army, have been mainly responsible for keeping alive the antifascist armed resistance and that we can make a significant contribution to an antifascist united front capable of overthrowing this regime within a relatively short period of time.

There are several possibilities regarding the life of the Marcos fascist dictatorship. One is that it will be extirpated by a coup d'état, sooner or later. Before this can occur, US imperialism will have to seriously reckon with what will already be a hard-hitting broad antifascist and anti-imperialist armed movement, supported or joined, in by anti-Marcos local power groups. Another possibility is that the Marcos regime will stay long because the New People's Army remains the only antifascist army fighting the enemy in the entire archipelago with perhaps the continued exception of southwestern Mindanao.

A related possibility is that Marcos' "normalization" gimmick will hold because the anti-Marcos reactionaries will capitulate completely under some arrangement designed by US imperialism. The remote possibility is that the fascist puppet regime will promptly change its antinational and antidemocratic character to some extent acceptable to the people and develop Sino-Philippine relations as a full anti-imperialist weapon in the face of an anti-Marcos coup plan that is inspired by US imperialism and is intractably against us. We must be ready for every possibility and hold on firmly to our guns.

What is already a serious crisis of the ruling system will grow far worse in the coming year. The problems of the fascist puppet dictatorship will not be relieved by US imperialism. On the contrary, these will be aggravated by the much-worsened crisis that US imperialism itself is suffering from. On this score, we must act with ever greater confidence and perform our revolutionary tasks with ever greater militancy. United and determined to march forward, we can take full advantage of the disorder and chaos within the ruling system.

In adopting any policy, we must be fully aware of the specific conditions and be sure that our aim is realizable with the forces available on our side. The aim carried by the policy should mean a definite advance in our revolutionary struggle. The policy must be well understood by the Party cadres before it can be promoted and carried out among the masses. What constitutes Right and "Left" deviations should be pointed out at every phase in the implementation of that policy so that corrections and adjustments can be made.

We are fighting a people's war and we are doing so on the scale of guerrilla warfare. We cannot but fight on the basis of our own historical circumstances. We did not inherit a single rifle from the previous armed struggles of

the people, which had been sabotaged by the Lava-Taruc revisionists and opportunists. We were able to start only by seizing a few rifles from the completely new stock of the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique in 1969. There is no open war among the reactionaries in the areas where we have been and there is neither an inter-imperialist war directly involving our country.

It is absolutely correct to implement the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside. We the proletarian revolutionaries must build our army among the peasant masses. The countryside is the most extensive arena for our strategic defensive and tactical offensives. But we must also consider that our countryside is shredded, with the two largest islands Luzon and Mindanao set apart by the clutter of the Visayan islands in what is already a small country. To offset the narrowing effect of the archipelago on our fighting fronts, we must strive to achieve width and depth in our maneuvers by making full use of rough and well-forested terrain.

The problem with concentrating our small forces on such a terrain is that we deal more with homesteaders with their own freeholdings than with peasants suffering on the spot from the inequities of land ownership. Thus, if the entire revolutionary guide for land reform were to be considered, it can be said that we have not accomplished much in land reform work. But this is not to say that we are not dealing with feudal and semifeudal practices in the hinterlands and in the adjoining plains.

We have no choice but to develop guerrilla warfare first in the frontier areas. There are the landgrabbers and usurers to deal with here. The reactionary government no less is the big landlord disposing of the land arbitrarily after the homesteaders have cultivated it. In the plains, our underground forces can approach land reform by adopting measures on the crop still in the fields, which cannot be guarded twenty-four hours a day by the landlord and his running dogs.

Especially because we are waging guerrilla warfare, we must have a very flexible strategy and tactics. We have no regular mobile forces to embody the principle of a concentration in relation to guerrilla forces that embody that of dispersion. We have to consider principal and secondary tasks, forces and directions as well as concentration, shifting and dispersion on a scale of guerrilla squads and platoons. Under these conditions, it is a difficult problem to carry out a policy of annihilation.

The regional Party committees can start solving the of maintaining and developing at least a platoon of full-time guerrillas fighters in each fighting front rather than by assigning the three squads to points or areas so far apart that they cannot help each other. A reasonable radius must be defined wherein the squads can concentrate or disperse to their advantage and wherein they can consolidate and expand within a reasonable period of time. Guerrilla base areas and guerrilla zones must be created and maintained commensurate to the strength of the guerrilla forces.

We must pay close attention to the dangers of adventurism and conservatism. We are adventurists when we make offensives unwarranted by the limited and superficial mass work that we have so far done in the area. We are conservative when we have developed sizable mass support and a wide area of maneuver and fail to attack enemy units we are well capable of 'annihilating. If we neither conduct mass work nor wipe out enemy units, we cannot expect to grow from small and weak to big and strong.

We must good the guerrilla tactics taught by Chairman Mao, which consist mainly of the following points: Divide our forces to arouse the masses, concentrate our forces to deal with the enemy. The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue.

To extend stable base areas, employ the policy of advancing in waves; when pursued by a powerful enemy, employ the policy of circling around. Arouse the largest numbers of the masses in the shortest possible time and by the best possible methods.

The only way by which we can heighten the effectiveness of our guerrilla units is to arouse, organize and mobilize the broad masses of the people. As a matter of fact, we cannot make any start in guerrilla warfare without painstaking mass work. We must build the organs of democratic political power, the mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth, women, children and cultural activists; and the local armed forces, like the half-time local guerrillas, the militia, self-defense corps and demolition teams.

Under conditions of fascist martial rule, the enemy commits all kinds of barbarities to force the evacuation and reconcentration of the people (as in certain parts of Cagayan Valley and Bicol) and set up "civilian home defense forces" (as anywhere our operations have caught enemy attention) in order to destroy our guerrilla base areas and guerrilla zones. We must vigorously arouse and mobilize the people to oppose these impositions which

wreak havoc on their lives.

Before shifting to another front, because we do not wish all our guerrilla forces to be caught in a decisive engagement in one front, we must recruit as many of the people's local armed forces as possible into our full-time forces, implant among the people underground units apart from those that may be easily pointed out to the enemy by renegades and assign a stay-behind guerrilla force to harass the enemy forces.

While the bulk of enemy troops are tied down in fighting the people of southwestern Mindanao and in protecting the fascist dictator in Manila, we must develop the guerrilla base areas and guerrilla zones in every region in the country and respond to the people's demand for armed revolution against armed counterrevolution. It is our stand that the development of guerrilla warfare nationwide is the best defense and support for every guerrilla base area and guerrilla zone. It is the nationwide concert of our self-reliant guerrilla forces in different islands that will weaken the enemy and strengthen us.

In line with developing nationwide guerrilla warfare, we must go by the principles of centralized leadership and decentralized operations. The regional Party committees must maintain initiative in their respective regions. All Party cadres and members must learn how to find their own bearing. Self-reliance and the style of simple living and hard work must be promoted.

Even as a regional Party organization is concentrated on developing one, two or three fighting fronts, a wide range of underground network should be developed for purposes of intraregional propaganda, communications and for liaison with the Central Committee. Two kinds of underground network must be developed: one that is exclusively Party network and another that has a united front character.

We must build the underground not only in the countryside but also in the cities among workers and other urban poor, the urban petty bourgeoisie, businessmen and other forces that may be brought in the antifascist united front. We must assign Party cadres and members who can move about legally to urban work. Anyone who can no longer work effectively in one place must be shifted to another place where he can work effectively.

3. The Party membership remains small despite all previous prodings, including an 'expansion plan with a minimum and maximum multiplier. Our policy of boldly expanding our membership and not letting in a single undesirable stands. The broad masses of the people are seething with hatred for the enemy and the political work conducted by so few of us has been very fruitful. Conditions are favorable for increasing our membership; we are aware of so many who are eager to join the Party. Our enormous tasks demand that we must cast away sectarianism.

It is true that for sometime after the declaration of martial rule the recruitment of Party members was disrupted. The most militant progressive elements were subjected to repression and were regarded by the enemy as indicators of the Party organization. But there has been more than enough time to overcome the disruption. We must not let the number of Party members remain stagnant while the enemy continues its wild attempts to crush us.

We can turn a bad thing into a good thing. Under fascist martial rule, those genuinely eager to join the Party are ready to suffer a thousand cuts to overthrow the emperor. We must open the door for them and welcome them. There is a great advantage that their entry into the Party is under conditions of far greater secrecy than ever before and their training is immediately in the underground or with the people's army.

Even before the fascist martial rule, the recruitment of Party members was already painfully slow. It seemed as if the typical Party member never asked himself how good a Party member he remained by failing to develop others into becoming Party members. Our rate of organizational growth has continued to be extremely low.

We have long clarified that recruitment into the Party involves Party members recommending the most advanced elements from the revolutionary mass movement and the people's army, providing them with basic Party education, giving them tasks and assigning them to a definite Party branch or group.

The regional Party committees are entrusted with the task of combating sectarianism and enlarging our Party membership. They must submit as soon as possible to the Central Committee their recruitment plans. Upon our organizational growth, we can assume greater responsibilities and move forward in our revolutionary struggle.

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Down with the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique!

Long live the people's democratic revolution!

Uphold the unity of the Party and give full play to the initiative of the regional Party committees!

Strengthen the New People's Army and underground in both rural and urban areas!

Take advantage of the ever worsening crisis of the local ruling system and US imperialism!

Down with the two superpowers!

Long live the third world and all anti-imperialist people of the world!

Long live Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought!

Long Live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

First published in *Ang Bayan*, Special Release, December 26, 1975.

It has been seven years since the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines on the theoretical basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. The concrete practice of the Party in pushing forward the Philippine revolution has been exceedingly militant and fruitful.

The achievements of the Party consist of giving a vital national form to Marxism-Leninism and clarifying the general line of the people's democratic revolution; forging an unbreakable unity through criticism and self-criticism and through resolute struggle against the enemy; defeating the revisionist renegade line of the Lavas and the Tarucs; disseminating the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao; applying democratic centralism and nourishing the committee system and collective life among its members; recruiting its members from the ranks of revolutionary mass activists and Red fighters; creating nine regional Party organizations which cover the entire country; establishing the New People's Army soon after the Party reestablishment and laying down the strategy and tactics of the people's war in the Philippines; developing guerrilla warfare in well chosen areas in every region outside Manila-Rizal; building mass organizations, full-time guerrilla units and local armed forces, local organs of political power and various types of underground organizations; and arousing and mobilizing the broad masses of the people on a scale unprecedented in the entire history of the old merger party that was liquidated in 1955 by the Lava revisionist renegades.

It is very heartening that the Party has succeeded since early 1973 to deploy to and recruit most of its members from the countryside and the regions outside Manila-Rizal in the spirit of developing the armed struggle as the main form of struggle against the ruling system. It is equally heartening that by an accurate accounting the strength of the New People's Army under the absolute leadership of the Party has grown on a nationwide scale from March 29, 1969 to September 21, 1972 and from this latter date to the present. Severe setbacks have been suffered in some regions at various times during the period of fascist martial rule but these have not brought down the general level of armed activity and have been more than compensated by both recovery and expansion.

The achievements of the Party are paid for in blood and in many forms of sacrifice on the part of the heroic masses and Party members to whom we must pay the highest tribute. There is not a single segment of the Party, not a single regional organization especially, which has not come under the tremendous pressure of vicious enemy attacks, including the most unbridled fascist onslaughts during the last more than three years. Lack of vigilance, isolation from the masses and reluctance to shift when necessary have resulted in unnecessary sacrifices.

We are on the whole well-tempered and resilient in the face of enemy onslaughts and capable of growing in strength and advancing the revolutionary cause. But ours is still a small party with capability falling far short of fulfilling the gigantic tasks of the revolution and the urgent demands of the masses. Whether in the guerrilla fronts or nonguerrilla fronts, in rural and urban areas, or elsewhere, all Party members must seize the hour and the day to perform the deeds that cry out to be done. There is no room for complacency.

The road of revolution, especially an armed revolution fought in our specific conditions, is not a straight and well-paved boulevard. It is rough and has many twists and turns. It is a grave mistake for anyone to imagine that everything is set and ready like a plate of sumptuous food when one enters the Party or a line of work in the Party. We must know the historical background, current circumstances and perspective of our Party and those of any specific line of work. Even when a higher level of activity is reached, there is no end to the task of overcoming difficulties, rectifying errors and weaknesses and solving both big and petty problems.

The objective conditions for making revolution in the country and in the world are excellent more than ever before. All that we need to do is to enlarge and strengthen the subjective forces of the revolution on a self-reliant and independent basis in the country and strive to translate the worsening disorder in the ruling system and in the imperialist-dominated world into local advantages. The Central Committee is determined to provide ever more effective leadership to the Philippine revolution.

We must exert all efforts to enlarge and strengthen the Party, the New People's Army and the national united front. We must uphold the class leadership of the proletariat through the Party and expand the ranks of the Party on the basis of revolutionary activism, persevere in the protracted people's war as the main form of our

revolutionary struggle, create more full-time guerrilla squads and local armed forces, carry out a genuine land reform program step by step, build the basic mass organizations in the countryside and cities, broaden the revolutionary forces through the united front and launch every possible popular movement along an antifascist, antifeudal and anti-imperialist line. The enemy can concentrate its forces only at a few points at every given time in the vast countryside. Thus, there are always large areas which are relatively favorable for us and where we can conduct social investigation and mass work; set up mass organizations, local armed forces, Party branches and organs of democratic political power; and launch mass movements centering on the land question. Expansive political work is possible, especially because the people's hatred for the fascist regime is deep-seated, widespread and now loudly spoken out. Things become more difficult for the enemy when the guerrilla forces make good use of mountainous and forested terrain in combination with the plains and illegal methods in combination with legal and semilegal methods.

By doing political work on ever widening scale among the peasant masses, including the farm and nonfarm workers, our small guerrilla units can give full play to their mobility, shiftability and capacity for surprise against the enemy. They would thus be able to seize the initiative and wipe out small and weak enemy units where they can and are least expected, while making the enemy punch the air and exhaust itself in areas where it launches massive and prolonged "search and destroy," "clear and hold," "base denial" and other campaigns and operations.

A storm far larger and stronger than the first quarter storm of 1970 and subsequent events is brewing in the Manila-Rizal region and other urban areas. Current manifestations show that the proletarian masses and the urban petty bourgeoisie will swell the ranks of those in democratic mass organizations but unlike before the former will far outnumber the latter. The Party must work hard to unleash the storm in the correct direction.

The fascist regime of the US-Marcos clique is in an isolated and precarious situation. Marcos' dynastic ambitions in preparing Mrs. Marcos as his successor in case of his untimely death are futile and shameless. As the CIA "ins" in the Marcos regime are thinning out to join the CIA "outs," it does appear that the Marcos fascist gang is consolidating its position but it also appears that US imperialism is putting the saddle on another horse. The trick of changing horses is an old one in US-dominated countries. At any rate, the broad masses of the people can never lose sight of US responsibility for the fascist dictatorship.

Whoever is at the helm of the Philippine ruling system has to contend with an ever increasing political and economic crisis. So long as the counterrevolutionary evils of fascism, feudalism and puppetry to US imperialism persist, the broad masses of the people under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines will continue to resolutely carry out a revolution that accords with their national democratic interests.

It has become clear to everyone that Marcos has thoroughly undermined the very ruling system which he professes to save. The toiling masses of workers and peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie and other middle forces have been so oppressed that they are convinced of the necessity of revolutionary armed struggle not only against Marcos but also against the ruling system. Even the big compradors and big landlords who have been persecuted and squeezed out by the Marcos clique of big compradors and big landlords want to remove Marcos by armed force.

Marcos has exceeded the limits in foreign and internal borrowing and taxation for purposes of conjuring illusions and counterproductive projects, enriching himself and his clique and beefing up the reactionary armed forces. At the same time, the US and other foreign monopolies are accelerating their profit remittances through transfer pricing and are depressing the prices of the country's raw-material exports. There is runaway inflation. Unemployment and depressed wage conditions are rampant. The pesos is continuously being devalued at a rapid rate. Graft and corruption is blatant at every level of the civil and military apparatus of the state.

US imperialism will always find it more difficult than before to prop up any puppet regime in the Philippines. This superpower will continue to extort special military and economic privileges and accelerate the extraction of superprofits on investments, loans and trade and thereby arouse the people to wage ever fiercer resistance against it and its local stooges.

The handwriting on the wall spelling the doom of US imperialism is already clear in Southeast Asia as a result of its stunning defeat in the hands of the heroic Indochinese people. Definitely, there is a relative and temporary hardening of the US position in the Philippines. But as time passes, US dominance in the Philippines will be eroded and will ultimately crumble under the stress of a persevering revolutionary struggle of the Filipino people and

various types of pressures from abroad.

The Philippine revolution enjoys the support of the revolutionary peoples abroad. It also derives support from the antifascist struggles of the third world. The rivalry of the two superpowers for world hegemony and their ceaseless war preparations on top of an insoluble crisis of the entire world capitalist system cannot but undermine US dominance in the world at large and in the Philippines.

While we recognize that between the two superpowers US imperialism is still the No. 1 enemy of the Filipino people, we must also be alert to the aggressive and expansionist character of Soviet social-imperialism. Right now, the Lava revisionist renegades who are the advance party of Soviet social-imperialism are surrenderers to and instruments of the Marcos fascist gang against the Party, the people and the revolution. But they talk among themselves about their pipe dream of someday making full use of Soviet social-imperialist support for bigger trouble-making.

After seven years of revolutionary armed struggle since reestablishment, the Communist Party of the Philippines has become well-rooted ideologically, politically and organizationally and is more determined than ever to grow in strength and advance further. It is confident of confronting all kinds of odds and overcoming them. By firmly and skilfully wielding the two powerful weapons of armed struggle and united front, the Party is certain of leading the Filipino people from one victory to another until the national democratic revolution is completely won. No superpower or local reactionary clique can stop the revolutionary movement of the masses who are aroused and mobilized to take their destiny into their own hands.

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Down with the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique!

Down with US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism!

Long live the Philippine revolution!

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought!

Our Urgent Tasks

This document was drafted in May 1976 and subsequently published as a final Central Committee document of Communist Party of the Philippines in *Rebolusyon*, Vol. I, No.1, July 30, 1976.

This is a statement of the urgent tasks of the Communist Party of the Philippines in the light of the Third plenum of the Central Committee and the most recent circumstances. Here included are the conditions, forces, methods, trends and reasons involved in carrying out such tasks.

We must unite wholeheartedly and firmly to carry out these tasks for the single purpose of winning the life-and-death struggle against the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique and in the process carry forward the people's democratic revolution in a comprehensive way.

Each one of us in the Party must take as much assignment and responsibility as possible, fearing neither hardship nor sacrifice and always devoting ourselves to serving the people. All of us must exert the utmost effort to lead our people towards national liberation and social emancipation.

1. Carry forward the antifascist, antifeudal and anti-imperialist movement!

We must resolutely carry forward the antifascist, antifeudal and anti-imperialist movement. This is the current combative expression of our general line of people's democratic revolution against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The Marcos fascist dictatorship is the main force of armed counterrevolution and is ruthlessly conducting a civil war. Thus, we must give first place to the antifascist movement. We must do everything we can to push forward the democratic armed revolution against the fascist armed counterrevolution.

Everywhere in the country we must focus on the abuses of the Marcos fascist dictatorship. In the entire semi-colonial and semifeudal history of the Philippines, there is no regime more infamous than this for the political tyranny and economic crisis it has unleashed against the broad masses of the people.

The "new society" (variably calling itself "constitutional authoritarianism", "crisis government" and now lately "new democracy") is but the old society gone far worse and far more intolerable. The reactionary state has shown itself of all its bourgeois democratic embellishments and is nakedly acting as the coercive instrument of the big comprador-landlord-bureaucrat clique of Marcos and US imperialism.

We have the Marcos fascist dictatorship as the narrowest and weakest target on which to concentrate the broadest and strongest possible attack by the people. But to achieve the most profound, most wide-ranging and most forward results in the antifascist movement, we must deliberately and clearly link it to the antifeudal and anti-imperialist movements. It is only thus that we can effectively strike at the very essence and main body of the reactionary state.

Otherwise, we would be merely calling for the restoration of formal democratic rights and worn-out processes of the ruling system. Like bourgeois democrats, and not proletarian revolutionaries, we would be going after forms and we would be missing the content of a people's democratic revolution.

To deepen the antifascist movement, we must vigorously wage the antifeudal movement. By doing so, we develop the main force for overthrowing or causing the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship. We respond no less to the main demand of the people's democratic revolution and win the abiding interest of the most numerous class, the peasantry, in the armed revolution.

To raise the level of the antifascist movement, we must vigorously undertake the anti-imperialist movement. We must make US imperialism pay the ultimate price for having masterminded the Marcos fascist dictatorship and having been the most aggrandized by it. The longer Marcos stays in power, the stronger the anti-imperialist movement should become.

So long as we pay comprehensive attention to the antifascist, antifeudal and anti-imperialist movement, there is no chance for US imperialism and the local reactionaries to confuse the people and derail the revolution one day by simply replacing the current fascist dictatorship with another.

The Marcos fascist dictatorship is a measure of the weakening and desperation of the entire ruling system, rather than of strengthening and stability. This open terrorist rule is the absolute proof that the ruling classes can no longer rule in the old way.

The political crisis continues to worsen. The split among the reactionaries has continued to widen and become more virulent. The revolutionary mass movement, under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat, has proven to be resilient and has expanded and intensified, instead of being crushed by the fascist counterrevolution.

Though at first taken by surprise by the ultra-rightist coup, Marcos' political rivals have gone on to disseminate anti-Marcos propaganda in their so-called bailiwicks and maneuver for influence in the very same reactionary armed forces manipulated and used by Marcos for his fascist autocratic purposes. In the years to come, the gun will become more important than ever in the conflicts of the reactionaries.

The alliance of the Macapagal, Aquino, Lopez and Manglapus groups is not idle. Though US imperialism continues to get what it wants from the Marcos fascist dictatorship, it has already assured this alliance that it should do what it can to stand in reserve in the face of Marcos' gross unpopularity. US public opinion and certain US business interests recognize the fact that even as the Marcos fascist dictatorship is a short-term asset for US imperialism, it is a long-term liability.

The Marcos fascist dictatorship has given no quarters to its political rivals. The ultra-rightist coup of the executive against co-equal branches of the reactionary government, against the constitutional convention and against all kinds of opposition carried extremely vindictive measures. Properties have been extorted for the personal gain of Marcos and his henchmen. The Marcos press monopoly and other Marcos assets in far larger enterprises consist mainly of robbed property.

The series of fake referendums have in progression served to merely endorse the arbitrary martial law proclamation and the autocratic rule of Marcos. The "new" constitution, the indefinite non-convening of the interim national assembly, the supplantation of national and local elections by presidential appointment and the projection of Imelda as second-in-command and successor of the fascist dictator close every peaceful avenue to political power for Marcos' political rivals.

The broad masses of the people have suffered most from the fascist counterrevolution. More than 95 percent of victims of illegal mass arrests and mass detention, massacres, assassination, torture, forced mass evacuation, illegal searches and looting, sexual molestation, bombardment, extortion and the like come from the ranks of ordinary people. Hundreds of thousands have become victims of direct physical abuse by the fascists.

At least three million people have been displaced, especially in the countryside, through fascist intimidation. People have been forced to abandon their homes, crops and small landholdings due to enemy "counterinsurgency" campaigns, expansion of corporate farming, "infrastructure" projects and real estate speculation.

The elimination or drastic diminution of political and economic rights and opportunities is causing incalculable suffering to the broad masses of the people. In such a situation, more people are liable to suffer oppression of the most direct and brutal kind.

The mass organizations of national-democratic character and the critical press are banned. The workers are deprived of their right to strike and the effective exercise of their trade union rights. The right of the peasants to self-organization is sabotaged by military operations and by the imposition of the "samahang nayon." The students, together with their teachers, are under close guard and even student governments and publications are prohibited.

Every means of democratic expression is shut off. All forms of mass action opposing fascist, feudal and imperialist abuses are expressly prohibited. Even private conversations are liable to be considered "rumormongering." Ownership and operation of even mimeographing machines and other minor printing equipment are also severely restricted. There are not only the written penalties but also the far more severe penalties imposed by the fascist torturers, murderers and extortionists.

Under the suffocating fascist martial rule, the broad masses of the people have no course but to fight back. They learn daily to resist their enemy. The Marcos fascist dictatorship has stood out as the best teacher by negative example. The learning process is so deep-going that the people increasingly detest not only the Marcos fascist dictatorship but also the entire ruling system.

The Marcos fascist dictatorship has, instead of effecting "peace and order," fanned the flames of armed resistance. The New People's Army, led by the Party, has only strengthened itself and expanded in the face of fascist abuses and barbarities. There are now tested guerrilla forces of the people's army in all regions outside Manila-Rizal.

The armed resistance for self-determination among the people of southwestern Mindanao has been ignited

and fueled by the abuses of the Marcos fascist dictatorship. This has constituted a great though indirect support to the revolutionary armed struggle of the New People's Army.

A revolutionary underground is thriving all over the country. This is composed mainly of basic revolutionary forces led by the Party. Allied forces and other antifascist forces also have their own underground activities. In time to come, a powerful groundswell will overthrow the Marcos fascist dictatorship.

The Marcos fascist dictatorship is extremely isolated and under fire from all directions. Contrary to its wishes, it cannot be at the center of a "balancing act" between left and right. It is the ultra-right. It has made itself the target of a broad antifascist movement.

The economic crisis has rapidly worsened, making the core of the political tyranny more rotten everyday. This crisis is generated by the Marcos fascist dictatorship through its own profligacy and corruption, and its subservience to US imperialism which is shifting the burden of its crisis to a semicolonial dependent like the Philippines.

All our Party cadres and members must be well acquainted with the fast changing economic data in the country as a whole and in the local areas where they are, so that they can give clear substance to their propaganda and agitation.

Prices have been soaring since 1970 but these have been soaring even more rapidly since the imposition of fascist martial rule. Price increases have been by several hundreds of percent since 1972. Imported commodities lead the way. The repeated oil price increases obtained by the US oil companies alone have been a major factor in pushing up prices in the country.

Severe scarcities of locally produced commodities have been occurring and have been pushing up prices because the main focus of the fascist regime is to encourage production of raw materials for export and build up the "infrastructure" for it. Domestic prices of exportable commodities have risen so fast because exports are being made without prior attention to local needs. Food production is also grossly inadequate and food requirements are dependent on imports.

The income of the toiling masses are forced down to yield high profits to the US and other foreign monopolies and the local exploiting classes. Wage levels have sunk too far below the price of basic commodities. The wage increases recently announced by the fascist regime do not correspond to the inflation since 1970 and can be completely circumvented due to the loopholes provided by the antilabor fascist regime.

It is openly admitted in watered-down statistics of the reactionary government that the purchasing power of the peso has gone down from 1965 to 1970 to 74 centavos and more rapidly from 1970 to 1975 to 33 centavos. This is bad enough. But the fact is that the purchasing power of the peso has certainly gone down to far less than 20 centavos.

According to no less than the National Economic Development Authority, the top economic agency of the fascist regime, a worker must earn ₱45.00 daily for his family to subsist. Another agency, the Private Development Corporation of the Philippines, has also arrived at the slightly higher figure of ₱46.00. Even when applied faithfully, the new minimum wage of ₱10.00, ₱9.00 and ₱7.00 for nonagricultural workers in Greater Manila, nonagricultural workers in the provinces and regular agricultural workers, respectively, are far below the level of subsistence.

Unemployment is more rampant than ever. Forty percent of the employable population is without employment. This exceeds the chronic level of 25 percent noted in 1970. Most of the unemployed are in the countryside, under the guise of being irregular farm workers. Many of the unemployed continue to flock into the cities to look for jobs that are not available.

There is no land reform whatsoever. It is a big hoax, obvious from the very start. The tenant masses have been merely offered to buy land from their landlords at prohibitive prices. The bogus land reform has been used as cover for divesting the tenant masses of their tenancy rights, for arranging high fixed land rent and promoting usury, for expanding corporate farming and for enriching the Marcos-controlled corporations on fertilizer, pesticide and farm equipment sales contracts with the reactionary government.

US and other foreign investors are encouraged to extract superprofits on their direct investments, loans and trade. Restrictions that should have fallen on US investments upon the termination of the Parity Amendment and the Laurel-Langley Agreement have been overridden by obnoxious antinational provisions of the Marcos constitution and presidential decrees enlarging those privileges already available to foreign investors in those foreign

investments incentives laws before fascist martial rule.

US investments and assets amount to far more than the well-known figure of \$3.0 to \$4.0 billion and comprise 85 percent of all foreign investments. Ownership is often camouflaged by the various nationalities of US multinational firms.

The US monopoly capitalists, followed by the Japanese, have increased their direct investments, especially in banking, investment houses, mining, oil exploration, foreign and local trading, plantations, repackaging and re-assembly, real estate and the like in accordance with their schemes of quick profit and misshaping the economy. The basic character of the economy remains as semifeudal as ever, restricted to being a producer of raw material and consumer of finished products from abroad.

Foreign loans with usurious rates of interest and other onerous conditions are being rapidly unloaded on the Philippines by the imperialists. Whereas the foreign debt of the Philippines stood at \$2.2 billion at the end of 1972, accumulated through seven years of Marcos misrule, it now stands at more than \$5.0 billion after only three years of fascist rule. This is already far beyond the critical point. New and bigger loans have been incurred to pay old debts, thus, there is no end to the enlargement of the debts. What is most silly is that those who take most advantage of these loans are the foreign investors and the Marcos clique of big compradors and big landlords.

The deficit in the balance of trade has gone beyond the \$1.0 billion level in comparison to the few hundreds of millions of US dollars three years ago. It is still mounting. A greater volume of exports at lower prices is being made, while a greater volume of imports at higher prices is being made. With their tighter stranglehold on the local financial system, the foreign monopoly capitalists are using foreign trading more rapaciously than ever before to camouflage the remittance of superprofits.

The deficit on the balance of payments keeps on rising. It went beyond the level of \$500 million at the end of 1975 and is now approaching the level of \$1.0 billion. As usual, bigger foreign loans are resorted in order to cover the deficit. Taking aside the private foreign exchange deposits in commercial banks, the international reserve fund of the Philippines is composed almost entirely of foreign loans in the process of being rapidly spent and replenished by new borrowing.

A great deal of foreign loans incurred by the Marcos fascist dictatorship has been used to put up ill-planned and inflationary "infrastructure" projects beneficial essentially to the foreign investors and the local exploiting classes. The purpose is not only to make propaganda out of showy public works but also to enrich the fascist dictator and his henchmen through contract-pulling, kickbacks and real estate speculation. Marcos has controlled interests now in the major local construction firms and related companies.

The manipulation of public works is an old bureaucrat-capitalist method of self-enrichment which Marcos has indulged in an unprecedentedly colossal manner. "Infrastructure" projects are always priced high above the actual inflationary trend. A major part of the "cost" of every construction project represents the corruption of the fascist dictator and his top henchmen. The burden that is the fascist dictatorship's profligacy and corruption is always passed on to the people in the form of higher taxes and higher toll charges or service fees.

The tax burden has increased abruptly so many times. This increased from ₱6.6 billion in 1972 to ₱14.3 billion in 1974 and has continued to rise. And yet revenues of the reactionary government fall far short of expenditures. The budgetary deficit for fiscal year 1974-75 is ₱5.0 billion, almost equivalent to the total budget of only a few years ago. Aside from foreign borrowing, the fascist dictatorship has had to resort to heavy local borrowing. At ₱20.7 billion in fiscal year 1974-75, the local public debt is now rapidly approaching ₱30 billion, skyrocketing from the 1972 figure of ₱9.7 billion.

The new development in the budgeting of the reactionary government under fascism is the rapid increase of appropriations for the military and the number one position of military expenditures. Before fascist martial rule, expenditures for public education and public works always vied for the top position, with those for the military running a poor third. Out of the total 1974-75 expenditures of ₱18.5 billion, the share of the military is more than ₱4.0 billion, including some ₱1.0 billion for intelligence.

On the whole, the expenditures of the reactionary government has been mainly for beefing up the personnel and equipment of the reactionary armed forces, increasing salaries and privileges of military officers, purchasing office materials and vehicles, acquiring public works equipment, paying private contractors, maintaining the general payroll, servicing public debts and the like. In every money transaction involving the fascist dictatorship, there is the inevitable cost that goes for graft and corruption.

There is no economic development whatsoever. Deterioration is the precise word for it. The gross national product is no gauge for economic growth. The transactions of the reactionary government, the foreign monopoly capitalists and the local exploiting classes compose the bulk of this gross national product. Also, this can be no basis for per capita income. More than 90 percent of the people live the lives of the exploited workers and peasants.

The broad masses of the people are suffering the worst kind of life since the end of World War II. They demand their democratic rights and the improvement of their livelihood. With the Marcos fascist dictatorship resorting to brutal methods to escape responsibility, the broad masses of the people have no choice but to engage in various forms of resistance.

The workers are clamoring for higher wages and their right to strike. They must lift themselves from the miserable life of extremely low wages and the rapidly rising prices of basic commodities. Benefits hard-earned through several decades of workers' struggle have been eliminated or drastically reduced. While opposing the workers' interests, the fascist regime subjects the workers' pay checks to withholding taxes and various kinds of special levies. There is no way out but to undertake the strike movement.

Despite the fascist prohibitions, the masses of workers have gone on to make strikes, slow-downs, sit-down, delegations, trooping the offices, demonstrations and other forms of mass protest. The more than seventy worker strikes and four street demonstrations between October last year and June this year is a signal for far bigger storms to come in Manila-Rizal and other areas. The workers have proven that they can stand firm against fascist intimidation and in many cases have actually won some of their demands.

The peasant masses are opposed to the rapidly rising costs of their subsistence and production, the military operations against them and the people's army, the higher land rent and loss of tenancy rights under the bogus land reform, the onerous conditions of the supervised credit system (Masagana 99), the heavy levies exacted under the samahang nasyon and the barangay, the depression of their real income, the loss of homestead rights and the expansion of corporate farming.

The soil for the revolutionary antifeudal movement and armed struggle in the countryside is more fertile than ever before. Everywhere the peasant masses welcome the people's army. Without this condition, the small and weak people's army would not have grown in strength and would have been crushed by the enemy. Even in cases where the Red fighters were forced out from an area by extremely large enemy forces, they immediately come upon a favorable situation in the area to which they shift.

The urban petty bourgeoisie are also hard pressed by the economic crisis and feel abused by the antidemocratic policies of the fascist dictatorship. Their limited and often fixed incomes are ravaged by inflation. Those who own some small enterprises or practice some profession resent the ever-increasing taxes. The intelligentsia resent the Marcos press monopoly and are steadily gaining courage to speak out their minds and act accordingly.

The student masses and some of their teachers are stirring. Being the most concentrated section of the intelligentsia, apart from those in the government service who have to act more cautiously, they are steadily manifesting their service against not only the repressive conditions in campuses but also the rampant evils of the fascist puppet dictatorship in society as a whole. They are an effective link of the urban petty bourgeoisie to the toiling masses.

The national bourgeoisie are discriminated against in favor of the foreign monopoly capitalists. They are being forced into bankruptcy or absorption by the foreign monopolies to which even retail trading has been given back. The fascist dictatorship keeps on increasing the tax burden on them. They resent the fact that while taxes are collected from them, there is no effective representation of their interests.

There are groups and groups among the national bourgeoisie opposed to the Marcos fascist dictatorship. They are steadily speaking out their minds in legal organizations, forums and pamphlets. Some of these groups are secret in nature and hanker for some solution like the assassination of Marcos and the convening of the interim national assembly and lay themselves open to manipulation by another set of puppets of US imperialism.

Though the Marcos fascist dictatorship has been put up avowedly in the interest of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class, the economic crisis has become so serious that spoils are becoming more and more limited for division among them. There is a growing split between those who are satisfied with the Marcos fascist dictatorship and those who are not. This is fertile soil for the maneuvers of Marcos' political rivals. A case in point is the disenchantment of the bloc of sugar landlords after being deprived of a direct hold on exports and

dollar earnings.

The objective conditions for making revolution are excellent more than ever before. The basic contradictions in Philippine society are intensifying. Instead of saving the ruling system, the Marcos fascist dictatorship has further jeopardized its very existence. All that is needed is to resolutely strengthen such subjective forces of the revolution as the Party, the New People's Army, the mass organizations and the local organs of political power.

2. Further strengthen the Party and rectify our errors!

We must further strengthen the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally. We have made some modest achievements on the basis of which we can advance further. But we have also had certain errors and weaknesses which we must rectify so that we will not be weighed down and dragged down by these and so that we will win more and greater victories.

The reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines on the theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought constitutes a victory of profound and far-reaching significance in the Philippine revolution. We have set down and clarified the correct ideological and political line of the Party.

To set the Philippine revolution on the correct course, we have studied and researched into the history and circumstances of the Filipino people and the Party and put out the necessary documents and writings for the edification of all Filipino revolutionaries. In the process, we have successfully criticized and repudiated the long-standing revisionist lines of the Lavas and Tarucs which polluted and suffocated the old merger party.

We have disseminated the works and propagated the scientific revolutionary teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao and we have successfully criticized and repudiated Soviet modern revisionism and social-imperialism. Chairman Mao's works have been widely circulated, because they not only deal correctly and elaborately with problems of a people's democratic revolution in a semicolonial and semifeudal country but also because they contain the latest and most comprehensive summing-up of the experience of the world proletariat and people.

To propagate the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method, we have undertaken study courses, put out analyses of current national and international events, promoted further researches of national and regional scopes and required social investigations and criticism and self-criticism as methods for raising our ideological level and improving our practical work.

In our ideological rebuilding, we have had to lay stress on studying basic Marxist-Leninist principles and combating the modern revisionism of the Soviet and local renegades. We have had to rely considerably on books dealing with successful revolutions led by fraternal parties abroad. We ourselves have had to go through more revolutionary experience than what we started with in order to deepen our grasp of Marxism-Leninism. And quite a number of our Party cadres are of petty-bourgeois background who definitely have more book learning than experience.

Under these circumstances, the dogmatist tendency more than the empiricist has been most prominent among those ideologically in error. Instead of making concrete investigations and analyses in linking with the masses, there are some of us who would rather rest content with parallelisms, analogies, quotations and phrasemongering. There is even the notion that we do not deserve to be called revolutionaries if we cannot copy a successful revolution abroad.

There are also those who seem to grasp the basic principles and lessons derived from our criticism and repudiation of the Lavas and Tarucs but fail to grasp our own course of development and the different concrete circumstances that we are in. They fail to understand that we can advance only step by step and that we cannot apply on ourselves completely the same course of thinking and action demanded of the Lavas and Tarucs on the basis of forces available to them and circumstances obtaining at the end of World War II.

While the dogmatist tendency prevails among those in error, there are also those who remain immersed in their own narrow and limited experience either because they are given no chance of developing ideologically or are merely browbeaten or they systematically react to the dogmatist tendency with their own avoidance of theoretical study.

After more than seven years, our reestablished Party has gained enough experience to be in a new stage of knowing clearly the specific characteristics and specific requirements of our revolutionary struggle in the whole country and in the various localities. It is in this spirit that we call for rectification of ideological errors.

Those who have an advantage in book learning must link themselves closely to and learn from the toiling

masses of workers and peasants and from our comrades who have an advantage in experience. At the same time, comrades who are of worker and peasant status must not shirk the responsibility of relating their experience to theory and asking that theory must be disclosed in a language easy to understand.

There is paucity of exchanges of worthwhile experiences within the Party, especially between our several regional Party organizations. To promote these, the Central Committee is putting out *Rebolusyon* as an internal and theoretical bulletin, exclusively for Party members. We intend to publish here, apart from statements and directives from the Central Committee, mainly documents emanating from regional Party conferences and articles that are the result of the application of Marxist theory in the course of concrete revolutionary practice, social investigations, study courses and criticism and self-criticism sessions.

We also intend to undertake conferences among representatives of various regional Party organizations and encourage the attendance in regional Party conferences of representatives of other regional Party organizations. In this way, the most detailed yet discreet exchanges of experience are made possible.

We urge all Party members to contribute to the general effort of giving Marxism a national form. We should disabuse ourselves of the idea that only a few theoreticians know theory and know how to apply it. We can triumph only if the entire Party consistently applies Marxist-Leninist theory on the concrete conditions of the Philippines revolution.

The Party has established its political leadership of the proletariat in the revolution by laying down, clarifying and carrying out the general line of people's democratic revolution. This is a great victory. We have made clear the character, the motive forces, targets and perspective of this revolution.

The character of the revolution is determined by its essential task, which is to liberate the people from foreign and feudal domination and establish an independent and democratic Philippines. Such a task can be accomplished only by waging armed struggle as the main form among the motive forces to isolate and destroy the target or enemy.

At the helm of the motive forces is the proletariat. It takes as its main ally, the peasantry whose demand for land is the main content of the people's democratic revolution and from which the main contingents of the people's army can be drawn. The basic alliance of the toiling masses of workers and peasants is the solid foundation for the united front which must win over the urban petty bourgeoisie firstly and the national bourgeoisie secondly.

The targets of the revolution are the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class. Our current revolutionary struggle against the Marcos fascist dictatorship is more than a struggle against the ruling clique. In the course of fighting this clique, we must develop the strength to weaken the entire ruling system and then topple it in the end.

The perspective of the people's democratic revolution is socialism. The socialist revolution must be won upon the completion of the people's democratic revolution. Though we are ready to give concessions to the petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie in a period of transition, we shall no longer pass through a full stage of capitalist development as in the case of the old democratic revolutions before the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

In line with the people's democratic revolution, we have established the New People's Army and launched the revolutionary armed struggle. Our strategic line is to encircle the cities from the countryside and through a protracted period of time develop rural bases from which to advance to seize political power.

Like the Party, the people's army started from scratch and immediately launched revolutionary armed struggle. The people's army has grown in strength step by step, won military victories against powerful odds and won the hearts and minds of millions by its heroic deeds.

The people's army has been the main instrument of the Party in organizing the peasant masses. Hundreds of thousands of people in the barrios have come directly under the barrio organizing committees organized by our guerrilla squads and armed propaganda teams. We have established small guerrilla bases and far more extensive guerrilla zones, carried out mass movements and initiated land reform.

In the face of the fascist enemy, we have continued to organize and lead large masses of people. Even when our barrio organizing committees collapse in one area due to a massive and prolonged enemy campaign, those in other areas increase to more than make up for the losses and even these losses are temporary, still open to recovery.

In support of the mass movement and armed struggle in the countryside, great mass movements have also

been raised by the Party in the cities. The first quarter storm of 1970 and succeeding mass actions in Manila-Rizal and other urban areas have broadcast our revolutionary propaganda all over the country and have yielded to us a considerable number of Party and non-Party activists who have been shifted to the countryside or who continue to develop the revolutionary mass movement in the cities.

It is a matter of necessity in the countryside to expand at a rate fast enough to have a wide area for maneuver for our guerrilla forces. For the purpose, we have been setting up the barrio organizing committees. While we have required the organization of these committees to follow the policy of the antifeudal united front, many of these are so haphazardly organized that unreliable elements creep in, prevail over the poor and middle peasants and flaunt their functions while the enemy is not yet around.

The error of haphazard organizing oftentimes characterized by lack or insufficiency of social investigation and by yielding membership in the barrio organizing committee to whomever are the initial contacts in a barrio, leads on to another error. The work of consolidation is not attended to. The basic mass organizations for peasants, workers, women, youth, children and cultural activists are not organized and mobilized to ensure sustained all-round mass support for the revolution. Thus, the surrounding waters may be wide but shallow.

When we cannot apply the principle of combining a few cadres from the outside with many local activists, it is even very likely that the scope of our political work is narrow. Thus, we must handle well the relationship of expansion and consolidation, of making the guerrilla zone and the guerrilla base a good fighting front for us.

In cases of errors with disastrous results, the principal tendency has been adventurism or “Left” opportunism. With mass support wide or narrow but shallow there are those who engage in military actions against enemy troops and then when enemy reaction rises, they do not know where to go or the enemy catches up with them. They fail to recognize that to support and ensure the success of any important action, military or otherwise, requires painstaking mass work.

There are petty-bourgeois elements who are still unremolded and who think that it suffices to beat the drum – make sweeping propaganda but forget to do solid organizational work among the masses – and who also think that the military action of a few courageous men must precede solid organizational work among the masses.

Relying on a mere committee dominated by unreliable but prestigious personalities has also spawned commandism. The chairman and the chief of defense of the barrio organizing committee often neglect to have any collective life within the committee. And in the absence of militant mass organizations, the trend is to order people around and make them do what is beyond their level of consciousness and organization.

While we oppose “Left” opportunism as the principal tendency among those of us in error, we must also be on guard against Right opportunism. Our insistence on taking the mass line, establishing the basic mass organizations and laying the foundation for a truly people’s war should not be twisted to mean the indefinite postponement of tactical military offensives even when conditions for them are already ripe.

There have been manifestations of the Right opportunist tendency in the countryside. To consciously let in unreliable elements in barrio organizing committees and relax with the transitory advantages that they provide is one. To enjoy the conveniences of one barrio and fail to venture out and do mass work in another barrio is another. To remain fixed on going after local bad elements and fail to push forward the land reform and the armed struggle is still another.

In the cities, there is the “Left” opportunist notion prevalent among those of us in error that there can be no revolutionary struggle when there are no strikes, demonstrations and other conspicuous mass protest actions. They fail to recognize that it is perfectly revolutionary struggle to lay down the foundation for these higher forms of political action by doing solid organizational work among the masses.

There is also the notion among those of us in error that sweeping propaganda work suffices to mobilize the people. There is still another notion that the economic struggle of the workers can be slurred over, whereas we must grasp it at its own level and steadily raise it to the level of the political struggle.

There have also been instances of Right opportunism in a certain region. One is the proposal to superimpose the slogan demanding general election in the country on other slogans asserting the democratic rights and interests of the basic masses. Another is making flimsy demands to avoid even only basic trade union demands and the necessary preparations for pushing them forward.

While we have pointed out that sweeping propaganda does not suffice by itself in revolutionary work, we recognize that it is of great importance and that without it mass organizing is without an advance notice and also

without direction. We need to step up our propaganda work if we are to enhance our all-round revolutionary work. Our capacity for propaganda and agitation will certainly rise as the basic masses are well organized and activists from their ranks increase.

The corrective measures that we need to undertake in our political work will be dealt with more thoroughly in succeeding sections of this statement.

The membership of the Party is drawn generally from the ranks of activists of the revolutionary mass organizations and Red fighters of the New People's Army. It is clear that our membership is closely linked with the masses and embedded in the revolutionary mass movement. But up to now, our Party is mainly a cadre party. We have thus remained a small Party.

The Party started with less than a score of Party members coming from the old merger party and 75 prospective members in late 1968. The membership increased to several scores in 1969, to a few hundreds in 1970 and close to a thousand in 1971. Since 1972, we have had a few thousand members. But since 1973, we have had a slower rate of growth.

Our Party has become nationwide. Directly under the Central Committee, there were groups of Party members in Manila-Rizal, Central Luzon, Cagayan Valley and Southern Luzon in 1969 and 1970 with most members in the first two regions mentioned. Following the Second Plenum of the Central Committee in 1971, we started to build the regional Party committees and organizations. Now, we have nine regional Party organizations covering the whole country.

The majority of Party members are now under the regional Party organizations outside Manila-Rizal. In turn, the majority of these are in the countryside developing the revolutionary armed struggle. But the Manila-Rizal Party organization still remains the single largest Party organization. Though this regional Party organization has been giving cadres to the other regions, it has continued to grow.

We realize that the growth of the Party is quite slow if we relate it to the large numbers of masses being led by the Party. At first it looks flattering that so few could lead so many and that strict standards are being applied on recruitment. But there are unflattering reasons for the slow growth.

Sectarianism, poor tasking and check-ups, irregular and ponderous study courses and lack of recruitment planning are problems both in the cities and in the countryside which have restricted the organizational growth of the Party. We must solve these.

The outstanding reason for the failure of regional Party organizations outside Manila-Rizal to outstrip the membership of the Manila-Rizal Party organization is the failure to build the mass organizations and the mass movement in the localities. Without these, there can be no sound basis for establishing local Party branches. The mass organizations, aside from the people's army, should be the vast reservoir of revolutionary activists and Party members.

The Manila-Rizal Party organization should not be flattered and should not remain complacent about being the biggest single regional Party organization. In the last two years, there has been a tendency here for the membership to stagnate and even decrease. Just as we demand that local Party branches be set up among the peasants in the countryside, we demand that local Party branches be set up among the workers.

The fascist martial rule cannot be used as the main reason for the slow growth of the Party. The strictures of this tyrannical rule has been more than compensated for by the deep-going hatred and growing resistance of the broad masses of the people. In no year has the enemy struck down more than five percent of the membership of the Party. The Party should be able to achieve a high rate of growth because it is small but composed mostly of cadres, if only to grasp the necessity and importance of mass members of the Party from the ranks of the workers and peasants.

The Manila-Rizal based national bureaus served positively from 1971 to 1973 not only as administrators of the city based national mass organizations but also as schools for a considerable number of new party recruits. In the first year of martial rule, it also served positively to direct the orderly retreat of the mass organizations suddenly forced to go underground. But in 1974, it became very clear that the national bureaus had outlived their purposes.

It is admitted that the period of one year after the first year of martial rule and before their dissolution in July 1974 constituted a big delay which unduly restricted the disposition of good cadres for various regional Party organizations eager and ready to get them.

It remains our policy to expand the Party boldly on the basis of the revolutionary mass movement and without

letting in a single undesirable. We must follow the reasonable standards set by the Party constitution and we must increase the number of Party members who are of worker and peasant status. In this regard, we must keep in mind that we do not wish to be an exclusively cadre party.

We want a large mass of Party members who are of worker and peasant status because these is a measure of the effectiveness of our revolutionary work, because we want to accomplish gigantic tasks that mainly concern and involve them and because we want to counteract and dilute the negative influences that Party members coming from other classes are liable to bring into the Party.

The Party upholds democratic centralism as its basic organizational principle. This is centralized leadership based on democracy and democracy guided by centralized leadership. By this principle, we can stand and act united and well informed on any important matter. We must apply this principle consistently.

The committee system at every level of leadership, from the Central Committee down to the branch executive committee, is the most important tool of the principle of democratic centralism. The leading committee at a certain level is the point of concentration for an entire Party organization on that level and for lower organs and lower organizations; and within the collectivity of the committee democracy, is carried over from the lower ranks.

With so few Party members taking on large tasks, there is a tendency for a far fewer Party leaders to take on large tasks. When the Party leaders are often attending to large tasks in different places and have difficulties in often coming together, there is always the danger that single Party leaders decide matters that should be taken up in a committee.

Thus, there are conditions for the phenomenon of one-man monopoly of affairs to arise. Indeed it has arisen in the Party and we have been combating this for a long time. Until now, it persists because the conditions for it to keep on arising persist.

The standard organizational solution to this problem is to have a smaller standing committee more easily convened than the full and large committee to act and decide on matters under the guidance of standing policies. For instance, there is the Political Bureau of our Central Committee, then there is the Executive Committee and still there is the General Secretariat. There is the executive committee of the regional committee and then there is the secretariat.

It takes good judgment based on experience and full grasp of policies for a Party leader to make a prompt decision on an urgent matter. He could be like an army commander in an emergency military situation. But always as soon as possible he must submit his decision or action to a collective body.

Any Party leader can initiate or propose a draft or anything, though it is the chairman or the secretary who is expected to perform this leading role. But there must be some preparatory meeting in a smaller committee before presentation of matters before the plenary meeting of a larger committee. In this way, there is thoroughness in preparation and in the entire process of decision-making.

Bureaucratism is also an error contravening the spirit of democratic centralism. Our cadres should not limit themselves to merely receiving reports but they should go down for worthwhile periods of time to lower levels and to the grassroots to investigate for themselves the basis for policies, verify reports and study the correctness or incorrectness of policies.

Going down to the grassroots is good for the remolding of high and middle level Party cadres. We do not mean to say that they abandon their functions in the leading organs but for them to perform these better. And we do not mean that they dissipate their efforts in going around to many places. But they must go down to investigate typical or critical situations (whatever is the main problem that needs close attention) and link themselves closely with the masses.

The central leadership no less has undertaken certain special projects requiring special detachment of personnel, heavy fixed investments and special methods of work that are not assured of effective or sufficient support by the masses in the vicinity of operation. These should no longer be undertaken because these easily meet failure and unduly preoccupy the leadership with matters of secondary importance to a self-reliant revolutionary movement.

At lower levels of the Party, there have also been instance of business and other projects that tend to distract Party leaders from their fundamental tasks. If these projects are beneficial to the revolution, they should be undertaken by trustworthy personnel without wasting the time of Party leaders and without risking the resources of the Party which are much needed for other purposes.

All leaders and members of the Party must be diligent and thrifty. Every moment must be seized to advance the revolution. Every centavo must be sent wisely. Upon our diligence and thrift, we can fruitfully carry out the policy of self-reliance.

In this period of fascist martial rule, the Party must not only be vigilant but extra-vigilant. We must live contempt for the enemy strategically but we must take serious, meticulous account of him tactically. The fact that the Party has always been underground and involved in armed struggle since the very beginning shows that it has always been prepared and equipped to face the worst of eventualities. But there are vulnerabilities that we must be aware of so that we can guard against them.

In the cities, we must be aware that the open activists of legal progressive organizations before fascist martial rule have been used by the enemy as unwitting tracers of the Party underground. Many of these activists have been apprehended and some of them are proven or merely suspected Party members. We must apply the policy of shifting or reassigning those Party members who can no longer effectively work in their present urban assignment.

In the countryside, the Party members on the manhunt list of the enemy should adapt to the fluidity of our guerrilla activity. The risks are also high in the countryside because we have mere guerrilla squads and at the most guerrilla platoons. But certainly, here we can rely on mass support that is bigger over wider contiguous areas than in the cities. Party members who cannot work freely in the cities can work here far more freely.

In both cities and countryside, a number of comrades have sacrificed their lives and limbs or have fallen into the hands of the enemy and have suffered the most excruciating torture and the torment of incarceration. These include some members of the Central Committee and various regional Party committees.

We honor and emulate our martyrs and heroes. And we convey to our comrades in prison to steel themselves further while in prison and turn the prison into a school. We should learn from their experience. So long as our regional Party organizations keep on growing through revolutionary struggle, there is always a basis for cadres to come forward and replenish as well as reinforce the Central Committee and the regional Party committees.

Only so few among those who have fallen into the hands of the enemy have become traitors or betrayers. There are also those few who cannot stand the difficulties of the struggle and drop out or surrender themselves to the enemy. All these renegades are only a handful and do not make even two percent of those who have fallen into the hands of the enemy. We should learn from their negative examples. The Party reflects the iniquitous society outside. Thus, there are errors and weaknesses. And there are the few who go overboard completely and become traitors. It is clear that within the Party the law of contradiction and the law of class struggle operate. But our Party members in general are certainly good. The Party stands united to further strengthen itself.

3. Build the revolutionary mass movement in the countryside!

We must build the revolutionary mass movement in the countryside; and we must build the basic mass organizations for the peasants, youth, women, children and cultural activists to be able to generate it. Not much can be accomplished in mobilizing the great masses if our propaganda teams and guerrilla squads limit their organizing to the barrio organizing committees and small local armed groups. The key point in our rural mass work is to arouse and organize the peasant masses in the shortest possible time and carry out the land reform movement step by step. In the course of focusing attention on the organization of the peasant association in a typical farming barrio, to other basic mass organizations can also be organized. The peasant activists can easily move the youth, women, children and cultural activists of their own class to accomplish their self-organization. The farm workers' association, the union of nonagricultural workers and fishermen's association are also basic mass organizations that should be organized wherever there is a basis. In cases where there are already mass organizations positively working for the people's interests, all that we do is to adopt them and transform them further into revolutionary organizations.

There is really no point in feeling sorry that there is a paucity of party cadres to attend to rural mass work. A propaganda team or a guerrilla squad can rely on the local mass activists and can cover so many barrios, even as many as twenty within six months. It is even possible for one, two or three experienced cadres from the outside to work initially with the local mass activists and cover several barrios within a relatively short period.

The local mass activists emerging at every stage of the process of developing the revolutionary mass movement are themselves prospects for recruitment into the Party. Through this process, new Party members keep on arising and local Party branches can be established.

We must rely on and trust the masses. So long as we grasp their interests, needs and demands through social

investigation and close contact with them, we can arouse and guide them to set themselves into motion. They can very well organize and mobilize themselves along the correct path. There are always enough activists arising from their own ranks to firm up the revolutionary direction of their movement.

There must be a series of careful steps in organizing the people in a barrio, especially under the present harsh conditions of fascist martial rule. There are four of these steps which culminate in the full organization of the basic mass organizations.

The first step is to get reliable contact men or liaison men in a barrio that we wish to organize. The number of these can range from three to ten. Within the shortest possible time, we should form them into what we may call the barrio liaison group. This has been called the "barrio organizing group" in Central Luzon and the "organized group of contacts" in Southern Tagalog.

Usually, we can get the contact men in a barrio because of our preceding mass work in an adjoining barrio. This is advancing wave upon wave. It is inevitable that the people in one barrio have relatives and friends in the next barrio. Sometimes too, we can reach a barrio where work must be done and get the contact men or liaison men because a Party member, a Red fighter or activist or any reliable person has relatives or friends in that barrio.

Preliminary social investigation can be done on a barrio in a day or a few days, depending on the reliability and knowledgeability of our initial contact men. The shortcomings of some of these contact men can be made up for by further contacts. We must gather all the general and specific information we need to start political work in the barrio.

There is expediency in forming the barrio liaison group from out of the contact men that we initially come to know through reliable intermediaries. Although we try immediately to put the best available men in the group, it may not be possible all the time to get the best representatives of the people in the barrio. After all, it takes time to develop revolutionary activists. Sometimes, the contact men may all come from only one part of sitio of a barrio or from only one section of the barrio population.

But we must make sure that the members of the barrio liaison group are desirous of revolution, are elements of the exploited classes, are known to be honest and good people, have extensive relations in the barrio, are intelligent and resourceful and are conscientious in performing the tasks that we give them.

The functions of the barrio liaison group include assisting us in social investigation, conducting initial propaganda among the people, putting us in touch with the positive forces and elements in the barrio gradually and secretly, and making sure that we are secure in our entry into, stay in and exit from the barrio. All these functions involve the smoothing of our initial relations with the people in the barrio.

The barrio liaison group replaces the barrio organizing committee. Some similarities between the two are apparent. But there are basic differences between them.

The barrio liaison group is no longer empowered nor expected to act as an embryo of people's government in the barrio. Its members do not have the unwritten vested privilege to becoming automatically the chief moving force behind the mass organizations to be established. We depart from the old pernicious practice of giving initial contact men this privilege and therefore we remove or drastically reduce the condition for unreliable elements to creep into the mass organizations.

The group is also under strict advice not to expose themselves as the organizers of mass meetings. At the same time, we take care that it does not know more than it should about the actual widening and deepening of organizational and political work being done in the barrio. Of course, the members of the group receive political education from us and are tested through work and at least some of them can advance from being mere contact men. But the group as a whole does not enjoy any automatic privilege of knowing details beyond its liaison work.

The second step is for our guerrilla squad, propaganda team or cadres to move from one part of the barrio to another or fan out to several parts at one time to conduct deeper social investigation and carry out study meetings among the people, especially the poor peasants, farm workers and lower-middle peasants. We should do everything possible to link ourselves closely with the exploited masses.

Our mass work should bear fruit initially in the form of the people's organizing groups. These include the peasant organizing groups for the poor and lower-middle peasants, the youth organizing group, the women's organizing group and such organizing groups that have a basis. These are based on a division of territory (sitios and parts of the barrio center if much larger than the sitio).

The organizing groups should be able to win the majority of people in their respective fields and initiate

activists to arouse and mobilize them. At this point, local activists should start to arise inside and outside the organizing groups. The cadres of the Party should make sure through propaganda and study meetings on the national democratic revolution that politics takes command of all activities.

We must grasp the antifeudal class struggle as the key link of our rural mass work and we must uphold the poor peasants, farm workers and lower-middle peasants as the most reliable and resolute revolutionary force in a typical farming barrio. But we cannot go far in the antifeudal struggle if we fail to link it well with the antifascist and anti-imperialist struggle not only by way of providing the basic antifeudal forces with the most comprehensive political view but also by way of bringing into active play all other positive forces in the countryside for the revolutionary cause.

The third step can be taken soon after the establishment of the people's organizing group in all or most of the parts of the barrio. There is already a wide and deep basis for establishing the people's organizing committees on a barrio-wide scale.

We have already found out who is fit for what function within each committee. The basic functions to be apportioned are those that pertain to organization, education, economy, defense and health. The apportioning of functions should be settled well within the committee by the members upon our guidance. The committees should be capable of raising the enthusiasm of the majority of the people in their respective fields for the revolution and coming into coordination with struggles launched over areas that include several barrios.

Like the organizing groups based on the parts of the barrio, which must be retained as their support, the people's organizing committees should be an underground force. They must know how to cover their activities with whatever legal and traditional organizations there are in the barrio and must know how to dissemble, use revolutionary dual tactics, before the enemy or unreliable elements.

As early as the successful establishment of the peasant organizing committees over a large area in the countryside, even only some scores of barrios, it is possible to take such a simple and easy first step towards land reform as the reduction of land rent through the systematic withholding of a certain part of the crop without the landlords' knowledge. The campaign to reduce interest rates and eliminate usury; arrange fair prices with the merchants; promote savings, mutual aid and simple exchange of labor and nonpayment of debts under Masagana 99; raise production and productivity; and the like can be pushed.

In cases where the landlords have cunningly abandoned the old practice of sharecropping of the bases of the actual crop and resorted to "leasehold" system (the system of high fixed land rent) promoted by the Marcos fascist dictatorship and by the Lava revisionist renegades, the tenant masses should deliver only a part of the rent and claim bad crop or some plausible reason for the nonpayment of the full rent. If all the peasants claim the same reason, the landlords will be at a loss; they cannot threaten so many with eviction and they might as well simply write into their records the undelivered part of the rent as "debts."

Harvest after harvest, the process of peaceably outmaneuvering the landlords can be done until they come to terms with the peasants. The landlords' threat to deprive the tenants of credit for subsistence or production will be rendered naught by the peasants' gains from land reform their thrift, mutual aid and simple exchange of labor and alliance with the well-to-do peasants who come under persuasion not to engage in usury.

Any despotic landlord who abuses his tenants is liable to be punished by the people's army or secret groups of peasants. It would not pay for him to refuse to come to terms with the peasants. It would be difficult for his overseers and for scabs to show their faces before the peasant masses.

Depriving the landlord of a part of the land rent and demanding fair terms from merchants and moneylenders can be achieved only if the peasant masses are well organized, united and have a high level of political consciousness.

In a typical farming barrio, the majority of the population are poor and lower-middle peasants (most tenants belong to these strata). On this basis, the peasant organizing committee plus the other people's organizing committees can have their way through the barrio councils of the reactionary government. Using the tactics of the united front, peasant organizing committees can enhance their strength.

The peasant organizing committees can actually control the barangay councils or any legal organization for purposes of holding public meetings favorable to the peasant masses and for revolutionary dual tactics in the face of the enemy. In effect, they can function as the embryo of the people's governmental authority on their own strength, supplemented with cooperation of their allies who are often very much their own relatives and personal

friends.

The fourth step in organizing the barrio people is to fully organize the basic mass organizations. It would seem as if the people's organizing committees and groups are a skeleton taking full flesh. All members are enlisted and they elect the leading committees of their respective mass organizations. The peasant association includes mainly the poor and middle peasants.

Of course, like the antecedent organizing committees, the basic mass organizations cannot be fully organized all at the same time, say in one day or one night. There is the law of uneven development and differences of conditions. But we must strive that in one definite period in a barrio or group of barrios, all the basic mass organizations are fully organized. This requires planning and consistent work.

The fascist enemy has been more alert to peasant associations and far more intolerant towards them than the other mass organizations. We must be flexible in adopting legal forms for the peasant associations. We must use different names for them in different barrios. In handling them for the revolutionary cause, we must be good at combining illegal and legal methods. There must be open legal activities and clandestine illegal activities.

We should be fully aware of our strength and we should not overstep it. It is understandable if, for considerable period of time in a given group of barrios, the antifeudal movement is capable only of effecting rent reduction and other agrarian reforms in the manner that we have described in discussing the third step.

While experience has shown that mass organizations other than the peasant association are less suspected and less subjected to evil measures by the enemy, we must take the same precautions that we take in having the peasant association. Whenever the enemy comes to know that a mass organization is led by the Party, it is liable to be subjected to the most vicious attacks.

, we should start to carry out Marxist ideological instruction and recruit into the Party the most advanced elements among the mass activists so that by the time we reach the third or fourth step, we shall have been able to establish the local party branch in the barrio, with a group in every sitio and major part of the barrio center. At the fourth step, we shall also have Party groups within the basic mass organizations.

Upon the establishment of the basic mass organizations and the local Party branch, it becomes possible to establish the barrio revolutionary committee as the organ of democratic political power. It shall simply be a matter of putting together the representatives of the Party, the basic masses and allied forces.

In our old areas where the barrio organizing committees are reliable and are of sound character, we should work as fast as possible for their dissolution by establishing the basic mass organizations, the local Party branch and the organ of democratic political power. We can speak of working fast here, at least faster than in new areas, because we have known the people and worked with them long enough.

When the basic mass organizations flourish, the revolutionary mass movement can make great strides. Revolutionary studies and propaganda become more widespread and vigorous than before. Land reform becomes firm. The able bodied volunteers from every mass organization can be formed into the local militia and given military training and duties. The campaign for higher production becomes effective. Every mass organization has a special agricultural plot or cottage enterprise to support the revolution. Cultural activities blossom and raise the people's fighting spirit against the enemy. Health work is also attended to on a mass scale.

Under these circumstances, the foundation for greater military victories by the New People's Army is laid. The people's fighting spirit is ever rising. There is abundant material support for the revolutionary armed struggle because of land reform, higher production and special production. The local militia are a powerful reserve and auxiliary force of the people's army. the Party becomes will-rooted in the localities by taking into its ranks the most advanced local activists.

4. Further strengthen the people's army and carry forward the revolutionary armed struggle!

We must further strengthen the new People's Army as the main form of organization under the leadership of the Party and carry forward the revolutionary armed struggle as the main form of our people's struggle. We have established a good basis for the further strengthening of the New People's Army.

Our Red fighters have a high level of political consciousness and are closely linked with the masses. Every squad has a party group within it and oftentimes the majority of the Red fighters are Party members. The Party branch is at presently based on the platoon.

The people's army has grown in rifle strength from early 1969 to the eve of fascist martial rule and from the latter time to the present. What it is now in armed strength is a far cry from the 35 rifles and handguns that it started

with. The people's army now has guerrilla forces in all regions outside Manila-Rizal and has total of twenty guerrilla fronts.

Each regional army organization is led by a regional Party committee. The nationwide expansion of the people's army under the direction of the Central Committee is a far cry from its beginnings in the second district of Tarlac.

Our army has gained invaluable experience and has become tempered. It has undergone the acid test of massive and prolonged enemy campaigns. We recall Tarlac of 1969-71, Isabela of 1972-73, Sorsogon of 1974-75 and Aurora of 1975. At the peak of his campaigns, the enemy always employs a number of troops more than a hundred times bigger than ours, with the support of paramilitary forces, heavy weapons and the most modern means of communications and air and land transport.

Our heroic Red fighters and party cadres together with the masses have overcome tremendous odds. Despite all the enemy campaigns, marked by the most wicked forms of "population control," the people's army has on the whole grown in armed strength. We have suffered some setbacks. There is not a single regional army organization which has not suffered serious setbacks at varying times. But the expansion, shifting and recoveries by our guerrilla forces have more than compensated for the losses. Because of the nationwide expansion of the people's army, the enemy cannot concentrate his combat troops on one region without risking the advance of our forces in other regions. So far, it has not had the pleasure of inflicting a total or strategically decisive defeat on all our forces in any single region. Within a region, the existence of several guerrilla fronts tend to weaken the enemy campaign whether directed against all or any of these.

Despite all our achievements in building the people's army, our overall armed strength is still so small in comparison to that of the enemy who is several hundreds of times stronger. The course of historical development and the current balance of forces, particularly our level of armed strength, determine the mode of our warfare, which is guerrilla warfare.

There is no course for us but to grow in strength step by step. Our revolutionary armed struggle is just and enjoys abundant support from the people. So long as we adhere to a correct strategy and tactics, we shall grow from small and weak to big and strong. To repeat, we shall do so step by step.

Our people's war is protracted. It shall take a long period of time to change the balance of forces between us and the enemy. We must recognize further that at the back of the local reactionaries is US imperialism is at the moment hardening its position in the Philippines precisely as a result of its defeats elsewhere and, for a long time to come, only a deep-going people's war can strike effectively at its foothold.

Friendly forces abroad cannot extend military assistance to us as much as we may need or wish. We must reconcile ourselves to the irony that when we need such assistance most it is most difficult for us to get it. The single imperialist power dominating the country is not yet an easy pushover in terms of the next few years, and his prior hold on our small archipelagic country is a serious factor to contend with.

We have to maintain a high degree of self-reliance in our people's war. We must rely on ourselves most certainly to a degree higher than many revolutionary armed movements abroad. There is no course for us but to always raise our determination to get all that we need for the armed struggle from our people and from the enemy himself in the battlefield.

Our strategic line in our people's war is to encircle the cities from the countryside until such time that we become capable of moving on the cities from stable revolutionary bases in the countryside. For a long time, we have to develop guerrilla warfare on a nationwide scale so as to convert into our advantage the disadvantage of fighting in a small archipelagic country, whose countryside is so vast in relation to the cities but fragmented into so many islands.

We are at the stage of the strategic defensive and we are precisely at its early substage of developing guerrilla warfare from almost nothing. From almost nothing because of the revisionist line of the Lavas and Tarucs that threw away all previous revolutionary gains of the people.

We have only to look at how much armed strength we have in each of the eight regions outside Manila-Rizal to know the magnitude of hard work that we have to do to further increase our squads and platoons. Again it shall take another magnitude of hard work to advance from the present phase of squads and platoons.

In the whole country or in an entire region, we are on the strategic defensive in the face of the large enemy forces encircling us. But we are capable of tactical offensives. In parts and parts of the countryside, we can achieve

local superiority. At a given moment and in a limited area, we can put a small enemy unit in the tightest bag and crush it.

We must launch tactical offensives as the most essential content of our strategic defense. We simply refuse to engage our small forces in any strategically decisive engagement with the far larger forces of the enemy. Not in any region or guerrilla front should this happen. Knowing that large forces of the enemy is divisible, as everything is from a Marxist viewpoint, we must take the initiative of maneuvering the enemy to divide his forces and then concentrating our small forces at only that part of the enemy which we are sure of wiping out at a given place and time.

We should accumulate the small victories from our ambushes and raids. Over a period of time, such victories should give birth to more guerrilla squads and platoons. Then our capacity to destroy the enemy will increase. The highest mark of initiative in our guerrilla warfare is annihilating the enemy and capturing his weapons. We should not waste our precious limited ammunition and we should plan well the disposition and intensity of our lines of fire on a given target. There is no point in killing enemy troops if it is not in the course of depriving them of the weapons which they would refuse to yield.

We must learn well the rudimentary tactics of guerrilla warfare. We disperse to do propaganda and organizational work among the masses. We concentrate a superior force to destroy the enemy. We shift or circle round to avoid a superior enemy force, learn more about it through the masses and through our own reconnaissance and move to an advantageous position politically and militarily.

We can apply our guerrilla tactics well only if we have the wide and deep organized support of the people and we have eliminated the enemy informers and bad elements who are incorrigible. With organized masses screening out the enemy, rendering him blind and deaf, we can foil his attempt to concentrate his forces on our small forces. Even when he is still preparing to attack us, we can learn through the masses his strength and movements and as a result we can act appropriately.

When the enemy is on some short-term offensive and wants to move in on us in superior force, we must deprive him of a target and we let him punch the air and thereby exhaust himself. We can remain on the active side either by laying an ambush on a weak part of the enemy disposition, attacking the enemy in an entirely different area or simply going elsewhere to do mass work. We should never accept or undertake any battle that we are not sure of winning. We may not be able to smash an enemy offensive but certainly we can frustrate it.

In all our experience, it is the massive and prolonged army campaigns, marked by forced mass evacuation and all kinds of barbarities, that have been our most outstanding problem in the battlefield. The enemy has launched such campaigns in areas where we are relatively strong over a wide area. At the early stage of such enemy campaigns, when enemy control is not yet tight, we must make him pay as much of a heavy price as we can exact from him, without prejudice to the prompt shifting of our main guerrilla forces to an alternative guerrilla front or area.

Enemy campaigns, whether short-term or protracted, are very costly to the enemy. That is why the military budget of the fascist dictatorship keeps on rising. Repeatedly frustrating them and depriving them of a target will undermine the resources of the reactionary government and also undermine the morale of enemy troops who also suffer some deprivations for nothing.

There is nothing wrong about shifting when faced with enemy forces ten or a hundred times stronger. This is neither accepting defeat nor flightism. This is preserving our forces to destroy the enemy another day. The areas that adjoin or are a short leap from the area being encircled by the enemy and under his heavy concentration are also fertile soil for revolution. Besides, we can always recover any "lost" area after sometime.

So as not to be merely forced to shift to an uncertain destination by an enemy campaign, we should be prepared long beforehand for such an enemy campaign by developing alternate guerrilla fronts and by deploying propaganda teams in areas where guerrilla warfare is to be developed from scratch or is to arise upon the shifting of guerrilla forces from elsewhere.

The unpopulated forest areas are good passageways and offer good points for schooling and temporary retreats. But to simply wait out a massive and prolonged enemy campaign of about one year to two years in the forests is to fall for the siege tactics of the enemy. It is also artificial to bring a considerable number of unarmed masses with you in this kind of retreat. Movement will be hampered. Food will soon run out and isolated kaingins are easily detected by the enemy.

When the masses are being forced to evacuate, legal mass struggle should be launched to oppose and stop

the evacuation. Even when the forced mass evacuation is already done, these legal mass struggles can go on for the restitution of damage to their crops and homes, for better treatment and rationing at evacuation centers and for their early return to their evacuated homes.

Some of the masses or selected families can also be directed by us to shift mainly on their own and by different ways to the area where we are shifting. There are many of those who might have relatives and friends there. Or there are public lands there which they can open like other people do.

Whenever the time comes for us to recover an area previously abandoned by us and then abandoned by the enemy, we must disarm the “home defense units” left by the enemy and increase the weaponry of the people’s army. We must clean up those who have blood debts. And we must be alert for spies planted in the midst of the masses.

We have insisted that for a start in every region we must develop our guerrilla fronts on favorable terrain, that is to say, forested, mountainous and hilly terrain with population. It is in this kind of terrain where enemy rule and influence are usually weak and where we can establish our guerrilla bases within the shortest possible time at this stage. Here we not only have a wide area for maneuver but also easily achieve depth in our maneuvers. Here we can best apply the tactics of “luring in” the enemy. He cannot come in without first exposing himself and alerting us. It would be easy for us to be on the look-out and prepare for his coming.

We have also directed that for a start in a region, two or three guerrilla fronts on such a terrain should be established. We have been concerned with the possible dissipation of our limited Party cadres and resources by a previous current that we should have a guerrilla force in every province. But any regional Party organization can have more than two or three guerrilla front, whenever development and conditions permit.

While we must take advantage of the most favorable terrain for our guerrilla warfare, we must strive to move forward from the mountain to the plains and coordinate the revolutionary forces in the mountains and the plains as well as those in the barrios and in the towns. In dealing with the islands, we should attend to the major islands first and then the minor ones.

This early, we must also pay attention to the coastal areas. This is important inasmuch as we are an archipelagic country.

Conditions are not yet ripe for having a well-known central revolutionary base, where the Central Committee of the Party and the general headquarter of the New People’s Army are seated. We should keep the enemy guessing and ignorant where our principal leaders are in the countryside. But certainly at this stage, we should be firmly taking the steps towards creating such a base in the best possible location.

The emergence of the central revolutionary base presupposes the achievement of a higher stage in our people’s war and takes into consideration the development of nationwide guerrilla warfare and international developments involving US imperialism. We still have a long road to traverse in this regard. Of all the regional Party and army organizations, the most directly concerned in bringing about the conditions for the emergence of the central revolutionary base are Northwest Luzon, Northeast Luzon and Central Luzon. It remains the long-term strategic task of the revolutionary forces of Luzon to destroy the main forces of the enemy. The day is certain to come when the forces from the north and south of Luzon will converge on Manila-Rizal in a general offensive.

It also remains the long-term strategic task of the revolutionary forces of Mindanao and the Visayas to draw the forces of the enemy and disperse them. At certain times, the bulk of enemy forces can be drawn to Mindanao. The area for maneuver for us here is as wide as that in the three regions north of Manila-Rizal; and the people’s army can either take advantage of or coordinate its efforts with the resistance of Bangsa Moro Army, if integration of the latter is not possible.

We have repeatedly pointed to the present low level of armed strength of the New People’s Army. To amplify this strength, we must give full play to the participation of the people in the revolutionary armed struggle. We should not limit this participation to merely providing for the material needs of the full-time Red fighters and watching out for the enemy.

We must give political-military training to as many able-bodied men and women from the mass organizations and from time to time get the required number of volunteers from them to participate in well-planned military actions where their inferior weapons can blend with more advanced weapons of the full-time Red fighters. In the hands of some many people, inferior weapons can proved to be superior and yet we make sure that at the core of such weapons as bolos, spears, bows and arrows and homemade explosives are good guns.

When the people's combative spirit is kept high by continuous political education and military training, they will make do with any weapon and will use every trick and ruse to disarm the enemy even with bare hands. The most important thing is the people's revolutionary determination and wisdom. In the future, popular uprising or insurrections will arise over extensive areas.

5. Build the revolutionary mass movement in the cities!

We must build the revolutionary mass movement in the cities by developing the trade unions, the community organizations, school organizations and others and engaging them in a broad democratic movement that is distinctly antifascist and anti-imperialist, a movement sympathetic to and supportive of the distinctly antifeudal movement in the countryside.

We must pay principal attention to the masses of workers and other urban poor. We must get the workers mainly through their workplaces and trade unions and also through the communities, where they are linked with other urban poor. We must also pay attention to the urban petty bourgeoisie, especially the student masses and their teachers.

In undertaking a open democratic movement in the cities, we can invoke the very laws of the reactionary state which contain hypocritical terms and reform concessions just to enable us to go into the midst of the masses. Among the masses, we can create a revolutionary underground and transform legal organizations or build new ones that can militantly yet legally carry forward the national-democratic line step by step.

Combining legal and illegal methods, we can develop the revolutionary mass movement in the cities. Our main tactic is to turn the table against the enemy or to use another metaphor, to take the enemy's fortress from within by stratagem (but preparations for this are protracted and cannot be separated from the progress of the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside).

The open and legal democratic mass movement cannot be firm, vigorous and will directed without the illegal party at the core. The Party as an underground force must be the backbone of this movement. It must be the guide, nurturing the movement at every step and seeing to it that the next step is taken upon the ripening of conditions for it.

As in the countryside, there is nothing discouraging about the smallness of the party amidst the large masses in the cities. So long as the mass movement develops, activists emerge and make themselves available for recruitment into the Party. Thus, the Party is strengthened to achieve more and assume greater tasks.

It is only through a reinvigorated mass movement that we can raise the new forces to tackle the new situation created by fascist martial rule. There is no other way to solve such problems as the constrictions and unhealthy conspiratorial tendencies of a narrow underground and the enemy's cunning in looking out for the Party by merely tailing known activists of days before martial rule.

In this time of severe economic crisis, the masses of workers are stirring and pushing forward their economic struggle. We must get into this economic struggle and raise it to the level of the political struggle so that the entire working class will not only be able to fight most effectively for its own interests but also link itself fully with the rest of the people in the powerful flow of the of the people's democratic revolution.

There are immediate conditions and issues which make easy the transformation of the economic struggle into a political struggle. As previously pointed out, the wage and living conditions of the workers are extremely pushed down and benefits put into law by virtue of several decades of workers' struggle have been drastically reduced by the fascist dictator. And to top these all, the workers are prohibited from exercising their right to strike in most enterprises just because they are categorized as "vital industries" and "export industries" by the fascist dictatorship. In the main, these are enterprises owned by US and other monopoly capitalists and by the big comprador bourgeoisie and big landlords.

Whenever the employer gets wind of a plan among the workers to make a mass petition for the improvement of their conditions, the easiest thing for him to do is to make "preventive suspensions" and to call on the troops and police to show up and bully the workers. Of course, when the strike, slowdown, sitdown or any mass protest action is already on, the armed minions of fascism show up to make arrests and make all sound and fury about "subversives," "economic sabotage" and "national discipline."

The masses of workers have experienced the right to strike in times far better than the present. Their present experience of intensified oppression and exploitation is extremely intolerable to them. Thus, no amount of fascist intimidation has deterred them from mass protest actions. These have already developed into concerted strikes

and street demonstrations.

We must promote the strike movement and must make it so widespread and so intense to demonstrate to the entire nation and people that the fascist ruling clique and big bourgeoisie are so puny and weak and so rotten to the core. We must promote the economic strikes and transform them into political strikes and political demonstrations. We must hit the big bourgeoisie (and foreign monopoly capitalists and the comprador big bourgeoisie) the hardest. The rate of exploitation is highest in their enterprises.

We are presently at the stage of making the economic strikes more widespread. Even at this stage, the political dimension of such strikes is already coming to the force. We must make solid preparations to bring great multitudes of workers to the streets and plazas for political demonstrations.

In the face of fascist martial rule yellow labor leaders have become more discredited than ever. The top labor aristocrats of the country have blatantly placed themselves in the payroll of the fascist dictatorship under the so-called Trade Union Congress of the Philippines. Others have been so cowed and discouraged by anti-union restrictions that they have turned to other occupations.

The trade union movement has become more than ever a fertile ground for the revolutionary work of the Party. The masses of workers are already aware that when the Party is in their midst their economic struggle becomes resolute and militant and they become equipped with a profound political understanding of their situation and with a wide range of tactics.

Our propaganda has had some effects. Normally, it should outstrip our organizational work. But our propaganda and prestige have too far outstripped what solid results there should be for our organizational work. We should solve the problem not by reducing our propaganda. On the other hand, we should ceaselessly increase and amplify it. We should intensify not only our written propaganda of a general character but also all forms of verbal and nonverbal agitation suited to the most specific conditions. But we must harvest the crop of propaganda and agitation.

We must conduct organizational work among the workers more vigorously than ever before in conjunction with our propaganda and agitation. Since long before the fascist rule, the Party has devised the workers' organizing committee as an underground force for organizational expansion among the workers. But learning from experience in the countryside, specifically in connection with organizing a trade union where there is none yet, we do not immediately form this committee from out of those workers whom we meet at the beginning.

We can go through a process akin to that in organizing the present masses. First step is to organize as a matter of expediency the workers' liaison group from out of those workers with whom we can have relations at the beginning. Second step is for members of this secret group to introduce to us more workers, coming from every major part of an enterprise, so that we can form a secret organizing group in every major part of the enterprise.

Third step is for us to draw representatives or the best elements from the organizing group to form the workers' organizing committee. At every step, we must deepen our social investigation and provide political education and appropriate instructions to the workers that we come into contact with and organize.

The workers' organizing committee retains the organizing groups as its subsidiaries and improves their composition whenever necessary. By the time that the committee is established, it shall have been ready to draw up the list of workers' demands to which the majority of the workers are to be won over before the employers and his agents get wind of it. It takes only one, two or three capable party cadres to work with the committee.

The workers' organizing committee can be formed ahead of the workers' organizing group only in cases where we are certain right away that reliable and capable members are on hand at the beginning at least for honest trade union work. Such cases occur whether the objective is to form a trade union where there is none, to transform an already existing one or to put up one trade union against a thoroughly discredited one.

In any case, the workers' organizing committee and its organizing groups are a good means for giving way to the emergence of worker activists within them and outside them. The process of winning over the majority of workers to a list of union demands, creating the militant unity necessary to pursue such demands and developing the political consciousness of the worker masses are conditions for the emergence of a considerable number of worker activists.

Even only at the stage of the workers' organizing committee and organizing groups, our Party cadres should draw into the Party the advanced elements from the ranks of worker activists. Those who are through with the mass course on the trade union work and the national-democratic revolution can be immediately introduced to

Marxism, their very own class ideology to which they are very receptive.

The ideological, political and organizational work of the Party branch and the groups under it in the enterprise is the best guarantee that revolutionary politics is in command of trade union work. The Party branch forms and directs the party groups embedded in the leadership of the trade union.

The workers' organizing committee and its organizing groups are dissoluble upon the establishment of the party branch and groups within the enterprise and the absorption of all the workers activists into the structure of the trade union. The organizing groups can be converted into group stewards and certainly a number of their members can qualify to be members of the Party groups. More and more workers can be put into study circles organized by the Party.

It is necessary for some of our Party cadres to draw salaries and allowances from trade unions so as to devote their full time to trade union and political work. But party members should not monopolize the high posts in the trade union; and the members of the secretariat of the Party branch should not necessarily become the highest leaders of the trade union. We must allow the democratic broadness of the trade union; there can be good union leaders who cannot yet comply with the requirements of Party membership. And moreover, we do not want to let the enemy cripple the Party branch by simply clamping down on the trade union or its open leadership.

In further consideration of tactics in the face of the fascist enemy, trade unions under the effective leadership of the Party should not be replaced under only one chose legal labor federation. This is to prevent the enemy from singling out one nest for attack. Our trade unions can variably be independent or members of various labor federations. We must determine the best possible status of each trade union.

The Party secretly links and coordinates all our trade unions. Our "independent" unions can retain more income from membership dues and are somewhat saved from control by the reactionary trade union leaders. But when members of different labor federations, our unions have the advantage of enjoying close relations with other unions which the party can gradually get into.

The Party branch in an enterprise should see to it that Party members and other worker activists, with the help of the mass of their workers, do systematic revolutionary work in the communities. We must expand the workers' revolutionary movement by promoting contracts among workers of various enterprises not only within labor federations, along industrial lines or through factory areas but also through the communities.

In communities, workers from all kinds of enterprises reside. The workers already organized and politicized by us can form secret study circles and work closely in community work with other workers. The result is that the latter will bring us to so many more enterprises. Our Party cadres should take firm hold of this possibility for expansion.

In community work, we must rely mainly on the masses of workers and other urban poor. They compose the majority of the people in most communities in the cities. If we place the focus on them in establishing the community organizing committees and either transforming the previously established mass organizations where they predominate or building new mass organizations, especially where there are none yet, it becomes relatively easy to strike roots in the community and reach the youth, women and other sections of the community.

We must consign to a secondary position the old pattern of sending youth activists, mainly student activists, into urban poor communities and then letting them deal mainly with the youth in the community. We must advance from that situation before fascist martial rule in which there were more youth and student youth organizations than workers' organizations under our direction. We do not wish to diminish youth organizing and discourage activists from schools from participating in local community work. But we wish to give full play to the workers' role not only in trade union affairs but also in community affairs.

The community organizing committee can be immediately formed when we rely on workers or a combination of workers and youth who are themselves residents of the community and have proven to be good activists elsewhere. Of course, we assume that they are led by Party cadres. Then, community organizing groups can be formed to cover the various parts of the community.

The community organizing committee should continuously conduct social investigation and expand its contacts to be able to do well its work at every step. Since there are mass organizations existing prior to our organizational work, the community organizing committee can draw activists from these to form the community organizing groups. These organizations usually include the neighborhood associations, youth clubs, women's associations, squatters' organizations, athletic clubs, groups of professionals, civic clubs, regional or provincial groups

and the like.

The advantage in drawing activists from already existing organizations is that they are closely related to the people in the community and that we can cover effectively not only the parts of the community but also the already existing mass organizations. Though we can form new mass organizations with different names in different communities, there is a decided advantage, especially under conditions of fascist martial rule, to make use of the legality of already existing mass organizations and engage the soonest in activities by which we can go deep among the masses and gradually raise their political consciousness.

Because we rely mainly on the masses of workers and other urban poor and we take up their majority interests, it is not too difficult to transform certain already existing mass organizations. We develop a Party group within each of them and make political advances step by step. On this basis, we can maneuver or overwhelm even the “barangay councils” or “kabataang barangay” and other reactionary organs or institutions into becoming fora or channels for our revolutionary propaganda.

At every stage of the work of the community organizing committee and its organizing groups, we can draw into the Party the most advanced elements from the ranks of the revolutionary activists. In due time, the community organizing committee and its organizing groups can be dissolved because a Party branch has been established in the community and in the legal mass organizations. Mass work and party work can so advance in the communities that the Party branch will be based eventually on the street.

It is a matter of course that the party should be vigilant and look after its security all the time and everywhere, especially in the cities where enemy control and surveillance are tighter than in the countryside. But the Party should pay special attention to securing itself from infiltration by antisocial lumpen-proletarian elements though this be covered by our political work.

The urban petty bourgeoisie is a social stratum whose members are usually self-centered and dispersed. But their children are concentrated in universities and high schools and here they are receptive to revolutionary propaganda. The schools therefore merit the conscientious attention of the Party. These are next in importance to the factories and the urban poor communities.

The student masses and their teachers are an important force in bringing the intelligentsia and the entire urban petty bourgeoisie to the side of the revolution. They are the section of the urban petty bourgeoisie which has the most revolutionary potential. This fact has been proven repeatedly in our history; and the first quarter storm of 1970 and succeeding developments prove it. Students continue to join today's workers' struggles.

Quite a number of students and their teachers have gone so far as to strive remolding their outlook, engage deeply in revolutionary work and join the Party. Other students do not go as far but they accept the general line of the Party and spread this to the ranks of the petty producers and the professionals. The revolutionary fervor of the student masses could be such that even some children of the exploiting classes who are their schoolmates become attracted to the revolutionary movement.

In the course of community work, the owners of small stores and shops, professionals and white-collar employees are reached by our propaganda. Though they can render some service to the revolutionary movement, they are not as important as the student masses and teachers who are concentrated in great numbers in schools, are very capable of propaganda work and mass actions and are willing to coordinate their activities with the masses of workers.

The national-democratic organizations of the youth before fascist martial rule have done a great service to the revolutionary cause. Their work has been so fruitful in some schools and communities that there are now Party branches continuing revolutionary underground work here.

In schools where there are yet no party branch and no Party-led mass organization, Party cadres should establish school organizing committees and organizing groups to develop the initial activists from among the students, teachers and other school personnel, push for the establishment of genuine student governments and publications, promote revolutionary ideas in old student organizations or build new ones as means of promoting such ideas and help unions among teachers and other school personnel.

Student activists developed by the school organizing committee and organizing groups should be directed to create as many secret study circles as they can among friends and classmates; and teacher activists should do likewise among co-employees, students and friends. The efficacy of their ideological and propaganda work should in due time result in political mass actions.

The student masses, teachers and other school personnel should link the issues on the campus with the deteriorating conditions of society in general. The progressive students of the University of the Philippines are showing the way to fight the Marcos fascist dictatorship, how to oppose antinational, antidemocratic policies and actions. They have started to make mass protests of their own and join those of the workers.

Even only at the stage of the school organizing committee and organizing groups, we can start to draw into the Party the most advanced elements from the ranks of the school activists. Eventually the Party branch should emerge in the school, and party groups in the various parts of the school as well as in the mass organizations there. In large universities, it is possible for a section committee of the Party to lead so many party branches that are based on the colleges.

We should continue carrying out the policy of deploying student activists for social investigation and mass work in factories and communities accessible to them. We should promote the closest links between the worker and student activists in the cities so that concerted mass actions of the worker masses and student masses will become possible.

The development of the democratic movement in Manila-Rizal and other urban areas constitutes powerful political support to the revolutionary struggle in the countryside. The people in the entire country become aroused and the enemy is shaken within his fortress.

The people in the cities should realize that the long-term development of the underground there and the steady growth of political mass actions and a preparation for the final day of reckoning for the ruling system, when their general uprising will come into coordination with the general offensive of the people's army. The Party should promote this revolutionary thinking and dispel notions that the people's army should now send its small but growing forces to the cities for some spectacular actions.

There are other kinds of support from the cities for the revolutionary struggle in the countryside. The Party organization in the cities can systematically dispatch cadres who still have legal status or who no longer have this to the countryside. Cadres of worker status or of student background can be sent to their native areas or where they are most needed. Funds, medicine, military equipment, medical equipment, communications equipment, clothes, revolutionary publications and other useful materials can also be collected and sent.

It is inevitable at the moment for our communication to pass through certain cities. For instance, communications between the Visayas and Mindanao on the one hand and the central leadership of the Party cannot bypass Manila-Rizal. There should be a reliable corps of couriers who can travel legally between the cities and the countryside and from one region to another.

There should be coordination between the revolutionary struggle in the cities and that in the countryside on so many things. The Party is the coordinator and should have special organs to attend to the requirements of coordination.

6. Realize a broad antifascist, antifeudal and anti-imperialist united front!

We must realize a broad antifascist, antifeudal and anti-imperialist united front under the leadership of the working class through its political party. As earlier pointed out, the foundation of this united front policy is the basic alliance of the working class and the peasantry.

Upon this foundation, we win over the urban petty bourgeoisie principally and the national bourgeoisie secondarily as additional allies. At the same time, we note well and take advantage of the splits among the reactionaries—the comprador big bourgeoisie and landlords who are now divided between the pro-Marcos and anti-Marcos sides.

The toiling masses of workers and peasants compose the overwhelming majority of the national population and, being the most oppressed and exploited, they are the most interested in a comprehensive antifascist, antifeudal and anti-imperialist movement. They constitute the main force of the united front. Only with such a force can we implement the policy of uniting the many to oppose the few and isolate and destroy the enemy.

Going deep among the workers and also among the peasants, the party links and coordinates both classes for a united revolutionary struggle. At the stage of the national-democratic revolution, when armed struggle is the main form of struggle, it is of the highest importance that the party in representation of the working class must do painstaking mass work among the peasants and build a peasant army.

It does not suffice to say that the peasantry is the closest and most reliable ally of the working class. Further analysis is required for the concrete application of the united front in the countryside. The peasantry is divided

into three strata with various political attitudes on the basis of their economic status.

We must develop the antifeudal united front in the countryside. We must rely mainly on the poor peasants, win over the middle peasants and neutralize the rich peasants to oppose the evil landlord gentry. When we speak of the peasantry as the closest ally of the working class, we refer essentially to the poor peasants and middle peasants.

The barrio organizing committee was originally conceived as an organ of expansion and as the embryo of local people's government along the line of the united front. Now that we are laying it aside, it does not mean that we are dispensing with united front work in the barrios. We simply want to strengthen the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants together in their own mass organization and not simply mix them up with the rich peasants and other unstable elements in a committee.

Carrying out the united front policy and employing its tactics, we must deal properly with all those entities outside the peasant movement. We must step by step win over the entirety of the middle peasants into the association, we must deal with them properly as individuals or groups and still try to gain some support and cooperation from them.

The rich peasants are not so much interested in the antifeudal movement. But they resent the economic crisis, the arbitrariness of the fascist dictatorship and the increasing taxes and have some patriotic feelings. When the revolutionary peasant movement is strong and the people's army is around, they are quite a hospitable lot and may even offer to join the peasant association. It is upon the rise of reaction that their reactionary aspect comes to the fore.

There are usually traditional and legal organizations where peasants of all strata are mixed up. We cannot summarily ban or ignore these. We must study these carefully and apply the united front policy to make them truly beneficial to the poor and lower-middle peasants or helpful to the revolutionary struggle.

There are such associations or groupings as the elders' councils, the usually informal mutual aid and labor exchange groups, irrigation associations, farm workers' groups cooperatives, youth clubs, athletic teams, carpenters' groups, the parents-teachers association, 4-H club, women's club, religious sects and so on and so forth.

Even such tools of the reactionary government as the barrio or "barangay council", "kabataang barangay", "samahang nayon" and at certain times the rural police, ronda or "home defense" unit may be neutralized, transformed or broken up, depending on the circumstances. The names of these associations can often be used for revolutionary dual tactics specifically for covering up what is revolutionary.

In the countryside, there are many other kinds of possible allies. There are the teachers and other professionals, the small and middle merchants and entrepreneurs, certain relatively big businessmen and some enlightened landlords. The teachers and professionals are good medium for spreading propaganda in the towns. Doctors and nurses can give much-needed medical services and medicine. The businessman and enlightened landlords pay taxes or give contributions and sometimes provide facilities to us.

When conditions are ripe, we must establish the organ of democratic political power along the line of the united front. We have already pointed out that the full establishment of the basic mass organizations in the barrio is the precondition for the establishment of the barrio revolutionary committee. In the period before the establishment of the barrio revolutionary committee, the functions of local self-government can be performed with the peasant organizing committee or the leading committee of the fully-organized peasant association hewing to the party's united front policy. In the cities, we must continue the policy of winning the support of the student masses and their teachers by way of reaching and winning over the entire urban petty bourgeoisie. Upon the success of this policy, we can also win over the national bourgeoisie as they become aware that a strong anti-imperialist movement is advocating independence and national industrialization.

Elements of the national bourgeoisie in areas within the jurisdiction of the people's army have extended support to us. In the cities, there are also members of the national bourgeoisie who have extended support to us, especially through the student and youth movement.

In the principal conservative and reactionary organizations in the country, best exemplified by the political parties like the now dormant Nacionalista and Liberal parties, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie have been mere tails of the ruling classes—the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class.

This is true even in professional and civic organizations at the municipal, provincial and national levels. In the chambers of commerce and industry, the national bourgeoisie are also reduced to being mere tails of the big

bourgeoisie and big landlords. We must form groups within these associations to consolidate the ranks of the national bourgeoisie are also reduced to being mere tails of the big bourgeoisie and big landlords. We must form groups within these associations to consolidate the ranks of the national bourgeoisie and promote the national and democratic line.

The Preparatory Commission of the National Democratic Front and the regional united front commissions have projected and broadcast our united front policy; have succeeded in winning over groups and personalities who take the stand of the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie and have established progressive underground groups, called national-democratic cell, within the most reactionary institutions and organizations. Some of these groups have helped us reach the basic masses that would otherwise be difficult to reach.

The aforesaid commissions have the special task of winning over the middle forces of the revolutionary cause and bringing to the main organization of the party concrete assistance in reaching the basic forces of the revolution. Legal mass organizations and mass activities of a national-democratic character should be well undertaken. Close attention must be paid to this urgent task.

The door continues to be open widely for cooperation with those who are against the Marcos fascist dictatorship who may vary in degree of anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism. We must unite with them but we must maintain our independence and initiative and we struggle with them on just grounds and with restraint all for the purpose of winning the hearts and minds of the people and advancing the revolutionary struggle.

The Lava revisionist renegades have long excluded themselves from the united front. By surrendering to the Marcos fascist dictatorship and actively participating in vicious counterrevolutionary actions, this handful of revisionist fascist criminals have become totally discredited even in the few small areas which they once boasted of as their bailiwicks. The Manglapus group, fancying itself as the "social democratic party", has also excluded itself from the united front by being no more than a tool of the Central Intelligence Agency.

As it is now taking shape, the main split among the reactionaries is between the Marcos fascist gang and an alliance ostensibly led by Macapagal. Though Marcos has a sizable number of agents within the interim national assembly and has limited its authority, especially under fascist martial rule, he refuses to convene it and intends to explicitly abolish it because he is afraid that it would become a forum for popular opposition.

Aware of Marcos' scheme, especially with Imelda already emerging as second-in-command and successor, Macapagal has called on the officers of the reactionary armed forces to make a counter coup and rule for a short period to pave the way for the convening of the interim national assembly. Obviously, he has already gotten the assurance of US imperialism that he can openly lead the opposition loyal to the ruling system. The pushing out of certain inside men of the CIA from Marcos ranks bears watching.

US imperialism intends to be aggrandized, whichever direction events may take in the struggle between the Marcos and Macapagal factions. This single dominant power in the country wants two dogs to compete for the same reactionary purposes. The only difference there is from reactionary competitions before martial rule is the increasingly conspicuous role of the reactionary armed forces.

Under the circumstances, with both reactionary factions competing for the good graces of US imperialism, it is clear that we become more determined to carry forward the national-democratic line against fascism, feudalism and imperialism and carry out the armed struggle relentlessly. As revolutionaries, we do not want to get bogged down in debates whether the Marcos constitution or the 1935 constitution is to be promoted. The point is to fight well the Marcos fascist dictatorship and the forces behind it and in the process carry the revolution forward.

A coup d'état led by reactionary military officers can be as bad as or worse than the present Marcos fascist dictatorship even if it promises to pave the way for the interim national assembly. However, there is also the possibility that the coup d'état will bring to power a civilian faction and really allows it to reverse Marcos' fascist excesses. We must be prepared for every possibility.

We must always remember that our united front work is in support of the revolutionary armed struggle. We must have reliable and long-term allies and we must also have unreliable and short-term allies. The most important thing is that we have allies to be able to reach, arouse, organize and mobilize the millions upon millions of people who are under various influences for the revolutionary cause.

7. Relate the Philippine revolution to the world revolution!

We must relate the Philippine revolution to the world revolution. We are proletarian internationalists. We are carrying out the Philippine revolution to contribute our own share in the struggle of the world proletariat and the

entire mankind to defeat imperialism and bring about the dawn of communism.

We recognize at the same time all anti-imperialist struggles and advances of the revolution in other countries redound to the benefit of the Philippines revolution and favor its advance. These bring about conditions favorable to our revolutionary efforts. We receive powerful political support and boundless inspiration. We learn invaluable lessons. We see in the victorious national-democratic revolutions and socialist revolutions abroad our bright future.

The astounding revolutionary victories of the Indochinese peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos have signaled the irreversible decline of US imperialism in Southeast Asia, in the whole of Asia, in the whole world and in its very homegrounds. We are enthusiastic that the Peoples of small countries can deal so stunning a blow to US imperialism and make so great a contribution to the world revolution.

The stable outposts of anti-imperialism in Southeast Asia have arisen and have raised the banner of socialist revolution and socialist construction. In all unliberated countries in the region, the people are more than ever determined to carry out revolutionary armed struggle against US imperialism and its lackeys.

We are witnessing today the abandonment of the ignominious Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, an outrightly US military instrument, and a retreat into the Association of Southeast Asian Nation. This latter organization no longer flaunt the aggressive power of US imperialism and even denies being an instrument of this superpower. But it admits openly that the three main concerns of its reactionary member governments are to suppress "insurgencies;" promote "peace, freedom and neutrality" and develop "regional economic cooperation. We must not fail to recognize that the main and essential character of the ASEAN is counterrevolutionary even as we observe that this organization reflects a certain trend that is merely the result of the crisis of the world capitalist system, the US imperialist debacle in Indochina and the crisis plaguing each unliberated Southeast Asian country. Such a trend should remind us the more of our responsibilities as revolutionaries.

In our vicinity are the people of China surging forward in their socialist revolution and socialist construction and standing firmly against the two superpowers. The Korean people are engaged also in socialist revolution and socialist construction in the north and are facing up to US imperialism and its lackeys in the south.

Far and wide, the revolution is rapidly advancing. The people of Asia, Africa and Latin American continue to wage powerful revolutionary movements against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. In all other continents, including the homegrounds of US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, the people are engaged in revolutionary struggles. Revolution is still the main trend in the world today and Marxist-Leninist parties are steadily forging ahead.

The world revolution is advancing under conditions of intensifying superpower contention, grave crisis of the world capitalist system and the rise of the third world people and countries as the main force of the world anti-imperialist struggle. All basic contradictions are sharpening and all the ingredients of both revolution and war are exhuming.

Despite their off-and-on "peace" and "detente" duets to lull the people of the world, the two superpowers are engaged in an ever-intensifying rivalry for world hegemony and are feverishly making arms expansion and war preparations. They are trying to push each other out and gain an advantage everywhere. It is clear that their imperialist rivalry is the source of the danger of war.

Though the two superpowers are overextending themselves all over the world, Europe is their main bone of contention. Their clashing interests are most concentrated here. War is likely to start here. Troubles are now increasingly erupting here and in its vicinity. Should war break out in that part of the world, the beasts can finish off or weaken each other while we push forward the revolution in our country and in our region.

But while war does not yet break out in Europe, Soviet social-imperialism is trying to penetrate even such a country like the Philippines which US imperialism considers a permanent preserve in this part of the world. Soviet social-imperialism calculates that it must make diplomatic and trade inroads to weaken US imperialism in as many places as possible and push hard its new tsarist ambitions of world hegemony.

US imperialist domination in the Philippines can be removed only by a powerful revolutionary movement. But the Soviet social-imperialists nurture the illusion that someday their long-discredited local agents, the Lava revisionist renegades, will be able to do turns for them and commit far more treachery and mischief than they presently can as shameless tools of the Marcos fascist dictatorship. Even now, within their narrow circles, the lava revisionist renegades do not tire of talking about getting more help from their imperialist master to do more

mischievous.

The reason is clear why Soviet social-imperialism even as enemy of US imperialism cannot be our friend in any way. While we must oppose US imperialism, we must be alert to Soviet social-imperialism and frustrate its scheme. We are well past the early 1960s when Soviet modern revisionism could still deceive well-intentioned people.

The present crisis of the world capitalist system has been the worst since the end of World War II and continues to deepen and worsen. The inherent law of motion of capitalism, bringing about a crisis of overproduction; the monopolistic competition among capitalist countries, especially the leading imperialist powers; and the reduction of economic territory by revolutions and by the assertion of independence by hard-pressed countries have spelled the present world capitalist crisis.

The imperialists shift the burden of crisis to those whom they can. They do so through accelerated rates of profits on direct investments, usurious loans and unequal trade. The people resist. Even a reactionary government like that of the Philippines, while determined to remain a puppet of US imperialism, has to maneuver for its own sake.

The third world countries have increasingly asserted their independence and demanded a new international economic order in the face of the world capitalist crisis and superpower machinations. Underlying the phenomenon of even reactionary governments posing to assert the independence of their countries is the growth of the revolutionary movement and at the same time the concern of the reactionary leaders that they must lessen or palliate the crisis that threatens them.

It must be made clear to the people that the Marcos fascist dictatorship has broadened the diplomatic and trade relations of the Philippines out of desperation and weakness even as it still clings to US imperialism as its imperialist master. The circumstances in the emergence of better Philippine relations with the Middle East countries and China are clear.

As the fascist dictator claims credit for promoting the US line of "interdependence" in the third world, we must criticize and condemn him for acting as an inveterate agent of US imperialism within the third world and for putting a brake on the most meaningful participation of the Philippines in the anti-imperialist struggle of the third world. We must make our own projection of the demands of the third world in the terms especially of its revolutionary people.

The facts show that under the Marcos fascist dictatorship the economic stranglehold of US imperialism on the Philippines has become tighter. Because of the Marcos constitution and the fascist decrees giving more privileges to foreign investors, there is practically no more need for any new economic treaty replacing the Laurel-Langley Agreement.

The fascist dictator has always asserted that US imperialism should keep its military bases in the Philippines, provide a "nuclear umbrella" and guard the `skies and seas. Negotiations on the US-RP military treaties have been an old ritual repeatedly resorted to in a futile attempt to deflect the people's anti-imperialist struggle.

The only new thing in current negotiations on such treaties is that the Marcos fascist dictatorship wants some rent on the vast tracts of land occupied by the US military bases, relinquishment of some small sections of the land for Marcos' real estate speculation and assurances of more US financial and military assistance. The question of sovereignty over the US military bases has long been resolved; the point has always been to assert such sovereignty by deeds.

We must strive to have the Philippine revolution enjoy not only the political support of friendly forces abroad but also concrete assistance from them. US imperialism has not stopped but has even stepped up the giving of congressional and extra-congressional military and other kinds of assistance to the Marcos fascist dictatorship.

Remaining a puppet of US imperialism, the Marcos fascist dictatorship misappropriates such terms as "self-reliance" and "nonalignment" in the same fashion that he domestically misappropriates such a term as "democratic revolution" for the fascist counterrevolution. Snatching terms from the revolutionary movement is an old trick of the fascist thief. But reality speaks louder.

Unlike the reactionaries, we stand on the basic principles of independence and self-reliance. Foreign assistance should only be supplementary to our independent and self-reliant efforts. Even without any foreign assistance, we should be able to fight on and advance step by step. As already pointed out, practically everything that we need can come from the people and from the battlefield.

We should be able to draw support and assistance from as many foreign friends as possible, short of falling any trap set by the US imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists. We appreciate most the kind of assistance that enhances self-reliance, our armed struggle and our propaganda.

Aside from developing the closest and most fruitful relations with the Marxist-Leninist parties and other revolutionary organizations, we should pay attention to our own Filipino compatriots abroad. Associations of our compatriots should extend every possible kind of support to the revolutionary struggle in their motherland and should win the widest possible support from their host people.

The half-a-million Filipinos in the United States have a very important role gathering support for the Philippine revolution not only from their own ranks but also from the American people. US intervention and the possibility of another US war of aggression in the Philippines must be effectively opposed with the support of the American people.

Overseas Filipinos are found in various parts of the world. Wherever they are, they should do what they can to help their people and should prepare themselves to join the ranks of the revolutionaries in the motherland. We assume that the most progressive among them study Marxism-Leninism and take appropriate interest in the revolutionary struggles in their host countries.

The conditions in the world which now favor the advance of the Philippine revolution are bound to become more excellent. The future for all revolutionary people is bright. That of the imperialists and the reactionaries is bleak.

The People's Revolutionary Strength Shall Prevail

First published in *Ang Bayan*, Special Release, September 11, 1976

The Communist Party of the Philippines, as reestablished on the theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, has gone through more than seven years of fierce revolutionary struggle and has in the process advanced ideologically, politically and organizationally.

On December 26, 1968, we could dare reestablish the Party and start from scratch. Now that there are thousands of Party members, who have stood the acid test of the struggle against the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique, it is certainly more than ever clear that the enemy's wish of decimating the ranks of our Party leadership is a more pipe dream.

The leadership of the Party lies in its correct ideological and political line. So long as the masses are aroused, organized and mobilized for their own just revolutionary cause, we will continue to reap victories and we will never run short of capable Party leaders at every level. Party cadres continually emerge from the revolutionary masses and are tempered and developed in the course of revolutionary struggle. The Party is capable of reinforcing or replenishing the ranks of its leadership as soon as the need arises. The nine regional Party organizations and the general offices of the Central Committee are a rich source of cadres for membership in the Central Committee.

There are several scores of Party cadres qualified for nomination to the Central Committee. They have the ideological, political and organizational qualifications. They have the advantage of experience and tempering that did not belong to the members of the Central Committee in 1968.

The Third Plenum of the Central Committee has made a thoroughgoing study of and ample provision for the sustenance of the Central Committee in the face of the increasingly vicious campaigns of the enemy. Despite the January and August events, the Central Committee as a whole is intact and is in a position to replenish and reinforce its ranks.

Like any revolutionary new thing, the reestablished party must undergo and overcome tremendous difficulties. Within the first two years after the reestablishment of the Party, when it was far smaller and far weaker than at present, the Central Committee deputy chairman was killed and its general secretary captured. But we have continued to forge ahead.

Now the enemy boasts of having captured similarly prominent leaders of the Party and of having accumulated in his hands quite a number of Central Committee member since 1970. The revolution will go on and the Party will continue to lead it. So long as there is oppression, the people's resistance will continue and the Party will have the conditions to thrive on.

As a revolutionary party of the proletariat, we should be moved to fight the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique more determinedly and more effectively whenever some setback occurs. We have an ever growing basis for raising our fighting spirit and fighting capacity. We sum up our experience, learn from our positive and negative experiences and perform our urgent tasks militantly.

The most important thing is to fight tenaciously for the national-democratic interests of the people against the Marcos fascist dictatorship and US imperialism and arouse, organize and mobilize the broad masses of the people for the purpose. So long as we are determined to serve the people and we rely on them, we are ready to undergo any hardship or sacrifice.

We must not fear sacrifice, even as we avoid and prevent unnecessary sacrifices. There can be no revolutionary victory without sacrifice. We must not waver in the face of any kind of setback. We must uphold our just revolutionary cause, rely on the masses and strive harder to defeat the enemy.

The fascist dictatorship is rotten to the core and its outward strength is temporary. The political and economic crisis that has brought it about is unabatedly worsening. Conditions both in the country and in the world are excellent for making revolution. Inevitably, the people's revolutionary strength shall prevail in our country.

The more enthusiastic we become over the people's growing resistance to the enemy, the more we should not let down our guard. While we hate and are contemptuous of the enemy, we must always take serious and meticulous account of him tactically. We must always be vigilant and adept at developing the underground in both rural

and urban areas, especially because our guerrilla fronts are still small and narrow and there are several things involving coordination between town and countryside.

We must be thoroughgoing in studying every piece of tactical information that the enemy comes to know about us. And we must act promptly to foil the evil that the enemy is cooking up; we must render this useless and make drastic changes in personnel, location and methods whenever necessary. We must do well our political work because more people militantly working with and supporting us means more strength, ways and means to outwit and beat the enemy.

We go by the policy of centralized leadership and decentralized operations. Thus, whenever there are difficulties in our system of communication, we are firmly guided by the general line and standing policies of the central leadership; and regional organizations can take initiative and work arduously according to their respective situations.

After all, the regional organizations of the Party and the New People's Army and the mass organizations and mass movements are the underpinnings of the policy of self-reliance set by the Central Committee. The people and the battlefield are our inexhaustible sources of the strength and support.

We must grasp well the specific characteristics of our people's war and resolutely carry out "Our Urgent Tasks." If we fail to do so, we will fall badly from the level of revolutionary struggle that we have already reached. We must seize every moment to develop further the subjective forces of the revolution, take advantage of the excellent objective conditions and advance the people's democratic revolution.

Every Party member in the New People's Army, in the barrios, in the factories, in the schools, in the offices and even in the torture chambers and prison houses must perseveringly and vigorously do his share in advancing the Philippine revolution and the class leadership of the proletariat.

Resolutely carry out our urgent tasks!

Down with the Marcos fascist dictatorship and its US imperialist master!

Revolutionary leaders always arise from the revolutionary mass movement!

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army!

Long live the people's democratic revolution!

On the Eighth Anniversary of our Party

Published as *Ang Bayan* Special Release, December 26, 1976

Today we celebrate with boundless joy the eighth anniversary of the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines on the theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. On this occasion, we sum up and draw lessons from our experience, consolidate our ranks and raise our determination to carry out our urgent revolutionary tasks.

The last eight years easily comprise a great part of the formative stage of the Party. In the course of fierce revolutionary struggle, we have acquired rich experience and become tempered. On the whole, the Party has won substantial victories ideologically, politically and organizationally.

The road of revolution is a tortuous one, with many twists and turns. Since the beginning, we have been subjected to the most vicious enemy military campaigns. But we have withstood all. More than four years of fascist martial rule by the US-Marcos clique have failed to turn back the people's democratic revolution. We have moved forward from one significant victory to another.

The Communist Party of the Philippines

The mass of Party members are deeply aware that the ideological building of the Party is one of applying the universal theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought on the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution. The study of the basic scientific principles of revolution found in the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao is being creatively linked to the specific characteristics of the country and to the details of our experience and current work.

We remain firm in opposing modern revisionism promoted by the Soviet social-imperialists and the Lava revisionist renegades. At the same time, we are alert to and combat dogmatist and empiricist trends within the Party. We realize that there are no ready-made complete solutions to our specific problems from books or from abroad. At the same time, we maintain the proletarian internationalist spirit of learning from the successful revolutionary experience of others. We also persevered in raising our experience to the level of theory.

The correctness of our ideological line is verified by our success in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the broad masses of the Filipino people along the antifascist, antifeudal and anti-imperialist political line. Our organizational efforts have directly embraced several hundreds of thousands of people and our influence have positively reached the people in their millions. We have kept to the armed struggle as the main form of our struggle and have developed the united front to promote it. In the handling of these two weapons, we have surged forward and at the same time pointed to "Left" and Right opportunist trends which have had to be rectified.

At every level of the Party, there should be an accurate accounting of our strength. We should be able to state the number of people encompassed by our mass organizations and organs of political power; the kind and results of mass movements; the kind and extent of mass support that we are receiving; the number of armed propaganda, guerrilla and militia squads that we have organized; the armed strength that these have and the kind and extent of political and military training that they have acquired; and the number and quality of Party branches, groups, committees and members arising from every field of work. On the basis of the revolutionary mass movement, we have gradually increased our Party membership.

Under the Central Committee, there are the nine regional Party organizations and a few central offices, streamlined since mid-1974. Properly, the bulk of revolutionary work is carried out by the regional Party organizations which now cover the entire country and are well rooted in their respective areas. In relation to the Central Committee, the regional Party organizations follow the policy of centralized leadership and decentralized operations.

Each regional Party organization outside Manila-Rizal is leading mass organizations (workers, peasants, youth, women, children and cultural activists) in rural and urban areas and the armed propaganda, guerrilla and militia units within the framework of the New People's Army. The focus of our work is in developing the armed struggle and carrying out agrarian reforms, particularly the reduction of land rent, the elimination of usury (with due attention to inflationary trends) and the promotion of mutual aid and labor exchange.

There are now wide guerrilla fronts (including guerrilla bases and zones) under every regional Party organization outside Manila-Rizal. The revolutionary armed struggle during the year just ending has been characterized

by successful seizures of arms through ambushes, raids and ruses in a number of regions, thus raising the level of our armed strength on a national scale.

Units of the Party and the people's army and the mass organizations are learning to frustrate, if they cannot smash, large enemy campaigns of "encirclement and suppression." Time between military actions is being vigorously used to expand and consolidate mass work, undertake agrarian reforms, train the troops and build the Party.

Aside from giving first place to work in rural areas where there are already units of the New People's Army, the Party is also attending to work in rural areas where there are yet no units of the people's army and in the urban areas. Underground work among the masses is seriously being undertaken over widening areas.

The Manila-Rizal Party organization is leading an increasing number of trade unions, community and school organizations. It has focused its attention on the working class at the grassroots, while giving sufficient attention to other sections of the population. Strikes and demonstrations have surfaced during the past year, manifesting the effectiveness of the underground work of the Party among the masses. These inspired the worker masses to strike in other parts of the country.

As a result of the rapidly growing revolutionary mass movement, the US Central Intelligence Agency and a composite group of Marcos intelligence agencies are furiously working in coordination against us and are engaged in trying to trace the links between the Central Committee and the regional Party organizations, especially Manila-Rizal. We are already alert to this threat and we must further raise our vigilance.

All regional Party organizations have achieved self-reliance. Only four of these are receiving from the Central Committee small financial assistance that is virtually only for liaison purposes. The stage has been reached for the regional Party organizations to send up to the Central Committee surplus cash income for purposes of centralized propaganda and other work.

In the context of the over-all achievements of the Party, especially the growth of the regional Party organizations, the enemy is daydreaming when he boasts of being able to wipe out our Party or to decimate its leadership. The new Central Committee that will emerge in due time will be composed of Party cadres most representative of the ideological, political and organizational strength of the Party and will certainly include in the main those who worked the hardest in the growth of the revolutionary movement in various regions.

The national situation

The objective situation in the country is more than ever favorable for the growth of the subjective or organized forces of the revolution. The political and economic crisis of the ruling system has rapidly worsened under fascist martial rule.

The Marcos fascist dictatorship has abolished the "interim national assembly" and has replaced it with a mere "legislative advisory council," the "batasang pambansa," in one more fake referendum-plebiscite. By this stressing of the autocratic powers of the fascist dictator, all doors are closed to the bourgeois democrats except to the most exceptionally shameless capitulationists.

The necessity of armed revolution is more than ever affirmed. The New People's Army led by the Party enjoys exceedingly high prestige among the broad masses of the people who urge it to expand and strengthen itself. In Mindanao, the masses of Moro and non-Moro minority peoples and their armed contingents are determined to fight to the end for self-determination and democracy.

So abusive has been the fascist dictatorship that it has aroused some significant sections of the Catholic Church to become antifascist and take a line more progressive than that of Manglapus and his ilk. The reaction of the fascist dictatorship to this development is to use armed force against the democratic forces in the clergy and laity. This has only served to broaden the ranks of the antifascist opposition.

Realizing that the key to the power of the Marcos fascist dictatorship is the reactionary armed forces, the political rivals of Marcos within the ruling system are systematically calling on the reactionary officers and troops to overthrow him. The word is being spread that US imperialism does not mind Marcos being dumped.

The economic crisis has worsened to the point that it has thrown the fascist dictatorship into a state of panic. Marcos and his top henchmen now acknowledge that the economic crisis, which they ascribe only to external factors, is liable to make conditions for the intensification of armed resistance.

This crisis is relentlessly generated by the fascist dictatorship's own domestic excesses and by its puppetry to US imperialism which has been shifting the burden of the world capitalist crisis to economic appendages like the Philippines. Resources have been poured into and wasted on a colonial pattern of trade, investments and

borrowing; superprofit remittances by foreign monopolies; and government deficit spending on a rapid military build-up, purchases of nonproductive equipment and uneconomic and graft-ridden construction projects.

The foreign indebtedness of the Philippines is now admitted by the fascist authorities to be \$5.3 billion as of three months ago. In 1972, the debt was only \$1.9 billion and was accumulated in a period of about eight years. The local public debt has also soared to ₱40 billion from the 1972 level of ₱9.0 billion, despite the rapidly increased tax burden passed on to the people by the ruling classes.

The prices of all major export products, accounting for more than 95 percent of the dollar earnings of the country, are depressed. At the same time, the imperialists inflate the prices of imported commodities and services, load up the country with more debts at more onerous terms and remit superprofits at an accelerated rate from their direct investments, loans and trade.

To meet the demands of the foreign and domestic big bourgeoisie and the landlord class, the Marcos fascist dictatorship is raising the prices of even locally produced commodities to make up for the depression in prices of these commodities abroad. Yet the crisis has come to the point that a severed split is developing within the ruling classes as Marcos himself and his narrow faction of upstart big compradors and big landlords, including an increasing number of high military officers, are grabbing what are up for grabs.

Inflation and unemployment are becoming more severe everyday. It is the broad masses of the people, especially the toiling masses of workers and peasants, that suffer these. Yet they are deprived of basic democratic rights. Under these conditions, the revolutionary movement cannot but develop vigorously.

The masses of workers are seething with just indignation as they are reduced to starvation wages and deprived of the right to strike and other trade union rights. A total of more than 400 strikes occurred in 1976 throughout the country despite fascist repression. The strike movement is bound to widen in scope and reach now and higher levels of militancy.

The peasant masses condemn “Masagana 99” camouflaged usury and the Marcos promise of land reform as false and stale. They are actually being deprived of their tenancy and resettlement rights as foreign and local monopolists grab the land. They are increasingly being victimized by military operations calculated to evict them from the land. They have no recourse but to fight back and support the people’s army.

The urban petty bourgeoisie is not spared from the ravages of inflation and the arbitrariness of fascist rule. The national bourgeoisie is being rendered bankrupt by pro-imperialist policies. Under these conditions, the polarization of Philippine society continues to sharpen and the toiling masses can easily gain allies against the Marcos fascist dictatorship.

All that the Party needs is to grasp the objective situation in the country and in the localities and work tenaciously to build the revolutionary organizations—the mass organizations, the armed detachments and the Party itself.

The world situation

The world situation is more than ever favorable to the growth of the revolutionary movement in the country. The general crisis of capitalism is worsening. The two superpowers, US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, are being steadily isolated by the revolutionary struggles of the people of the world.

The third world people and countries are steadily developing as the main force of the international united front against imperialism, especially the superpower wanting to play the role of Hitlerite Germany. While US imperialism is on the decline, Soviet social-imperialism is frantically pushing its hegemonic ambitions and bellicose schemes.

The Philippines as a third world country is being encouraged to join the anti-imperialist front by other third world countries. But the Marcos fascist dictatorship is interested more in making pretenses and pushing the line of US imperialism and, moreover, in maneuvering to use “third world” diplomacy to cut off and isolate the antifascist and revolutionary forces in the country from friendly forces abroad. We are confident though that the powerful anti-imperialist trend of history, created by revolutionary movements, prevails over the machinations of a puny fascist dictatorship.

Under the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the reactionary governments are interested more in unleashing fascist terror against their respective peoples, making bilateral “counterinsurgency” agreements and accommodating business schemes subordinated to US and Japanese monopolists than in asserting their independence or even only in truly promoting any organizations for the protection of their raw-material exports.

The revolutionary struggles of the Southeast Asian peoples continue to advance, especially as a result of the defeat of US imperialism and its lackeys in Indochina. Revolution is definitely the main trend in Southeast Asia. Soviet social-imperialism is trying to do everything it can to dominate the region. But US imperialism is still dominant in the countries outside of Indochina. Only the people's revolutionary struggles can in the end put out US imperialism and avert its replacement by Soviet social-imperialism.

The Marcos fascist dictatorship remains a puppet of US imperialism. Even if one slurs over US economic domination, the US military bases are undeniable proof of this puppetry. The rejection of the Marcos fascist dictatorship when it tried to sneak into the ranks of the nonaligned countries is therefore an appropriate act against international demagoguery.

The Marcos fascist dictatorship has so far taken only a sham posture of independence. It openly acknowledges that the US military bases can stay in the country for so long as US imperialism pay some rent and give a few more concession. The question of sovereignty over these bases is not negotiable. The point is to assert it. The US military bases have no right under any signboard or monetary consideration to infringe on Philippine sovereignty and territorial integrity.

At the world strategic level, we consider Soviet social-imperialism the rising main enemy of the people of the world and main source of the danger of war. We must be alert to its every machination, therefore. But we are still in the backwaters of US imperialist domination and there are yet no conditions to regard Soviet social-imperialism as the No. 1 foreign oppressor or exploiter of the Filipino.

We are currently fighting the Marcos fascist dictatorship propped up by US imperialism, the No. 1 foreign enemy of the Filipino people in the Philippines. There are yet no conditions to warrant a drastic realignment of forces in the country comparable to that which occurred before and during the Japanese invasion of the Philippines during World War II.

In the spirit of proletarian internationalism, we express our solidarity with all Marxist-Leninist parties, revolutionary organizations and the people of other countries in their revolutionary struggles. And we also appeal to them to extend political and other possible and appropriate support to the Philippine revolutionary struggle. In the era of imperialism, no people in a semicolonial and semifeudal country fighting for genuine national independence and democracy can dispense with international support.

Our urgent tasks

At every level and in every unit of the Party, our comrades should set forth specific tasks at every turn and carry them out creatively, thoroughly and indefatigably. They must be able to link these with “Our Urgent Tasks” issues by the Central Committee on June 25 of this year. We reiterate hereunder these urgent tasks:

1. Carry forward the antifascist, antifeudal and anti-imperialist movement!

This is the current combative expression of the general line of carrying out the people’s democratic revolution. We must give the Marcos fascist dictatorship the hardest and most deadly blows. And we must link this antifascist struggle necessarily to the anti-imperialist and antifeudal struggle. The “new society” is but the worsening of the semicolonial and semifeudal society, with the Marcos fascist gang acting as the chief puppet of US imperialism and the general agent of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the big landlord class.

2. Further strengthen the Party and rectify our errors!

We are still in the formative stage of the Party if we consider the protraction of the struggle and look forward to the stage of socialist revolution. We have made some accomplishments and gained experience which should serve as the basis for further progress in ideological, political and organizational work. To guarantee our progress, we must be able to analyze not only our positive experiences but also our negative experiences so as to most effectively overcome the difficulties and rectify errors and weaknesses.

3. Build the revolutionary mass movement in the countryside!

We must put the focus of our mass work on the peasant masses and on the land question and comprehensively build mass organizations for workers, peasants, youth, women, children and cultural activists in the countryside. The steps for doing so, starting with the barrio liaison group, have been made clear. We must develop a great number of mass activists even as we resort to underground methods. From the ranks of these activists, we can build the Party and train the able-bodied for the militia and full-time guerrilla units of the New People’s Army.

4. Further strengthen the people’s army and carry forward the revolutionary armed struggle!

The armed struggle is the main form of our revolutionary struggle. On the basis of the revolutionary mass movement, we can organize a larger and more effective armed force. We can increase our armed strength by seizing arms from the enemy through ambushes, raids and ruses wherein we have complete initiative. At the same time, we must be good at frustrating, if not smashing, enemy campaigns of “encirclement and suppression.” We must be adept at employing tactics of dispersion, shifting and concentration, depending on the circumstances. Between battles, units of the people’s army must militantly engage in mass work.

5. Build the revolutionary mass movement in the cities!

We must put the focus of our mass work on the worker masses and comprehensively build mass organizations for workers and all other progressive sections, especially the intelligentsia, in the cities. We must conscientiously build the revolutionary underground in factories, communities, schools and offices and make it the deep and wide basis of open mass struggles. At the core of this underground should be the Party. We must continuously develop a great number of mass activists and draw from their ranks our Party members.

6. Realize a broad antifascist, antifeudal and anti-imperialist united front!

By doing well our revolutionary work among the basic masses, we have a base from which to win over allies in the countryside and in the cities. Our policy is to develop the progressive forces, win over the middle forces and split the ranks of the reactionaries to isolate and destroy the enemy. The united front serves to facilitate our reaching the masses in their millions and to present a wide and solid phalanx against enemy attacks. In the most difficult situations, we must be able to utilize even some conservative and nonrevolutionary organizations to serve the revolutionary cause.

7. Relate the Philippine revolution to the world revolution!

The Philippine revolution is part of the world revolution. Just as the revolutionary struggles of other peoples support our people’s struggle, we must work and fight hard in our revolutionary struggle to support them so that ultimately the whole of mankind can emancipate itself from imperialism and make possible the dawning of communism. It is our view that the development of the third world peoples and countries as the main force of the international united front against the two superpowers serves the cause of proletarian internationalism.

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought!

Long live the people's democratic revolution!

Going from Weak to Strong, Small to Big

First published in *Ang Bayan*, Vol. IX, No. 3, April 15, 1977.

The national democratic struggle is steadily being advanced by the people of Mindanao under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

Five years after the formation of the regional Party committee in Mindanao, the armed struggle is progressing well in all three fighting fronts of the region, and the revolutionary underground is thriving in several towns and cities. Cadres and guerrilla units of the New People's Army are rapidly opening new guerrilla zones.

The masses of the people in Mindanao are organizing to fight exploitation by American and Japanese monopoly-capitalists in the form of landgrabbing, unjust treatment of peasants under production contracts with the big foreign corporations, and exploitation of workers.

Feudal exploitation by big landlords is also a serious problem in Mindanao, especially for the poor settlers who migrated to the region from Luzon and the Visayas in search of an opportunity to make a better living.

Another problem is the violence inflicted by the state, acting in behalf of the giant foreign corporations, big landlords and the Marcos clique to put down the people's just resistance. The masses PC, Army and Marine personnel for their brutality and corruption, as much as they hate the bandits and goons armed and organized by the state into CHDFs and Panamin paramilitary units.

In short, land is the main problem of the people, who are fighting to defend their right to till the soil against the armed might and deceptive tactics of the imperialists, comprador-landlords and bureaucrat capitalists.

Much as in other areas of the Philippines, the New People's Army in Mindanao started with hardly any weapons. Today, armed units of the NPA are steadily increasing in several guerrilla zones.

Last November 13, 1976, for example, nine rifles and two pistols were seized from the enemy when Red fighters ambushed a PC patrol in Taocanga, Hanay, Davao Oriental. Nine puppet troops were killed, and two other were wounded. Two of the confiscated rifles were Armalite M-16s, five were Garands and the other two were carbines.

In Governor Generoso, Davao Oriental, four firearms were seized by NPA guerrillas in a surprise attack last August 27. Killed in the fighting were Candido Abudo, station commander of the Integrated National Police, and Mauro Singson, local CHDF head.

In November, arms were confiscated on two occasions by NPA units in Asuncion, Davao Oriental. Two M-16s were gained by the people's army during an attack on a PC detachment in barrio Longanapan, while two Magnum .22 pistols and a .38 caliber pistols were taken in an ambush sprung in barrio Aguinaldo. A puppet soldier, C1C Celestino Prieto, was killed in the first incident. Three CHDF members and a tax collector for the reactionary government died in the ambush.

In February, 1976, Red fighters confiscated a Garand rifle after a clash with a Panamin CHDF unit in Maraot, Mabini, Davao del Norte.

The masses in the countryside actively assist the Red fighters, organizing enemy surveillance operations, noting enemy strength and movements, and swiftly passing on information to NPA units.

Through their wholehearted integration with the people, careful investigation and patient organizational work, the people's army has been able to reach more areas and continually recruit more Red fighters from the ranks of the masses.

In several areas in the region, militia units led by Party cadres have been effectively organized to fight the people's enemies. Cattle rustling was thus eradicated in parts of western Mindanao, and bandit gangs were wiped out. People's militia units in some areas have also been successful in stopping landgrabbers' attempt to drive peasants off the land.

Thwarted by the growing resistance of the people and frustrated by successive victories of the people's army, the reactionary state turned its fury on people involved in legal projects aiming to assist urban poor communities, settlers, workers and national minority groups.

Over 200 citizens in Davao del Norte, Davao Oriental, Davao del Sur and Davao City, including some church workers, were ordered arrested on charges of rebellion and inciting to sedition. Two radio stations of the church were padlocked. These stations are located in Tagum, Davao del Norte and Malaybalay, Bukidnon.

The people angrily condemned the unjust detention of persons who had volunteered to serve in the humanitarian and patriotic projects.

In Davao City, more than 1,000 protesters massed to denounce the excesses of the martial law regime. Hundreds of others marched to the PC camp to insist on the democratic rights of the detainees. The dictatorship was forced to release most of the more than 70 who had been detained.

Over 9,000 citizens in Bukidnon signed letters demanding the reopening of the radio station in the capital town of Malaybalay. At the hearings of the case held on February 8-11 in Davao City, it became more evident than ever that the state had fabricated its evidence from bits and pieces.

Habagat (South Wind), revolutionary paper in Mindanao, reported:

During the three-day session, the people—numbering around 300 each time and composed of urban poor, students, teachers, professionals, families of detainees and religious—spontaneously and militantly booed when a state witness mistook a female detainee for somebody else. The hall resounded with laughter and clapping when another witness identified Tagum's Bishop Regan from among the audience, to which the judge reacted by withdrawing all of a sudden: he immediately reassured the spirited crowd that the good bishop was not really a respondent. Then again, cheers rose from the crowd when one of the state witness took 10 minutes before he finally was able to identify a detainee he had implicated. These acts of militancy, made in defiance of military men and government agents in court, so vexed the prosecutor that he begged the military judge more than once to expel the 'undisciplined' public from the hearing.

According to *Habagat*, the trumped-up charges were the handiwork of Col. Herminio Ahorro, chief of Task Force Pagkakaisa, in connivance with Panamin, acting to save the face of the fascist dictatorship.

"The people's victory in the February hearings only proves that no amount of deception can fool an awakened and vigilant citizenry," commented *Habagat*.

Two Major Responsibilities

First published as *Ang Bayan* Special Release, May 1, 1977.

We take this year's festival of the workers of the world as the occasion to address a message to the Manila-Rizal Party organization. We also take the occasion to inform the other regions on how to relate themselves to this regional Party organization and to some extent on how to carry out their own urban revolutionary struggles.

The Manila-Rizal organization of the Communist Party of the Philippines plays a key role in the entire antifascist, anti-imperialist and antifeudal movement. As a matter of fact, it plays the most important role when we speak only of the city-based struggles of the workers and the urban petty bourgeoisie.

The overwhelming majority of the industrial and other nonfarm workers are in Manila-Rizal. The urban petty bourgeoisie are also most concentrated here. The people's democratic revolution cannot win final victory if these basic revolutionary forces in the urban areas are not developed and do not complement and coordinate with those basic revolutionary forces in the rural areas.

To appreciate the role of the Manila-Rizal Party organization, let us consider its two major responsibilities. Firstly, it must develop the revolutionary forces within its territory. Secondly, it must extend support to the revolutionary forces outside its territory.

The first major responsibility

Let us take the first major responsibility. The Party must develop the revolutionary mass movement firstly among the workers and other urban poor and secondly among the urban petty bourgeoisie, especially the students and other sections of the intelligentsia. Mass organizations must be built in factories, schools and communities and mass campaigns launched here.

The leading force at the core of these mass organizations and campaigns must be the Party. On the basis of the revolutionary mass movement, the Party must boldly expand its ranks without letting a single undesirable in. With more members of an activist quality, the Party can lead more trade unions, student organizations and other mass organizations, and launch more campaigns to advance the people's democratic revolution.

Even if only at the stage of secret organizing groups and committees, the Party should select the most advanced activists from among the masses, entrust responsibilities to them, take them in as candidate members of the Party and give them the basic Party course immediately and elevate them to full Party membership according to standards set by the Party constitution. We should not hesitate to bring Marxism-Leninism to the masses, especially the workers.

Reflecting the progress of revolutionary work in Manila-Rizal, the number of Party members of worker status is rapidly growing and their percentage in the total membership is unprecedented. In due time, the overwhelming majority of Party members in the region should be workers. However, this should not signify a reduction of efforts among the intelligentsia and other sections of the urban petty bourgeoisie but the acceleration of efforts among the worker masses.

In contrast to our guerrilla zones in the countryside, the main form of struggle in Manila-Rizal as well as other white areas is clearly nonarmed and legal. We must make use of every possible legal means to arouse, organize and mobilize the masses. In this regard, we should not be carried away by enemy provocations but instead frustrate these.

We must carry forward the political and economic struggle of the worker masses. Legal struggles intended to improve their working and living conditions and raise the level of their political struggle must be carried out vigorously. Trade unions, cooperative societies, educational associations and various forms of legal organizations can be formed among them. These should serve as cover for the revolutionary underground movement.

We must support the struggle of the urban poor communities, composed mainly of proletarians and semiproletarians, especially those threatened or already victimized by ejection and demolition of their homes. We must oppose the imperialist and fascist scheme in the Manila Bay projects.

We must also encourage the students to organize themselves and speak out on issues pertaining to their own plight and that of the people. We must encourage the progressive groupings and undertakings of various sections of the urban petty bourgeoisie as well as those of the national bourgeoisie in accordance with the aims of the

united front.

In developing the mass movement among the workers, there should be an alternation of indoor meetings and outdoor mass actions, with the number of participants always on the rise. This method should also be applied among the student masses or combined masses of workers, urban poor and others. The most important thing for us at the moment is to progressively enlarge the mass actions.

While carrying out legal struggles, we must steadfastly build such components of the revolutionary underground as the Party leading organs, Party branches and groups, Party cadres' teams, organizing groups and committees, united front cells, alliance groups, propaganda staffs, support groups, communication units, self-defense committees, armed city partisans and many other forms of secret and illegal organizations.

In connection with the armed struggle in the countryside, the Manila-Rizal Party organization must bide its time and accumulate strength. The time will certainly come when the revolutionary forces in the cities and in the countryside will closely coordinate their efforts to undertake offensive actions or in the very end to effect the total defeat of the enemy.

At every turn in the urban revolutionary struggle, we should be clear about what stage the Party is in so that tasks can be carried out well in preparation for a new and higher stage of the struggle. We must avoid overstepping the conditions.

The Manila-Rizal Party organization has the signal role of demonstrating to the other regions how the urban revolutionary struggle should be carried out. All Party members in Manila-Rizal should therefore do their best in study and social investigation, agitation and propaganda, organizational work and mass mobilization.

The second major responsibility

Let us take the second major responsibility. The Manila-Rizal Party organization must remember that in developing the revolutionary forces within its own territory it increases its capability for extending support to the revolutionary forces in other regions.

Since early 1975, this Party organization has been working hard at taking roots at the basic level. There is still a great deal of work to do to strengthen the revolutionary movement in every district. But by this time, the Party leadership of the region should include in its orientation extending support to the other regions and should start doing so.

If we are to trace how the Party and the people's army expanded on a nationwide scale, we see that Party cadres from Manila-Rizal and national democratic organizations based here played a major role. With this in mind, the Manila-Rizal Party organization can easily grasp that its growth is of national significance.

The proletarians, semiproletarians and urban petty bourgeoisie in Manila-Rizal come from various parts of the country. Many of the workers and other urban poor have fresh natural links and come from peasant families in other regions. The majority of students are also practically transients in the big city.

Under the direction of the Central Committee, the Manila-Rizal Party organization should systematically encourage Party members and mass activists from the ranks of the workers and the urban petty bourgeoisie to go back permanently or for significant periods to their native towns and barrios to do social investigation, propaganda and organizational work.

Those who can stay permanently or temporarily to do revolutionary work in the other regions should be turned over to the regional Party organization concerned. Those who will do some temporary work should make it a point to turn over some substantial results, the least of which is initial mass work and recruitment of mass activists.

Under the guidance of the Central Committee, the Manila-Rizal Party organization can help the other regional Party organizations by directing some of the mass organizations in Manila-Rizal to develop relations and common understanding with their counterparts in other regions through conferences and seminars, secret or otherwise.

It must be recalled that in prefascist days, national democratic organizations based in Manila-Rizal were able to make initial contacts and establish chapters in this manner. The National Democratic Front can also initiate interregional contacts among mass organizations, especially because it is comprehensively organized for this purpose.

The Manila-Rizal Party organization can launch campaigns to gather material support for the other regions, especially for the armed struggle. This support can include funds, revolutionary reading materials, some military materiel, medicine and medical facilities, communications equipment and so many others.

The Manila-Rizal Party organization plays an important role in the national communications of the Party.

Having played an important role in the national expansion of the Party, it has created so many links with other regions. Of course, as earlier pointed out, the Manila-Rizal Party organization also supports the other regions by showing them how the revolutionary forces in the urban areas develop their strength and how they complement, coordinate with and give support to the revolutionary forces in the rural areas. Upon the contact of Party members and mass activists from Manila-Rizal and those from other regions, the exchange of experience and learning from each other would be fruitful.

Conditions and prospects

The political and economic crisis of the ruling system is worsening. The broad masses of the people in Manila-Rizal increasingly suffer. With the Party assiduously performing its urgent tasks, the revolutionary mood of the masses, their spontaneous resistance, is steadily fashioned into a powerful revolutionary force.

The worker masses have shown their determination in strikes, slowdowns and other mass actions to demand their right to strike and other trade union rights and the improvement of their working and living conditions. The strike movement which surfaced October 1975 to June 1976 is bound to spread and deepen if in the alternation of upsurges and calms we consistently perform our agitation-propaganda and organizational work.

The worker masses are increasingly recognizing that behind the Marcos fascist dictatorship is US imperialism. They are repressed so that more superprofits could be extracted from them.

The urban poor communities are resisting the US-masterminded Manila Bay projects and the concomitant scheme to render them homeless and jobless. The poor fishermen of Manila Bay and Laguna Bay are also opposing the big foreign fishing capitalists.

The urban petty bourgeoisie, including the intelligentsia and small businessmen, are adversely affected by the crisis and tend to side with the oppressed toiling masses against the fascist dictatorship and its foreign masters.

The student masses are stirring. They are increasingly speaking out on a wide range of issues. They are steadily relating themselves to the workers and other urban poor. In concert with these oppressed people, they are bound to raise storms larger than the first quarter storm of 1970. The mass actions of October 1976 are a beginning in this direction.

The medium entrepreneurs and merchants who compose the bulk of the national bourgeoisie continue to fall into bankruptcy as a result of pro-imperialist policies. Their spokesmen are clamoring for the overthrow of the pro-imperialist fascist dictatorship.

The crisis has reached the point that even within the reactionary ranks of the big compradors and big landlords the Marcos fascist gang is increasingly being bitterly opposed. The isolation of this gang is proceeding rapidly.

The signals are clear. US imperialism no less is compelled by circumstances to engage in doubletalk about the fascist dictatorship, its own creation. Even the conservative hierarchy of the Catholic Church has been speaking out against the Marcos fascist gang.

We must be prepared for any kind of coup d'etat to occur within the next few years. One kind could take the posture of restoring civil liberties. Another kind could simply install another set of fascists.

In any case, the Party must link itself closely with other democratic forces and perform its revolutionary tasks with more militancy than ever before. Together with our allies, we work for the nullification of the unequal treaties and arrangements with US imperialism and for the repeal of all fascist and antidemocratic laws, including the Anti-subversion Law (Republic Act 1700).

The downward course of the Marcos fascist dictatorship cannot be reversed but will only accelerate. The wanton foreign borrowing, the accelerated remittance of superprofits and the depression of major Philippine traditional exports are undermining the fascist dictatorship.

Inflation and unemployment are wreaking havoc on the lives of the people in both cities and countryside. In many areas, where traditional exports are produced, farm and mine workers have been laid off in great numbers. Despite the depressed income of the people, the Marcos fascist gang resorts to increasing the tax burden, while rapidly increasing the local public debt and foreign debt, only to waste public finances on uneconomic infrastructure projects and military build-up, all attended by graft and corruption.

The Marcos fascist dictatorship is maneuvering to quench the flames of armed resistance by the Moro people. This is a pipe dream. The Moro people are determined to hold and increase their arms. The bulk of the reactionary armed forces will continue to be tied down in Mindanao, whatever is the outcome of negotiations with the Moro

National Liberation Front. The recent fake plebiscite in Mindanao has only served to expose the chicanery of the fascist dictatorship in its dealings with the MNLF and its foreign friends.

The New People's Army is steadily growing among the peasant masses. The Party is determined to push further the consistent advance of the people's army and apply well the lessons learned in more than eight years of revolutionary struggle. We are faster than ever widening and deepening the mass foundation for a self-reliant people's war.

No external force can be availed of by the Marcos fascist dictatorship to save itself. US imperialism itself is bogged down in its own internal and external crisis in a turbulent capitalist world. By shifting the burden of crisis to the Philippines, this superpower can only aggravate the local crisis generated by the Marcos fascist dictatorship.

Neither can the pretenses of the Marcos fascist dictatorship in the third world be of any avail. In the final analysis, the struggle of the third world peoples and countries is one directed against the superpowers, US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, and is helpful to the advance of the world revolution.

The Communist Party of the Philippines, representing the proletariat and people of the Philippines, is closely linked with other Marxist-Leninist parties and all revolutionary movements under the great principle of proletarian internationalism.

- Workers of all countries, unite!
- Long live the party of the Filipino workers, the Communist Party of the Philippines!
- Down with the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique
- Long live the New People's Army!
- Victory to the people's democratic revolution!
- Long live the Philippine and world proletariat!

First published in Ang Bayan, Vol. IX, No. 7, June 15, 1977.

After rectifying errors of the past and heeding specific calls in “Our Urgent Tasks,” the regional forces of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People’s Army in the Eastern Visayas are surging forward in rallying and organizing the masses to the national democratic revolution.

Ang Bayan correspondents reported that more than at any time since the CPP and NPA took roots in that region, the agrarian revolution is being given adequate attention and so is the establishment of peasant and other mass organizations.

The correspondents said the enthusiastic and militant support being given by the masses has enabled NPA units to evade the enemy’s “encirclement and suppression” campaigns and undertake operations of their own against small and isolated units of the reactionary Armed Forces of the Philippines.

One such operation was that ambush sprung by two squads of Red fighters on a nine-man enemy patrol at the Dolores river in northern Samar last March 16. The people’s guerrillas killed six of the enemy troops and wounded another. The other two escaped by stopping a passing motorized banca and using the passengers as a shield. The Red fighters also confiscated two M-16s, an M-79 grenade launcher, a .38 caliber revolver, several M-16 magazines and several hundreds of M-16 and M-14 bullets.

Party cadres and Red fighters credited the relatively rapid consolidation and expansion of the revolutionary forces in the Eastern Visayas to the step-by-step implementation of the agrarian revolution. The peasants in that region are among the most exploited in the entire country.

“Our Urgent Tasks,” the document promulgated after the Third Plenum of the Party’s Central Committee, took note of lags in the implementation of the revolutionary land reform program and called upon cadres and fighters throughout the country to give it sufficient attention.

Only thus can the Party and its military arm speed up the mobilization of the exploited and oppressed masses in the countryside, the document added.

“Our Urgent Tasks” said that as early as the successful establishment of the peasant organizing committee over a large area in the countryside, even if only in some scores of barrios, “it is possible to take such a simple and easy first step towards land reform as the reduction of land rent through the systematic withholding of a certain part of the crop without the landlords’ knowledge.”

Along with this, it called for campaigns to reduce interest rates and eliminate usury, arrange fair prices with merchants, promote savings, mutual aid and simple exchange of labor and non-payment of debts under the fascist regime’s usurious “Masagana 99,” and raise production and productivity.

The document pointed out that these can be successfully undertaken “only if the peasant masses are well organized, united and have a high level of political consciousness.”

One error of the past in the Eastern Visayas was that although cadres and fighters carried on revolutionary propaganda among the peasants, emphasis was on the antifascist rather the antifeudal aspects of the struggle. Party cadres in the region said there was also neglect in carrying out agrarian revolution.

The latest report said corrective measures are now being taken and that the antifascist, antifeudal and anti-imperialist aspects are being given their corresponding emphasis in the rural as well as urban areas. So are the legal, semilegal and illegal forms of struggle and how these relate to one another.

Citing the case of the two fighting fronts in Samar, our correspondents said CPP-NPA units are now more conscientious and persevering in social investigation and in the campaign to lower the land rent, increase the wages of farm workers, and popularize simple forms of cooperation, especially among the poor and lower-middle peasants.

They also said that in the last two harvests, the shares of the parasitic landlords were reduced not only in the rice fields but in coconut plantations of several barrios. The campaign has since been expanded to other barrios, they added.

The average reduction of land rent has been 20 percent. This brought immediate relief to the peasants. But even this percentage is small considering the intense exploitation of the peasants, according to our

correspondents.

On the surface, the sharing ratio in many areas of the Eastern Visayas, especially in remote areas, is 50-50. The peasant and the landlord are supposed to share equally in the farm expenses and then split the harvest 50-50. But the peasant virtually shoulders all the expenses, including those for seedlings and the food and wages of farm workers whose help he calls upon during the planting and harvesting. His share, therefore, comes to only a small percentage.

Adding to the peasants' hardships are the primitive methods of farming still prevailing and the government's utter neglect in water conservation and irrigation. The peasants depend only on the rains, overturn the earth not by plows but by having their carabaos pace the fields repeatedly, and have no access to pesticides or fertilizers.

As the Party cadres and Red fighters pursue the revolutionary land reform program, they also give close attention to workers in mining and logging camps and to fishermen in the coastal regions. The mobilization of the fishermen is of great importance because of the many islands in the region, according to our correspondents.

In the military sphere, they reported that political and military training of full-time guerrilla units is being intensified. In preparation for armed confrontations with the enemy, the Red fighters conduct raid, ambush and other drills and combat maneuvers.

Among their ideological guides are "Our Urgent Tasks," "Specific Characteristics of Our People's War," and the *Selected Military Writings* of Chairman Mao Zedong.

In the urban areas of the region, meantime, efforts are being redoubled to mobilize the workers, the urban poor, the petty bourgeoisie and nationalist businessmen. Party cadres now have a clearer perspective of the supportive role of white area work to the armed struggle in the countryside.

Communique of the 1977 Central Luzon

Regional Party Conference

First published in *Ang Bayan*, Vol. IX, No. 10, July 31, 1977

The Regional Conference of the Communist Party of the Philippines in Central Luzon was held last June 1977. Leading Party cadres from the various territorial organs, regional departments and bureaus, and Party organs within the people's army in the subregional and district guerrilla zones attended the Conference. The Central Committee, the Party committees of two adjacent regions, and two national organs under the Central Committee sent their representatives.

The historic meeting was formally opened by Comrade Amado Guerrero, chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

In his speech, he cited the glorious revolutionary history of the region, where the Party was reestablished and the New People's Army founded, and where the Party first took root among the peasant masses.

"It was here that the Party gained experience and the necessities for expanding armed struggle to other regions," he said. "Even when we had only one guerrilla zone in Central Luzon, the region already played a very big role not only in expanding our revolutionary work in the countryside but also in developing the Party's national propaganda and strengthening the urban mass struggle."

Even as the Party and the people's army have overcome the difficulties in advancing the revolutionary movement, Comrade Amado Guerrero issued the call: "Now that we are stronger than at any time in the past, let us not relax our enthusiasm, perseverance and vigilance. To grow even stronger, we must keep to the style of closely uniting with the masses, criticism and self-criticism, and hard work and simple living."

The delegates and representatives of other Party organs engaged in a lively exchange of ideas in summing up nine years of revolutionary struggle in the region under the leadership of the reestablished Communist Party of the Philippines, assessing present conditions of society and of the revolutionary forces, and defining the tasks to be fulfilled.

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought was the beacon light for the Conference in the study of experience, examination of specific questions or problems, and drawing up of plans and decisions. The document "Our Urgent Tasks," issued by the Third Plenum of the Central Committee, concretely and effectively defined the present conditions of our revolutionary work, as well as the immediate tasks and trends of revolution in the coming years.

The Conference arrived at a deeper understanding and a firmer grasp of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and its living application in the Philippine revolution. Our experience has shown that a poor grasp of, or deviation from, fundamental proletarian principles results in failure, while a firm and creative grasp of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought by the Party, the people's army and the organized masses ensures the advance of the revolution.

Objective conditions are excellent, both inside and outside the country, for the advance and victory of the people's revolutionary struggle. Internally, the economic crisis will continue and worsen in the years to come. The ruling classes are imposing heavier burdens on the people. While the worker and peasant masses sink deeper into poverty and the petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie are going bankrupt, the foreign capitalists, comprador big bourgeoisie, big landlords and bureaucrat capitalists in cahoots with the Marcos dictatorship gorge on ill-gotten wealth.

The US-Marcos dictatorship's political power is rapidly crumbling, and the hour will soon strike when the people's fierce blows send it to its final destruction. Workers, peasants, petty-bourgeois, national bourgeois and other progressive sectors and associations—all are opposing or defying the oppressive decrees promulgated by the US-Marcos dictatorship.

The people realize more clearly than ever that only armed revolution can change this social system and bring about genuine democracy and national independence. In the cities and the countryside, millions of people all over the Philippines participate in advancing the revolutionary armed struggle. At the end of the current decade and more so in the next, the revolution will rush onward even faster and nothing can stop it: not the local ruling

classes nor US imperialism, and certainly not the meddling of the Soviet social-imperialists.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is the leading force that has upheld and will uphold the basic demands of the people. It has provided and will provide correct and steadfast leadership to the people's revolutionary struggle. Upon the declaration of martial law by the US-Marcos regime, the Lava revisionist clique completely turned traitor and entered into an unholy alliance with the reactionary government, while Marcos' reactionary rivals such as Macapagal and other bogus leaders either retreated into silence, took flight or made peace with the US-Marcos dictatorship. But the Communist Party of the Philippines remained on its course, steadily persevering in the revolutionary struggle. It is this that has won us the support and the ever more enthusiastic participation of the people in the revolution.

The ideological, political and organizational strengthening of the Party is the decisive link in the further advance of the revolutionary struggle to victory. It will guarantee the spread and growth of the people's revolutionary struggle, and sweep aside the obstacles put up by the reactionary puppets of US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

Arousing, organizing and mobilizing the broad masses of the people in revolutionary struggle lays the basis for the development of armed struggle and the steady advance of the revolution to final victory. The history of Central Luzon proves that when the people grasp and support the Party's correct program, they are a decisive force in toppling the power of the exploiting classes.

Armed struggle is the principal form of struggle in the national democratic revolution. Only people's war can smash the reactionary state and established the people's democratic dictatorship. We are presently in the stage of preparing and developing the revolutionary forces for people's war.

By waging and promoting different forms of mass struggle now, the people can be prepared for the all-around rise in the level of struggle. Mass struggles are the most effective means of arousing and mobilizing the great majority of the people to prepare for people's war. On the other hand, maintaining and advancing victories of mass struggle on all front are linked with the development of armed struggle in the countryside.

Armed struggle in Central Luzon is in the stage of expanding guerrilla warfare. The New People's Army has been and will continue to be the main Party organization in the countryside. It is the principal force in launching and developing armed struggle.

Today, the New People's Army in Central Luzon is stronger than at any time since the decisive defeat of the old people's army (HMB) in the 1950s. The New People's Army has increased its ability to concentrate its forces for tactical offensives from time to time. Extending over eight provinces of Central Luzon, its guerrilla zones have been established in strategic places of the region.

As if enacting a scene from the splendid future, the Party, the New People's Army and the revolutionary masses thwarted the biggest military operation ever launched by the enemy, that tried to seek out and disrupt the Conference. More than 500 PC, PA and PAF troops combed the mountainsides while the Conference was going on. But they found not even one shadow to chase.

With the approval by the Conference of the three-year Party program for Central Luzon, more and bigger victories will certainly be achieved by the Party, the New People's Army and the revolutionary people before the end of the 1970s.

The Conference elected the Central Luzon Regional Party Committee. The First Plenum of the Regional Party Committee was held immediately following the Conference. The Executive Committee and the Secretariat of the Regional Party Committee were elected, and important plans were discussed.

The holding of the Central Luzon Regional Party Conference is a decisive victory of the revolutionary struggles in the region over the last several years. It will definitely propel the revolution forward with more speed and more strength. The objective conditions are excellent, and the revolutionary forces, as indicated by the Conference, are correspondingly gathering strength. As a consequence, the people's revolutionary struggle will surely rise to new heights in Central Luzon.

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Long live the New People's Army!

On with the revolutionary mass movement!

On with people's war!

Down with US imperialism, feudalism and fascism!

Down with the reactionary government!

Long live the Filipino people!

Build Close and Strong Links with the Masses to Advance the Revolution in Northeastern Luzon

Message to the Regional Party Conference of Northeastern Luzon (Cagayan Valley), August 1, 1977

On behalf of the Central Committee of our Party, I extend warmest revolutionary greetings to the delegates of the First Regional Conference of the Party in Northeastern Luzon and the entire regional Party organization they represent. The First Regional Party Conference is a great victory not for the Party, the people's army and the broad masses of the people in the region and in the entire country.

The current conference is preceded by the Regional Party Conference for the entire Northern Luzon, which was held in February 1972. At that conference I stated that the regional Party organization and its elected leadership would assume basic responsibility for the development of the revolutionary struggle in Northern Luzon.

Since then many important developments have occurred, prompting the Central Committee to decide the division of Northern Luzon in two regions, Northwestern and Northeastern Luzon, from March 1973 onwards and now reaching the current conference.

May you all succeed in summing up the experience of the Party and the revolutionary forces that it leads in Northeastern Luzon, especially from 1972 to the present. But I am sure you will also give attention to the period of 1969-1971 when the Central Committee assumed direct responsibility for revolutionary activity in the whole of Northern Luzon.

It is correct for you to sum up your experience of more than eight years of revolutionary struggle in Northeastern Luzon, draw lessons and learn both the positive and negative aspects and set forth the tasks to advance the revolutionary movement.

The early years of revolutionary work

By way of helping your conference, I want to share with you some points about the revolutionary experience in your region. Since the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the Central Committee has always considered the development of armed revolution in Northern Luzon.

The evil character of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism is clearly evident in the region. The people, who are mostly poor peasants, live in misery and are open for revolutionary work. The terrain of the region is favorable to people's war and is the largest in the whole of Luzon.

Particularly in Northeast Luzon, the land problem is as conspicuous as in Central Luzon. The estates of the landlords are vast. The worst forms of feudal and semi-feudal exploitation, especially in the entire province of Cagayan and the Mallig region of Isabela.

As early as February 1969, the Central Committee made preparations for revolutionary work in Northeastern Luzon, particularly in Isabela. We trained in Tarlac cadres for the purpose. When April came, there were already some cadres carrying out social investigation and initial mass work in Isabela.

There were plenty of lumpen-proletarian elements in the province. Many of them were cattle rustlers and extortionists. The member of the Central Committee assigned to lead the work concentrated on the line of going after the bad elements and forming the barrio organizing committees against them.

Before the end of 1969, fifty (50) barrios in the forest region and plains of Isabela had barrio organizing committees established by armed propaganda teams. About fifteen (15) cadres and twenty (20) rifles and hand guns were transferred from the second district of Tarlac to Isabela before August 1970.

As help to the direct approach of our armed propaganda teams to the barrio people, we sought to develop the united front with the mayors who opposed the Marcos regime and its local minions. Thus, many village officials were befriended and provided political education.

From 1969 to 1970, I made a social investigation of the entire Northern Luzon. This resulted in the Preliminary Report on the region and the increase of Party members in various parts of the region. I also had three opportunities to work with comrades in Isabela (October to December 1969 and February 1970) and assist in conducting study courses and solving practical problems.

As of June 1970, the headquarters of the Central Committee transferred to Isabela because of the excessive

concentration of enemy forces in Tarlac under Task Force Lawin. Mass work was accelerated and expanded in the forest region of Isabela. Politico-military training courses were held for cadres. Before the end of 1970, we sent cadres to other provinces in the region.

Although our mass base rapidly expanded, the increase of our automatic rifles was limited and slow. We avoided encounters with the enemy troops. We got the rifles and handguns from the people and allies as well as confiscated them from bad elements. Hundreds of homemade shotguns in the mountains became our weapons. But from the successful raid on the Philippine Military Academy in December 1970 we were able to increase by several scores our automatic rifles.

It was June and July 1971 when the Executive Committee of the Central Committee left the forest region of Isabela to attend to such functions as the national expansion of the Party and the army, the recovery and expansion of guerrilla zones in Central Luzon and undertaking the special project to increase the number of firearms in accordance with the Second Plenum of the Central Committee.

In the latter half of 1971, the NPA regional operational command decided to launch tactical offensives against enemy troops. As in the failed raid on Salinungan, the offensives were mere harassments and did not increase the armed strength of the people's army but only exposed the Browning automatic rifles taken from the PMA and drew the attention of the enemy to the region.

It was September 1971 when the Central Committee helped the most responsible cadres in Northern Luzon to prepare for a regional Party conference. The conference was held in February 1972. During that time, the enemy Task Force Saranay began to deploy troops against our guerrilla zones.

I attended that conference for two reasons. One was the importance of the conference. The other was that I had to give the instructions to the most responsible cadres in the region regarding the final preparations for a special project to increase the armed strength of the people's army.

Those instructions were not promptly and thoroughly carried out. Nevertheless, we would be able to increase our automatic rifles in the region in the second half of 1972. We should have been able to make a far bigger increase if not for the actions that had called the attention of the enemy in 1971 and the bad and careless preparations in the first half of 1972.

From August 1970 to June 1972, we were able to organize hundreds of barrio organizing committees in Northern Luzon, including Isabela, Nueva Vizcaya, Quirino, Cagayan, Ifugao and Benguet. We had a mass base that reached hundreds of thousands of people through the barrio organizing committees.

However, the building of mass organizations was skimpy and unsystematic. The mass campaigns, particularly those to reduce the land rent and eliminate usury, were not carried out on a wide scale. The call of the Second Plenum of the Central Committee for wide-scale organizing and mobilizing of the masses was given scant attention.

Only one type of mass organization was thoroughly organized, this was of the owners of shotguns, who served as the local guerrillas in the forest region of Isabela. The relation to the masses was narrow, flowing from the armed propaganda units to the barrio organizing committees or local guerrilla groups.

In the barrios of mostly peasants, in the forests or on the plains, it was often that there was no peasant association and that other types of mass organizations were organized in a haphazard way and no attention was paid to types of organizations that could be created.

But many types of special groups were organized, such as consolidation teams, mobile education teams, medical teams, Red detachment of women and cultural groups. Comprehensive mass work, creating mass organizations and giving full play to the initiative of local mass activists were neglected.

We may call it a mistake in the Organizational Guide to expect the barrio organizing committee to create mass organizations. But the armed propaganda units, especially the consolidation teams, should have paid attention to organizing and mobilizing the masses.

The local Party branches were not established widely, as the mass organizations were likewise not established. It was as if it was enough that there were active members of the barrio organizing committee and the local guerrilla group who could be commanded by the armed propaganda team.

Only through full and thorough revolutionary work among the basic masses can the Party build the independent force of the revolutionary movement. Otherwise the Party remains dependent on the allies who previously helped in the opening of some areas to political work.

Whatever were the errors and shortcomings that emerged in Party work in the region in the period of 1969-1972, the revolutionary forces developed in Northern Luzon, principally Northeast Luzon, became the standard bearer of armed revolution in the countryside in 1971 until 1972 for the entire country.

We had the biggest mass base in the Northeastern Luzon. In the second half of 1972, we had two full companies and an oversized platoon with high-powered rifles. We had a few hundreds of home-made shotguns in the forest region. We had a full company of shotguns at the Isabela-Ifugao border and platoons of these in Nueva Vizcaya, Isabela, northeastern and eastern Cagayan.

Northeastern Luzon replaced the second district of Tarlac as the center of armed revolution in 1971-72. At that time, the armed revolution in Southern Luzon, particularly in Bicol, was in the initial stage of armed revolution. Our forces in Central Luzon were still recovering. In mid-1972, we were still at the threshold or initial stage of revolutionary work in the countryside of Eastern Visayas, Western Visayas and Mindanao.

The fundamental mistake from 1973 to 1976

The mass base of the Party and people's army became greatly reduced in Northeastern Luzon since late 1972. Our guerrilla zones decreased and narrowed until 1976. Our armed strength decreased by seventy percent down from 1973 to the present. The enemy was trying to pursue and block our forces.

The armed strength of the people's army in Northeastern Luzon fell to fourth place compared to other regions. If you add here our armed strength in the Northwestern Luzon, the armed strength of Northern Luzon ranked third in the entire country. This armed strength is still bigger than that level attained before the end of June 1972.

Your stand is correct that, even if your armed strength and territory are greatly reduced in Northeast Luzon, your personnel and resources are still more than enough to renew your strength and advance again.

You are certain to revitalize the revolutionary forces in the region and lead a series of victories as long as you sum up your experience correctly, draw lessons from its positive and negative aspects and set forth the tasks for advancing. For a start, you have the Party cadres and members and the Red fighters tempered in the revolutionary struggle.

It should be inspiring and encouraging to you to intensify your revolutionary efforts as you recognize how you contributed greatly to the development of the revolutionary movement in your country as you struggled to cope with the worst enemy attacks against the Party, the people's army and the organized masses since 1972. During this time, the revolutionary forces in other regions gained so much space to develop.

Until now, the enemy apparently still believes that the main strength of the New People's Army is in your region. Thus, he is still concentrating on your region. Remember that the people's army in other regions is using every opportunity not only to take advantage of the enemy's relative concentration on you but also to draw away the attention of the enemy from you.

On a national scale, the Party and people's army are stronger than at any time in the past. They operate in more than 30 big and small guerrilla zones in various regions. They have the support of the entire Filipino people. The armed strength of the people's army continues to increase from the level assessed at the end of 1975. It is higher than the level reached on the eve of the proclamation of the fascist martial law.

In tracing the cause or causes of the stagnation and subsequent erosion of our revolutionary armed forces in Northeastern Luzon, we can easily point to the obvious fact that the regional leadership of the Party and main units of the people's army stayed in isolation for an excessively long period of time in the forest region of Isabela, even after the inhabitants (50,000) were forcibly evacuated by the enemy. They became the target of a long and massive campaigns of encirclement and suppression. It is surprising but sad why the leading cadres in the region did not see the problem confronting them before the end of 1972.

It is even surprising and sad why they kept the main units of the people's army in that area from 1973 to 1976. When the regional Party leadership revived its connection with the Central Committee in July 1974, our urgent advice was for our main units to leave the unpopulated area being encircled by the enemy and to avoid crashing into the wall of any enemy blocking force.

The fundamental mistake of the regional Party leadership was its insistence on keeping the First and Second Red Companies and other units in an area without masses to rely on and where the enemy wanted us to become passive in sheer physical concealment and preoccupied with eking out a living in a purely military situation.

In such a situation, the enemy played to the hilt his military advantage over us. We played into his tactics of encirclement. Because the masses were gone, we became preoccupied with looking for food and became blind

and deaf in the forest. It was as if we had not learned the negative experience of the Lava revisionist renegades when they stayed in the unpopulated forests of Laguna and Quezon in 1950.

The question of favorable terrain is secondary to the question of mass base. This is clear in our experience nationwide and in all our study materials. We can take advantage of forested mountains and hills only if we are linked to the broad masses of the people who are the foundation of our people's war.

To grasp what is wrong and what should have been done with the main armed units which were nailed down by the enemy encirclement from late 1972 to 1976, we review the three main components of our revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside: the armed struggle, base building and agrarian revolution.

1. The statement that armed struggle is the main form of our revolutionary struggle is a strategic concept which concerns the general run of the people's democratic revolution. Only step by step can we develop the armed struggle as the main form of our struggle. Likewise can we build the people's army from small and weak to big and strong.

If we grasp the current balance of our forces and the enemy in the military field, we can understand that we shall go through three probable stages of development: the strategic defensive, the strategic deadlock and the strategic offensive.

Someday we shall seize political power throughout the country. But between the present and the future, we shall take a long and complicated road. We declare that we are still in the stage of developing guerrilla warfare and in particular the stage of building guerrilla squads and platoons.

Someday we shall be able to advance from guerrilla warfare to regular mobile warfare and we shall continue to wage guerrilla warfare even when regular mobile warfare is increasingly conspicuous. In the general offensive, regular warfare will emerge in seizing the enemy forts even as we continue to use regular mobile warfare.

We can look far any time. But let us not overlook the present in the region or in the whole country. When in late 1972 the two full companies were formed, the regional Party leadership of the Party should have paid ample attention to the plan of the enemy and to our own plans for the entire region and the entire country.

It was foolhardy to encamp and tie down more than two companies in an area without people and surrounded by 7,000 enemy troops. This meant giving up the mobility needed by guerrilla forces not only for military purposes but also for mass work and other political purposes that further yield the military advantages for us.

Never throw away our relations with the great number of masses. This is our way to fight and frustrate the enemy's military advantage over us. With our strength today, it is foolhardy to fight the enemy in a purely military situation for so long in a fixed and narrow area.

"Operation Initiative" In 1974 was bound to fail because there were no masses serving as eyes and ears and as wide support of the people's army. Instead of becoming strong in that campaign, our military force was eroded by battles of attrition.

If the main units of the people's army had been shifted to populated areas and where the situation was relatively favorable, we would have been able to deploy a wave of squads and half squads and assigned others to farther areas for the purpose of expansion.

We should have left only a few squads in the forest region of Isabel to give the enemy the illusion we were still there and to tie him down there. Regarding the companies which should have been shifted, there would have been nothing wrong in trading space for time. Any area temporarily "lost" can always be recovered if you can strengthen yourself elsewhere.

2. Base building is an indispensable component of our revolutionary armed struggle all the time. In essence, it means the development of mass base. It does not simply refer to the establishment of military bases solely on favorable terrain.

In the full sense, in the entire course of the people's democratic revolution, base building means transforming the villages that are backward in politics, military, economy and culture to villages that are advanced in politics, military, economy and culture. Anyone who thinks that the establishment of the base involves only or mainly the selection of the terrain without regard to the people is out of his mind.

The long-term goal is to make the entire country our revolutionary base. We want to liberate the whole country. But before we can do this, we can only take parts and parts of the country. Here we can get the support of the masses and remove the power of the reactionaries. When we speak of "armed independent regime," we refer to the relative scale of political power that our people's army has realized as the main component of our newly

emergent power.

The term “base” or “armed independent regime” does not mean fixation or loss of mobility of the people’s army in a designated area. It is one thing to understand the meaning of these terms; it is another to isolate ourselves in a certain area and let ourselves be a fixed target of enemy encirclement.

Base building cannot be separated from the given level of our armed struggle. Typical still are the guerrilla zones and the well-consolidated guerrilla zones. If you wish, the most advanced parts of the guerrilla zones may be called guerrilla base, especially if comprehensive mass organizing has been achieved.

The time will surely come when the guerrilla bases become connected to each other and become relatively stable base areas. You may call these base areas liberated areas. What is important is that we know the concrete content of the term. For example, I was not confused when our headquarters platoon was called “regular mobile force.” I always called this a guerrilla platoon.

In order to succeed at base building in the region, we must use rapid methods of consolidation behind the expansion caused by the barrio liaison groups or other forms of liaison. We can form organizing groups and committees for building the mass organizations and we can launch mass campaigns so long as we rely on the mass activists and the masses themselves. In this connection, we can also easily create the local Party branches and the organs of political power.

In the past, we were not able to do successfully and widely revolutionary work among the basic masses of workers and peasants because first the Party and the people’s army confined themselves in an unpopulated area. In such circumstances, united front work could not be done. Thus, it became necessary for the Party and the people’s army to shift to another area where they could connect to the masses in the barrios and in the towns.

3. As in the development of armed struggle and base building, there are also stages in the development of the agrarian revolution. The term agrarian revolution may indicate that even now we are not satisfied with anything less than the confiscation of landlord property.

In fact, agrarian revolution is our ultimate goal and this means confiscation of landlord property in order to solve the land problem of the poor and lower-middle peasants. But we can move forward towards that goal step by step, based on the development of overall strength and tactical needs of the revolutionary movement.

At present, we have been able to carry out rent reduction and elimination of usury as the main point of our land reform program. Our general policy is to reduce by half the going land rent and interest rate that we come upon, especially if the landlords agree, make advances for production and extend credit to the peasants. There are some tactics to implement this current policy.

Land reform is a necessary component of the revolutionary struggle that we are waging. We cannot attain the widest participation and support of the peasant masses in this struggle, if we do not take the effective step towards the solution of their land problem.

The solution of the land problem is the main content of the democratic revolution. There are many other problems faced in the barrios and towns in your region. But this is really the problem that involves the most people.

When we had united front with some mayors in Isabela, the principal way for us to build our mass strength independent of them and critical of them was to establish the peasant associations and launch land reform campaigns on the plains and in the forest region.

In the forest region, those who appear to be owner-cultivators are not only landless peasants where they came from but remain mostly poor and lower-middle peasants. Each of them can have 5 to 8 acres of home stead but only a small part can be planted and is not adequate to feed the family throughout the year, thus he becomes a farm worker or a worker in the logging camps. He is usually exploited by the usurers and merchants.

As I stated before, the most fertile land for agrarian revolution in the Cagayan Valley is the Mallig region in Isabela and the province of Cagayan. We noted this as early as in 1970 in the Preliminary Report on Northern Luzon. We should have paid attention to revolutionary work in this part of the Cagayan Valley as early as 1971, after attending to Isabela. It would have been fine had we shifted and deployed to these areas the main units of the people’s army in 1973.

It was a happy event that you saw the light in the north, you took a long march in that direction and you connected again with the masses. You must remain courageous, diligent and vigilant. Keep in mind that the delay in shifting was extremely long and the enemy took notice of it.

There are reports that the enemy is now telling the masses to return to the forest region of Isabela. If true,

before long it shall become possible to start the recovery while you are developing the wider mass base in your new areas.

Surely there are other errors and shortcomings that accompanied the erosion of the previous strength of the Party and people's army in Northeastern Luzon. The purpose of this message is to help you focus on the fundamental error.

I am surprised why the platoon at the eastern end of Isabela did not serve as your guide for shifting as early as 1973. Said platoon was successful at developing a mass base. It was possible for the main units to move in that direction. In connection with the massive evacuation of people from the forest region, the enemy was using the Cagayan river as obstacle to any westward march of the people's army towards the populated barrios.

Shifting was very beneficial to the undersized platoon that was at first driven from Vizcaya and then from Quirino. The unit increased to an oversized company, the Third Red Company, in 1974 in Aurora. But at another turn, the company got tied down in just three municipalities and did not expand. As early as June 1974, we advised the command there to develop the principal as well as secondary routes for expansion in preparation for the day that the enemy would concentrate his forces there.

However, the major mistakes were not only overconcentration of our forces in a particular physical base. There were also cases of over-expansion that led to the disintegration of our forces, as in the cases of the company (of mostly shotguns and single-shot rifles) from the Ifugao-Isabela border, the platoon in northeastern Cagayan and the expansion team in Mallig region in Isabela. Earlier than this, the leap-frog expansion failed in 1971 in Cagayan, Ilocos Norte and Benguet.

I think that over-expansion occurs when the cadres assigned to this work were not well-selected and were not knowledgeable about the area, were not able to move independently and were prone to commit errors without prompt guidance from a higher organ.

We call on you to develop in your region the coordination between the barrios and the towns and between the areas of the people's army and the areas for possible expansion. However, we are aware that the prolonged encampment in the forests of Isabela resulted in the neglect of work in the towns and cities of Isabela as well as in many rural areas.

Thus, we have instructed the Party organization in Manila-Rizal and the central organ in charge of the national united front to help you in increasing and expanding your Party organizations in the aforesaid areas.

We have also informed the regional Party organization in Northwest Luzon about your expansion team in Kalinga-Apayao. This team can continue its work. You can refer to the Central Committee any issue regarding jurisdiction or coordination with other regions.

The guerrilla platoon that moved to Nueva Ecija from Aurora is now integrated in Central Luzon. After committing some mistakes, it has created an extensive guerrilla zone.

Advance the revolutionary struggle!

We hope that your summing up of experience and formulation of your tasks will be guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and by "Our Urgent Tasks."

Advance the antifascist, antifeudal and anti-imperialist struggle in a comprehensive way. Every step should be firm towards the victory of the democratic revolution.

Build the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally in your region. The Party should wield correctly the two powerful weapons, the armed struggle and the united front.

In pursuing the armed struggle, you must build the guerrilla units of the New People's Army and wage guerrilla warfare; develop the mass base in your guerrilla fronts and multiply your guerrilla zones. and carry out land reform and other mass campaigns to advance the people's war.

In advancing the united front, you must develop the progressive forces, win over the middle forces and take advantage of the rifts among the reactionaries to isolate and destroy the enemy, the US-Marcos dictatorship.

Stand firmly for the revolutionary leadership of the proletariat as we develop the alliance of workers and peasants as the foundation of the united front, win over the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie and take advantage of the conflicts among factions of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class in order to isolate and destroy the fascist puppet clique of big compradors and big landlords.

As long as you strengthen the revolutionary forces in the Northeastern Luzon, it leads to an ever widening coordination with Northwester Luzon and Central Luzon in the years to come. More than ever the national and

international conditions are favorable for the development of the revolutionary forces in Northeastern Luzon. The political and economic crisis continues to worsen and shake the US-Marcos ruling clique and the entire ruling system. The revolutionary armed struggle of the New People's Army continues to grow strong. So does the armed struggle of the Bangsamoro.

The toiling masses of workers and peasants, who are suffering most from the crisis caused by US imperialism and fascist puppet clique, are rising. So do the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. The contradictions among the reactionaries are worsening. The US-Marcos dictatorship is bound to fall.

The revolutionary forces are certain to become stronger in this situation. Proofs abound that the fascist regime has essentially only weakened the ruling system and has resulted in strengthening the revolutionary forces.

Revolution is the main trend in the world. The revolutionary movement of the people is advancing as the crisis of the world capitalist system is worsening. The attempts of the imperialists to pass the burden of crisis to the people, especially the people of the Third World, are resulting in resistance.

At the same time, the danger of war is arising from the intensifying rivalry of the two superpowers, US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. While the danger becomes greater, the revolutionary movement of the people grows stronger. An imperialist war can only accelerate the world revolution.

Under conditions that the factors of revolution and war are growing, the anti-imperialist trends are developing among the people and countries of the Third World. The Third World is the main force of the international united front.

Since the beginning, I have referred to the success of your conference. First, this indicates that you have overcome a long running problem of major proportions, you are now well-connected to an increasing number of masses and you are in the process of revitalization after suffering extreme hardship, errors and weaknesses.

The revolutionary forces in your region are still in a better condition than in 1969 and 1970. Especially if you learn from more than 8 years of revolutionary experience, you have a sound and more than enough basis for attaining a great advance in the revolutionary struggle. The road of revolution is long and complicated. But more than ever we are sure that the future is bright. We are confident of victory.

We wish you the utmost success in your conference.

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines in Northeastern Luzon!

Long live the New People's Army!

Down with the US-Marcos dictatorship!

Advance the antifascist, antifeudal and anti-imperialist struggle!

Link closely with the masses!

Create many more guerrilla zones!

Long live the people's democratic revolution!

Communique of the 1977 First Northeast Luzon Regional Party Conference

First published in *Ang Bayan*, Vol. IX, No. 15, October 15, 1977.

The First Regional Conference of the Communist Party of the Philippines in Northeastern Luzon was held in August 1977, a few months after the main forces of the Party and the New People's Army in the region had once again foiled the enemy's blockade and pursuit.

Attending the conference were leading Party cadres from the territorial organs, regional bureaus and Party organizations within the units of the people's army in the guerrilla zones of the entire front. Majority of the delegates who attended came from the poor peasantry, lower-middle peasantry and national minorities. They were cadres and members of the Party coming from the localities. Among the delegates coming from the urban petty bourgeoisie, the majority had served in the region from six to eight years. Women made a rather significant number of the delegates. In general, almost all the delegates had been tried and tested in the big and prolonged "encirclement and suppression" campaigns launched by the enemy at various times in the past against the Party and the people's army.

The Central Committee sent a representative to the conference. The Preparatory Commission for the National Democratic Front also had a representative. There were other observers from within the region. The Central Committee representative read Comrade Amado Guerrero's message to the Regional Party Conference in Northeastern Luzon. The delegates and observers enthusiastically welcomed the message and used it as their guide during the conference.

The message mentioned the following: "The first regional Party conference of Northeast Luzon is a great victory not only for the Party organization, the units of the people's army and the broad masses of the people in the region but also for the Party, the New People's Army and the broad masses of the people in the entire country. "This regional Party conference is actually the second to be held in Northeast Luzon. But the first one held in February 1972 was for the entire Northern Luzon.

Comrade Amado Guerrero also made it clear that "from the time that the Communist Party of the Philippines was reestablished on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the Central Committee has always been concerned with the development of the armed revolution in Northern Luzon." In this connection, he mentioned that the revolutionary forces which developed in Northern Luzon, mainly in Northeastern Luzon, became the leading standard-bearers of armed revolution in the countryside from 1971 to 1972. Nevertheless, the mass base of the Party and the people's army in the region was greatly reduced starting in 1972 while the region's guerrilla zones decreased and contracted until 1976 in the face of the successive big and rather prolonged enemy "encirclement and suppression" campaigns.

In spite of these developments Comrade Amado Guerrero stressed that: It is entirely correct for you to take the stand that though there has been a drastic reduction of our armed strength and territory in Northeast Luzon there are more than enough personnel and means for you to renew strength and make new advances. You can certainly renew the strength of the revolutionary forces in the region and lead them from victory to victory as long as you can correctly sum up experiences, draw lessons from its positive and negative aspects and set forth the tasks. To start with, you have Party cadres and members and Red fighters who have been tempered in the crucible of the revolutionary struggle. It should inspire you to greater revolutionary effort by recognizing that you have done a great service to the entire revolutionary movement by having withstood the worst kinds of onslaughts that the enemy could launch against the Party, the people's army and the organized masses since 1972. In this period, the revolutionary forces in other regions had opportunity to advance.

The delegates and observers animatedly and thoroughly recounted and discussed the developments in Party work, armed struggle and the revolutionary mass movement in the region over the last eight years. This experience was assessed in order to draw important lessons from the successes and strong points of the revolutionary struggle, as well as from its errors and shortcomings.

On the basis of a review of the present situation in the entire country particularly in Northeastern Luzon, and of the situation of the revolutionary forces in the region, the conference approved a general program of action for the next three years. The program defines the concrete direction, line and plans for revolutionary work before the

end of the 1970s. The program ensures the persistent advance of the antifascist, antifeudal and anti-imperialist mass movement in this part of the Philippines.

The delegates and observers engaged in a lively exchange of views concerning Comrade Amado Guerrero's statement relating the improving national and international situations to the development of the revolutionary forces in Northeastern Luzon.

"The political and economic crisis continues to worsen, besieging the US-Marcos clique and the entire ruling class. The revolutionary armed struggle of the New People's Army and also the Moro people continues to grow in strength.

"The toiling masses of workers and peasants, who are victimized most by the crisis engendered by US imperialism and the fascist puppet clique, are rising up. So are the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. The split among the reactionaries is worsening. The US-Marcos dictatorship is bound to fall.

"All the revolutionary forces are bound to gain further strength in this situation. The facts abound to prove that the fascist regime has only served to fundamentally weaken the ruling system and strengthen the revolutionary forces.

"The main trend in the world is revolution. The people's revolutionary movements are advancing as the crisis of the world capitalist system is worsening. The attempts of the imperialists to shift the burden of crisis to the people, especially of the third world, are engendering resistance.

"At the same time, the danger of a world war is arising from the sharpening struggle between the two super-powers, US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. As the danger increases, the people's revolutionary movements rise. War among the imperialists will only accelerate the world revolution.

"Under conditions that the factors for revolution and war are increasing, anti-imperialist currents are developing among the third world people and countries. This third world is the main force of the international united front. "

The conference elected the First Regional Party Committee in Northeastern Luzon. The First Plenum of the Regional Committee was held after the conference. The Executive Committee and the Secretariat were then elected and sufficient lower organs and Party units were formed to efficiently lead and supervise the revolutionary tasks that had been laid down.

The conference was guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the document "Our Urgent Tasks" issued by the Third Plenum of the Central Committee and the message addressed to the conference by Comrade Amado Guerrero. By thoroughly summing up experience, reviewing the situation, setting the tasks and solving other related problems, the delegates and observers undertook the living study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and of the general tasks laid down by the Party Central Committee for the present and the future.

In conclusion, the delegates and observers cited the big victory that was gained by the holding of the conference. However, this victory was viewed as being just the first step towards the achievement of greater successes in the revolutionary struggle. The conference resolved to achieve these successes despite all the difficulties and sacrifices on the long and tortuous road of revolution.

After the conference, the delegates, observers and other comrade presented a short cultural program, principally in honor of the memory of several hundreds of Party cadres and members and Red fighters of the people's army in the region who died as revolutionary martyrs for the sake of advancing the noble objective of winning national freedom and democracy for the Filipino people.

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Long live the New People's Army!

Down with the US-Marcos dictatorship!

On with the antifascist, antifeudal and anti-imperialist struggle!

On with the revolutionary armed struggle!

Long live the people's democratic revolution!

Prospects of the Revolution in the Philippines

Issued under the penname Patnubay Liwanag, March 22, 1982

The prospects of the revolution in the Philippines can be outlined only after an understanding of the status of the revolutionary forces and the essential characteristics of the objective conditions. To speak of said prospects is to speak of trends that can be seen through accomplished and current events. We base ourselves on the facts; otherwise, there would only be wishful thinking.

The revolution in progress

The interrupted Philippine revolution has been once more resumed since thirteen years ago on a comprehensive bases: political, military, economic and cultural. It is in progress at a far more accelerated rate in the present decade than in the previous one. The revolutionary forces have overcome the difficulties of starting from scratch and have advanced in the face of a full-blown fascist counterrevolution. Having accumulated experiences and victories, the revolutionary forces are taking full advantage of the political and economic crisis of the ruling system which is worsening at a far more accelerated rate.

The ongoing revolution has a national and democratic character of the new type. It carries forward toward full realization the Filipino people's aspirations for national independence and democracy in the era of modern imperialism and socialist revolutions. It is led by the proletariat through its revolutionary party, the Communist Party of the Philippines, rather than by the liberal bourgeoisie as in the old democratic revolution through the Katipunan and then through the Aguinaldo government. The broad masses of the people are ranged today against the forces of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism which are concentrated in the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique.

The organized revolutionary forces are now at their strongest from the time that the Philippine revolution was defeated by US imperialism at the beginning of the century. The achievements of the reestablished Communist Party of the Philippines are far greater in an all-round way than those of the old merger party of the Communist and Socialist parties. To use one telling point of reference, the New People's Army has already accumulated on a nationwide scale more than thrice the number of rifles (automatic and single-shot) than the old people's army (Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan-HMB) had in a far smaller area at its peak in 1950. The NPA guerrilla fighters continue to increase at an accelerating rate.

The Communist Party of the Philippines has steadily strengthened itself ideologically, politically and organizationally. It integrates the universal theory of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism, with the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution. It has successfully rectified the errors of the Lava revisionists and their unremolded successors and has remained alert to erroneous tendencies of the Right and "Left" varieties. It is a party that militantly arouses, organizes and mobilizes the broad masses of the people around itself and the people's army along the line of an antifascist, anti-imperialist and antifeudal united front. Party cadres and members are drawn from the most advanced elements of the revolutionary mass movements.

From only a few scores in 1968 and 1969 and only 2,000 in 1972, there are now so many thousands of communist cadres and members who come from the ranks of the workers, peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie. They are capable of leading the millions of people and performing a wide range of work in the revolution. There are a few thousands of Party branches and groups in rural and urban localities, in units of the people's army and in mass organizations. These are competent and tested cadres working effectively at various levels of leadership: group, branch, section, guerrilla zone, guerrilla front, district, provincial, regional and central committee. The Party is in all provinces, except a handful of small island and Moro provinces. It is far more widespread than the people's army whose way it often prepares.

The New People's Army is in every region and in the overwhelming majority of provinces. In several dozens of guerrilla fronts, there are hundreds of well-developed and less-developed 29 guerrilla zones, each of which comprises several municipalities. The NPA has acquired great depth and breadth in terms of popular support and terrain. The membership of the full-fledged guerrilla fighting units run into some thousands, armed with automatic rifles. The armed propaganda units have even a far larger membership (about thrice) armed with a combination of automatic and single-shot rifles and handguns. These figures are a far cry from the initial armed strength of 35

guns (9 automatic rifles and 26 inferior arms) in a few guerrilla zones in 1969. In 1972, there were only about 250 automatic rifles. The claim of the reactionary armed forces that there were 10,000 to 12,000 NPA "regulars" on the eve of martial law is a complete fabrication to justify the martial law proclamation.

The guerrilla fighters are applying the correct strategy and tactics of people's war. They are still at the stage of strategic defensive but are relentlessly launching tactical offensives. They muster superior strength and use the element of surprise to overwhelm small enemy units they can wipe out or simply disarm. Close to 100 percent of NPA arms have been seized from the CHDF, police, army and other AFP units through ambushes, raids and arrests. The NPA can now launch nationwide, interregional and intraregional coordinated attacks according to the principle of centralized leadership and decentralized operations. It can lure in the enemy in so many deep ways. It can attack an enemy element or unit only to bait and crush the reinforcing or investigating enemy unit or attack an enemy unit elsewhere. The wiping out or disarming of an oversized enemy squad or platoon is now commonplace.

The militia units supporting the full-fledged guerrilla units and armed propaganda units have a membership running into some hundreds of thousands. These include all able-bodied members of mass organizations with varying degrees of training in local self-defense. They are armed with bolos, spears and homemade guns. They do essential police work and detect the covert and overt actions of the enemy. They are the largest reserve force of the people's army and are eager to be armed with better weapons. In organizing CHDF units and dispersing small regular detachments, the enemy is practically delivering arms to the NPA.

Even while the reactionary state still exists, the people's democratic government has steadily grown in the countryside. Local organs of democratic political power have been established, even while the facade of barangay councils and the like is retained or allowed to exist. The barrio organizing committees and the barrio revolutionary committees are flourishing. These have such special committees as those for organization, economy, defense, justice, health and so on. Supporting the people's government are the basic organizations for workers, or farm workers, peasant, women, children and cultural enthusiasts. Each type of mass organization performs general functions linking it with the other types as well as special functions specifically suitable to its members.

The people under organs of political power and mass organizations constitute the mass base of the revolution. Today, this mass base runs into millions, mostly in the countryside. This number is a far cry from the initial mass base of 50,000 people in the second district of Tarlac province and 15,000 in Manila-Rizal in 1969; and some 350,000 in Northern, Central and Southern Luzon and 100,000 in Manila-Rizal and other urban areas in 1972. The reactionary trade unions are schools for revolution. The workers comprehend that their struggles are part of the revolution. An increasing number of them, especially in the extensive areas where production for export is depressed, have joined the armed revolution.

Where they reside, the workers have played an important role in forming community organizations and linking up with other urban poor. They protect and promote the interests and welfare of the entire community. Like the peasants, they try to put under their control or influence the local organizations of the reactionary government. Where they cannot, because the fascists pay special attention to the area, the struggle become more bitter against the fascist officials and thugs. Among the most notorious case of fascist oppression are those involving the mass eviction of the slum dwellers on the pretext of relocation and urban renewal.

The urban petty bourgeoisie is not exempted from the ravages of the economic crisis and the fascist acts of oppression. The masses of students, teachers and other professionals and small businessmen are increasingly involving themselves in the democratic movement. The masses of students and teachers have so far been the most militant in carrying out mass actions to express their protests and demands regarding their immediate plight of fast rising tuition fees and depressed wages of school employees as well as regarding the worsening national situation. The national democratic cultural revolution, which started in the anti-CAFA demonstration in 1961, steadily grew during the entire 1960s and assumed gigantic proportions during the early seventies, is vigorously resurging openly. It is carrying forward a national, scientific and mass culture at the core of which is Marxism-Leninism. It runs against the decadent fascist, pro-imperialist and feudal culture. As before, the democratic movement of the intelligentsia is linked with the struggle of workers and peasants. Many revolutionary intellectuals continue to participate directly in the actual struggle of the toiling masses.

Among the entire people, the revolutionaries are promoting the line of economic independence as the substance of genuine political independence and national industrialization as the necessary complement of agrarian

revolution. In accordance with their own legitimate interests, the national bourgeoisie and its spokesmen are being encouraged to take a patriotic and democratic stand against the political and economic subservience of the fascist dictatorship to foreign transnational corporations, chiefly US and Japanese. The national bourgeoisie has long been suppressed in favor of the foreign monopoly capitalists who have been getting all kinds of extraordinary privileges and gobbling up businesses through loans, direct investments and trade privileges designed to prevent national industrialization and an independent economy. The organized revolutionary forces under the direct and effective leadership of the CPP so far come to only a few million people. But through a united front under the National Democratic Front and beyond and also through effective revolutionary propaganda, the influence of these revolutionary forces extend to the entire Filipino people in their tens of millions. Outside the guerrilla fronts, the communists and their allies are promoting the general line of the national democratic revolution and preparing for the advance of the armed struggle. Party cadres and members are at the core of so many kinds of organization of varying scope in the areas outside of the guerrilla fronts of the NPA.

The Moro people's struggle for national self-determination and democracy is revolutionary and just. So far, the strongest armed ally of the CPP and NPA is the Moro National Liberation Front and the Bangsa Moro Army. The NPA has owed a lot to the BMA for tying down at least one-third of the combat effectives of the AFP, especially from 1973 to 1978. Now that the NPA is far stronger than it was in the past, it can reciprocate in a large way the favor done by the BMA. The BMA can intensify its armed struggle as the NPA in their respective areas can eat up the strength of the AFP piece by piece in a protracted people's war.

Allies who are not yet armed or whose armed force is still small always have the important role of expanding and condemning the pro-imperialist puppetry, barbarism, bankruptcy and corruption of the fascist dictatorship. But more than ever, conditions for these allies to undertake their own armed struggle improve as the CPP and MNLF win greater political and military victories through their respective armies. Ideological, political, religious, ethnic and other differences are subordinated to the single task of uniting to overthrow the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique.

Deteriorating fascist position

The fascist dictatorship of the US-Marcos clique is the desperate outcome of the insoluble and worsening crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal society. Instead of saving a republic, the Marcos coup d'état of 1972 has destroyed all tokens of it and put up a blatant autocracy that is justly hated by the sovereign people. Instead of forming a new society, the despotism has worsened and made far more intolerable the evils of the continuing old society. The old ruling system is moving toward its destruction even as the fascist dictator is overweening with his ill-gotten power and wealth.

The open rule of fascist terror has incurred heavy debts from the people in terms of life, limb and property. Instead of being cowed into submission, the broad masses of the people have fought back. Abuses inflicted on them have only served to make the ground for armed revolution more fertile. On the eve of martial law, the NPA was very small and weak militarily in a few areas in the country; it had only about 250 rifles. But now it has thousands of these rifles. In his martial law proclamation, Marcos was completely ignorant of the MNLF and BMA. But as a result of martial law, these mass organizations arose with several thousands of well-armed fighters.

The fascist acts of terror and the rapidly worsening economic crisis goad the broad masses of the people to wage armed struggle. But this has to advance step by step against the fascist dictatorship's headstart of 250,000 troops. It is gratifying to see that the average number of arms seized by the NPA from the 33 enemy within one year during 1970s can now be seized in a matter of only a few weeks. The rate of arms seizures by the revolutionaries is ever increasing.

By the most conservative estimates, the fascist dictatorship is one of the bloodiest regimes in Philippine history. In the ten years of civil war unleashed by the fascist, there have been at least 150,000 casualties. Death casualties reach up to some 70,000. Most of those killed and injured are civilians because of the blind actions by the enemy such as the round up and massacres of entire barrios and neighborhoods, the torture and murder of suspects and indiscriminate bombings and shootings during military campaigns. On their part, the guerrillas of the NPA and BMA know their targets well and are precise in their military operations.

In central and southwestern Mindanao, there have been some 60,000 killed and some 50,000 injured. Most of these are civilians. Among the combatants, the AFP has lost some 20,000 killed and some 10,000 injured and the BMA some 5,000 killed and another 5,000 injured. In the NPA areas all over the country, some 18,000 have

been killed and some 16,000 have been injured. Again most of these are civilians victimized by the enemy. Among the combatants, the AFP lost some 8,000 killed and some 5,000 injured and the NPA some 2,000 killed and some 1,000 injured. It is the consistent pattern of the enemy to try to even up the score in military casualties by taking out their defeats on the innocent civilians.

The NPA has already gained enough strength and experience to prevent its armed propaganda units from being put into defensive tactical position by the AFP search and destroy operations. The MNLF has also cast away the old tendency to hold and defend fixed positions even against a superior enemy force. Thus the ratio of military casualties against the AFP is rising even as it does not stop to torture and kill captives and abuse civilians in trying to root out the guerrillas. About three million people in the countryside have been displaced and dispossessed of their homes, farms and livestock or made refugees by forced mass evacuations and reconcentration or regrouping of entire populations by the AFP in the course of protracted campaigns of encirclement and suppression, lasting from one to four years per campaign. Some 2.2 million of victims come from central and southwestern Mindanao including Moros and non-Moros. As early as 1976, these victims were estimated at 1.8 million by agencies of the reactionary government. In NPA areas (Isabela, Sorsogon, Aurora, Samar, Quezon, Camarines Norte, Cagayan, Davao provinces and Agusan—in chronological order), there have been some 800,000 people forced to evacuate or regroup.

Large numbers of the refugees have spontaneously moved from their homes to other areas and spread the message of the revolution rather than be humiliated and starve in enemy evacuation centers and regrouping camps. However, 300,000 Moros have taken refuge in Sabah and are aided by the Islamic countries, especially Saudi Arabia and Malaysia, while Mr. and Mrs. Marcos make a lot of propaganda for themselves about the far lesser number of Vietnamese refugees in the country.

Great numbers of people in the Moro and NPA areas have gone through the process of being herded against their will for fake surrender ceremonies before AFP authorities in so-called peace rallies. About 100,000 people have been arrested, maltreated in fascist jails for at least one day on suspicion of supporting the armed revolutionaries; about 25,000 people have been detained and maltreated in fascist jails for at least one month without charges being filed. These have ranged from masses of workers, peasants, youth and women to prominent individuals, like leaders of political parties, journalists, publishers, businessmen, religious leaders, educators, writers and leaders of labor, peasant, youth, women and other organizations. So many cases of barbaric tortures have been documented by civil libertarian and human rights associations. But these are only a small fraction of the total number of cases.

The ruling system is now far more incapable of ruling in the old way than before Marcos grabbed all governmental powers in 1972. He is more than ever compelled by his colossal crimes to continue repressing the entire range of organized political opposition and the broad masses of the people. He keeps on threatening to unleash more bloody acts of fascist terror. The so-called lifting of martial law and normalization consist only of negligible tokens and shallow gimmicks calculated to institutionalize and whitewash the continuing fascist dictatorship. In one more contradiction of terms, the autocracy is dished out as a new republic. The autocratic and antidemocratic provisions of the Marcos constitution remain intact. The suspension of the writ of habeas corpus continue to operate against all political opponents of the fascist regime. The fascist decrees have remained in force and are perpetuated in the National Security Code, Public Order Act and the like. The Antisubversion Law and other laws against political offenses have been made more arbitrary and harsher. The electoral laws are stacked up against every party outside of the fascist party, the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan. Elections since 1978 have been no different from the fake plebiscites and referenda as mockeries of the people's sovereignty.

The interim batasang pambansa is a mere rubber stamp of the fascist dictatorship and is subordinate to the lawmaking powers of the one-man legislator. The courts are completely under the power of this fascist dictator. The Supreme Court no less has consistently proven itself a willing tool and accomplice of the fascist dictatorship. The schools have been used as instruments of fascist and imperialist propaganda. All major media of information are either owned or controlled by the fascists, and are used for their propaganda.

In making calls for national unity and reconciliation, Marcos simply means to tell the people and all his political opponents to surrender to his monopoly of political power. More vicious campaigns of fascist terror are being carried out throughout the country, especially in the countryside. But even in the urban areas, massacres have been occurring against peaceful demonstrations. Despite their attempts to remain legal, organizations and

individuals critical of the regime are continuously threatened with punitive action, which often occurs. So, more than over the broad masses of the people are waging revolutionary struggles. A broad united front for armed struggle is rapidly developing as fascist abuses and economic crisis mount. These are excellent conditions for a broad antifascist, anti-imperialist and antifeudal struggle. Shorn of all its embellishments, the fascist dictatorship is clearly kept in power by brute force against the people. But the AFP has fatal weaknesses. First of all, it is a vicious antinational and antidemocratic instrument of the fascist dictatorship which knows no end in oppressing and exploiting the people. Acts of fascist terror have only served to multiply the number of people determined to fight and defeat it through a protracted people's war.

Despite the worsening economic crisis, it was possible for Marcos to beef up the AFP from 65,000 to 250,000 troops during the seventies because of heavy foreign and local borrowings that puffed up unproductive business activities. Large amounts of taxes could be collected from this kind of activities and large appropriations could therefore be made for the military. It was the gargantuan foreign loans far more than the increasing direct US military assistance (grants and credit sales) that allowed Marcos a wide path for beefing up the military and supporting its futile operations. But foreign borrowing is becoming more and more difficult and onerous. New loans can no longer cover even only the debt service and trade deficit.

The AFP is a parasitic and nonproductive entity which has grown too large. It is a major cause of inflation. And the inflation recoils upon it. Funds for its maintenance and operations are inadequate. Mass discontent among enlisted men is increasing because of inadequate pay and because of rampant corruption among the officers. Steadily the grave discontent among the people is already finding its way in among the troops because they come mostly from worker and peasant families. Increasingly the troops have begun to recognize that their abusive military operations are victimizing their own relatives and friends.

It is only a matter of time before the men and officers of the AFP become receptive to revolutionary propaganda to a significant extent. Their families beyond their camps and formations are not exempt from the facts of the people's sufferings. They are bound to be demoralized by the fact that they are facing more combat risks now in the service of an oppressive and exploitative system and yet they are not adequately compensated. Because it is run as a private army of the fascist dictator, the AFP is wracked by internal jealousies and dissensions, especially among officers. Favoritism, nepotism and regionalism are rampant.

At any rate, there are not too many combat effectives against the armed revolutionaries. Only about one-third of AFP personnel are readily deployable for counter-guerrilla action. A large number are tied down to offices, garrisons, presidential security and urban trunklines. The navy and air force are largely unfit for direct ground action. There are units that are unavoidably dispersed and vulnerable to guerrilla actions. These are the CHDF, police, PC and even some Philippine Army units. The guerrillas can seize plenty of arms from them long before any large military operation or campaign can be launched by the enemy.

The guerrilla fronts of the people's army are already so many all over the country and so wide and deep individually that the reactionary armed forces can never hope to swoop down on all of them at the same time or destroy them one by one. Any superior armed force on a short-term "search and destroy" mission can only punch the air and waste effort and resources. Any protracted enemy campaign eventually yields plenty of opportunities for guerrilla actions in the area. Even when the bulk of guerrilla forces in a certain area are obliged to shift temporarily, they leave enough units to keep the enemy tied down. By getting tied down in a certain area, the enemy unwittingly allows the guerrilla forces in many other areas to grow.

The fascist dictatorship has deepened the bankruptcy of the Philippine economy and caused inflation to spiral through rapid and excessive expenditures for nonindustrial and unproductive programs and projects. The infrastructure and energy projects are financed with foreign loans from the imperialist banks willing to provide loans because these result in the sale of steel materials, construction and motorized equipment, engineering services, etc. from the transnational corporations but are consumption oriented and at best merely serve to reinforce the colonial pattern of production and export of raw materials and import of finished products. The fascists like these projects because they are supposed to have strong propaganda impact and are easy source of graft. The hierarchy of corruption is so greedy that all these construction projects are overpriced and have serious structural defects.

Completely unproductive are the huge expenditures for bloating the bureaucracy and the reactionary armed forces and the acquisition of office vehicles and equipment for them. So are the luxury constructions along Manila Bay (reclamation, convention center, cultural center, folk arts center, film center) and government-financed private

construction of five-star hotels, high rise condominiums and the like. The funds poured into these luxury constructions alone would have been enough to set up several complexes of metal, chemical, instruments and consumer industries based on the comprehensive natural resource base of the country.

Excess capacities have been created in the production and slight processing of raw materials for export (coconut oil, raw sugar, copper concentrates and the like). Beyond these only reassembly and repackaging industries or “gypsy industries” (garments, electronics, car manufacturing, etc.) have been put up by the US and Japanese transnational corporations and their local partners merely for purposes of local and regional market penetration and utilization of cheap local labor. As the capitalist countries have gone into deep recession, the raw material exports of the country as well as the reassembly and repackaging industries have become depressed, resulting in massive unemployment and social unrest in both cities and countryside. The unemployment rate is now at least 15 percent beyond the chronic rate of 25 percent characteristic of a semifeudal economy such as that of the Philippines.

Due to the fascist dictatorship’s economic subservience to the transnational corporations and imperialist banks, the Philippines is reeling from the aggravatingly lopsided character of the economy, locally generated inflation, shifted recession and inflation from the capitalist countries and the increasing burden of foreign debts. While the prices of Philippine exports are being pressed down, the prices of imported finished products are inflated and imports are being pushed hard into the country under a one-sided trade liberalization policy in favor of the capitalist countries. The imperialists are gobbling up superprofits through the process of direct profit remittances, transfer-pricing and loans interest. However, after surpassing the \$15 billion level of foreign debt, the Philippines has reached the point of not being able to get enough foreign loans even at far higher interest rates to cover debt service and trade deficits.

Completely proven false are the expectations of the local revisionists that the US is truly interested in using Marcos to restructure and industrialize the Philippines. More than ever the Philippine economy remains agrarian and semifeudal, a producer and exporter of raw materials and importer of finished and semi-finished products. There has been no significant industrialization, whether this be owned by Filipinos or by foreigners. The fascist regime has always adhered to the imperialist concept of development for subservient developing countries, which is the prevention of industrial development.

The so-called eleven major industrial projects are a belated lip service to industrialization. These plans are dependent on the wishes and purposes of transnational corporations which are far more interested than before in discouraging industrialization in a semicolony because of recession afflicting industries in the capitalist countries. The imperialist banks have been telling Marcos through his own technocrats that there is no funding for industrialization and that there is some only for infrastructure, energy projects, agriculture and forestry, education and re-equipment of some local industries.

Contrary to the hopes of the local revisionists that the United States would use Marcos to break feudalism, the Marcos land reform program limited to rice and corn lands has essentially been a hoax. Hundreds of thousands of land transfer certificates have been distributed to tenants only for propaganda effect. Only a few token expropriations of landed estates have been undertaken and offered for sale to tenants at a price they cannot afford. The prevalent fact is that old style landlords have been goaded to charge a higher fixed land rent under the so-called leasehold system when they cannot evict their tenants by using any of the many loopholes in the reactionary land reform law.

The token expropriation of landed estates for the supposed benefit of rice and corn tenants are negligible in comparison to the massive transfer of land ownership or control from the old landlords to the new ones (especially the fascists and the local and foreign agro-corporations), the land dispossession of poor settlers and homesteaders under the cover of pasture leases, corporate farming and agro-industrial development. Not all lands grabbed are developed. A sizeable portion are held for speculation because of their proximity to infrastructure projects. The former owner-cultivators are often forced to submit to the old-style tenancy system.

The “miracle rice” and Masagana 99 programs have not facilitated but on the contrary have been obstacles to it. Fertilizers, pesticides, irrigation facilities, agricultural equipment and petrofuel from the transnational corporations have spelled ever rising agricultural production costs. The peasants have been forced to become dependent on landlords and merchant usurers. The fascists have become the biggest agents of the transnational corporations and have used the rural banks to inflict a camouflaged form of usury on the people through price

manipulation of inputs, official service charges and bribes and obligations such as those under the samahang nayon. While the costs of production and subsistence for the peasants have risen rapidly, the prices of their produce have been pressed down.

The so-called KKK livelihood program is a new signboard for small industries and sideline occupations. It has been conceived of so as to deflect attention from the monopolization of colossal loans from the industrial financing fund by corporations owned and controlled by Marcos and his cronies. Rather than promote economic progress, this program dissipates resources through salaries and allowances for superfluous bureaucrats, expenses for propaganda campaigns and dole outs for local leaders of the KBL in time for the barangay elections. The fascists are far more greedy than the general run of merchants as middlemen for both products and loans.

The new oligarchy of big bureaucrat-comprador-landlords is today on top of the heap of reactionaries serving the foreign monopoly capitalists. It is so greedy in manipulating and cutting into loans, construction and purchase contracts and business privileges and in grabbing lands and other properties that it is hated by the rest of the big comprador and big landlord classes. The contradictions within these exploiting classes have become sharp as a result of the dwindling of foreign exchange for debt service and import payments and the tendency of the new oligarchs to grab the available financial resources and the earnings from exports. Some political rivals of Marcos are drawing considerable support from the disgruntled big comprador-landlords.

The workers are vigorously asserting their democratic rights and pressing their long pent-up demands for higher wages and other benefits due them in the face of the soaring prices of basic commodities and widening unemployment. The strike movement today is on an unprecedented scale. The consistent attempts of the fascist dictatorship to curtail the political and economic rights of the workers through violent means are driving the workers to raise higher the level of their class consciousness and organized resistance. Workers laid off from their jobs are finding their way into the ranks of the armed revolutionaries.

The peasant masses are disgusted with the false promise of land reform by the fascist dictatorship, the increased feudal and semifeudal exploitation, the soaring costs of agricultural production and of subsistence, the military campaigns being carried out by the reactionary armed forces and the flagrant acts of landgrabbing by the fascists and the agrocorporations. Everywhere the peasant masses are receptive to the armed revolution and form the main mass support for it. Most NPA fighters are peasants.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, the masses of workers and peasants are allied and serve as the basic foundation of the national democratic revolution. Further on, the toiling masses are allied with the increasingly militant urban petty bourgeoisie which is also oppressed and exploited. And still further on, they are allied with the national bourgeoisie which is pressed down by the fascists and imperialists. There is no way out for the broad masses of the people but to unite in order to overthrow the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique.

Revolutionary prospects within the decade

The objective conditions for waging armed revolution in the Philippines will become even more excellent within the decade. The economic and political crisis of the domestic ruling system as well as that of the world capitalist system will continue to deepen and worsen. The local reactionaries cannot expect any lasting and significant respite from the general crisis and decline of the United States and the world capitalist system. The crisis of the ruling system during the 1980s will be far worse than that during the 1970s.

The persistence of the fascist puppet dictatorship will increasingly move the broad masses of the people to resist it and participate in the armed revolution. Such basic forces of the revolution as the workers, peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie will undergo far more intolerable conditions of political oppression and economic exploitation and will be drawn further into armed resistance. Marcos' fixation on a continued monopoly of power issues from his fear that were he to relax his grip on it, he would surely be called to account for his fascist reign of terror and greed. The violent split between his clique and other reactionary cliques will certainly intensify.

The Philippine reactionary government will further come under the control of the US government and its imperialist interests. These will manipulate the Marcos fascist dictatorship for as long as possible. The acute need of this dictatorship for a greater amount of loans will be used by the United States as a lever for extracting wide-ranging privileges before it considers the replacement of Marcos. The United States will continue to prop Marcos up politically, militarily and financially for as long as the revolutionary struggle has not reached the point that he shall have become more of a liability than an asset to US interests.

The Philippine revolution will definitely make great strides. The Communist Party of the Philippines will further grow in strength ideologically, politically and organizationally. Under the firm leadership of this party, the NPA will expand and consolidate its armed strength and organized mass base. The guerrilla fronts will multiply at an accelerated rate. Within the first half of the decade, platoon-size operations of the people's army will become widespread and frequent all over the country; and within the second half, company-size operations will also become so. Three levels of cooperation will develop: intraregional, interregional and national.

The stage of the strategic defensive will mature on a nationwide scale before the end of the decade. Stalemate will also emerge in many extensive areas. It is even possible that before the end of the decade the stage of strategic stalemate will mature and lead to the general offensive that will overthrow the fascist dictatorship. The advance of the armed revolutionaries will be very rapid by the time that they shall have accumulated a number of automatic weapons equivalent to even only one-tenth of the AFP's 250,000 troops. In view of the present strength of the NPA, it is no longer difficult to accumulate 25,000 automatic rifles within the present decade. In the course of acquiring this strength, the NPA will severely bleed the enemy through guerrilla operations and campaigns of annihilation and attrition.

The Bangsa Moro Army under the leadership of the MNLF will increasingly find that it can deal fiercer and more effective blows against the fascist enemy as the NPA wins more victories in its own areas of operation. Likewise, the NPA will increasingly find that the victories of the BMA are beneficial to it. Thus, there will be a heightening of unity, cooperation and coordination between these two revolutionary forces. The MNLF will very likely give more and more attention to both the national and democratic aspirations of the Moro people and will train more revolutionary cadres from the toiling masses. As a result of the successes of the MNLF and BMA against the AFP, even the present Moro collaborators of the fascist regime will tend to become independent and dissatisfied with the Manila government and many of them will support or join the armed struggle.

The principal opponents of Marcos within the ruling system like Aquino, Manglapus, Lopez, Osmeña and others will continue to be obliged to prove their political worth in the field of armed resistance. They will amount to nothing either to Marcos or the United States if they are unable to relate themselves properly to the armed revolutionaries by cooperating with and extending logistical support to them, organizing their own armed groups and developing influence within the reactionary armed forces. They are liable to completely lose whatever is left of their following if they do not make any significant contribution to the armed struggle.

Within the decade, an antifascist united front for armed struggle can be sure of toppling Marcos. This can include any armed organization of whatever ideological, political or religious persuasion so long as it is antifascist. The single unifying element is the determination to overthrow the Marcos fascist dictatorship. Any attempt to imitate the Marcos concept of unity, which is monopoly of political power by a single person, clique or party, is anathema to the antifascist or democratic cause. Those who learn to unite in the antifascist movement will easily agree to belong together in a democratic coalition government. Democratic power shall be shared according to the basic interests of the people and the relative strengths of the participating parties and groups.

Other than the armies led by the CPP and MNLF, there are already several armed organizations at various stages of preparing for or waging armed struggle. They can fight according to their best lights. The important thing is to direct the fire against the enemy. At best, all antifascist armed organizations will eventually coordinate their efforts. The conditions for armed struggle are so excellent that even the pro-Soviet Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas are already claiming to have disengaged from their collaboration with the fascist regime (from "critical support" to "constructive opposition") and to be making preparations for armed struggle, notwithstanding their old discredited theory that they would conduct a general military offensive only after other entities have done for them the prior stages of the people's war.

The legal opposition parties tend at the moment to concentrate on the question of elections and to demand concessions from the fascist regime in that regard. But they will continue to play a more serious role in exposing and condemning the antinational and antidemocratic character of the fascist regime when they develop their cadres and members through political training courses, publications and various types of meetings without having to wait for the electoral campaign period. The most important task of the legal opposition parties is not to unify as a single party but to coalesce and have as many organized initiative as possible to oppose everyday the reign of terror and greed. As far as the electoral laws stand, the fascist dictatorship will continue to control the process and outcome of elections in 1984, 1986 and 1987. Marcos will not be budged an inch from his arrogant

position 44without the growth of the legal democratic movement and, more importantly, the armed revolutionary movement.

Together the legal organizations of workers, peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie, especially the students and teachers are showing the way to wage a comprehensive legal democratic movement. The trade union and strike movement will intensify on a wide scale. A series of general strikes is possible within the decade. The peasant movement will increasingly carry out concerted mass actions in connection with both the democratic movement in the cities and with the armed struggle in the countryside. The youth and the student movement will be increasingly linked with the workers and peasants and will carry out mass actions dwarfing the mass actions during the early seventies.

As the legal parties, mass organizations and publications against the fascist dictatorship become stronger, they will be repeatedly subjected to threats and actual punitive actions. The fascist dictatorship will continue to be a naked fact, with or without another formal declaration of martial law. By his threats and punitive actions, Marcos will compel an ever increasing number of activists from the legal democratic movement to join the ranks of the armed revolutionaries.

As the armed struggle and the legal democratic movement progress, the regime will become more and more ferocious. But the point shall be reached when the United States will have to seriously consider withdrawing support from Marcos in favor of another figure, when it shall have been proven by the armed struggle that he is already bringing US interests down with him. Only at that point will the United States be willing to ease him out. Among the effective measures that the United States will use to pressure him will be delays in the approval of loans and threats to reduce these drastically. Marcos will try to cope with these pressures by amending the electoral laws and giving concessions to his political rivals. From his viewpoint, he will at the worst offer to step down in 1987 in favor of someone he will choose.

But the big question is whether it will still be possible for the United States and Marcos to simply mollify or even satisfy his political rivals who will derive direct or indirect support from an armed antifascist united front. Even at the moment, Aquino and other such opponents of Marcos find it necessary to affirm publicly the important and decisive role of the CPP, MNLF and other revolutionary forces in the settlement of the most crucial issues in the country. It is possible that by the time the United States is willing to replace Marcos, his political opponents shall have come to a position of demanding nothing less than the punishment of Marcos and even the United States shall have become impotent in the face of the armed antifascist united front.

Recognizing his own vulnerability as a US puppet in economic distress and anticipating the ultimate dangers pose by the development of the antifascist united front for armed struggle, Marcos has been making some signals that he is willing to accommodate the progressive forces and widen the path for cooperation with some third world and socialist countries which can give substantial assistance to his regime. But at the same time, he is still confident that he is Washington's favorite boy, especially under the Reagan administration and that he has plenty of time both for giving in to US demands in exchange for his retention of power and for making a wider area of maneuver in additional directions.

Marcos even entertains the illusion that in the meantime in combination with his mailed fist policy against the revolutionary movement he can play tricks at the least to confuse and split the revolutionary ranks and the antifascist united front and at the most literally disarm the people's army before the slaughterhouse. Indeed, if he succeeds in this regard by some significant degree, he will delay his downfall for a long time. But unfortunately for him, the CPP knows his game well enough. If the CPP would merely agree to have a dialogue with him, there would be strong divisive impact on the ranks of the revolutionaries and the united front.

Marcos will have to show sufficient proofs in advance that he is willing to shift toward an anti-imperialist and democratic position before a truce becomes negotiable. But even then the CPP will not even consider the idea of talking to him without prior consultations with its good allies and without consideration of their interests. He cannot succeed in simply trying to split the antifascist united front by talking to its participants one by one. At any rate, if he has some good intention no progressive force will stop him from adopting anti-imperialist and democratic measures before any dialogue with him. There are more than enough conditions and reasons for him to veer away from his position as the chief Filipino puppet of the United States and save himself from the most severe verdict of history, a verdict reserved only for the Spanish colonizers, the US imperialists and the Japanese fascists.

Marcos has already conceded that the CPP can become a legal party but on the condition that it renounces

armed struggle. No genuine self-respecting revolutionary party will ever renounce the people's right to wage an armed revolution against tyranny. This right is held sacred by both liberal democrats and Marxists. Under certain conditions, truce can become negotiable but surrender, never. The CPP will never surrender and humiliate itself as the pro-Soviet revisionists did in 1974 and some Moros who betray the cause of the Moro people. Moreover, the CPP has become strong through armed struggle and the conditions for armed revolution are increasingly excellent.

Because US imperialism props up the fascist dictatorship with colossal amounts of direct and indirect military assistance, it is just and appropriate for any antifascist force to secure arms from any friendly source abroad or simply purchase these from the international open market. After all, such arms will but be a tiny fraction of the massive military supplies provided by the United States to the fascist regime. Whatever is the amount of arms that they can secure from abroad, the antifascist forces will maintain independence and remain self-reliant as they will continue to seize more than 90 percent of their total arms from the fascist enemy. More than any other entity, it is the political rivals of Marcos within the ruling system who need to secure rifles from abroad in order to arm their following and try to do best their share in the antifascist armed struggle. They need to catch up with the revolutionary tide. Even their own followers complain of being impotent before the fascist enemy. Within any month, they can be armed by the tens. Within six months, they can be armed by the hundreds. Within a year, they can be armed by a few thousands. At every level of armed strength, more arms can be seized from the enemy. By not arming their own followers and possibly their allies, Marcos' political rivals are allowing him to prolong his rule.

As far as the CPP and MNLF are concerned, their respective armies have sufficient arms to be able to advance steadily and cumulatively. But they want their allies to be armed in order to hasten the process of overthrowing the fascist dictatorship. More blows from more directions will certainly accelerate the process. The revolutionary forces will feel the more compelled to seek military supplies from friendly sources abroad the more that the United States intervene in support of the fascist dictatorship. The United States can no longer be as powerful as it used to be. There is nothing awesome about its support for the fascist dictatorship. The revolutionary movement has already made great strides. The United States and its puppet Marcos will get their just deserts. What is good about the fascist dictatorship is that it has created the conditions for the Philippine revolution—frustrated by US imperialism at the beginning of this century—to surge forward again at a time that world conditions favor its success.

Within the decade, the United States will further decline as a world power. Its internal and external economic and political crisis will worsen. The attempt of US President Reagan to stimulate the US economy through intensified high-technology military production will further weaken the United States and create social unrest among the American people. The United States will be bogged down in the arms race and confrontations with its first world rival, the Soviet Union. Europe and Middle East will continue to preoccupy the two superpowers. At the same time, US competition with the second world of lesser capitalist countries will sharpen and further constrict the profitable areas for US investments and market for US civilian and military products.

In the third world, the independent countries will become even more assertive of their anti-imperialism and anti-imperialist revolutionary movements will surge forward as never before seen in the unliberated countries. Even reactionary governments will find themselves increasingly at odds with the United States because of the growing virulence of the world capitalist economic crisis and the excessive demands of the United States for debt payments and extraordinary privileges. Even now, it has difficulties attending to so many trouble spots. After its great debacle in its war of aggression in Indochina, it has been impotent before the revolutionary upheavals in Africa, Iran and Central America. Without China's correct stand against Soviet social-imperialism, the United States would have been in a more isolated and desperate situation.

Certainly, within the latter part of the decade, the United States will have great difficulties in propping a strictly pro-US puppet regime in the Philippines because of the strong revolutionary movement of the Filipino people and because of many other turbulence elsewhere. Escalation of US intervention in the Philippines will not only be futile but will possibly mean a total elimination of its imperialist interests here.

The American people have learned unforgettable lessons from the US war of aggression in Vietnam. They will oppose every act of US intervention in the Philippines and extend greater political and moral support for the Filipino people. The considerable number of Filipinos in the United States and elsewhere abroad will play an important role in gathering international support for the revolutionary movement in the motherland.

There have been no conditions domestically and internationally better than now for the advance of the Philippine revolution since its defeat by US imperialism at the beginning of this century. The sovereign Filipino people will continuously win greater revolutionary victories against fascism, imperialism and feudalism within this decade. The correct leadership of the CPP over the NPA and other revolutionary forces is the guarantee for great victories to be won. —22 March 1982

On the Communist Party and Armed Revolution in the Philippines

November 28, 1984

1. On the Communist Party and its gains until 1984

The Communist Party of the Philippines has made great advances ideologically, politically and organizationally. It has correctly and successfully applied the theory of Marxism-Leninism on the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution; it has become deeply rooted among the Filipino people, especially the workers and the peasants; and it has become a nationwide organization of several tens of thousands of cadres and members covering all the provinces.

Through the national united front, the people in their tens of millions are being aroused, organized and mobilized. The National Democratic Front is the most consolidated and broadest united front organization in the underground. Local organs of democratic power have been created under the united front policy and are effectively governing millions of people. The proletariat and its party, the Communist Party of the Philippines, rely mainly on the basic alliance of the working class and the peasantry, win over the petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie and take advantage of the splits among the big compradors and landlords to isolate and destroy the enemy—the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique.

The stage of the strategic defensive is now in its advanced phase and will soon pass into the stage of strategic stalemate. Platoon-size offensive operations are commonplace in the forty guerrilla fronts, covering some 500 municipalities. In certain areas, company-size or even larger offensive operations are becoming more frequent. The New People's Army is reported to have some 10,000 automatic rifles and is growing at an accelerated rate in close to seventy provinces.

2. On the requisites for total victory

There certainly are so many more things to be done in order to advance and win total victory in the national democratic revolution.

The CPP must train and develop through struggle at least 200,000 cadres and members in order to lead the people in all the 1,500 municipalities and cities.

The NPA must strive to reach the stage of strategic stalemate in a few years' time. It is not difficult to rise from the level of 10,000 rifles to 25,000 rifles before 1987 through intensified armed struggle.

Genuine land reform must be carried out. The mass base must be expanded and consolidated through the local organs of democratic power and the mass organizations for workers, peasants, youth, women and others.

There must be preparedness and vigilance against escalating US support and intervention in favor of the Marcos fascist gang or any ultra-reactionary ruling clique succeeding it.

So far, there have been no big errors or failures of such proportion as to cause serious damage to the entire revolutionary movement.

3. On the present alignment of political forces

The Filipino people are in contradiction with the Marcos fascist dictatorship, US imperialism and feudalism. The working class, peasantry, urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie are in constant conflict with US imperialism and the local reactionary classes of big compradors and landlord.

The present alignment of economic and political forces is best expressed by the united front line: rely mainly on the basic alliance of the working class and the peasantry, win over such middle forces as the urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie and take advantage of the splits within such reactionary classes as the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class in order to isolate the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique.

4. On the old communist party (Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas)

The Lavaite group which calls itself Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas is of no consequence in Philippine affairs. This group is a small sect perpetuating the grave anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist errors of the Lava dynasty. It committed political suicide in 1974 when it surrendered to the fascist dictatorship of the US-Marcos clique and began to hail Marcos wrongly as the representative of the national bourgeoisie, instead of the big compradors and big landlords.

This group murdered a number of its young intellectual members in 1973 and 1974 in order to effect and enforce its capitulation to the US-Marcos clique. By thus destroying its youth organization, the Malayang Pagkakaisa ng Kabataang Pilipino, this group further lost its chance to expand nationwide.

In the handful of barrios in Central Luzon that used to be influenced by the Lavaite group before 1974, the people now follow the leadership of the CPP.

5. On why the Party was reestablished

Throughout the 1960s, the Lavas wanted to retain its dynastic control over the Communist Party; refused the rectification of historical and current errors; and opposed the revitalization of the Communist Party, the people's army and the united front. Thus, the Communist Party of the Philippines had to be reestablished on the theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism, conduct rectification and adopt all measures to rebuild the Party, the people's army and the united front.

It was simply absurd that the leadership of the party should be passed on from one Lava brother to another (Vicente, Jose and Jesus) and then for the fourth time would be passed on to a nephew who was notoriously unqualified. Up to now, the general secretary of the Lavaite group is a mere deputy of Jose and Jesus Lava.

The possibility of a CPP coalition or reunion with the Lavaite pseudo-communist group is practically zero. The latter is a self-destructive and moribund group. It is a special anticommunist adjunct of the US-Marcos clique and is thoroughly infiltrated and controlled by US and Marcos agents.

6. On China's foreign policy

China is carrying out an independent foreign policy. It is in alliance with neither the US nor the Soviet Union. So, it is not correct to say that China has degenerated into a junior partner of the US, like Japan.

7. On the CPP's foreign policy

The CPP has always been an independent party. It carries out the Philippine revolution according to the best interests of the Filipino people. It maintains relations with parties abroad that are supportive of the self-reliant revolutionary efforts of the Filipino people. By waging the national democratic revolution, the Filipino people support the revolutionary efforts of other peoples of the world and contribute their share in the liberation of all peoples from the scourge of imperialism and all reactionary forces.

The CPP should further develop relations with all other communist and workers' parties it has relations with, including the Chinese Communist Party. It should also develop relations with more revolutionary parties and movements that respect its integrity and independence, treat it as an equal, and extend moral and material support in the spirit of revolutionary internationalism. No communist party can claim itself to be the center of the international communist movement. The CPP maintains its integrity and takes its patriotic responsibilities seriously. It develops relations with other parties on the basis of independence, equality, mutual respect and mutual support.

8. On the Aquino assassination

The people's outrage over the Aquino assassination has fuelled both the legal democratic mass movement and the revolutionary armed struggle. The CPP has played a major role in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the people to condemn the assassination and to carry forward the national democratic revolution more resolutely and militantly.

9. On the effects of martial law

When the US-Marcos clique made the coup and began the full-scale fascist counterrevolution in 1972, the CPP had only 2,000 members, the NPA only 350 automatic rifles. The revolutionary mass base covered only a few hundreds of thousands of people.

Compare these figures with the latest estimates released by the US-Marcos regime or those released by the CPP. And you can see that the fascist counterrevolution has only served to aggravate the crisis of the ruling system and stimulate the growth of the revolutionary forces.

We do not speak of a martial law period and a post-martial period. It is misleading. Despite the formal lifting of martial law in 1981, the fascist counterrevolution has become even more brutal. The puppet autocracy has remained; its repressiveness has remained. The struggle between the forces of the national democratic revolution and those of the fascist puppet counterrevolution has grown fiercer.

10. On the growth of the armed revolution

The people's war is developing very well. As earlier pointed out, the stage of strategic defensive is already maturing and about to pass on to the stage of strategic stalemate. Elements of the strategic stalemate have already appeared in several areas, especially in Mindanao.

There is no timetable as to when the strategic stalemate will begin and will be over; and as to when the strategic offensive will be launched to wipe out the enemy in its final holdouts.

The strategic stalemate will be reached when temporary seizures of towns and provincial capitals as well as the annihilation of enemy companies or even battalions have become commonplace in all the regions outside of

Metro Manila.

11. On foreign views of the CPP

The US government has started to express its apprehensions over the CPP and the NPA. It has nothing to worry about the Lavaite group because this group is collaborating with the Marcos fascist gang even as it claims to have Soviet support.

The US, the Soviet Union, China, Japan and other countries perceive that the armed revolutionary movement led by the CPP is a growing serious challenge to the fascist dictatorship.

12. On the Soviet Union

I am not aware that the CPP has ever approached the Soviet Union or the CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union). And I do not know what is the current attitude of the CPSU towards the CPP.

13. On the view that people's war is "irrelevant" in the Philippines

How can the concept of people's war become irrelevant in the Philippines when in fact it is reaping victories here? All the nuclear and high-technology weapons of the US are impotent and cannot be used to rescue its fascist puppets being ambushed, raided and arrested by a people's army fighting on the ground.

The weapons delivered by the US to its puppets are being captured by the people in their effort to arm themselves. In a way, the US Pentagon has become the arsenal of Filipino revolutionaries. And Marcos is also their chief transportation and supply officer.

If the US has not learned its lessons well from the Vietnam war, the Filipino people are preparing to give it another lesson.

14. On the country's future foreign policy

When total victory of the national democratic revolution is won, the Filipino people will continue to uphold their national sovereignty and take command of their own development. Just as they shall have succeeded in ending US imperialist domination, they shall use their proven strength in preventing the domination of the Philippines by any other foreign power.

The Philippines will pursue an independent and nonaligned foreign policy. It shall have normal trade and diplomatic relations with all countries of East Asia and the rest of the world. It will actively oppose the hegemonism of any superpower using a supposed threat from another superpower as the excuse to trample on national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The Filipino people will be the masters of their own destiny; and the Philippines will be a self-respecting and active member of the international community.

15. On the relation of the Left to the "middle forces"

The forces of the Left are essentially representative of the class interests of the working class and peasantry; just as the forces of the Middle are essentially representative of the interests of the urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie. Both Left and Middle forces have a common interest in the program of struggling for national liberation and democracy.

They are driven to unite by the need to dismantle the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique and establish a democratic coalition government; carry out national industrialization and land reform; promote a national, scientific and mass culture; and pursue an independent foreign policy.

The united front and cooperation of the Left and Middle forces are being realized in all major fields of social endeavor—political, economic, cultural, etc.

16. On the AFP

The Armed Forces of the Philippines is the main component of reactionary state power in the Philippines. It is both the creature of US imperialism and the instrument of coercion in the hands of the big compradors and landlords whose current chief representative is the fascist dictator. The

AFP looks like it is the private army of the autocrat who has put its favorite in command. But it is dependent on the US for indoctrination, strategic planning, officer training and military supplies.

It is a puppet, antidemocratic, parasitic, brutal and corrupt force. It is even escalating the violations of human rights. It is a major cause of inflation; and in turn inflation is hitting it hard. It is weighed down by its own corruption and its essentially antipeople character.

It cannot succeed in its so-called counterinsurgency efforts because the people have a just cause and are waging all forms of revolutionary struggle against it. It is politically isolated and the ever growing armed struggle is

inflicting more and more casualties on it.

17. On General Ramos and General Ver

General Ramos is a counterrevolutionary agent of the US-Marcos clique although he has finesse, unlike General Ver. People should not forget that General Ramos was among the 12 men who conspired with Marcos declare martial law; and he continues to carry out the fascist counterrevolution.

Whether in an acting or permanent capacity, he will follow the orders of Marcos. General Ver will still be around as NISA chief to advise Marcos on what orders to give to Ramos.

18. On the effect of the Aquino assassination on the AFP

Immediately after the Aquino assassination, Marcos loyalist officers were gloating over what they considered was an operational success. Then they fell quiet about their success and started insisting to the officers and men a few hours before the radio-TV speech of Marcos on the evening of August 22, 1983 that the Aquino assassination had been the work of communists.

The sustained outrage of the people, the gigantic mass actions and the findings of the Agrava Board have had the effect of diminishing awe of rabid Marcos loyalists among the officers and men. When sure that there are no counter-intelligence agents around, some AFP officers and men curse Marcos and Ver for destroying the reputation of the AFP.

More and more AFP personnel are beginning to express their wish for the restoration of the merit system, discipline, better pay and so on. They are against the system of overstaying generals, nepotism, favoritism, regionalism, corruption in the purchase of supplies, bullying of subordinates and so on.

The disaffection and sinking morale of AFP men are due not only to the Aquino assassination but to so many factors, including inflation and increasing casualties. The officers and men are bothered by the fact that their families are suffering like the rest of the people and that they have to fight for a regime thoroughly detested by the people.

19. On Mr. Marcos and his rule

There is no ruling coalition but the monopoly of political power by an autocrat who lords over his servants—military men, technocrats, business cronies, politicians, fake peasants and yellow labor leaders and so on.

In turn, the fascist autocrat is subservient to the US government and the transnational corporations. It is more appropriate to speak of a narrow US-Marcos combine against the Filipino people. Let us not misrepresent Mr. Marcos' underlings as his allies. In any coalition, allies maintain their independence and initiative. These certainly are lacking among Mr. Marcos' underlings.

20. On my personal situation

My indefinite incarceration strengthens and sharpens my determination to fight US imperialism and its fascist puppets. I will either be murdered by the fascists or be set free by the people. I have undergone so many kinds of torture among which are: punching, deprivation of food, water and light, water cure, being shackled and manacled to a cot for eighteen months, solitary confinement for so many years in a small windowless cell. I think that my imprisonment is an example of the terrorism of the US and its fascist puppets.

Current Questions Concerning the Communist Party of the Philippines

Address at a symposium on Philippine Trends, sponsored by the Institute for Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore on June 7, 1986 and published in *The Aquino Alternative*, edited by M. Rajaretnam (Singapore: ISEAS, 1986)

The term communism may refer either to the comprehensive Marxist-Leninist theory of the industrial proletariat or to a future social formation coming after the national democratic and socialist stages of the Philippine revolution.

Either as comprehensive theory or future social formation, communism cannot validly be an issue for immediate popular debate and decision in a semicolonial and semifeudal Philippine society. It is not yet in the agenda of the Filipino people's struggle for national liberation and democracy against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The Communist Party of the Philippines itself consistently declares that it is pursuing a national democratic revolution and not yet a socialist revolution—under the present circumstances of the Philippines. Communism is something possible only as a result of a long process of socialist revolution and construction and the defeat of modern imperialism on a world scale.

But rabid anticommunists systematically try to pose the so-called issue of communism in order to obfuscate the really urgent issues arising from the foreign and feudal domination of the Philippines and the Filipino people's struggle for national democracy.

In seeking to frighten the Filipino people with the specter of communism, anticommunists expect to obscure the reality of foreign and feudal domination by misrepresenting the CPP's concrete program of national democratic revolution as godlessness, senseless violence, indiscriminate confiscation of private property, deception and utopianism.

There are some questions concerning the Communist Party of the Philippines that are currently prominent in the thinking of Philippine civil and military authorities, church officials, political parties, mass media, businessmen, academicians and many other entities.

Should the Communist Party of the Philippines be legalized? Should there be a ceasefire between the New People's Army and the Armed Forces of the Philippines? Should there be a coalition government which includes the revolutionary forces like the CPP, NPA and the National Democratic Front (NDF)?

There are two reasons why these questions are arising so prominently. First, the semicolonial and semifeudal system is in a process of rapid disintegration. And second, the revolutionary forces led by the CPP have been growing in strength and increasing their annihilative power.

The fascist dictatorship of Marcos came about in 1972 as the result of the grave political and economic crisis of the ruling system and as the manifestation of the inability of the ruling classes to rule in the old way with the trappings of bourgeois democracy.

The US and the local reactionaries expected the Marcos autocracy and the open rule of terror to override the factional strife within the ruling system and destroy the newly resurgent armed revolutionary movement and the legal democratic movement.

Instead of accomplishing its counterrevolutionary objectives, the fascist dictatorship aggravated the political and economic crisis of the system and further incited the people to wage armed revolution.

It was the long-term nationwide struggle of the revolutionary forces led by the CPP which laid the foundation for the victory of the people's uprising last February. It was the fear of a rapid advance by the revolutionary forces that compelled the US and the Filipino reactionaries to make their own moves for the overthrow of Marcos.

The US and the Filipino reactionaries have been peddling the illusion that the overthrow of Marcos and the ascendance of the Aquino government have preempted a social revolution led by the CPP. But beneath the short-term relief from the end of the Marcos autocracy and the substantial restoration of civil liberties, especially among the upper and middle classes in the urban areas, are the basic problems which in the first place brought about the Marcos fascist dictatorship and which continue to afflict the people and cause widespread social unrest and armed revolt.

The Aquino government, with its liberal democratic tendency, might only be a temporary fluctuation from

fascist dictatorship. The political and economic crisis continues to worsen and threatens to upset the situation which is now more complicated than ever before.

Just as the Armed Forces of the Philippines—the main instrument used by the fascist dictatorship to oppress the people—has remained intact, so have the New People's Army and other revolutionary forces led by the CPP.

Even while President Aquino herself appeals for ceasefire, the AFP under the obvious inspiration of the US and under its own impulse and sense of importance has been intensifying militarization and campaigns of oppression in the countryside.

The AFP leadership has continued its ill-advised strategy of fighting on several fronts against several forces. It is conducting offensives against the New People's Army and the Bangsa Moro Army; and seems to be paying less attention to the armed Marcos forces. It appears unable to recognize that the Marcos forces are the biggest and most immediate threat to the Aquino government because these are both within and outside the AFP.

The struggle between the two main factions in the ruling system is now more two-sided and more fraught with violence than when Marcos monopolized political power and inflicted violence one-sidedly against its rivals within the system and against the revolutionary forces.

The AFP now is more fractious than ever before. There are three main blocs within it: the now dominant Enrile-Ramos-RAM bloc, the formerly dominant Marcos bloc and the growing Aquino bloc.

There is some tension between the military and civilian sides of the Aquino government. And there is the relatively more manageable tension among the political parties, especially between the UNIDO as the formal ruling party and the PDP-LABAN as the really ascendant party. Nonetheless, the Aquino government is practically a coalition government of the UNIDO, Laban ng Bayan and the Enrile-Ramos-RAM bloc within the AFP.

Quite a number of leaders of the Aquino government at various levels of the bureaucracy, especially the nationalists and liberal democrats, have had the experience of participating in a broad united front against the Marcos fascist dictatorship. They can appreciate the benefits of cooperating with the CPP in positive ways. But, of course, they are also wary of cooperation with the CPP because of a certain degree of anticommunist fears and the tremendous amount of pressure from the US and big comprador-landlord interests.

The question of legalization

Corazon Aquino signed on December 26, 1984 the Declaration of Unity together with other opposition leaders. This declaration pledged the legalization of the Communist Party; the redress of all legitimate grievances of all who have resorted to armed struggle; and the general and unconditional amnesty of all political detainees and all political offenders.

In the course of the electoral campaign for the presidency in January 1986, however, Mrs. Aquino downplayed the pledge to legalize the CPP and played up the pledge to call for a six-month ceasefire concomitant to negotiations for CPP legalization, general amnesty and a lasting truce in the event of her victory. She adjusted her position in view of attacks from Marcos that she was procommunist.

Due to the failure of the so-called military solution to the problem of rising armed revolution, Marcos himself and Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile had been making pronouncements on the wisdom of CPP legalization on certain conditions—including the dismantling of the New People's Army—since 1980.

Marcos was not a stranger to the tactic of offering legalization to the CPP in exchange for the dismantling of the NPA if we consider that he had actually recognized and legalized the Lavaite "Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas" as early as October 1974 in exchange for the surrender of arms and collaboration in suppressive activities against the CPP, NPA and the NDF.

In 1976, Marcos further accommodated the Lavaite PKP by supplanting with Presidential Decree No. 885 the original Anti-Subversion Law (Republic Act 1700) explicitly outlawing the Communist Party and all related organizations from 1957 onwards.

Under PD 885, the original target of the Anti-Subversion Law—the old merger party of the Communist Party and Socialist Party—was formally legalized under the cover of dropping explicit reference to it, redefining subversion as a crime in complicity with any foreign power (not necessarily socialist) and expanding the scope of organization which may be called subversive and whose officers and members may be accused of subversion.

Since the issuance of PD 885, there had been subsequent decrees regarding subversion. These did not change the legal status of the Lavaite PKP. However, this pro-Marcos and profascist party did not grow in strength due to its legal status but dwindled further into the status of a minor sect.

Under conditions that the CPP was the most consistent force fighting the fascist dictatorship and was a worthy ally in the broadest possible united front, all the major legal opposition parties endorsed the idea of legalizing the CPP upon the rise of a new government to replace the US-Marcos regime.

But, of course, the unexpected calculation of most conservative opposition leaders ran in the following manner: the CPP would continue to be a problem for a new regime if it would not be enticed to become legal and the armed revolution would proceed.

Some opposition leaders openly expressed the view that legalization would bring the CPP to an arena where it would lose in a free and peaceful democratic debate. They hoped to have a situation where the CPP would be reduced to a minor legal party rather than be a major party that builds up its armed force to smash the Armed Forces of the Philippines, the main component of the reactionary state.

Marxist-Leninists know that if the CPP were legalized under the terms and conditions of the reactionaries, it would become a minor party not because it is going to lose in any democratic debate but because it is going to run up against the reactionary monopoly of the military, the civil bureaucracy, the mass media, the church, the electoral inspectors and so on.

The CPP would have to contend not only with adversaries on valid current issues but also with accumulated biases and misrepresentations against it by the US and the local reactionary ruling classes.

And if ever the CPP would gain a significant share of the electoral vote despite tremendous odds, it could easily become the victim of provocations and incidents designed to rationalize the armed destruction of its exposed personnel and machinery.

So, the CPP cannot be baited into accepting legalization and the dismantling of its armed forces. It knows that it has become a major force because it is thriving on the tendency of the ruling system to disintegrate and it is capable of creating all the necessary forces for a people's democratic government through revolutionary struggle.

Through bitter experience, the CPP knows that without a people's army, the Filipino people have nothing. The CPP itself would be nothing without the New People's Army.

The Communist Party was legally and openly established in the Philippines in 1930. But soon the US colonial authorities simply dispersed a rally of the party and then arrested its leaders on the charge of sedition. The CP leaders were convicted in 1932 and the party went underground.

The CP was legalized and its imprisoned leaders were released in 1936 because the Commonwealth government recognized the necessity of a broad popular front in the face of growing social unrest and the threat of international fascism. In 1938, the CP merged with the Socialist Party of the Philippines.

In the course of the struggle against Japanese fascism during World War II, the merger party of the CP and the SP as well as its army, the Hukbong Bayan Laban sa Hapon (Hukbalahap), became strong in Central Luzon. To carry out its reconquest of the Philippines and to secure neocolonial advantages, the US unfolded a series of moves to destroy the old merger party, the Hukbalahap and other related organizations.

A civil war would develop between the Philippine neocolonial state and the Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan (the erstwhile Hukbalahap) led by the old merger party; and would result in the defeat of the revolutionary forces due to errors of their leadership and the massive inflow of US military assistance to the side of reaction.

With the clear intention of destroying the old merger party and all related organizations once and for all, the US and the local reactionaries pushed the enactment of RA 1700 or the Antisubversion Law in 1957. But this law, which threatened to execute CP leaders, could not deter the reestablishment of the CPP.

As the crisis of the ruling system worsened, the revolutionary mass movement surged in the 1960s and early 1970s. The new crop of young communist cadres saw beyond doubt the logic of armed struggle, especially in the face of the Anti-subversion Law.

To the delight of the US and the local reactionaries, Marcos went on an unbridled anticommunist rampage from 1972 onwards. But eventually, the fascist dictatorship would prove to be counterproductive to the ruling system.

Because it has built its strength through revolutionary struggle and at so much sacrifice, the CPP will never accept legalization if it means giving up its military strength and baring its chest to the bayonets of the reactionary state.

The question of ceasefire

While legalization concomitant with general amnesty and the dismantling of the NPA can never be accepted by

the CPP, the possibility of ceasefire between the NPA and AFP is something negotiable between the top leadership of the revolutionary movement and the Aquino government.

There are already certain pronouncements and moves on both sides towards negotiations for a ceasefire. On the side of the Aquino government, a commission on national reconciliation is being contemplated or is in the process of being formed. On the side of the CPP leadership, the leading committee of the National Democratic Front has been authorized to prepare for negotiations.

Whether ceasefire will occur soon or not, it is mutually beneficial for the Aquino government and the armed revolutionary government to create a reliable line of communications.

The basis and modalities of a ceasefire can be patiently worked out. But there are advantages that can be immediately reaped by both sides of the negotiation table.

The established line of communications can be an immediate line of understanding against the threat and intrigues posed by Marcos forces as well as by any over-ambitious and overreaching group within the Armed Forces of the Philippines.

For example, if any anti-Aquino group plots to seize power by inventing what it calls a communist plot, the Aquino government can make verification through the established line of communications.

On several occasions, the CPP has indicated that the New People's Army is an instrument of people's power, including the antifascist kind of people's power that brought Mrs. Aquino to power.

So long as the people's army stands ready behind people's power, not even the US or any anti-Aquino armed group would dare unleash a coup against the Aquino government.

It is quite possible for any group within the AFP, with or without US inspiration, to make trouble or stage a coup against the Aquino government. But with the NPA behind people's power, the usurper of governmental authority would have to contend not only with the rapid growth of the armed rural forces of the NPA but also with the probability of massive urban uprisings; and would not be able to hold on to power very long.

So long as it wishes to rely on people's power and make substantial democratic reforms, the Aquino government can consider the NPA as an armed force to its advantage. In a way, the NPA augments whatever extent of the AFP Mrs. Aquino has actually come to control as president and commander-in-chief.

It is a fact that the AFP is still under the control of the dominant Enrile-Ramos-RAM bloc. Having the AFP as some kind of an independent kingdom, this bloc which has direct links with the US has a full share in the coalition of forces underpinning the Aquino government.

Were Mrs. Aquino in full control of the AFP, she could unilaterally effect the drastic resolution of the armed conflict, a standstill between the AFP and the NPA or a de facto ceasefire even before a formal negotiated ceasefire.

All that she has to do is to recognize that the AFP has always been on the strategic offensive and the NPA on the strategic defensive and therefore order the AFP to assume a posture of strategic defensive like the NPA.

Were she truly in command of the AFP, she could call to the barracks the AFP units rampaging in the countryside; dissolve the civilian home defense forces (CHDF) and other paramilitary units; and return the local police forces to the local civilian officials.

The end of militarization and military campaigns of suppression in the countryside would be welcomed by the peasant masses and would give a high political score to the Aquino government. Moreover, the government would be in a better position to reduce military forces and expenditures.

The reduction of military forces and expenditures would mean savings for economic recovery and essential public services. As of now, the enormous size of the AFP and the enormous cost of maintaining it are a big scandal that outrages the people.

Austerity measures are being applied on the civilian side of the government and on the toiling masses of workers and peasants. But the parasitic military machinery is gobbling up precious limited resources.

If truly intelligent and reform-minded, the Enrile-Ramos-RAM bloc can be made to understand that it is self-defeating for them to gain the people's opprobrium by insisting on high military spending. It is also very risky for the military academy graduates or regulars to maintain the numerical superiority of integree officers by keeping the enormous and over-expanded size of the military.

It is to the benefit of the Aquino government to reduce the level of military forces and expenditures. If the level is kept high, the revolutionary forces can anticipate that in the long run the AFP will collapse on its own weight.

The NPA employs the strategy and tactics of people's war which overcomes the overextended military offensives of the AFP.

The NPA was able to surmount the abrupt military buildup of the AFP from 1972 to 1980; and the sudden release to the countryside of more troops from office and bodyguard assignments upon the formal lifting of martial law in 1981. There is no reason why the NPA cannot cope with and overcome the further release of more troops to the countryside from the umbrella of the defunct presidential security command and the redundancy of the regional unified command.

The CPP has time in its favor as the political and economic crisis of the ruling system worsens. It does not have to hurry in working out a formal ceasefire of whatever duration with the Aquino government. It can insist on a temporary or permanent truce between the AFP and NPA that is based on an agreement to achieve common goals for the benefit of the people and to fight a common enemy.

At any rate, whether there is a formal ceasefire or not, the CPP, NPA and NDF can be expected to side with the Aquino government in any confrontation with any antinational and antidemocratic force should that government retain its liberal democratic tendency and be open to cooperation with all patriotic and progressive forces.

The question of coalition government

What is the point in having a temporary ceasefire of six months or even one year? Is it for the Aquino government to gain a breather and consolidate itself in the face of grave problems which may be superficially described as having been left by Marcos?

The Aquino government is under orders by the US—through its own agencies and transnational firms as well as such multilateral agencies as the IMF and World Bank—to stick to agriculture, shun industrialization, liberalize imports, attract foreign investments, comply with debt obligations, increase the domestic tax burden, freeze wages, depreciate the currency and so on.

Consider alone the problem of the \$26 billion foreign debt. An agrarian and semifeudal Philippine economy will never be able to service this debt fully and promptly, whichever reactionary civilian or military faction is in power. The deficits in the budget, foreign trade and balance of payments; and the new debts and debt service payments will continue to rise.

The CPP and other revolutionary forces are well aware of the desperation of those at the helm of government not only because of economic and financial difficulties but also because of the self-destructive contradictions of political forces within the ruling system.

It is futile for the Aquino government to expect that the CPP and other revolutionary forces can be rushed into an agreement of temporary ceasefire which is simply meant to cause the loss of momentum in the revolutionary armed struggle and generate centrifugal trends among the revolutionaries. It is also futile for the Aquino government to threaten the revolutionary forces led by the CPP with the prospect of facing up to a supposedly reformed and thereby highly motivated AFP, with the possible or already operative psywar backing of the dominant religious institution.

In fact, there has never have been any letup in the militarization of extensive areas in the countryside and in the intensification of AFP offensives. But of late, defense minister Enrile has declared that the AFP's fight against the NPA will take five to ten years more or beyond the 20th century.

If the objective of the Aquino government were to achieve the best possible situation for the Filipino people, then it would be ready to negotiate not only for a temporary ceasefire but a lasting ceasefire in connection with the formation of a coalition government.

The revolutionary forces led by the CPP can be one more major part of a new coalition government, which may continue to include the UNIDO, Laban ng Bayan and the Enrile-Ramos-RAM bloc.

Some people might consider this a daring proposition. But before the events of February that toppled the Marcos dictatorship, who would have thought that the Enrile-Ramos-RAM bloc would ever join a coalition of the UNIDO and Laban ng Bayan to install Mrs. Aquino in the presidency.

There is no problem about forming a new coalition government, with the participation of the revolutionary forces led by the CPP, if an agreement can be worked out asserting national sovereignty and the independence of the Filipino people on a number of crucial issues with the US and pushing forward the implementation of genuine land reform and national industrialization.

Genuine land reform, which liberates the peasant majority of the people politically and economically, is the key bourgeois democratic measure for gaining the greatest and most active mass support for a new coalition government and render unnecessary the bloody struggle between the NPA and the AFP. It is the most substantive measure to broaden and deepen democracy in the Philippines.

The proposed new coalition government does not only secure the Filipino nation and people from the devastating cost of civil war and from the threat of foreign aggression but also enables the Philippines to avail itself of expanded trade and other economic relations with the socialist countries.

The Philippines can engage in counter-trade with socialist countries in order to dispose of its now depressed exports and in return get capital goods and other essential consumer items. The country can also get loans for the development of national industry in contrast with the onerous loans from the capitalist countries which have been designed to finance infrastructure programs, raw material production and high consumerism, and deepen the agrarian semifeudal character of the economy.

Industrial loans from the socialist countries can be paid back with a portion of the annual product or income from the new industries. The technology appropriate for laying the fundamentals of national industry in the Philippines is available from socialist countries.

The ruling system is deteriorating at a rapid rate. It is simply impossible for the Philippine government to comply with the dictates of the foreign investors and creditors without causing massive social unrest and the intensification of people's war.

In due time, those at the helm of government will have to realize that it is better to join up with the CPP in a new coalition government than be thrown ignominiously into the dung heap of history. In the new coalition government, the NPA can be recognized as part of a national revolutionary army in the same way that the AFP can be. The retention of the NPA under the leadership of the CPP will be a national necessity in the face of the violent forces of foreign and feudal domination.

During World War II, the Hukbalahap and other Filipino guerrilla units formally owed loyalty to the Commonwealth government. In China, the people's army led by the Communist Party of China became the Eighth Route Army of the national revolutionary army which included the troops of the Guomindang.

There may be no foreign aggressor yet to fight. But the gravity of the fundamental problems of the country encourages the Marcos loyalist forces to gird for armed conflict and invites the US to escalate its intervention in Philippine affairs at an increasing cost to the Filipino people.

The Philippines is moving towards an ever more complicated situation. It would be helpful for all patriotic and progressive forces to study all reasonable possibilities and options even as there are more than enough pro-imperialists and reactionaries in the Philippines who wish to keep going the life-and-death struggle between the reactionary state and the revolutionary forces.

In due time, as the political and economic crisis plunges into new depths, the Aquino government will have to choose between taking the ultra-reactionary line of fascist repression and seeking accommodations with the revolutionary forces, unless the US sponsors a coup before President Aquino can make any choice.

Whatever direction the Aquino government takes in one, two or three years, the revolutionary forces led by the CPP will continue to grow in strength and advance. If the basic problems of the people remain unsolved, the ground for armed struggle will continue to become fertile. The total victory of the Filipino people in their national democratic revolution is becoming more foreseeable than ever before.

Brief Review of the History of the Communist Party of the Philippines

On the 20th Anniversary of its Reestablishment, December 26, 1988

Introduction

This brief review of the history of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) seeks to outline the background, the twenty-year development and prospects of the Communist Party of the Philippines reestablished on December 26, 1968.

I. The old CPP and the CPP-SPP merger party

The Communist Party of the Philippines was established for the first time in Manila on November 7, 1930, by Crisanto Evangelista, the most outstanding leader of the Philippine trade union movement in his time.

The establishment of the Party marked the initial attempt to integrate the theory of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete conditions of the Philippines; and draw the most advanced activists of the worker and peasant movement into the vanguard party of the Philippine revolution. The leadership and membership came mainly from the workers' ranks.

A few months afterwards, on May 1, 1931, a workers' rally organized by the Party in Manila was disrupted by the armed agents of the US colonial and local reactionary authorities. The CPP leaders were arrested and hauled to court on the charge of sedition. In 1932, they were convicted and sentenced to internal exile; and the Party was declared illegal by the Supreme Court of the US colonial regime.

Despite illegalization and difficulties in working underground, the Party continued to exist and work among the workers and peasants in limited areas in the country. In 1932, the Socialist Party of the Philippines (SPP) was organized independently of the CPP by Comrade Pedro Abad Santos and was able to develop the peasant movement on a scale larger than the CPP could in Central Luzon, a region adjoining Manila.

In 1937, the CPP was legalized by the Commonwealth government as a result of the mounting popular demand for social justice amidst worldwide depression and for a broad popular front against fascism. In 1938, the CPP and SPP merged into one party.

The CPP-SPP merger party was an excellent development insofar as the large worker following of the CPP in Manila and the large peasant following of the SPP in Central Luzon came under one party leadership. But underneath this development was the penetration of the Party by unremolded petty-bourgeois elements headed by the Lava brothers in Manila and by the Taruc brothers in Central Luzon.

In 1942, after the outbreak of World War II, the principal leaders of the merger party were arrested and murdered by the Japanese occupation authorities. The Party leadership had not been able to clarify the national democratic character of the Philippine revolution in a comprehensive and profound way. Party leaders had been preoccupied with practical actions and utopian agitation about a communist paradise to come through the class struggle between the proletariat and an undifferentiated bourgeoisie. The second-echelon leaders, like the Lava and Taruc brothers, became the principal leaders of the merger party.

At any rate, the merger party established the People's Army Against Japan (Hukbong Bayan Laban sa Hapon - Hukbalahap, in short) on March 29, 1942; and was compelled by circumstances of war to exert more efforts to organize the peasant masses in Central Luzon.

There was no clear program of anti-imperialist and antifeudal struggle going beyond the antifascist struggle against Japan and no plan to expand the revolutionary forces beyond Manila and Central Luzon. The line of the people's struggle was narrowed to armed resistance against the Japanese occupation forces and their Filipino collaborators.

Even with regards to armed struggle, the leadership of the merger party with Vicente Lava as general secretary adopted the line of "retreat for defense," a policy of reducing guerrilla units into impotent teams of three to five persons and avoiding armed combat with the enemy. This line was proclaimed after the Japanese fascist troops attacked the main base of the Hukbalahap at the foot of a small vulnerable mountain, Mount Arayat in the middle of the Central Luzon plains.

However, the people's army made significant strides in armed struggle mainly because several platoon-size and company-size units disregarded the policy and spontaneously fought the enemy; and because finally in

September 1944 a Party conference declared the "retreat for defense" policy erroneous. But soon after, the US military forces landed to reoccupy the Philippines and arm their puppets.

In the same conference, Vicente Lava was demoted from his position as general secretary. But he remained in the Political Bureau and pushed the line of welcoming the US invasionary forces and seeking the open and legal participation of the merger party in the semicolonial and semifeudal political framework and liquidating the people's army and converting it into a veterans' organization.

The US and the local reactionary forces of the comprador big bourgeoisie and landlord class had none of the illusions of the leadership of the CPP-SPP merger party. They proceeded to suppress the revolutionary forces; reimpose their authority on the people in the city and the countryside; and impose a series of unequal treaties, agreements and arrangements binding the Philippines to the status of a neocolonial appendage to the United States.

In the years immediately following the end of World War II, the Lava and Taruc brothers begged for general amnesty for the people's actions against the Japanese fascists and their collaborators, concentrated efforts on getting positions in the pro-US semicolonial government and allowed one cadre after another to briefly assume the position of Party general secretary and pursue a Right opportunist line. Despite all these, Jesus Lava, Luis Taruc and other elected candidates of the Democratic Alliance were booted out of the Lower House of the Philippine Congress.

In 1948, Jose Lava seized political initiative within the merger party by advocating armed struggle without, however, proposing a clear strategy and tactics for its conduct. At the same time, the commander-in-chief of the people's army Luis Taruc was allowed to seek general amnesty from the neocolonial regime under terms violative of the revolutionary cause and principles.

When the Party leadership with Jose Lava as general secretary declared "all-out armed struggle" in 1950, it was an adventurist line of seeking quick military victory in two years' time in complete disregard of the limited strength of the revolutionary forces and of the need for painstaking mass work and expanding on a nationwide scale over a long period of time. The mass base then was no more than 300,000 people and the rifle strength of the people's army, no more than 3,000. Both were concentrated in Central Luzon.

The people's army launched the March and August 1950 offensives mainly from unpopulated mountain bases far from its mass base in Central Luzon. The enemy could effectively make counter-attacks against the overextended units of the people's army. In late 1950 the main units of the people's army had been destroyed or rendered impotent and the so-called Politburo-In headed by Jose Lava was arrested by the enemy in Manila.

As general secretary of the Politburo-Out, Jesus Lava assumed party leadership upon the capture of his brother Jose. He preoccupied himself with factional strife with the Taruc brothers, Luis and Peregrino, over issues peripheral to the main issue of adventurism.

He failed to solve the problems of the revolutionary movement. After a few years of trying to solve these from a purely military viewpoint, he issued a series of Right opportunist policies which proved to be even more fatal to the revolutionary movement.

In 1955, he issued the directive to liquidate the people's army under the guise of converting it into organizational brigades. In 1957, after having been forced by the enemy to hide himself in Manila as an individual divorced from the masses and without any party collective, he issued the "single-file" policy which liquidated basic units, territorial organizations and leading organs of the merger party.

At the onset of the 1960's, the CPP-SPP merger party was practically nonexistent. The general secretary had been reduced to issuing occasional "political transmissions" on the basis of newspaper clippings and without the benefit of collective discussion. Remnants of the people's army persisted in spontaneous defense against the enemy and in disobedience to the 1955 directive of Jesus Lava.

However, in the early 1960's, advanced elements of the youth and trade union movements led by Jose Maria Sison emerged to carry forward the anti-imperialist and antifeudal line among the masses. Independently of the CPP-SPP merger party, they had begun since the late 1950's to study the theory of Marxism-Leninism, the Philippine conditions and the revolutionary experience of the Filipino people.

Encouraged by the reemergence of the revolutionary mass movement among the youth, workers and peasants, Jesus Lava first invited Amado Guerrero in late 1962 and then a trade union leader in early 1963 to join the Executive Committee that he formed to function as the highest executive organ of the CPP-SPP merger party.

But Lava packed this five-person committee with two Lava nephews, Vicente, Jr. and Francisco, Jr. and one close friend of the latter. These three had neither revolutionary experience nor connection with the mass movement.

Before Jesus Lava surrendered to the reactionary government in 1964, he appointed four secretaries of the CPP-SPP merger party: Pedro Taruc, for peasants; the trade union leader, for workers; Amado Guerrero, for youth; and one Lava nephew, for professionals.

Confusion ensued. Pedro Taruc had no prior understanding with Jesus Lava and was a mere figurehead leader of the gravely deteriorating people's army under the actual leadership of Commander Sumulong or Faustino del Mundo. Under the direction of Sumulong, Taruc refused to recognize the three other secretaries.

The two Lava nephews quarreled over trivial intra-family matters and from 1965 onward one refused to attend the same meeting where the other would be present. At the same time, the Lava nephew secretary for professionals provoked a row with the secretary for workers by highhandedly issuing orders to him in the name of a "higher organ"

As early as 1964, Amado Guerrero proposed a summing up of the experience of the Party since 1930. By decision of the Executive Committee, he was assigned to write a general report, which he promptly submitted in 1966. This report included among others an analysis of Philippine and international conditions, a criticism of errors of the series of Party leaderships and a definition of revolutionary tasks.

The report was suppressed upon the motion of the Lava nephew secretary for professionals. He demanded that it be considered a mere memorandum and that he would submit his own draft. He never submitted one. Instead, he proceeded to sow intrigues against Amado Guerrero.

However, cadres led by Amado Guerrero conducted theoretical studies, promoted the line of national democratic revolution, formed secret party units in localities and mass organizations and stepped up the building of the legal mass organizations.

Jose Maria Sison meanwhile wrote comprehensively and definitively on the struggle for national democracy and played a key role in the youth and trade union movements, the legal party of the workers and the broad united front. He promoted work among the masses of workers and peasants.

The mass movement of the working people and the youth surged forward despite the confusion in the Executive Committee and among the secretaries of the CPP-SPP merger party. The proletarian revolutionary cadres at the core of the mass movement increasingly considered the Executive Committee as a useless vestige of the past. Upon their advocacy of the resumption of the revolutionary struggle, they differentiated themselves from those who followed the Lavaite line.

In April 1967 the Lava nephew secretary for professionals convoked a group of seven persons, mostly obsequious to him and opposed to the line of resuming the armed struggle, to declare themselves the provisional Political Bureau and have himself "elected" general secretary of the CPP-SPP merger party.

The proletarian revolutionary cadres, including veterans since the 1930's, objected to the usurpation of authority, the wrong line of the Lavaite group and the baseless ambition of the Lava scion to become the fourth general secretary from the same family. They condemned the practice of dynasticism as a sure mark of the complete degeneration of the remnants of the CPP-SPP merger party.

Within the same month of April 1967, the proletarian revolutionary cadres who were effectively at the core of the growing mass movement of workers, peasants and youth decided to prepare for the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

The Lavaite remnants of the CPP-SPP merger party became utterly isolated from the masses, further degenerated and eventually in 1974 capitulated to and collaborated openly with the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique. The Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique in the old people's army disintegrated in 1971 upon the capture of Commander Sumulong and his betrayal of Pedro Taruc.

II. Reestablishment and growth of the CPP

On December 26, 1968, the proletarian revolutionary cadres led by Amado Guerrero reestablished the Communist Party of the Philippines under the guidance of the theory of Marxism-Leninism and along the general line of national democratic revolution.

The reestablishment of the Party was exceedingly timely. The chronic crisis of the ruling system was rapidly worsening. The socioeconomic crisis aggravated and the political crisis was increasingly characterized by violence

among the reactionary factions.

National industrialization was blocked; even the repackaging and reassembly plants could no longer be tolerated by the United States. At the same time, there was exhaustion of the land frontier for spontaneous peasant resettlement as the principal way out for the ever increasing surplus labor.

Violent strife was incipient among the reactionary political factions as they competed to gain influence in the Armed Forces of the Philippines and to form small private armies. The Marcos ruling clique was determined to hold on to power by taking the initiative in using counterrevolutionary violence under the guise of anticommunism. The tendency toward fascism was on the rise.

The subjective forces were resurgent and had steadily grown in strength in the preceding decade through the emergence of fresh proletarian cadres, painstaking mass work and comprehensive and militant legal mass movement. Such pseudo-revolutionaries as the Lavas and Tarucs were obstacles to the growth of the revolutionary mass movement. But their negative examples became the target of criticism, were repudiated and served to firm up the resolve of the proletarian cadres and the broad mass movement to take the correct revolutionary path.

The causes and factors for the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines were mainly and essentially internal to the Philippines. However, under the aegis of proletarian internationalism, the Party took the firm and militant stand of uniting with all forces participating in or supporting armed movements for national liberation and democracy in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The main achievement of the Party in the course of its reestablishment was the criticism and repudiation of the erroneous lines of the Lavas and Tarucs; and, positively and more importantly, the critique of Philippine history and society, the clarification of the national democratic revolution, its class line, tasks and methods.

In this regard, the founding congress of the Party issued such basic documents as "Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party," a new Party Constitution and the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution. Comrade Amado Guerrero, who had been elected chairman of the Central Committee, subsequently wrote and issued *Philippine Society and Revolution* in 1969.

The reestablished Party regarded itself as the genuine continuation of the Communist Party established in 1930; and also as one at a new and higher level of ideological and political development.

As never before, the CPP laid bare the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society and firmly put forward the general line of national democratic revolution against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The basic tasks of the revolution are to achieve national liberation by ridding the nation of US domination in the political, economic, military, cultural and other fields; and to realize democracy not only by fighting the growing repressiveness of the enemy but more substantively by emancipating the peasant masses and the entire people from feudal and semifeudal conditions.

The motive forces of the revolution are the working class, peasantry, urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie. These are also the positive forces within the national united front for national liberation and democracy.

The working class, comprising only 15 percent of the Philippine population, is the leading class because it is the most progressive political and productive force. The Communist Party of the Philippines is its advanced detachment, enabling it to concentrate its ideological, political and organizational strength and win victory against the class enemy.

To augment its strength immediately in carrying out the revolution, the working class must unite with the peasantry, which comprises 75 percent of the population. These two most oppressed and exploited classes, embracing more than ninety percent of the people, form the basic alliance serving as the foundation of the united front.

The CPP deploys and develops its proletarian cadres among the peasant masses in order to build the basic alliance of the workers and peasants. In doing revolutionary work among the peasant masses, the antifeudal line has to be pursued within the framework of the national democratic revolution. The line involves relying mainly on the poor peasants and farm workers; winning over the middle peasants; neutralizing the rich peasants; and differentiating the enlightened and evil gentry in order to isolate and destroy the power of the latter and, in effect, the entire landlord class.

The Communist Party of the Philippines has pursued this line in building the New People's Army, peasant

movement and the organs of political power in the countryside; and thereby realizing the basic worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class.

In carrying out the revolutionary struggle in the countryside, the Party has integrated armed struggle, land reform and mass base building. The Party has always rejected all forms of thinking and activities that separate armed struggle from the all-round mobilization of the people.

The armed struggle hews to the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside over a protracted period of time, until sufficient forces are accumulated in the countryside to smash the final holdouts of the enemy forces in the cities.

The Party has also solved in theoretical and practical terms the problem of conducting armed struggle in an archipelagic country like the Philippines. In 1974, Comrade Amado Guerrero would elaborate on the specific characteristics of people's war in the Philippines and explain how the initial disadvantage of fighting in an archipelago could be turned into a long-term advantage compatible with the advantage of encircling the cities from the countryside.

Land reform is carried out to the extent made possible by the strength of the people's army and the peasant movement. It is the principal method for building the socioeconomic and political strength of the peasant masses and ensuring their deep-going and substantial support for the people's army and the entire process of the national democratic revolution.

Mass base building involves the comprehensive building of all major types of mass organizations, such as those for the workers, peasants, youth, women, cultural activists and other sectors; and the building of organs of political power (committees of people's self-government) assisted by working committees on mass organizations, education, land reform, livelihood, finance, health, defense, arbitration, cultural affairs and other functions.

Though the working class and peasantry comprise the overwhelming majority of the people, their strength needs to be further augmented by the urban petty bourgeoisie, consisting of small entrepreneurs and traders and the general run of professionals and technicians and comprising some eight percent of the population.

The urban petty bourgeoisie is a small but knowledgeable, skillful and influential part of society. If it remains a passive though exploited adjunct of the exploiting classes, it delays the flow of the revolutionary movement. If it joins the revolutionary movement, then it hastens that flow nationwide. The urban petty bourgeoisie is a basic force of the revolution.

Notwithstanding its dual characteristics, its progressive and reactionary tendencies, the middle bourgeoisie (national bourgeoisie) is on the whole a positive though nonbasic force of the revolution. The CPP encourages its anti-imperialist and antifeudal interests and aspirations while exercising vigilance against its antipeople tendency.

The working class, peasantry, urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie are the positive forces in the broad national united front. But the revolutionary movement must also derive advantages from the contradictions among the contending factions of the exploiting classes.

At certain times, it is good policy to have some cooperation with one reactionary faction against another. At other times, it suffices to let the reactionary factions fight and destroy each other.

The broadest range of forces can be mustered at every given time against the reactionary faction which seeks to prevail by being the worst of the reactionary factions and the most subservient to US imperialism.

The CPP is acutely cognizant of the oppression and exploitation of the national minorities, upholds their right to national self-determination and seeks to integrate their struggle into the national democratic revolution. Their right to self-determination extends from the right to regional autonomy under the people's democratic state to the right to secede from an oppressive state.

The CPP has consistently sought unity, cooperation and coordination with the MNLF as well as with other forces of the Moro people even as the Party criticized their acceptance of regional autonomy within the framework of an oppressive state as provided in the Tripoli Agreement.

Since the 1960's there has been a heavy exodus of Filipino professionals, technicians and workers from the Philippines because they cannot be absorbed by the economy. Overseas Filipinos, especially migrant workers, can be aroused, organized and mobilized in line with the national democratic revolution. They can also develop relations of mutual support and cooperation with the progressive forces in their host countries and in the worldwide anti-imperialist movement.

The CPP wages and coordinates all forms of struggle: armed struggle and united front; legal and illegal; and

aboveground and underground. Because the central question in any genuine revolutionary movement is the seizure of political power and because conditions in the Philippines make the armed revolution possible and necessary, the Party since its reestablishment has consistently taken the road of armed struggle and considers armed struggle the main form of revolutionary struggle. But the armed struggle cannot advance if the legal forms of struggle are not developed.

The Party envisions two stages in the Philippine revolution: the national democratic and socialist. The national democratic revolution is now being carried out. Upon basic completion of this through the seizure of political power, the socialist revolution can commence. The national revolution has a socialist perspective; and prepares the requisites for the start of the socialist revolution.

The CPP is determined to lead the Filipino people to victory in the revolutionary struggle for national and social liberation while upholding the principle of independence and utmost self-reliance. Nevertheless, the Party seeks from abroad whatever amount of moral and material support is possible, without becoming dependent on it. The Party maintains its independence and at the same time upholds proletarian internationalism. It is conscious of the fact that while foreign support from abroad is needed, the revolutionary struggle of the Filipino people in turn supports all anti-imperialist and progressive forces abroad.

At its reestablishment in 1968, the CPP was able to consolidate the proletarian revolutionary cadres as well as the revolutionary mass movement by upholding Marxism-Leninism and the program of national democratic revolution and by repudiating and rectifying the dogmatist and empiricist and "Left" and Right opportunist errors of the Lavas and Tarucs.

At the beginning, the CPP had only a few scores of members. These surpassed in number the few remnants of the CPP-SPP merger party who joined the Lava group. But, more importantly, they were the effective leaders of the mass movement. Party membership increased to several hundreds in 1970 and 1971 due to the outbreak of the First Quarter Storm of 1970 and the workers' and student strike movement in the cities; and the expansion and intensification of revolutionary work in the countryside.

Before the US-Marcos dictatorship could impose fascist dictatorship on the people, the Party had increased its membership to a few thousands and had deployed cadres to form seven regional committees (Northern Luzon, Central Luzon, Manila-Rizal, Southern Luzon, Western Visayas, Eastern Visayas and Mindanao) covering the entire country.

It was possible for the Party to go nationwide and strike deep roots among the people because the proletarian cadres had organized the urban-based legal mass organizations of the working people and the youth and created the guerrilla zones at selected strategic areas in the archipelago.

On March 29, 1969, only a few months after the reestablishment of the CPP, the New People's Army was established. The people's army's reestablishment was facilitated by the conjoining of the proletarian cadres from the urban areas and the Red fighters of the old people's army, who together repudiated the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique.

The New People's Army started with sixty fighters, armed with nine automatic rifles and twenty-six single-shot rifles and handguns in the second district of Tarlac province. The peasant mass base there was about 80,000, mainly organized through a legal peasant association and administered by barrio organizing committees.

By carrying out tactical offensives, the NPA was able to accumulate some 200 rifles in 1969 and 1970. But since the latter half of 1969, the enemy had concentrated the division-size Task Force Lawin and organized the "barrio self-defense units" (BSDU) to operate against the NPA. In December 1970, the enemy was proclaiming the elimination of the NPA and the peasant movement because some NPA units had been destroyed and scores of peasant leaders had been murdered.

The enemy was scarcely aware of the fact that since early 1969 CPP cadres had been sent to build the NPA, peasant and other mass organizations in the rural areas of Isabela, a province in Northern Luzon. A far bigger mass base reaching up to 300,000 in 1972 was built there. Most of the seed cadres deployed to various regions in the country were trained here. They were joined by Party cadres and members as well as mass activists developed by the nationwide urban-based mass movement in proceeding to the countryside.

From 1969 to 1971 a substantial number of cadres from the worker and youth mass organizations were able to either get politico-military training for armed revolution or team up with cadres and fighters already tempered by revolutionary work in the countryside. The First Quarter Storm of 1970 and the mass movement up to 1972

interacted with the armed offensives in Tarlac to encourage the proletarian revolutionaries and the broad masses of the people to carry out the national democratic revolution.

Upon the declaration of martial law in 1972, the urban-based legal democratic mass organizations under the broad alliance banner of the Movement for a Democratic Philippines were outlawed and forced underground. Party cadres and mass activists had to be absorbed by the urban underground and by the revolutionary movement in the countryside.

On April 24, 1973 the National Democratic Front was organized to embrace the underground mass organizations, base itself in principle on organs of political power built at the village level and facilitate the formation of united front committees and secret cells at higher levels.

To the satisfaction of US imperialism, the Marcos dictatorship at first appeared to have succeeded in quelling the revolutionary mass movement, especially in the urban areas. But in fact, the massive repression and aggravation of the social crisis, despite the heavy inflow of foreign loans, served as stimulus to revolutionary work on a nationwide scale.

Despite the arrests of CPP Central Committee members in 1973, 1974, 1976 and 1977, the erstwhile skeletal regional Party organizations gained flesh and muscle from the growth of the armed revolutionary movement and the urban underground. As early as late 1974, all regional Party committees—then numbering nine—became basically self-reliant, no longer receiving any significant amount of subsidy from the Central Committee.

A large number of cadres from the bureaus of the Party General Secretariat were also deployed to reinforce the regional Party Committees of Northwest Luzon, Northeast Luzon, Central Luzon, Southern Tagalog, Bicol, Eastern Visayas, Western Visayas and Mindanao.

From October 1975 to January 1976 workers in 300 enterprises nationwide went on strike despite the strike ban and the generally intense repression. Political demonstrations by the broad masses also emerged in Manila and other cities. It was also in 1976 that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines issued "Our Urgent Tasks" in order to promote the antifascist, anti-imperialist and antifeudal line and raise higher all forms of revolutionary struggle.

On April 6, 1978, on the eve of the electoral farce, the entire Metro Manila reverberated with the sound of protest from almost every house and street. This should have been the signal for a sustained nationwide mass protest movement. But differences between the Central Committee and the Manila-Rizal Regional Party Committee regarding the 1978 elections and political tactics, problems caused by the latter's violations of organizational discipline, and the internal debates which preoccupied leading cadres and gave way to other adverse results, disabled the Party from effecting a strong mass protest movement in Manila-Rizal and other cities in the country.

However, the Party and other revolutionary forces kept on advancing and growing in strength nationwide, especially under the guidance of "Our Urgent Tasks" and "Specific Characteristics of our People's War"

In the 1980s, the urban mass protest movement advanced even more vigorously. Progressive trade unions grew tremendously, seized overall leadership away from the yellow trade unions and led the workers in sustained militant economic and political struggles. The student youth expanded and intensified their democratic reform struggle and their antifascist, antifeudal and anti-imperialist propaganda. The peasant masses also became more active in urban protest actions.

The militant struggles, waged largely by the basic masses, prepared the way for the unprecedentedly large mass actions from 1983 to 1986 which involved the repeated direct participation of 500,000 to two million people and eventually caused the downfall of Marcos on February 22-25, 1986.

Up to 1977, the NPA had only 1000 high-powered rifles, although the mass base in both urban and rural areas reached a million people. It may be said that from 1969 to 1979, the typical or most widespread unit of the New People's Army was the armed propaganda team, which devoted more than 95 percent of its time to mass work in the countryside.

But in 1979, platoon-size tactical offensives became frequent and widespread, especially in Samar island. By 1981, company-size tactical offensives emerged in several regions, especially in Mindanao. By 1983, company-size tactical offensives had become widespread and the NPA had amassed nearly 5000 high-powered rifles.

The growth in armed strength has been cumulative. Currently, the number of high-powered rifles is around 10,000, excluding 7,000 inferior firearms. The units of the NPA operate in at least 60 guerrilla fronts covering 12,000 villages or significant portions of 800 municipalities and 63 provinces of the Philippines.

In most guerrilla fronts, company-size main guerrilla units have been formed to serve as centers of gravity of the smaller and weaker, but more widespread units of local guerrillas, armed propagandists and people's militia. The development of company-size guerrilla units has led to a more effective use and combination of main and secondary guerrilla units, in enhanced direct and indirect coordination among different guerrilla fronts and regions, and in greater capacity to disperse enemy troops, thus creating more and better opportunities for our tactical offensives and defensive maneuvers as well.

The general level of land reform being carried out by the revolutionary movement still involves rent reduction, elimination of usury, fair wages for farm workers, fair prices for farm products and higher productivity through elementary forms of cooperation. But in increasing areas, the land of despotic landlords and landgrabbers has been confiscated or taken back and distributed to the tillers or managed by them collectively through their peasant associations.

The mass base in the countryside is seven million people. They are administered by the organs of political power; and are partially enlisted in mass organizations with the Party at the core through Party groups and local Party branches. The urban and rural mass base totals ten million people.

The Party has increased its membership to 35,000 through the urban and rural revolutionary mass movement. They are in central organizations and in fourteen regional Party organizations. Out of the total membership, 5,000 members are of cadre quality and are capable of leading at least a committee or a squad.

The Party can lead ten million people because its members are surrounded and assisted by several tens of thousands more of mass activists from whose ranks the most advanced elements are drawn to become Party members.

In twenty years of existence, the Communist Party of the Philippines has consistently proven itself to be the vanguard party of the Filipino proletariat and the Filipino people, because it has been guided by Marxism-Leninism, creatively applied it in the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution and aroused, organized and mobilized the people in their millions; and conducted criticism and self-criticism on the basis of facts and with the aim of firming up unity and heightening the revolutionary struggle.

The Party remains at the center of the national political stage no matter how the United States and its reactionary agents try to marginalize it through violence and deception. It is because the Party relies on the all-round participation and support of the people; and employs the magic weapons of armed struggle and the national united front against the enemy.

So long as no grave errors of ideological subjectivism, political opportunism and organizational sectarianism or laxity are committed, the Party and the revolutionary people has no other way but to advance and grow in strength because the all-round crisis of the ruling system continues to deepen and aggravate.

The ruling system continues to deteriorate and decline towards its destruction. The socioeconomic crisis is insoluble and worsening. The fundamental problems that brought about the Marcos despotism have remained unsolved. The reactionary factions are increasingly involved in violent strife at an unprecedented level.

The United States itself which manipulates them is in the irreversible process of global decline and is finding the effectiveness of its interventions diminishing. There is no way the United States can defeat a resolute protracted people's war in the Philippines.

III. Onward to victory

It is reasonable for the Communist Party of the Philippines to aim for total victory in the national democratic revolution within the next ten years. The disintegration process of the ruling system is irreversible. The process of resistance and revolution induces the contradictions within the system to aggravate; and guarantees the strengthening of all positive forces against the enemy.

The ideological, political and organizational strength that the Party has accumulated since 1968 provides a basis for advancing at a cumulative rate toward the maturation of the strategic defensive, further on toward the strategic stalemate and finally toward the strategic offensive in the armed revolution. The insoluble and ever worsening economic and political crisis of the ruling system provides fertile ground for the growth and advance of the Party and all other revolutionary forces.

It is all up to the Party to further strengthen itself ideologically, politically and organizationally in preparation for total victory. The process of strengthening the Party, however, is not easy. It involves sacrifices, hard work and struggle. The enemy also seeks to destroy the Party frontally and otherwise.

In the course of revolutionary struggle, the Party must consciously avoid errors of subjectivism and opportunism; and must always take into account the actual balance of forces as it tries to defeat the enemy in the most efficient way.

It is in the nature of life, especially in revolutionary struggle, to be confronted with problems. By their mastery of the law of contradiction, Marxist-Leninists thrive on confronting and solving these problems and raising the level of development of the revolutionary struggle.

Errors of subjectivism and opportunism of the "Left" and Right varieties have occurred because of the inability to handle contradictory aspects of a thing or process. Sometimes, the principal and secondary aspects are correctly posed; but the secondary aspect is underestimated, sometimes given a weight of zero, or is regarded as static. At other times, the distinction of principal and secondary aspects is blurred; and the two aspects are blended into an unwarranted compromise.

To strengthen themselves ideologically, all Party cadres and members must study the theory of Marxism-Leninism and grasp the proletarian revolutionary stand, viewpoint and method. Whenever an issue arises, all sides and all facts pertaining to them must be taken into account and then the proletarian revolutionary stand and the national democratic line can be firmly taken and flexible tactics can be worked out.

Ideological building among Party cadres and members will always be uneven. But the Party leadership, together with the organs responsible for education and propaganda, must ensure a general level of understanding of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and the program of national democratic revolution.

To win total victory, the Party needs thousands of Party cadres with a comprehensive and profound knowledge of dialectical and historical materialism, the critique of capitalism and modern imperialism, revolutionary strategy and tactics, and the principles of scientific socialism; tens of thousands of Party cadres who have read and studied at least articles by the great communist leaders selected by the Party for their relevance to the Philippine revolution and who can issue propaganda at least on issues within their sphere of work; and hundreds of thousands of Party members who have studied the Party documents integrating the Marxist-Leninist theory with the concrete conditions of the Philippines and who can conduct agitation in their specific areas.

These large numbers can be attained only by proceeding from hundreds to thousands; from thousands to tens of thousands; and from tens of thousands to hundreds of thousands. The growth in ideological strength of the Party is inseparable from its growth in political strength.

The key to total victory within the next ten years is the militant all-sided participation and support of the broad masses of the people in their tens of millions and through organizations whose membership run into millions. All political, economic, military and cultural requirements must be fulfilled.

The balance of strength between the revolutionary and counterrevolutionary forces as well as the domestic and international environment must always be taken into account in considering the prospect of winning total victory. But to win total victory the Party and other revolutionary forces must rely on themselves rather than depend on external forces and conditions.

Come what may, in terms of foreign assistance or favorable external developments, all revolutionary forces and the people in general must wage revolutionary struggle, gain strength and win victory. The CPP exerts all efforts to gain international support but this can only be as effective as the revolutionary movement can absorb it.

Efforts to advance must be planned on the basis of the given strength of the revolutionary movement, a clear knowledge of enemy strength, a grasp of the law of motion and a realistic estimate of what is achievable within the time scope of the plan.

At the moment, the revolutionary movement has enough armed strength to reach the maturation of the strategic defensive and pass on to the stage of strategic stalemate within a few years' time.

The cumulative trend in the growth of the New People's Army over the last twenty years can give us a fair idea of what is achievable.

So long as all the political, economic and cultural requirements are fulfilled in the course of the revolutionary mass movement, the strategic stalemate and strategic offensive will be far shorter stages than the strategic defensive. The politico-military capabilities of US imperialism and the local reactionaries to delay the advance of the already protracted but ever cumulative people's war is predictable and calculable; and can be prepared against domestically and internationally.

The CPP and the Filipino people must be prepared to thwart every escalation of US intervention; and shift from

the current civil war to a national war in case of an outright US war of aggression. The vicious attacks instigated by the United States against the revolutionaries and the people must be countered with utmost determination. The revolutionary movement must act against US military installations and business enterprises.

Reactionary politicians who actively work for the prolongation of the US military bases must be denounced as traitors. They are the worst accomplices of the United States in the oppression of the Filipino people.

The current number of Red fighters armed with high-powered rifles should not give rise to the purely military viewpoint, commandism, arrogance and impetuosity. The vertical growth of military formations and firepower should not be made at the cost of neglecting such civil organizations as the Party, the mass organizations and the organs of political power.

To keep on enlarging military formations while neglecting the development of the civil organizations absolutely necessary to sustain the people's army and the people's war is to enter into a purely military situation where the superior military forces and paramilitary formations of the enemy can win. That is the reason why the enemy is trying to do everything to destroy the political infrastructure of the revolutionary movement in the so-called "total war" or "low-intensity" conflict.

The growth of the main guerrilla formations must always be kept in proper balance with the maintenance and development of small but effective and widespread units of the people's army. Given the current level of the armed struggle, we need to develop the optimum combination of company-size main units in every front, guerrilla platoons as secondary units deployed in as many towns and districts, and squads of people's militia in every barrio, to achieve a high degree of initiative and flexibility.

The Party must wage a widespread and intensive people's war through guerrilla warfare with ever increasing organized mass support. The horizontal growth of the armed movement which is indissolubly connected with the continuous deepening of the mass base and the strengthening of revolutionary political power in the different localities, forms the solid basis for the vertical growth of military formations, the development of command ability at higher levels and coordination of larger forces (either organic or separate) for tactical offensives and offensive campaigns.

Guerrilla warfare with the enthusiastic support of the masses must be extensively and intensively employed to wipe out and disarm the enemy, destroy his antipeople facilities and drain him of his strength politically, militarily, economically and morally.

On a nationwide scale, the principal form of revolutionary struggle is the armed struggle fought mainly in the countryside until conditions are ripe for the strategic offensive. Before this final stage in the people's war, the principal form of struggle in the urban areas is legal and defensive.

The armed reactionary factions themselves use the cities as the main arena for their violent strife and the ruling faction is thereby compelled to retain sufficient anti-coup and counterrevolutionary forces here. The operations of armed city partisans should run at a rate and in a style not overshadowing the violent internal strife of the reactionaries and not prejudicial to the legal democratic mass movement.

The revolutionary struggle cannot be brought to total victory by armed struggle alone although this is the main weapon for smashing the enemy state and securing the people's democratic state. This must be carried out within the framework of national democratic revolution, combined with the development of the anti-imperialist and antifeudal united front and linked to the advances of the people in revolutionary consciousness, organization and mobilization in every major field of social activity.

The Party should maintain the general level of land reform being carried out until such time that enough strength has been accumulated by the people's army and the peasant movement to effect a higher level characterized by land confiscation. The current level of land reform being undertaken by the revolutionary movement is genuinely beneficial to the peasant masses in contra position to the bogus land reform programs dished out by one reactionary regime after another.

The mass organization of workers, peasants, fishermen, youth, women and other patriotic and progressive people must be formed both in urban and rural areas. Multisectoral and sectoral alliances must be fostered. The united front can be ever expanding so long as the revolutionary or progressive forces can retain their integrity, independence and initiative through consensual and consultative arrangements.

There is need to broaden the united front wherever possible in order to arouse, organize and mobilize a greater number of people for national liberation and democracy and defend the progressive forces against the

enemy scheme to isolate and destroy them.

The organs of political power must continue to be built at the village level and from the village level upward along the line of the united front. The National Democratic Front should be chiefly instrumental in paving the way for the formation of organs of political power from the municipal level to the national level until the People's Revolutionary Government can be proclaimed.

The National Democratic Front can study, assist in and administer certain functions of the emerging people's government. The Party can continue to lead even as the NDF and the existing organs of political power take on more responsibilities.

The Party should see to it that the National Democratic Front keeps on enlarging and strengthening itself, without diluting its national democratic line and composition. But the NDF must always be open to the broadening of the national united front through formal and informal arrangements with other forces, eventually towards the formation of a people's consultative council and finally the people's democratic government.

In the future, the NDF will play the major role in negotiations, leading to the recognition of its status of belligerency or the recognition of the provisional revolutionary government. We must therefore learn lessons from the ceasefire agreement of December 10, 1986. There should be no more negotiations leading to an agreement expressly stipulating that the NDF is not invested with the status of belligerency. Furthermore, the venue of the negotiations should not be subject to enemy surveillance and exposure of Party cadres and allies should be guarded against.

The Party should never allow itself to be preoccupied with and divided over the question of boycott or participation in any voting exercises initiated and staged by the reactionary state. This is even more so in situations like the 1978 and 1986 elections, when being engrossed with the question of boycott or participation resulted in the failure to correctly appraise the upsurge in mass political activity.

It suffices for the Party, which in the first place is excluded from the voting exercise, to expose the farcical character of the exercise and propagate the line of national democratic revolution.

At the same time, the Party can counter the enemy's counterrevolutionary dual tactics of conjuring the illusion of democracy through the voting exercise by using revolutionary dual tactics and encouraging the legal progressive parties to expose the limits of the voting exercise and at the same time use it to gain certain advantages for the people.

Progressive mass organizations and alliances can stand above the voting exercise of the reactionary government by exposing its farcical character or its limits and declaring the criteria and objectives of a truly democratic exercise. They should avoid becoming minor objects or players in reactionary electioneering. Instead, they should concentrate on the fundamental issues.

Regarding secret Party units and members assigned to work inside reactionary parties, trade unions and other mass organizations, bourgeois institutions, churches, and the civil bureaucracy and the military of the enemy, they must be encouraged and allowed to adopt the appropriate methods and style of doing their work effectively and must not be burdened with demands that would negate their role.

To win total victory, the organizational strength of the Party must increase by several folds from its current level. The few hundreds of thousands of Party members necessary for winning total victory must be drawn from militated organized masses running into millions.

The increase in Party membership can be planned and carried out in stages. The plan can be based on the current membership; and directions of growth can be seen in the light of territorial and functional needs.

There must be so many Party members able to lead work and handle functions in 42,000 villages, 1,500 municipalities and cities, 73 provinces and in central offices of the future people's democratic state. This is the maximum goal towards which the Party membership must grow in stages.

The line is to boldly increase the membership of the Party on the basis of the mass movement, without letting in a single enemy agent. All requirements for enrolling, verifying and developing candidate-members and full members must be strictly and promptly followed.

The guarantee for the effectiveness as well as the security of the Party is the principle and exercise of democratic centralism; and the vigilance and militancy of Party cadres and members with a mature sense of judgment and tested in the crucible of revolutionary struggle.

The overwhelming majority of Party members are good communists at every given time. Neither

suspiciousness nor intrigues of the enemy can divide or reduce the unity and strength of the Party. The weaknesses and errors of Party members are overcome through criticism and self-criticism. Any enemy agent can be sifted out through the correct methods of observation, tests, evaluations, investigation, trial and judgment.

Higher organs must be sufficiently representative of the Party organizations they encompass, must issue timely guidelines and directives, and must put into full play the dedication, energy, creativity and resourcefulness of the lower organs, organizations and their members.

The system of political officers, who are not integrated into the units they supervise and who practically comprise another layer of authority, should be set aside. The problem of bureaucratism has been exaggerated by the system of political officers which tends to breed authoritarianism, make lower collectives dependent on individuals who either do not show up promptly or are hyperactive to the point of stifling initiative in the lower organs.

The decision from a higher organ may be correct and prompt. But should it encounter any objection or resistance, the persuasive style based on facts and correct arguments rather than invocation of authority and threats of disciplinary action must be used. The particular conditions of the lower organs and organizations and their political environment must be taken into account.

In the Communist Party of the Philippines, the principle of collective responsibility is principal to individual responsibility but should not be used to stifle the latter. Party cadres must be able to exercise executive functions and Party members must be able to take initiative in accordance with provisions of the Party constitution, standing policies and the accumulation of decisions.

Study and work meetings are necessary to make for collective life. But these should not be unnecessarily frequent or prolonged to the point of robbing the Party cadres and members of the time and energy to implement the decisions.

Certain leading organs and staffs must be streamlined in order to release more cadres to the field. There must be prompt decisions by leading organs on major problems and issues at their own levels to avoid the hardening and anarchy of contradictory positions among lower organs and units.

It is bad not to have any record of any kind and depend solely on an oral tradition. Major decisions and guidelines have to be put on record as the result of collective decision-making. But excessive recording of detailed information and raw minutes of meetings can be equally bad or even worse when the enemy gets hold of the data.

The advantages and disadvantages of modern technical equipment like computers and radio have to be fully understood. While they could enhance the recording, filing and sharing of information necessary for decision-making and coordination, they can also be used to excess or handled carelessly leading to the loss of sensitive and tactical information to the enemy.

The use of radio equipment other than for tactical offensives and mobile broadcasts can also be dangerous. Frequent and prolonged communications through transceivers between fixed points are easily traced by the enemy. Strict rules must be observed to limit the use of radio communications to the truly necessary and to ensure the security of all transmissions.

The regular structure of the Party must be continuously developed. There must be a fluid interaction between higher and lower organs and organizations; and between coordinated organs and organizations under a higher organ. Just as there is a structure and division of responsibilities vertically and horizontally, there should be a correspondent structure and division of detailed information which need not be overconcentrated on the impetus of modern technical equipment so as to prevent the enemy from getting undue knowledge of the revolutionary movement.

So long as it resolutely, militantly and thoroughly carries out its ideological, political and organizational building, the Communist Party of the Philippines is certain to lead the broad masses of the Filipino people of various nationalities and ethno-linguistic communities to total victory in the national democratic revolution against US imperialism and the local reactionaries; and bring about the start of the socialist revolution.

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Long live the Filipino proletariat and people!

Onward to total victory!

January 15, 1992

Revisionism is the systematic revision of and deviation from Marxism, the basic revolutionary principles of the proletariat laid down by Marx and Engels and further developed by the series of thinkers and leaders in socialist revolution and construction. The revisionists call themselves Marxists, even claim to make an updated and creative application of Marxism but they do so essentially to sugarcoat the bourgeois anti-proletarian and anti-Marxist ideas that they propagate.

The classical revisionists who dominated the Second International in 1912 were in social-democratic parties that acted as tails to bourgeois regimes and supported the war budgets of the capitalist countries in Europe. They denied the revolutionary essence of Marxism and the necessity of proletarian dictatorship, engaged in bourgeois reformism and social pacifism and supported colonialism and modern imperialism. Lenin stood firmly against the classical revisionists, defended Marxism and led the Bolsheviks in establishing the first socialist state in 1917.

The modern revisionists were in the ruling communist parties in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. They systematically revised the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism by denying the continuing existence of exploiting classes and class struggle and the proletarian character of the party and the state in socialist society. And they proceeded to destroy the proletarian party and the socialist state from within. They masqueraded as communists even as they gave up Marxist-Leninist principles. They attacked Stalin in order to replace the principles of Lenin with the discredited fallacies of his social democratic opponents and claimed to make a “creative application” of Marxism-Leninism.

The total collapse of the revisionist ruling parties and regimes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, has made it so much easier than before for Marxist-Leninists to sum up the emergence and development of socialism and the peaceful evolution of socialism into capitalism through modern revisionism. It is necessary to trace the entire historical trajectory and draw the correct lessons in the face of the ceaseless efforts of the detractors of Marxism-Leninism to sow ideological and political confusion within the ranks of the revolutionary movement.

Among the most common lines of attack are the following: “genuine” socialism never came into existence; if socialism ever existed, it was afflicted with or distorted by the “curse” of “Stalinism”, which could never be exorcised by his anti-Stalin successors and therefore Stalin was responsible even for the anti-Stalin regimes after his death; and socialism existed until 1989 or 1991 and was never overpowered by modern revisionism before then or that modern revisionism never existed and it was an irremediably “flawed” socialism that fell in 1989-1991.

There are, of course, continuities as well as discontinuities from the Stalin to the post-Stalin periods. But social science demands that a leader be held responsible mainly for the period of his leadership. The main responsibility of Gorbachov for his own period of leadership should not be shifted to Stalin just as that of Marcos, for example, cannot be shifted to Quezon. It is necessary to trace the continuities between the Stalin and the post-Stalin regimes. And it is also necessary to recognize the discontinuities, especially because the post-Stalin regimes were anti-Stalin in character. In the face of the efforts of the imperialists, the revisionists and the unremolded petty-bourgeois to explain everything in anti-Stalin terms and to condemn the essential principles and the entire lot of Marxism-Leninism, there is a strong reason and necessity to recognize the sharp differences between the Stalin and post-Stalin regimes. The phenomenon of modern revisionism deserves attention, if we are to explain the blatant restoration of capitalism and bourgeois dictatorship in 1989-91.

After his death, the positive achievements of Stalin (such as the socialist construction, the defense of the Soviet Union, the high rate of growth of the Soviet economy, the social guarantees, etc.) continued for a considerable while. So were his errors continued and exaggerated by his successors up to the point of discontinuing socialism. We refer to the denial of the existence and the resurgence of the exploiting classes and class struggle in Soviet society; and the unhindered propagation of the petty-bourgeois mode of thinking and the growth of the bureaucratism of the monopoly bureaucrat bourgeoisie in command of the great mass of petty-bourgeois bureaucrats.

From the Khrushchov period through the long Brezhnev period to the Gorbachov period, the dominant revisionist idea was that the working class had achieved its historic tasks and that it was time for the Soviet leaders

and experts in the state and ruling party to depart from the proletarian stand. The ghost of Stalin was blamed for bureaucratism and other ills. But in fact, the modern revisionists promoted these on their own account and in the interest of a growing bureaucratic bourgeoisie. The general run of new intelligentsia and bureaucrats was petty-bourgeois-minded and provided the social base for the monopoly bureaucrat bourgeoisie. In the face of the collapse of the revisionist ruling parties and regimes, there is in fact cause for the Party to celebrate the vindication of its Marxist-Leninist, antirevisionist line. The correctness of this line is confirmed by the total bankruptcy and collapse of the revisionist ruling parties, especially the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the chief disseminator of modern revisionism on a world scale since 1956. It is clearly proven that the modern revisionist line means the disguised restoration of capitalism over a long period of time and ultimately leads to the undisguised restoration of capitalism and bourgeois dictatorship. The supraclass sloganeering of the petty bourgeoisie has been the sugarcoating for the anti-proletarian ideas of the big bourgeoisie in the Soviet state and party.

In the Philippines, the political group that is most embarrassed, discredited and orphaned by the collapse of the revisionist ruling parties and regimes is that of the Lavas and their successors. It is certainly not the Communist Party of the Philippines, reestablished in 1968. But the imperialists, the bourgeois mass media and certain other quarters wish to confuse the situation and try to mock at and shame the Party for the disintegration of the revisionist ruling parties and regimes. They are barking at the wrong tree.

There are elements who have been hoodwinked by such catchphrases of Gorbachovite propaganda as “socialist renewal”, “perestroika”, “glasnost” and “new thinking” and who have refused to recognize the facts and the truth about the Gorbachovite swindle even after 1989, the year when modern revisionism started to give way to the open and blatant restoration of capitalism and bourgeois dictatorship. There are a handful of elements within the Party who continue to follow the already proven anticommunist, antisocialist and pseudo-democratic example of Gorbachov and who question and attack the vanguard role of the working class through the Party, democratic centralism, the essentials of the revolutionary movement, and the socialist future of the Philippine revolutionary movement. Their line is aimed at nothing less than the negation of the basic principles of the Party and therefore the liquidation of the Party.

1. The Party's Marxist-Leninist stand against modern revisionism

The proletarian revolutionary cadres of the Party who have continuously adhered to the Marxist-Leninist stand against modern revisionism and have closely followed the developments in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe since the early 1960s are not surprised by the flagrant antisocialist and antidemocratic outcome of modern revisionism. The Party should never forget that its founding proletarian revolutionary cadres had been able to work with the remnants of the old merger Party of the Communist and Socialist parties since early 1963 only for so long as there was common agreement that the resumption of the anti-imperialist and antifeudal mass struggle meant the resumption of the new-democratic revolution through revolutionary armed struggle and that the old merger party would adhere to the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism and reject the Khrushchovite revisionist line of bourgeois populism and pacifism and the subsequent Khrushchovism without Khrushchov of the Brezhnev regime.

So, in April 1967 when the Lava revisionist renegades violated the common agreement and ignored the Executive Committee that had been formed in 1963, it became necessary to lay the ground for the reestablishment of the Party as a proletarian revolutionary party. Everyone can refer to the diametrically opposed proclamations of the proletarian revolutionaries and the Lava revisionist renegades which were disseminated in the Philippines and published respectively in Peking (Beijing) Review and the Prague Information Bulletin within the first week of May 1967.

The reestablishment of the Party on the theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism on December 26, 1968 necessarily meant the criticism and repudiation of all the subjectivist and opportunist errors of the Lava revisionist group and the modern revisionism practiced and propagated by this group domestically and by one Soviet ruling clique after another internationally.

The criticism and repudiation of modern revisionism are a fundamental component of the reestablishment and rebuilding of the Party and are inscribed in the basic document of rectification, “Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party” and the Program and Constitution of the Party. These documents have remained valid and effective. No leading organ of the CPP has ever had the power and the reason to reverse or reject the criticism and repudiation of modern revisionism by the Congress of Reestablishment in 1968.

In the late 1970s, the Party decided to expand the international relations of the revolutionary movement in addition to the Party's relations with Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations abroad. The international representative of the National Democratic Front began to explore possibilities for the NDF to act like the Palestinian Liberation Organization, African National Congress and other national liberation movements in expanding friendly and diplomatic relations with all forces abroad that are willing to extend moral and material support to the Philippine revolutionary struggle on any major issue and to whatever extent. This line in external relations was in consonance with the Marxist-Leninist stand of the Party and the international united front against imperialism.

In 1983, a definite proposal to the Central Committee came up that the NDF or any of its member organizations vigorously seek friendly relations with the ruling parties in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe as well as with parties and movements closely associated with the CPSU. However, this proposal was laid aside in favor of the counterproposal made by the international liaison department (ILD) of the Party Central Committee that the Party rather than the NDF explore and seek "fraternal" relations with the ruling parties of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and other related parties.

Veering away from the antirevisionist line

This counterproposal disregarded the fact that the Lava revisionist group had already preempted our Party from the possibility of "fraternal" relations with the revisionist ruling parties. More significantly, the counterproposal did not take into serious consideration the Marxist-Leninist stand of the Party against modern revisionism.

Notwithstanding the ill-informed and unprincipled basis for seeking "fraternal" relations with the revisionist ruling parties and the absence of any congress withdrawing the correct antirevisionist line, the staff organ in charge of international relations proceeded in 1984 to draft and circulate a policy paper, "The Present World Situation and the CPP's General International Line and Policies" describing the CPSU as a Marxist-Leninist party, the Soviet Union as the most developed socialist country and as proletarian internationalist rather than social-imperialist, as having supported third world liberation movements and as having attained military parity with the United States. This policy paper was presented to the 1985 Central Committee Plenum and the latter decided to conduct further studies on it.

In 1986, the Executive Committee of the Central Committee commissioned a study of the Soviet Union and East European countries. The study was superficial. It was done to support the predetermined conclusion that these countries were socialist because their economies were still dominated by state-owned enterprises and these enterprises were still growing and because the state still provided social guarantees to the people. The study overlooked the fact that the ruling party in command of the economy was no longer genuinely proletarian and that state-owned enterprises since the time of Khrushchov had already become milking cows of corrupt bureaucrats and private entrepreneurs who colluded under various pretexts to redirect the products to the "free" (private) market.

By this time, the attempt to deviate from the antirevisionist line of the Party was clearly linked to the erroneous idea that total victory in the Philippine revolution could be hastened by "regularizing" the few thousands of NPA fighters with importations of heavy weapons and other logistical requisites from abroad, by skipping stages in the development of people's war and in building the people's army and by arousing the forces for armed urban insurrection in anticipation of some sudden "turn in the situation" to mount a general uprising.

There was the notion that the further development of the people's army and the people's war depended on the importation of heavy weapons and getting logistical support from abroad and that the failure to import these would mean the stagnation or retrogression of the revolutionary forces because there is no other way by which the NPA could overcome the enemy's "blockhouse" warfare and control of the highways except through the use of sophisticated heavy weapons (antitank and laser-guided missiles) which necessarily have to be imported from abroad.

In the second half of 1986, with the approval of the Party's central leadership, a drive was started to seek the establishment of "fraternal" relations with the CPSU and other revisionist ruling parties as well as nonruling ones close to the CPSU. A considerable amount of resources was allotted to and expended on the project.

In late 1986, some Brezhnevites within the CPSU and some other quarters made the suggestion that the Communist Party of the Philippines merge with the Lava revisionist group in order to gain "fraternal" relations with the CPSU. But such a suggestion was tactfully rejected with the counter-suggestion that the CPSU and other

revisionist ruling parties could keep their fraternal relations with the Lava group while the CPP could have friendly relations with them. We stood pat on the Leninist line of proletarian party-building.

Up to 1987 the failure to establish relations with the revisionist ruling parties was interpreted by some elements as the result of the refusal on the part of our Party to repudiate its antirevisionist line. These elements had to be reminded in easily understood practical terms that if the antirevisionist line of the Party had been withdrawn and the revisionist ruling parties would continue to rebuff our offer of “fraternal” or friendly relations with them, then the proposed opportunism would be utterly damaging to the Party.

By 1987, the Party became aware that the Gorbachov regime was already laying the ground for the emasculation of the revisionist ruling parties in favor of an openly bourgeois state machinery in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe by allowing his advisors, officials of the Academy of Social Sciences and the official as well as independent Soviet mass media to promote pro-imperialist, anticommunist and antisocialist ideas under the guise of social democracy and “liberal” communism. On the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution, Gorbachov himself delivered a speech abandoning the anti-imperialist struggle and describing imperialism as having shed off its violent character in an integral world in which the Soviet Union and the United States and other countries can cooperate in the common interest of humanity’s survival.

In 1987, the chairman of the Party’s Central Committee made an extensive interview on the question of establishing relations with the ruling parties of the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and elsewhere. This was made in response to the demand from some quarters within the Party that the Party repudiate its line against revisionism and apologize to the CPSU for having criticized the Soviet Union on the question of Cambodia and Afghanistan. The interview clarified that the Party can establish friendly relations with the ruling parties even while the latter maintained their “fraternal” relations with the Lava group.

Failed efforts at establishing relations

In June 1988, the “World Situation and Our Line” was issued to replace “The Present World Situation and the CPP’s General International Line and Policies”. The correct and positive side of the new document reiterated the principles of national integrity, independence, equality noninterference and mutual support and mutual benefit to guide the Party’s international relations; and upheld the basic principles of socialism, anti-imperialism and proletarian internationalism and peaceful coexistence as a diplomatic policy. Furthermore, it noted and warned against the unhealthy trends of cynicism, anticommunism, nationalism, consumerism, superstition, criminality and the like already running rampant in the countries ruled by the revisionist parties.

The negative side included accepting at face value and endorsing the catchphrases of Gorbachov; describing the revisionist regimes as socialist under a “lowered” definition; and diplomatic avoidance of the antirevisionist terms of the Party.

In the course of trying to establish friendly relations with the revisionist ruling parties in 1987 and onward, Party representatives were able to discern that Gorbachov and his revisionist followers were reorganizing these parties towards their eventual weakening and dissolution. Despite Gorbachov’s avowed line of allowing the other East European ruling parties to decide matters for themselves, Soviet agents pushed these parties to reorganize themselves by replacing Brezhnevite holdovers at various levels with Gorbachovites and subsequently paralyzed the Party organizations. However, it would be in 1989 that it became clear without any doubt that all the revisionist ruling parties and regimes were on the path of self-disintegration, blatant restoration of capitalism and bourgeois dictatorship under the slogans of “multiparty democracy” and “economic reforms”.

It is correct for the Party to seek friendly relations with any foreign party or movement on the basis of anti-imperialism. But it is wrong to go into any “fraternal” relations involving the repudiation of the Party’s Marxist-Leninist stand against modern revisionism.

In this regard, we must be self-critical for wavering or temporarily veering away from the Party’s antirevisionist line and engaging in a futile expedition. The motivation was to seek greater material and moral support for the Filipino people’s revolutionary struggle. Although such motivation is good, it can only mitigate but cannot completely excuse the departure from the correct line. The error is a major one but it can be rectified through education far more easily than other errors unless ideological confusion over the developments in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe is allowed to continue. Most comrades assigned to do international work were merely following the wrong line from above.

The worst damage caused by the unconsummated and belated flirtation with the revisionist ruling parties in

the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe is not so much the waste of effort and resources but in the circulation of incorrect ideas, such as that these parties were still socialist and that the availability or non-availability of material assistance from them, especially heavy weapons, would spell the advance or stagnation and retrogression of the Philippine revolutionary movement. It should be pointed out that the Lava group had the best of relations with these parties since the sixties but this domestic revisionist group never amounted to anything more than being an inconsequential toady of Soviet foreign policy and the Marcos regime.

At this point, the central leadership and entirety of the Party must renew their resolve to adhere to Marxism-Leninism and to the antirevisionist line. We are in a period which requires profound and farsighted conviction in the new democratic revolution as well as the socialist revolution. This is a period comparable to that when the classical revisionist parties disintegrated and it seemed as if socialism had become a futile dream and the world seemed to be merely a helpless object of imperialist oppression and exploitation. But that period was exactly the eve of socialist revolution.

II. The legacy of Lenin and Stalin

The red flag of the Soviet Union has been brought down. The czarist flag of Russia now flies over the Kremlin. It may only be a matter of time that the body of the great Lenin is removed from its mausoleum in the Red Square, unless Russia's new bourgeoisie continue to regard it as a lucrative tourist attraction for visitors with hard foreign currency.

The Soviet modern revisionists, from Khrushchov to Gorbachov, had invoked the name of Lenin to attack Stalin. But in fact, the total negation of Stalin was but the spearhead of the total negation of Lenin and Leninism, socialism, the Soviet Union and the entire course of Bolshevik and Soviet history. The bourgeoisie in the former Soviet Union was not satisfied with anything less than the open restoration of capitalism and the imposition of the class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

It is necessary to refresh ourselves on the legacy of Lenin and Stalin in the face of concerted attempts by the imperialists, the modern revisionists, the barefaced restorationists of capitalism and the anticommunist bourgeois intelligentsia to slander and discredit it. The greatness of Lenin lies in having further developed the three components of the theory of Marxism: philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism. Lenin is the great master of Marxism in the era of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution.

He delved further into dialectical materialism, pointed to the unity of opposites as the most fundamental law of material reality and transformation and contended most extensively and profoundly with the so-called "third force" subjectivist philosophy (empirio-criticism). He analyzed modern imperialism and put forward the theory of uneven development, which elucidated the possibility of socialist revolution at the weakest point of the world capitalist system. He elaborated on the Marxist theory of state and revolution. He stood firmly for proletarian class struggle and proletarian dictatorship against the classical revisionists and actually led the first successful socialist revolution.

The ideas of Lenin were tested in debates within the Second International and within the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP). The proletarian revolutionary line that he and his Bolshevik comrades espoused proved to be correct and victorious in contention with various bourgeois ideas and formations that competed for hegemony in the struggle against czarist autocracy.

We speak of the socialist revolution as beginning on November 7, 1917 because it was on that day that the people under the leadership of the proletariat through the Bolshevik party seized political power from the bourgeoisie. It was at that point that the proletarian dictatorship was established. For this, Lenin is considered the great founder of Soviet socialism. Proletarian dictatorship is the first requisite for building socialism. Without this power, socialist revolution cannot be undertaken. By this power, Lenin was able to decree the nationalization of the land and capital assets of the exploiting classes and take over the commanding heights of the economy.

Proletarian class dictatorship is but another expression for the state power necessary for smashing and replacing the state power or class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, for carrying out the all-rounded socialist revolution and for preventing the counterrevolutionaries from regaining control over society.

Proletarian dictatorship is at the same time proletarian democracy and democracy for the entire people, especially the toiling masses of workers and peasants. Without the exercise of proletarian dictatorship against their class enemies, the proletariat and the people cannot enjoy democracy among themselves. Proletarian dictatorship is the fruit of the highest form of democratic action-the revolutionary process that topples the bourgeois

dictatorship. It is the guarantor of democracy among the people against domestic and external class enemies, the local exploiting classes and the imperialists.

The Bolsheviks were victorious because they resolutely established and defended the proletarian class dictatorship. They had learned their lessons well from the failure of the Paris Commune of 1871 and from the reformism and treason of the social democratic parties in the Second International.

Wielding proletarian dictatorship, the Bolsheviks disbanded in January 1918 the Constituent Assembly that had been elected after the October Revolution but was dominated by the Socialist Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks, because that assembly refused to ratify the Declaration of the Rights of the Toiling and Exploited People.

The Bolsheviks subsequently banned the bourgeois parties because these parties engaged in counterrevolutionary violence and civil war against the proletariat and collaborated with the foreign interventionists. In his lifetime, Lenin led the Soviet proletariat and people and the soviets of workers, peasants and soldiers to victory in the civil war and the war against the interventionist powers from 1918 to 1921. He consolidated the Soviet Union as a federal union of socialist republics and built the congresses of soviets and the nationalities. As a proletarian internationalist, he established the Third International and set forth the anti-imperialist line for the world proletariat and all oppressed nations and peoples.

In 1922 he proclaimed the New Economic Policy as a transitory measure for reviving the economy from the devastation of war in the quickest possible way and remedying the problem of “war communism” which had involved requisitioning and rationing under conditions of war, devastation and scarcity. Under the new policy, the small entrepreneurs and rich peasants were allowed to engage freely in private production and to market their products.

The record of Stalin

Lenin died in 1924. He did not live long enough to see the start of full-scale socialist economic construction. This was undertaken by his successor and faithful follower Stalin. He carried it out in accordance with the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin: proletarian dictatorship and mass mobilization, public ownership of the means of production, economic planning, industrialization, collectivization and mechanization of agriculture, full employment and social guarantees, free education at all levels, expanding social services and the rising standard of living.

But before the socialist economic construction could be started in 1929 with the first five-year economic plan, Stalin continued Lenin’s New Economic Policy and had to contend with and defeat the Left Opposition headed by Trotsky who espoused the wrong line that socialism in one country was impossible and that the workers in Western Europe (especially in Germany) had to succeed first in armed uprisings and that rapid industrialization had to be undertaken immediately at the expense of the peasantry.

Stalin won out with his line of socialism in one country and in defending the worker-peasant alliance. If Trotsky had his way, he would have destroyed the chances for Soviet socialism by provoking the capitalist powers, by breaking up the worker-peasant alliance and by spreading pessimism in the absence of any victorious armed uprisings in Western Europe.

When it was time to put socialist economic construction into full swing, the Right opposition headed by Bukharin emerged to argue for the continuation of the New Economic Policy and oppose Soviet industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture. If Bukharin had had his way, the Soviet Union would not have been able to build a socialist society with a comprehensive industrial base and a mechanized and collectivized agriculture and provide its people with a higher standard of living; and would have enlarged the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois nationalists in the various republics and become an easier prey to Nazi Germany whose leader Hitler made no secret of his plans against the Soviet Union.

The first five-year economic plan was indeed characterized by severe difficulties due to the following: the limited industrial base to start with in a sea of agrarian conditions, the continuing effects of the war, the economic and political sanctions of the capitalist powers, the constant threat of foreign military intervention, the burdensome role of the pioneer and the violent reaction of the rich peasants who refused to put their farms, tools and work animals under collectivization, slaughtered their work animals and organized resistance. But after the first five-year economic plan, there was popular jubilation over the establishment of heavy and basic industries. To the relief of the peasantry there was considerable mechanization of agriculture, especially in the form of tractor stations. There was marked improvement in the standard of living.

In 1936, a new constitution was promulgated. As a result of the successes of the economic construction and in

the face of the actual confiscation of bourgeois and landlord property and the seeming disappearance of exploiting classes by economic definition, the constitution declared that there were no more exploiting classes and no more class struggle except that between the Soviet people and the external enemy. This declaration would constitute the biggest error of Stalin. It propelled the petty-bourgeois mode of thinking in the new intelligentsia and bureaucracy even as the proletarian dictatorship was exceedingly alert to the old forces and elements of counter-revolution.

The error had two ramifications.

One ramification abetted the failure to distinguish contradictions among the people from those between the people and the enemy and the propensity to apply administrative measures against those loosely construed as enemies of the people. There were indeed real British and German spies and bourgeois nationalists engaged in counterrevolutionary violence. They had to be ferreted out. But this was done by relying heavily on a mass reporting system (based on patriotism) that fed information to the security services. And the principle of due process was not assiduously and scrupulously followed in order to narrow the target in the campaign against counterrevolutionaries and punish only the few who were criminally culpable on the basis of incontrovertible evidence. Thus, in the 1936-38 period, arbitrariness victimized a great number of people. Revolutionary class education through mass movement under Party leadership was not adequately undertaken for the purpose of ensuring the high political consciousness and vigilance of the people.

The other ramification was the promotion of the idea that building socialism was a matter of increasing production, improving administration and technique, letting the cadres decide everything (although Stalin never ceased to speak against bureaucratism) and providing the cadres and experts and the toiling masses with ever increasing material benefits. The new intelligentsia produced by the rapidly expanding Soviet educational system had a decreasing sense of the proletarian class stand and an increasing sense that it was sufficient to have the expertise and to become bureaucrats and technocrats in order to build socialism. The old and the new intelligentsia were presumed to be proletarian so long as they rendered bureaucratic and professional service. There was no recognition of the fact that bourgeois and other anti-proletarian ideas can persist and grow even after the confiscation of bourgeois and landlord property.

To undertake socialist revolution and construction in a country with a large population of more than 100 nationalities and a huge land mass, with a low economic and technological level as a starting point, ravaged by civil war and ever threatened by local counterrevolutionary forces and foreign capitalist powers, it was necessary to have the centralization of political will as well as centralized planning in the use of limited resources. But such a necessity can be overdone by a bourgeoisie that is reemergent through the petty bourgeoisie and can become the basis of bureaucratism, decreasing democracy in the process of decision-making. The petty bourgeoisie promotes the bureaucratism that gives rise to and solidifies the higher levels of the bureaucrat bourgeoisie and that alienates the Party and the state from the people. Democratic centralism can be made to degenerate into bureaucratic centralism by the forces and elements that run counter to the interests of the proletariat and all working people.

In world affairs, Stalin encouraged and supported the communist parties and anti-imperialist movements in capitalist countries and the colonies and semicolonies through the Third International. And from 1935 onward, he promoted internationally the antifascist Popular Front policy. Only after Britain and France spurned his offer of antifascist alliance and continued to induce Germany to attack the Soviet Union did Stalin decide to forge a nonaggression pact with Germany in 1939. This was a diplomatic maneuver to forestall a probable earlier Nazi aggression and gain time for the Soviet Union to prepare against it.

Stalin made full use of the time before the German attack in 1941 to strengthen the Soviet Union economically and militarily as well as politically through patriotic calls to the entire Soviet people and through concessions to conservative institutions and organizations. For instance, the Russian Orthodox Church was given back its buildings and its privileges. There was marked relaxation in favor of a broad antifascist popular front.

In the preparations against fascist invasion and in the course of the Great Patriotic War of 1941-45, the line of Soviet patriotism further subdued the line of class struggle among the old and new intelligentsia and the entire people. The Soviet people united. Even as they suffered a tremendous death casualty of 20 million and devastation of their country, including the destruction of 85 percent of industrial capacity, they played the pivotal role in defeating Nazi Germany and world fascism and paved the way for the rise of several socialist countries in Eastern Europe and Asia and the national liberation movements on an unprecedented scale. In the aftermath of World War

II, Stalin led the economic reconstruction of the Soviet Union. Just as he succeeded in massive industrialization from 1929 to 1941 (only 12 years) before the war, so he did again from 1945 to 1953 (only eight years) but this time with apparently no significant resistance from counterrevolutionaries. In all these years of socialist construction, socialism proved superior to capitalism in all respects.

In 1952, Stalin realized that he had made a mistake in prematurely declaring that there were no more exploiting classes and no more class struggle in the Soviet Union, except the struggle between the people and the enemy. But it was too late, the Soviet party and state were already swamped by a large number of bureaucrats with waning proletarian revolutionary consciousness. These bureaucrats and their bureaucratism would become the base of modern revisionism.

When Stalin died in 1953, he left a Soviet Union that was a politically, economically, militarily and culturally powerful socialist country. He had successfully united the Soviet people of the various republics and nationalities and had defended the Soviet Union against Nazi Germany. He had rebuilt an industrial economy, with high annual growth rates, with enough homegrown food for the people and the world's largest production of oil, coal, steel, gold, grain, cotton and so on.

Under his leadership, the Soviet Union had created the biggest number of research scientists, engineers, doctors, artists, writers and so on. In the literary and artistic field, social realism flourished while at the same time the entire cultural heritage of the Soviet Union was cherished.

In foreign policy, Stalin held the US forces of aggression at bay in Europe and Asia, supported the peoples fighting for national liberation and socialism, neutralized what was otherwise the nuclear monopoly of the United States and ceaselessly called for world peace even as the US-led Western alliance waged the Cold War and engaged in provocations. It is absolutely necessary to correctly evaluate Stalin as a leader in order to avoid the pitfall of modern revisionism and to counter the most strident anticommunists who attack Marxism-Leninism under the guise of anti-Stalinism. We must know what are his merits and demerits. We must respect the historical facts and judge his leadership within its own time, 1924 to 1953.

It is unscientific to make a complete negation of Stalin as a leader in his own time and to heap the blame on him even for the modern revisionist line, policies and actions which have been adopted and undertaken explicitly against the name of Stalin and have at first gradually and then rapidly brought about the collapse of the Soviet Union and the restoration of capitalism. Leaders must be judged mainly for the period of their responsibility even as we seek to trace the continuities and discontinuities from one period to another.

Stalin's merits within his own period of leadership are principal and his demerits are secondary. He stood on the correct side and won all the great struggles to defend socialism such as those against the Left opposition headed by Trotsky; the Right opposition headed by Bukharin, the rebellious rich peasants, the bourgeois nationalists, and the forces of fascism headed by Hitler. He was able to unite, consolidate and develop the Soviet state. After World War II, Soviet power was next only to the United States. Stalin was able to hold his ground against the threats of US imperialism. As a leader, he represented and guided the Soviet proletariat and people from one great victory to another.

III. The process of capitalist restoration

The regimes of Khrushchov, Brezhnev and Gorbachov mark the three stages in the process of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union, a process of undermining and destroying the great accomplishments of the Soviet proletariat and people under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin. This process has also encompassed Eastern Europe.

The Khrushchov regime laid the foundation of Soviet modern revisionism and overthrew the proletarian dictatorship. The Brezhnev regime fully developed modern revisionism for a far longer period of time and completely converted socialism into monopoly bureaucrat capitalism. And the Gorbachov regime brought the work of modern revisionism to the final goal of wiping out the vestiges of socialism and entirely dismantling the socialist facade of the revisionist regimes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. He destroyed the Soviet Union that Lenin and Stalin had built and defended.

To restore capitalism, the Soviet revisionist regimes had to revise the basic principles of socialist revolution and construction and to go through stages of camouflaged counterrevolution in a period of 38 years, 1953 to 1991. It is a measure of the greatness of Lenin and Stalin that their accomplishments in 36 years of socialist revolution and construction took another long period of close to four decades to dismantle. Stalin spent a total of 20 years in

socialist construction. The revisionist renegades took a much longer period of time to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union.

In the same period of time, the revisionist regimes cleverly took the pretext of attacking Stalin in order to attack the foundations of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice and eventually condemn Lenin himself and the entire course of Soviet history and finally destroy the Soviet Union. The revisionist renegades in their protracted “de-Stalinization” campaign blamed Stalin beyond his lifetime for their own culpability and failures. For instance, they aggravated bureaucratism in the service of capitalist restoration but they still blamed the long-dead Stalin for it.

Tito of Yugoslavia had the unique distinction of being the pioneer in modern revisionism. In opposing Stalin, he deviated from the basic principles of socialist revolution and construction in 1947 and received political and material support from the West. He refused to undertake land reform and collectivization. He preserved and promoted the bourgeoisie through the bureaucracy and private enterprise, especially in the form of private cooperatives.

He considered as key to socialism not the public ownership of the means of production, economic planning and further development of the productive forces but the immediate decentralization of enterprises; the so-called workers’ self-management that actually combined bureaucratism and anarchy of production; and the operation of the free market (including the goods imported from Western countries) upon the existent and stagnant level of production. In misrepresenting Lenin’s New Economic Policy as the very model for socialist economic development, he was the first chief of state to use the name of Lenin against both Lenin and Stalin.

First stage: the Khrushchov regime, 1953-64

To Khrushchov belongs the distinction of being the pioneer in modern revisionism in the Soviet Union, the first socialist country in the history of mankind, and of being the most influential in promoting modern revisionism on a world scale.

Khrushchov's career as a revisionist in power started in 1953. He was a bureaucratic sycophant and an active player in repressive actions during the time of Stalin. To become the first secretary of the CPSU and accumulate power in his hands, he played off the followers of Stalin against each other and succeeded in having Beria executed after a summary trial. He depended on the new bourgeoisie that had arisen from the bureaucracy and the new intelligentsia.

In 1954, he had already reorganized the CPSU to serve his ideological and political position. In 1955, he upheld Tito against the memory of Stalin, especially on the issue of revisionism. In 1956, he delivered before the 20th Party Congress his "secret" speech against Stalin, completely negating him as no better than a bloodthirsty monster and denouncing the "personality cult". The congress marked the overthrow of the proletarian dictatorship. In 1957, he used the armed forces to defeat the vote for his ouster by the Politburo and thereby made the coup to further consolidate his position.

In 1956, the anti-Stalin diatribe inspired the anticommunist forces in Poland and Hungary to carry out uprisings. The Hungarian uprising was stronger and more violent. Khrushchov ordered the Soviet army to suppress it, chiefly because the Hungarian party leadership sought to rescind its political and military ties with the Soviet Union.

But subsequently, all throughout Eastern Europe under Soviet influence, it became clear that it was alright to the Soviet ruling clique for the satellite regimes to adopt capitalist-oriented reforms (private enterprise in agriculture, handicraft and services, dissolution of collective farms even where land reform had been carried out on a narrow scale and, of course, the free market) like Yugoslavia along an anti-Stalin line. The revisionist regimes were, however, under strict orders to remain within the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) and the Warsaw Pact.

The unremolded social-democratic and petty-bourgeois sections of the revisionist ruling parties in Eastern Europe started to kick out genuine communists from positions of leadership in the state and party under the direction of Khrushchov and under the pressure of anticommunist forces in society. It must be recalled that the so-called proletarian ruling parties were actually mergers of communists and social-democrats put into power by the Soviet Red Army. At the most, there were only a few years of proletarian dictatorship and socialist economic construction before Khrushchov started in 1956 to enforce his revisionist line in the satellite parties and regimes.

The total negation of Stalin by Khrushchov was presented as a rectification of the personality cult, bureaucracy and terrorism; and as the prerequisite for the efflorescence of democracy and civility, rapid economic progress that builds the material and technological foundation of communism in twenty years, the peaceful form of social revolution from an exploitative system to a non-exploitative one, detente with the United States, nuclear disarmament step by step and world peace, a world without wars and arms.

Khrushchov paid lip service to proletarian dictatorship and the basic principles of socialist revolution and construction but at the same time introduced a set of ideas to undermine them. He used bourgeois populism, declaring that the CPSU was a party of the whole people and the Soviet state was a state of the whole people on the anti-Marxist premise that the tasks of proletarian dictatorship had been fulfilled. He used bourgeois pacifism, declaring that it was possible and preferable for mankind to opt for peaceful transition to socialism and peaceful economic competition with the capitalist powers in order to avert the nuclear annihilation of humanity; raising peaceful coexistence from the level of diplomatic policy to that of the general line governing all kinds of external relations of the Soviet Union and the CPSU; and denying the violent nature of imperialism.

In the economic field, he used the name of Lenin against Lenin and Stalin by misrepresenting Lenin's New Economic Policy as the way to socialism rather than as a transitory measure towards socialist construction. He carried out decentralization to some degree, he autonomized state enterprises and promoted private agriculture and the free market. The autonomized state enterprises became responsible for their own cost and profit accounting and for raising the wages and bonuses on the basis of the profits of the individual enterprise. The private plots were enlarged and large areas of land (ranging from 50 to 100 hectares) were leased to groups, usually households. Many tractor stations for collective farms were dissolved and agricultural machines were turned over to

private entrepreneurs. The free market in agricultural and industrial products and services was promoted.

In the same way that the revisionist rhetoric of Khrushchov overlapped with Marxist-Leninist terminology, socialism overlapped with capitalist restoration. The socialist system of production and distribution was still dominant for a while. Thus, the Soviet economy under Khrushchov still registered high rates of growth. But the regime took most pride in the higher rate of growth in the private sector which benefited from cheap energy, transport, tools and other supplies from the public sector and which was credited with producing the goods stolen from the public sector.

In the autonomization of state enterprises, managers acquired the power to hire and fire workers, transact business within the Soviet Union and abroad; increase their own salaries, bonuses and other perks at the expense of the workers; lessen the funds available for the development of other parts of the economy; and engage in bureaucratic corruption in dealing with the free market.

With regard to private agriculture, propaganda was loudest on the claim that it was more productive than the state and collective farms. The reemergent rich peasants were lauded. But in fact, the corrupt bureaucrats and private farmers and merchants were colluding in underpricing and stealing products (through pilferage and wholesale misdeclaration of goods as defective) from the collective and state farms in order to rechannel these to the free market. In the end, the Soviet Union would suffer sharp reductions in agricultural production and would be importing huge amounts of grain.

The educational system continued to expand, reproducing in great numbers the new intelligentsia now influenced by the ideas of modern revisionism and looking to the West for models of efficient management and for quality consumer goods. In the arts and in literature, social realism was derided and universal humanism, pacifism and mysticism came into fashion.

The Khrushchov regime drew prestige from the advances of Soviet science and technology, from the achievements in space technology and from the continuing economic construction. All of these were not possible without the prior work and the accumulated social capital under the leadership of Stalin. Khrushchov went into rapid housing and office construction which pleased the bureaucracy.

The CPSU and the Chinese Communist Party were the main protagonists in the great ideological debate. Despite Khrushchov's brief reconciliation with Tito, the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and the Moscow Statement of 1960 maintained that modern revisionism was the main danger to the international communist movement as a result of the firm and vigorous stand of the Chinese and other communist parties.

Khrushchov extended the ideological debate into a disruption of state-to-state relations between the Soviet Union and China. In the Cuban missile crisis, he had a high profile confrontation with Kennedy. He first took an adventurist and then swung to a capitulationist position. With regard to Vietnam, he was opposed to the revolutionary armed struggle of the Vietnamese people and grudgingly gave limited support to them.

The deterioration of Soviet industry and the breakdown of agriculture and bungling in foreign relations led to the removal of Khrushchov in a coup by the Brezhnev clique. Brezhnev became the general secretary of the CPSU and Kosygin became the premier. The former would eventually assume the position of president.

Second stage: the Brezhnev regime, 1964-82

While Khrushchov was stridently anti-Stalin, Brezhnev made a limited and partial "rehabilitation" of Stalin. If we link this to the recentralization of the bureaucracy and the state enterprises previously decentralized and the repressive measures taken against the pro-imperialist and anticommunist opposition previously encouraged by Khrushchov, it would appear that Brezhnev was reviving Stalin's policies.

In fact, the Brezhnev regime was on the whole anti-Stalin, with respect to the continuing line of promoting the Khrushchovite capitalist-oriented reforms in the economy and the line of developing an offensive capability "to defend the Soviet Union outside of its borders". It is therefore false to say that the 18-year Brezhnev regime was an interruption of the anti-Stalin line started by Khrushchov.

There is, however, an ideological error that puts both Khrushchov and Brezhnev on board with Stalin. This is the premature declaration of the end of the exploiting classes and class struggle, except that between the enemy and the people. This line served to obfuscate and deny the existence of an already considerable and growing bourgeoisie in Soviet society and to justify repressive measures against those considered as enemy of the Soviet people for being opposed to the ruling clique.

Under the Brezhnev leadership, the Khrushchovite capitalist-oriented reforms were pushed hard by the

Brezhnev-Kosygin tandem. Socialism was converted fully into state monopoly capitalism, with the prevalent corrupt bureaucrats not only increasing their official incomes and perks but taking their loot by colluding with private entrepreneurs and even criminal syndicates in milking the state enterprises. On an ever widening scale, tradeable goods produced by the state enterprises were either underpriced, pilfered or declared defective only to be channeled to the private entrepreneurs for the free market.

Sales and purchase contracts with capitalist firms abroad became a big source of kickbacks for state officials who deposited these in secret bank accounts abroad. There was also a thriving black market in foreign exchange and goods smuggled from the West through Eastern Europe, the Baltic and southern republics.

The corruption of the bureaucrat and private capitalists discredited the revisionist ruling party and regime at various levels. At the end of the Brezhnev regime, there was already an estimated 30 million people engaged in private enterprise. Among them were members of the families of state and party officials. Members of the Brezhnev family themselves were closely collaborating with private firms and criminal syndicates in scandalous shady deals.

The state enterprises necessary for assuring funds for the ever expanding central Soviet bureaucracy and for the arms race were recentralized. A military-industrial complex grew rapidly and ate up yearly far more than the conservatively estimated 20 percent of the Soviet budget. The Brezhnev regime was obsessed with attaining military parity with its superpower rival, the United States.

The huge Soviet state that could have generated the surplus income for reinvestment in more efficient and expanded civil production of basic and non-basic consumer goods, wasted the funds on the importation of the high grade consumer goods for the upper five percent of the population (the new bourgeoisie), on increasing amounts of imported grain, on the military-industrial complex and the arms race, on the maintenance and equipment of half a million troops in Eastern Europe and on other foreign commitments in the third world. Among the commitments that arose due to superpower rivalry was the assistance to the Vietnamese people in the Vietnam war, Cuba, Angola and Nicaragua. Among the commitments that arose due to the sheer adventurism of Soviet social-imperialism was the dispatch of a huge number of Soviet troops and equipment to Afghanistan at the time that the Soviet Union was already clearly in dire economic and financial straits.

The hard currency for the importation of grain and high-grade consumer goods came from the sale of some 10 percent of Soviet oil production to Western countries and the income from military sales to the oil-producing countries in the Middle East.

The Brezhnev regime used "Marxist-Leninist" phrase-mongering to disguise and legitimize the growth of capitalism within the Soviet Union. Repressive measures were used against opponents of the regime, including the pretext of psychiatric confinement. These measures served the growth of bureaucrat monopoly capitalism and constituted social fascism. The Brezhnev regime introduced to the world a perverse reinterpretation of proletarian dictatorship and proletarian internationalism, with the proclamation of the Brezhnev doctrine of "limited sovereignty" and Soviet-centered "international proletarian dictatorship" on the occasion of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. It was also on this occasion that the Soviet Union came to be called social-imperialist, socialism in words and imperialism in deed.

With the same arrogance, Brezhnev deployed hundreds of thousands of Soviet troops along the Sino-Soviet border.

The Soviet Union under Brezhnev tried to keep a tight rein on its satellites in Eastern Europe within the Warsaw Pact. Thus, it had to expend a lot of resources of its own and those of its satellites in maintaining and equipping half a million Soviet troops in Eastern Europe. Clearly, the revisionist ruling parties and regimes were not developing the lively participation and loyalty of the proletariat and people through socialist progress but were keeping them in bondage through bureaucratic and military means in the name of socialism.

The Soviet Union under Brezhnev promoted the principle of "international division of labor" within the CMEA. This meant the enforcement of neocolonial specialization in certain lines of production by particular member countries other than the Soviet Union. The relationship between the Soviet Union and the other CMEA member countries was no different from that between imperialism and the semicolonies. This stunted the comprehensive development of national economies of most of the member countries although some basic industries had been built and continued to be built.

Eventually, the Soviet Union started to feel aggrieved that it had to deliver oil at prices lower than those of the world market and receive off-quality goods in exchange. So, it continuously made upward adjustments on the

price of oil supplies to the CMEA client states. At the same time, among the East European countries, there had been the long-running resentment over the shoddy equipment and other goods that they were actually getting from the Soviet Union at a real overprice.

Before the 1970s, the Soviet Union encouraged capitalist-oriented reforms in its East European satellites but definitely discouraged any attempt by these satellites to leave the Warsaw Pact. In the early 1970s, the Soviet Union itself wanted to have a detente with the United States, clinch the “most favored nation” (MFN) treatment, gain access to new technology and foreign loans from the United States and the other capitalist countries. However, in 1972, the Brezhnev regime was rebuffed by the Jackson-Vannik amendment, which withheld MFN status from the Soviet Union for preventing Jewish emigration. The regime then further encouraged its East European satellites to enter into economic, financial and trade agreements with the capitalist countries.

During most of the 1970s, these revisionist-ruled countries got hooked to Western investments, loans and consumer goods. In the early 1980s, most of them fell into serious economic troubles as a result of the aggravation of domestic economic problems and the difficulties in handling their debt burden, which per capita in most cases was even worse than that of the Philippines. Being responsible for the economic policies and for their bureaucratic corruption, the revisionist ruling parties and regimes became discredited in the eyes of the broad masses of the people and the increasingly anti-Soviet and anticommunist intelligentsia. The pro-Soviet ruling parties in Eastern Europe had always been vulnerable to charges of political puppetry, especially from the direction of the anticommunist advocates of nationalism and religion. In the 1970s and 1980s these parties conspicuously degenerated from the inside in an all-round way through bourgeoisification and became increasingly the object of public contempt.

The United States kept on dangling the prospect of MFN status and other economic concessions to the Soviet Union. Each time the United States did so, it was able to get something from the Soviet Union, like its commitment to the Helsinki Accord (intended to provide legal protection to dissenters in the Soviet Union) and a draft strategic arms limitation treaty but it never gave the concessions that the Soviet Union wanted. The United States simply wanted the Cold War to go on in order to induce or compel the Soviet Union to waste its resources on the arms race. The only significant concession that the Soviet Union continued to get was the purchase of grain and the commercial credit related to it.

When the CPP leadership decided to explore and seek relations with the Soviet and East European ruling parties in the middle of the 1980s, there was the erroneous presumption that the successors of Brezhnev would follow an anti-imperialist line in the Cold War of the two superpowers. Thus, the policy paper on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe praised the Brezhnev line in hyperbolic terms.

Although the Gorbachov regime would pursue worse revisionist policies than those of its predecessor, it would become a good source of information regarding the principal and essential character of the Brezhnev regime on a comprehensive range of issues. By using this information from a critical Marxist-Leninist point of view, we can easily sum up the Brezhnev regime and at the same time know the antisocialist and anticommunist direction of the Gorbachov regime in 1985-88.

The third and final stage: the Gorbachov regime, 1985-91

The Gorbachov regime from 1985 to 1991 marked the third and final stage in the anti-Marxist and antisocialist revisionist counterrevolution to restore capitalism and bourgeois dictatorship.

It involved the prior dissolution of the ruling revisionist parties and regimes in Eastern Europe, the absorption of East Germany by West Germany and finally the banning and dispossession of the CPSU and the disintegration of the Soviet Union no less, after a dubious coup attempt by Gorbachov’s appointees in the highest state and party positions next only to his.

The counterrevolution was carried out in a relatively peaceful manner. After all, the degeneration from socialism to capitalism proceeded for 38 years. Within the last six years, the corrupt bureaucrats masquerading as communists were ready to peel off their masks, declare themselves as ex-communists and even anticommunists overnight and cooperate with the longstanding anticommunists among the intelligentsia and the aggrieved broad masses of the people in setting up regimes that were openly bourgeois and antisocialist.

Because they were manipulated and directed by the big bourgeoisie and the anticommunist intelligentsia, the mass uprisings in Eastern Europe in 1989 cannot be simply and totally described as democratic although it is also undeniable that the broad masses of the people, including the working class and the intelligentsia, were truly

aggrieved and did rise up. The far bigger mass actions that put Mussolini and Hitler into power or the lynch mobs unleashed by the Indonesian fascists to massacre the communists in 1965 do not make a fascist movement democratic. In determining the character of a mass movement, we take into account not only the magnitude of mass participation but also the kind of class leadership involved. Otherwise, the periodic electoral rallies of the bourgeois reactionary parties which exclude the workers and peasants from power or even the Edsa mass uprising cum military mutiny in 1986 would be considered totally democratic, without the necessary qualifications regarding the class leadership involved.

It is possible for nonviolent mass uprisings to arise and succeed when their objective is not to really effect a fundamental change of the exploitative social system, when one set of bureaucrats is simply replaced by another set and when the incumbent set of bureaucrats does not mind the change of administration. It was only in Romania where there was bloodshed because it was not completely within the reorganizing that had been done by the Gorbachovites in 1987 to 1989 in Eastern Europe. Ceausescu resisted change as did Honecker to a lesser extent. In the dissolution of the CPSU and the Soviet Union, the anticommunist combination of Gorbachov and Yeltsin simply issued the decrees and did not even bother to conjure any semblance of popular demand in the form of huge mass uprisings. As the last revisionist ruler of the Soviet Union, Gorbachov could accelerate the destruction of the CPSU and the Soviet Union because of the previous work of Khrushchov and Brezhnev. What he did in the main in his brief regime was to engage in a systematic campaign of deception. He described his regime as being engaged in socialist renewal and at the same time encouraged the forces of capitalist restoration to do their work under the slogans of democracy and economic reform.

From time to time, he paid lip service to Marxism-Leninism and socialism and made frequent protestations that he was a convinced communist. But in the end he came out openly as an anticommunist. In his final message as President of the Soviet Union on December 25, 1991, he used the language of the imperialists in the Cold War to describe his principal achievement, which is “giving freedom” to the people from “totalitarianism” and “civilizing” what he implied as the “uncivilized” Soviet state and people.

In laying the ideological premises of his regime, Gorbachov went back to the strident anti-Stalinism of Khrushchov and described the Brezhnev period as an interruption of the work initiated by Khrushchov. He rehabilitated Bukharin and put him up as a source of wisdom for “economic reforms”.

It became the fashion for Gorbachov and his colleagues at various levels of the CPSU and the state to describe themselves as “liberal communists” and to attack—under the guise of being completely anti-Stalin and depicting Stalin as being worse than Hitler the entire course of Soviet history. They put forward propositions in abstract supraclass, universalistic, humanistic and ahistorical terms and drew from social democracy and bourgeois liberalism in order to denigrate, deviate from and attack Marxist-Leninist theory and the proletarian revolutionary standpoint.

Gorbachov and his colleagues systematically adopted barefaced anticommunist “advisers” and placed the anticommunists in the various branches of government, the Congress of People’s Deputies, the institutes and mass media in order to churn out a constant stream of anticommunist propaganda. Gorbachov himself took the lead in ridiculing the proletarian revolutionary stand as outdated and Marxism-Leninism as having no monopoly of the truth and won the adulation of the officials, ideologues and publicists of the United States and other capitalist countries as he used the language of social democracy and bourgeois liberalism and ultimately US Cold War terminology.

“Glasnost”

The main and essential feature of “glasnost” (openness) was the crescendo of anticommunist propaganda. The field of propaganda was monopolized by anticommunism. This was expressed in a variety of ways, modern revisionist, social-democratic, bourgeois-liberal, populist, nationalist, fascist, religious, racist and purely cynical terms. The pluralism of anticommunist ideas, including the most antidemocratic ones, was described as democracy. But the key idea in the welter of anticommunist propaganda was the advocacy of capitalism and bourgeois liberalism. Gorbachov attacked Stalin to be able by implication to attack Lenin, Marxist-Leninist theory and the entire course of Soviet history. But his subalterns explicitly attacked all these in the entire course of the Gorbachov period.

After eliminating the Brezhnevite holdovers in the Politburo in the most undemocratic manner, replacing them when they were on foreign trips or knocking them down at lower levels of the Party and state bureaucracy,

Gorbachov played the middle between the “conservative” Ligachev who accepted “perestroika” but not “glasnost” and the “radical progressive” Yeltsin who went gung ho for both “glasnost” and “perestroika”. Then, he used Ligachev in 1987 to push out Yeltsin from the Politburo only to let the latter continue as his cooperator in attacking the CPSU from the outside.

In the years leading until 1989, the anticommunist followers of Gorbachov invented all kinds of lies against the socialist course of Soviet history and its great proletarian leaders and clamored for the rehabilitation of counterrevolutionaries and the freedom of all kinds of monsters. The people were fed with all kinds of illusions about a better life under capitalism. In 1989, he had a new Soviet Congress of People’s Deputies dominated by an anti-communist intelligentsia most of whom were at first formally communists but would eventually declare themselves as ex-communists and even anticommunists. The congress included from the very start prominent anti-communists of longstanding.

In early 1990, Gorbachov used the congress to disempower the CPSU and to give him autocratic presidential powers. In the autumn of 1990 he took the posture of siding with the “conservatives” in the CPSU and the state against the “radical progressives” Yakovlev and Schevernadze. But at the same time he agreed to putting the sovereignty of the Soviet Union under question through a referendum in early 1991.

The popular voting in the referendum was for the retention of the Soviet Union. But again he agreed with the nationalist forces in the various republics to make a new “union treaty” whose terms (like having separate armies and currencies, etc.) meant the breakup of the Soviet Union. In this period before the alleged coup to save the Soviet Union, Gorbachov announced that it was wrong to stress the role of the proletariat and that he was going to dissolve the CPSU and establish a social-democratic party.

Although the alleged coup of Gorbachov appointees from August 19 to 22, 1991 involved only a few plotters by its very nature, Gorbachov and Yeltsin collaborated in using it as a pretext for dissolving the entire CPSU and the Soviet Congress of People’s Deputies. Although the Soviet Constitution and the Soviet Union were still existing and Gorbachov himself had a presidential term extending to 1995, he decreed the dissolution of the Soviet Union and resigned in favor of a commonwealth of independent states (CIS) still on the planning board. Thus, mouthing the slogan of democracy, the anticommunist duo of Gorbachov and Yeltsin autocratically issued decrees, committed the most antidemocratic acts and carried out their own coup against the Soviet state.

In the first place and in the final analysis, “glasnost” was devised by the monopoly bureaucrat bourgeoisie to pave the way for openly installing the bourgeois class dictatorship. The din of the petty-bourgeoisie about “democracy” is waning after all the drumbeating for the restoration of capitalism and the bourgeois class dictatorship. The monopoly bureaucrat bourgeoisie remains in control of the levers of political power and the economy while the petty bourgeoisie is being relegated to a worse life of massive unemployment, frustration and misery.

“Perestroika”

Perestroika in reality meant capitalist restructuring and the disorganization and breakdown of production, despite the avowals of renewing socialism and raising production through better management, a campaign against alcoholism and absenteeism, higher wages and availability of domestic and imported consumer goods, higher profits for the private entrepreneurs, the expansion and retooling of the means of production and the conversion of military enterprises to civilian uses.

The main line of perestroika is the privatization and marketization of the economy by domestic and foreign investors. One plan after another (the 500-day Shatalin Plan, the Grand Bargain, etc.) was considered and made dependent on foreign direct investments and loans as domestic savings disappeared and the real income of the people was cut down by inflation due to the wanton printing of money by Moscow and the price gouging in the free market. The free marketeers bought cheap or stole from the state enterprises and emptied the state stores. Thus, the people were compelled to buy from the free market.

The most favored among the private businesses were the joint ventures (joint stock companies) with foreign investors and the private cooperatives. Going into joint ventures with foreign investors mainly in the importation of consumer goods and in the repackaging or assembly of these, the high bureaucrats of the ruling party and the state and their family members appropriated for themselves state assets and drew from foreign loans in what may be considered as one of the biggest insider operation and management theft in the entire history of capitalism. These joint ventures were no different from the big comprador operations of high bureaucrats in the Philippines and many other countries in the third world. However, the most widespread form of business was the private

cooperatives of varying scales in industry, agriculture and services. Their operations included the rechanneling of goods and services from the state to the private sector, small and medium private manufacturing and the private export of whatever Soviet goods, including oil and weapons, and the importation of high-grade consumer goods like cars, computers, video recorders, etc. At least 50 million people out of a population of 290 million were registered as members of small, medium and big private cooperatives. Many people joined these private cooperatives if only to gain access to basic commodities which disappeared from the much cheaper state stores.

The capitalist restructuring or economic reforms did not stimulate production and improve the quality of goods but aggravated the breakdown of production and brought about scarcity of the most essential goods. Yet, it was the long-dead Stalin who got blamed by revisionist and imperialist propaganda for the economic chaos brought about by perestroika. The corrupt bureaucrats who continued to call themselves communists connived with private businessmen more scandalously than ever before in plundering the economy.

From 1988 to 1990, Gorbachov increased the money supply by more than 50 percent even as from year to year production had fallen by 10 to 20 percent or worse and in 1991 alone he increased the money supply by more than 100 percent amidst a production fall of more than 20 percent. The Gorbachov regime had to keep on printing money to maintain the central bureaucracy and the military in view of inflation, corruption, the nationalist refusal of the republics to send up taxes and foreign exchange to the center, the ethnic conflicts and the justifiable workers' strikes.

At the beginning of the Gorbachov regime, the Soviet foreign debt was only US\$ 30 billion. The previous regimes had not been able to borrow more because of the US-Soviet rivalry in the Cold War. But in the period of only six years, the Gorbachov regime was able to raise the foreign debt level to US\$81 billion (according to the Soviet Central Bank report to the International Monetary Fund) or to US\$ 100 billion (according to the Soviet Central Bank report to the Group of Seven). In the final year of 1991, the Soviet Union borrowed US\$44 billion. In view of the production breakdown, the foreign funds were used mainly to finance the importation of consumer goods and the sheer bureaucratic thievery under the cover of the joint ventures. The Soviet Union practically became a neo-colony of Germany which had become its main creditor and supplier. Germany accounted for the biggest bulk of foreign supplies and investments (at least 30 percent as of 1991) in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The ghost of Hitler can never be more happy with the success of the German big bourgeoisie. There was a chain reaction of closures of state enterprises due to the lack of fuel, spare parts and raw materials; the diversion of funds to import foreign products; the lack of purchase orders; and the private appropriation of state assets and funds through real or fake joint ventures. Agriculture also suffered from the lack of inputs and transport. Conversion of military to civilian enterprises was negligible. The military-industrial complex continued to suck up large amounts of resources. As in Eastern Europe, the economy fell apart in the Soviet Union, with each part throwing away past advantages of cooperation and trying to strike disadvantageous deals with the bourgeoisie abroad.

Massive unemployment surfaced. Hyperinflation started to run at more than 200 percent before the breakup of the Soviet Union and was expected to run faster after the decontrol of prices scheduled by Yeltsin for January 2, 1992. Even then more than 100 million Soviet people were living below the poverty line. Most victimized were the pensioners, children, the youth, the women, the unemployed and the low-income people. The shortage or absence of basic necessities was widespread. As in 1990, the leaders of capitalist restoration shamelessly begged for food aid from abroad in 1991. On each occasion, the handling of food aid was attended by corruption as the food was diverted to the free market.

"New thinking"

The key element in Gorbachov's "new thinking" in international relations was "de-ideologization", which actually meant doing away completely with the proletarian class stand and proletarian internationalism and capitulating to imperialism under the guise of cooperation. Gorbachov asserted that imperialism's violent nature had changed to peaceful and that humanity has integral interests and a supraclass concern about weapons of mass destruction, ecology and other issues. Gorbachov's "de-ideologization" actually meant the total rejection of the proletarian class stand and the adoption of the bourgeois class stand. All Marxists recognize the common interests of mankind and the march of human civilization; and at the same time the fact that the world and particular societies are dominated by imperialist and local reactionary classes and that the historic class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is still going on. What Gorbachov did was to use abstract, universalistic and supraclass terms in order to obscure that historic class struggle and find common cause with imperialism.

He considered “legitimate national interests” of states as the most important building material in international relations. After the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, he scaled down the international activities of the Soviet Union related to cooperating with third world countries and anti-imperialist organizations and movements. Prominent advisers of his also proposed that the international people’s organizations financed by Soviet organizations could unite with their counterparts financed by the forces of capitalism to form bigger “nonideological” organizations. What they meant of course was outright capitulation to imperialist ideology.

Gorbachov touted the principle of peaceful coexistence among states, irrespective of ideology and social system. He repudiated the Brezhnev Doctrine and stressed that other countries as well as communist parties could decide for themselves. But he was being hypocritical because Gorbachovite agents busied themselves in reorganizing and then scuttling the ruling parties and regimes in Eastern Europe.

He called for an end to the Cold War, for accelerated nuclear disarmament and reduction of conventional forces and for the dissolution of the NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Arms reduction treaties were forged faster than at any previous period in the Cold War. The Gorbachov regime undertook all these in the vain hope of attracting foreign investments and new technology to shore up the Soviet economy. But the Group of Seven took the firm position that they would not throw good money after bad and shore up an increasingly decrepit and corrupt bureaucratic economy.

Under the Gorbachov leadership, the Soviet Union collaborated with the United States and other countries in the settlement of so-called regional armed conflicts such as those centered in Iran and Iraq, Afghanistan, Angola and Nicaragua. The Soviet Union committed itself to unilateral withdrawal of military forces in Eastern Europe and to German reunification in exchange for economic assistance from the West in the form of direct investments, loans, technology transfer and trade accommodations. Among the capitalist powers, Germany gave the most assistance in the form of loans, consumer supplies and housing aid for Soviet troops returning from Eastern Europe. But even the funds advanced for housing these troops became the object of Soviet mismanagement and theft.

As early as 1987, the revisionist ruling parties and regimes in Eastern Europe were already being pushed to reorganize themselves and to put Gorbachovites on top of the Brezhnevites. The word also went around within and outside the ruling parties and regimes that the Soviet Union was decided on withdrawing its forces from Eastern Europe and not interfere in what would happen in the region. Thus, the anticommunist forces had advance notice of what they could do under the new circumstances. They could play on the real grievances of the people and bring down the already much-discredited ruling parties and regimes.

The socioeconomic and political crisis of the various revisionist regimes and the wide open knowledge that the Soviet Union was no longer interested in the preservation of the Warsaw Pact and the ruble-controlled CMEA were sufficient ground for the anticommunist forces to activate themselves and grow. The increasingly clear message from 1987 to 1989 that the Soviet Union would not intervene in any popular action against the local regimes gave the anticommunist forces the confidence to aim for their toppling. Most important of all, the overwhelming majority of the revisionist bureaucrats in the ruling party and the state (with the exception of a few like Ceausescu who was relatively independent of the CPSU and Honecker and Zhukhov who were longtime Brezhnevites) were just too willing to drop off their communist masks, retain their privileges, exploit the new opportunities and avoid the wrath of an already aggrieved people.

In the critical references of this discussion to the responsibilities of the Gorbachov regime and the East European satellite regimes in the collapse of the latter, there should be no misunderstanding that we wish a certain policy or a certain flow of events to have gone another way. We are merely describing at this point the final stage of the unmasking and self-destruction of the revisionist parties and regimes.

Next only to the destruction of the CPSU and the Soviet Union, the biggest service done by the Gorbachov regime to the capitalist powers was the rapid delivery of Eastern Europe to them and the destruction of the Warsaw Pact and the CMEA.

Within the final year of its existence, the Soviet Union under Gorbachov supported the United States in carrying out a war of aggression in the Gulf region and in asserting itself as the unrivaled policeman of the world.

Gorbachov fully revealed himself in 1991. The destructive consequences to the Soviet Union of his kind of leadership became very clear. It is untenable for any revolutionary to make an apologia for him and to try to make him out as a hero. Those who had been deceived into believing that Gorbachov was engaged in socialist renewal

should take a long hard look at the incontrovertible fact that he completed the process of capitalist restoration started by Khrushchov and presided over the destruction of the Soviet Union.

The officials, ideologues and propagandists of imperialism and reaction continue to hail Gorbachov as one of the greatest men of the 20th century for bringing about “democracy” in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Indeed they have cause to rejoice. He has brought about the flagrant restoration of capitalism and bourgeois dictatorship. The peoples of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe are now thrown open to further capitalist exploitation and oppression, suffer the pangs of hunger and greater loss of freedom and face increased political turmoil, widening civil war and military fascism.

The Commonwealth of Independent States

The commonwealth of independent states (CIS) that has replaced the Soviet Union is dominated by Russia, which is flaunting the old czarist flag of Great-Russian chauvinism, and is afflicted with serious contradictions between Russia and the other republics, among republics with common borders, between Russian enclaves and local nationalities in non-Russian republics and among different nationalities within each of the republics. The contradictions involve political, economic, financial, security, ethnic and border issues. There is political chaos all over the so-called commonwealth. Serious differences between Russia and Ukraine have already arisen regarding economic and financial issues and on the question of dividing the Soviet army, navy and air force, the handling of nuclear weapons and border issues on land and sea. There are independence movements among minority nationalities in Russia and civil wars in Georgia and between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

The economic chaos has been aggravated by liberalizing prices on January 2. The prices of many basic commodities have multiplied up to more than twenty times. The state stores are being emptied by backdoor sales to the free market. Even food aid from abroad has flowed into the free market. More than half of the population have fallen below the poverty line and are in danger of starving. Ninety percent of the population is expected to fall below the poverty line. Under these circumstances, street demonstrations and workers’ strikes are occurring against the openly capitalist regimes. The trade unions are agitated by the severely oppressive and exploitative conditions and have begun to conduct strikes on a wide scale. The Unity for Leninism and Communist Ideals, the United Front of the Working People, the Russian Workers’ Communist Party and the Communist Party of Bolsheviks in Leningrad (St. Petersburg) have been among the most militant in staging mass actions against the Russian bourgeois regime of Yeltsin.

In the Soviet Union, more than 90 percent of the major industries are still owned by the state. This is also true in the case of the East European countries, with the exception of Poland whose privatization has gone fastest and whose state-owned enterprises are still about 65 percent, according to one report. This continuing predominance of state-owned enterprises does not mean socialism. Since a long time ago, many of these enterprises have acquired a capitalist character. They have long come under the control and have become instruments of the bureaucrat capitalists and the private entrepreneurs although these are state-owned. The ongoing privatization of these state enterprises is slowed down by the dearth of genuine private venture capital, the disappearance of savings among the people and the lack of foreign interest in acquiring outmoded plants and investing in new ones.

The ex-communist bourgeoisie and the foreign investors are most interested in acquiring at scandalously low prices those state assets that yield quick and large profits. Inefficient and decrepit state enterprises are maintained only as they are still needed and continue being the milking cows of private entrepreneurs (e.g., steel and other metals, energy and other raw materials, transport, etc.) Closures and reduced production are continuing at an accelerated pace. In the process, millions of workers are laid off. There is a process of de-industrialization throwing back the former Soviet Union or the republics of the so-called CIS and Eastern Europe into the quagmire of third world capitalism.

A strong political and economic center is absent in the CIS. But in the meantime, there is a strong military center because the central command of the former Soviet armed forces is retained. Even the leaders of the capitalist countries who are worried about the nuclear and other strategic weapons insist that these be under a single military command. However, the political and economic chaos can induce the military officers to take matters into their hands as the military rank and file and the broad masses of the people are already gravely discontented.

It is still a matter of conjecture for outside observers whether there will be a social upheaval in the tradition of the Bolsheviks (the military rank and file linking up with the workers’ organizations) or a coup to install military fascism over the entire scope of the so-called commonwealth or in a series of republics (like now in Georgia). The

prevalent view is that the new bourgeoisie inside and outside the armed forces is so powerful that for the time being the likelihood for military fascism to rise is greater than the return to the socialist road if there is going to be any new drastic development.

IV. Certain lessons from the collapse of modern revisionism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe

It is of crucial importance to make a precise description of the ruling parties and regimes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the crisis that conspicuously beset them since the early 1980s and their collapse from 1989 to 1991. These ruling parties and regimes were revisionist. Their crisis and collapse are not those of socialism but of modern revisionism or capitalist restoration masquerading as socialism. The blatant restoration of capitalism and the class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie are the indubitable proof. The unraveling of the revisionist systems and the unfolding of the truth in the few years before the collapse occurred right before our eyes.

There is ideological and political confusion if the crisis and collapse of the revisionist ruling parties and regimes are described as those of socialism or Stalinism rather than of modern revisionism. Such a description would continue to pass off modern revisionism as socialism. All Marxist-Leninists must firmly recognize the fact that modern revisionism had undermined and prevailed over socialism long before the former itself plunged into a crisis and led to the collapse of the revisionist ruling parties and regimes from 1989 to 1991.

One may speak of a crisis of socialism only in the thinking of some of those who presume modern revisionism to be socialism and observe the crisis and collapse of the ruling revisionist parties and regimes. The imperialists, the revisionists themselves and the bourgeois intelligentsia simplistically call the crisis and collapse of these anti-Stalin parties and regimes as the “crisis of Stalinism” or the “Stalinist model of socialism.” Stalin has been dead for 38 years and a process of “de-Stalinization” has been going on for the last 35 years. It is preposterous that long after his death Stalin is still being blamed for what his detractors have done or not done all these years in order to promote modern revisionism and restore capitalism. This is pure obscurantism and personality cult in reverse! The merits and demerits of any leader must be considered only within his period of responsibility, unless the objective is not to make a historical assessment but to demonize a leader and use psywar to attack Marxism-Leninism and socialism in a bourgeois personalist manner. The modern revisionists should not be allowed to cover up their responsibility within their own period of rule. As a matter of fact, Stalin’s great achievements in socialist construction and defense of the Soviet Union are diametrically opposed to the restoration of capitalism and the disintegration of the Soviet Union by the modern revisionists.

We must draw the correct lessons from the betrayal and sabotage of socialism by the modern revisionists from Khrushchov through Brezhnev to Gorbachov. We must combat those forces and elements that wish to destroy the Party and the revolutionary movement from within by aping Gorbachov and the like and opposing the basic revolutionary principles of the Party.

The anti-revisionist line

The reconsideration of the revisionist ruling parties as Marxist-Leninist and the revisionist regimes as socialist since 1982 by certain elements within the Party has generated misunderstanding of scientific socialism and a deviation from the antirevisionist line of the Party. This must be rectified in view of the undeniable fact of the collapse of the revisionist ruling parties and regimes and in connection with the correction of the exaggerated, incorrect and futile notion that these parties and regimes could extend assistance for accelerating the victory of the Philippine revolution.

As a result of the collapse of these parties and regimes, the CPP is ever more resolved to adhere to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism and to pursue the antirevisionist line and persevere in armed revolution. The anticommunists who seek to use the collapse of modern revisionism as an invalidation and complete negation of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism deserve nothing but contempt.

The CPP upholds the fact that Marxist-Leninist theory has correctly guided the proletarian revolutionaries and more than a billion people to victory in new-democratic revolution and in socialist revolution and construction. As far as the Philippines is concerned, the working class is the leading class in the new-democratic and socialist stages of the revolution. The advanced detachment of this class is the CPP. Without this party, the revolutionary mass movement of the people would not have resurged in Philippine history along the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal line, with a socialist perspective. The petty-bourgeois groups that seek to confuse, discredit, weaken and destroy the CPP can only continue being servitors of the oppressors and exploiters without the Party and the toiling masses of workers and peasants carrying out the revolution most determinedly.

What the CPP considers now as the greatest challenge in theoretical work among all proletarian revolutionaries, including Filipino communists, is learning lessons from the long-term and peaceful restoration of capitalism in socialist countries and understanding the way of continuing the revolution, combating modern revisionism and preventing the restoration of capitalism in socialist society as well as of fighting for socialism wherever it has been replaced by capitalism.

In countries where modern revisionism has had its way and restored capitalism, the challenge in theoretical and practical work among proletarian revolutionaries is to bring back socialism and bring it to a new and higher level. The forces of socialism can probably win again only after undergoing the violence of capitalist oppression and exploitation and defeating this through revolutionary violence. There is yet no historical example of a non-exploiting society replacing an exploiting class society without revolutionary violence although it has been demonstrated repeatedly in history that a higher form of society can degenerate into a lower form through peaceful evolution.

In the course of both the new-democratic and socialist stages of the Philippines, the basic factors of counter-revolution (big bourgeoisie and landlord class) are never obliterated completely (especially in the sphere of ideology and social psychology) by the main factors of revolution (working class and peasantry). And there are intermediate factors (urban petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie) that operate between the two poles of revolution and counter-revolution. The main factors of revolution can come on top of those of counterrevolution and in the process win over the intermediate factors, which in turn exert both positive and negative influences on the main factors of revolution.

In the complexity of waging the new-democratic and socialist stages of the revolution, the proletarian party must uphold its revolutionary integrity through adherence to Marxism-Leninist theory, from philosophy down to strategy and tactics, and must always conduct concrete analysis of concrete conditions in order to lead the broad masses of the people from victory to victory.

Marxism-Leninism is on the high road of human civilization, cherishing the heritage from the past, availing of all current factors that make for progress; and always aiming for a better future. But it is wrong to use such terms of idealism as universal humanism, classless populism, supraclass state, pacifism and such other abstract terms in order to obscure and negate the proletarian class stand and in fact give way to the hegemony of the bourgeoisie and other backward forces in the real world.

It is wrong to declare prematurely the end of exploiting classes and class struggle while in fact they continue to exist both domestically and internationally during the entire historical epoch of socialism. The seeming disappearance of the exploiting classes by socioeconomic definition does not mean that the proletarian character of the ruling party and the state has become unnecessary and that the intelligentsia automatically becomes proletarian in socialist society. In fact, the bourgeoisie first reemerges through the bureaucracy and the intellectual sphere as petty-bourgeois and then in the social economy as bureaucrat capitalists colluding with the private capitalists.

It is wrong to propagate, under the cover of idealist and metaphysical terms, mechanical materialism, specifically in the form of the theory of productive forces which posits that the development of the “productive forces” can one-sidedly and automatically bring about socialist progress. Revolution in the relations of production as well as in the superstructure must take the lead over production. Otherwise the idea gains ground that socialism with a low technological and economic level can advance only through domestic capitalist-oriented economic reforms and submission to the industrial capitalist countries.

The proletarian dictatorship

Upon the basic completion of the new-democratic revolution through the seizure of political power in the Philippines, the people’s democratic government is established. This is the form that the proletarian dictatorship takes in consonance with the basic worker-peasant alliance under proletarian leadership. Thus, the socialist revolution can begin in every aspect of society. The building of a socialist society and not a “national democratic society” begins, even if there are still transitory bourgeois democratic measures to undertake.

The people’s democratic government or socialist state must of course serve the entire people. But it cannot be really classless or supraclass. There is a definite class hegemony, either proletarian or bourgeois. For communists to waiver about this is to concede to the initiative of the bourgeoisie and its intellectual and political agents. The socialist state is categorically a class dictatorship of the proletariat to preclude the counterrevolution of the exploiting classes and make instantly possible the substance and process of democracy for the entire people. The

party must never relinquish its leadership over the entire state and the people's army and must retain its Party organization therein until the time comes for the state to wither away, after a whole historical epoch of building socialism, defeating imperialism and neocolonialism and preparing the way for communism.

The modern revisionist bureaucrats systematically opposed the concept of proletarian dictatorship under the cover of populism and "no more exploiting classes and no more class struggle" or the "dying out of the class struggle" in order to resurrect the bourgeoisie within the bureaucracy as well as in society through capitalist-oriented reforms. Proletarian dictatorship should comprehensively guarantee national freedom of the people against imperialism; class freedom of the exploited against the exploiting classes; and individual freedom against the ever potential alienation and abuse of state power.

The socialist constitution and the proletarian dictatorship must guarantee the civil rights of individuals and organizations that adhere to socialism, promote public participation in the affairs of the state and put restraints on the possible abuse of power by the state and its officials. These restraints include the basic freedoms, electoral process, popular power of recall, definite terms of office, age limits and restrictions on personal incomes and privileges and against any kind of privilege or favor which is not based on merit.

No elective national leader may be elected for a period longer than two five-year terms and all officials may retire optionally at 65 and obligatorily at 70. Any individual or organization has the right to express anything in any legal way, be this criticism or constructive proposal without fear of reprisal. Due process is guaranteed. A person is presumed innocent, unless proven guilty in a court of law on the basis of evidence and through a fair trial. Thus, in the popular struggle against counterrevolution, the target is narrowed and the danger of abuse is averted.

But as already demonstrated in the collapse of the revisionist ruling parties and regimes, it is incorrect to promote individual freedom outside of the clear framework of anti-imperialism (national freedom) and socialism (freedom from the exploiting classes). Individual freedom should not become the license for the imperialists and the local bourgeoisie and other reactionaries to oppose socialism and regain control over society.

In the entire historical epoch of socialism, the proletariat must see to it that the leading role of the proletariat is upheld in the constitution. Subsequent to the democratic coalition government by consensus, there can be an upper house of congress as the house of the working people under proletarian leadership and a lower house of congress as the house of the district representatives of the people. Retired but still mentally able revolutionary leaders can be in advisory councils enjoying high moral authority, most useful in any moment of constitutional crisis that may threaten the revolution.

The proletarian revolutionary party should never be thought of as just any party, comparable to any party in the multiplicity of permitted parties in the bourgeois political system as in the current multiparty system of the Philippines which is actually monopolized by political factions of the exploiting classes. The Party is a revolutionary party that seeks and effects a radical rupture from private ownership of the means of production and all exploiting societies which have existed in various forms for millennia.

Notwithstanding the radical rupture sought and the mission of the working class to build socialism in a whole historical epoch, working class parties which come to power have limited their memberships to a small part of society (typically five to ten percent of the population), with the Party expanding its influence in society through mass organizations and state agencies. It is understandable that the Party is a small part of society in the course of the fierce struggle to seize power because of the coercive power of the reactionary state and the dangers to life, limb and liberty to Party members and that there is a limit to the expansion of Party membership soon after the seizure of political power to avert the avalanche of overnight communists and opportunists coming into the Party. But after the consolidation of political power and proletarian control of all aspects of society, especially the educational and cultural system, there is no reason why the Party should not increase its membership up to the point of including the majority of the people.

The Party has a cadre and mass character now. It should continue to be so after the seizure of political power. The cadres can ensure the high quality of the Party and the mass membership, the strong democratic foundation formed by workers and peasants. The Party cannot automatically ensure its high revolutionary quality by simply remaining small. On the other hand, it is liable to be swamped by an excessively high proportion of intelligentsia, including fictitious communists. Worse, the party will be increasingly regarded as a small and privileged part of society. If the Party remains small, it can be challenged any time by any political group or movement which has a comparatively large or even larger membership; or by the traditionally dominant church which registers most or

much of the population as its members and claims the religious or moral allegiance of these people.

In accordance with the historic mission of the working class to build socialism, the representatives of the Party must be assured of at least one third of elective positions in the state alongside the representatives of the mass organizations of the working people and other sections of society. But within every slot allotted to the major components of society, the people inside and outside the Party must be able to choose candidates from a list in an electoral process.

With a large mass membership, the Party can confidently engage in multiparty cooperation along the united front line. The worst kind of model is a political system of only one party which includes only a small fraction of society. The socialist society must be able to allow the existence and cooperation of several parties which offer lists of candidates subject to the consensus in the socialist united front, the electoral will of the people and the constitutional framework of socialist revolution and construction.

Socialist revolution and construction

Upon the basic completion of the new-democratic revolution through the seizure of political power, the proletariat and the people under the leadership of the Party can begin socialist revolution and construction. The means of production and distribution owned by the imperialists, big compradors and landlords are put under public ownership. The strategic enterprises and the main lines of production and distribution are nationalized. These comprise the initial base for socialist construction. Then the socialist state sector of the productive system can be expanded with further investments from the available domestic capital, export income and productive foreign borrowing.

But there are bourgeois-democratic economic reforms that still need to be undertaken as transitory measures, such as land reform and concessions to peasants of all strata and petty and middle bourgeois non-monopoly commodity producers. These reforms and concessions do not mean the building of a “national-democratic economy” in lieu of a socialist economy. The cooperativization of agriculture and nonagricultural enterprises as well as joint state-private ownership can be carried out from one stage to a higher one in conjunction with socialist construction and further industrialization.

In view of the fact that so far in history socialist economies have been established upon a low economic and technological level and worse after a ruinous war, the proletarian revolutionary party is obliged to adopt transitory measures. How long these measures should run depends on the concrete conditions. In the Soviet Union, Lenin had to adopt the New Economic Policy. And Stalin subsequently pioneered in drawing up and implementing the series of five-year plans of socialist construction. He succeeded in building a socialist industrial economy. But even after a socialist industrial economy had been established, the modern revisionists misrepresented Lenin’s New Economic Policy as the way to socialism rather than as a mere transitory measure. Thus, Khrushchov, Brezhnev and Gorbachov made this misrepresentation by using the name of Lenin against Lenin. They justified the retrogression to capitalist-oriented reforms by counterposing Lenin’s transitional policy to Stalin’s program to build publicly-owned heavy and basic industries and collectivize agriculture in a planned way. After the New Economic Policy served its purpose, Stalin carried out full-scale socialist construction. It was prompt and absolutely necessary to do so in the face of the growth of capitalism threatening the socialist revolution. Antisocialist critics decry overinvestment in heavy and basic industries, the suppression of the rebellious rich peasants and the exploitation of the peasantry. But they fail to mention that the hard work, the struggle against the counterrevolutionaries and the sacrifice resulted in the raising of production and standard of living, the mechanization of agriculture and the expansion of urban life in so short a period of time. If Bukharin had had his way and prolonged the NEP, the Soviet Union would have generated an uncontrollable bourgeoisie and a widespread rich peasantry to overpower the proletariat, would have had less economic well-being and less defense capability, would have been an easier prey to Hitler and would have been attacked earlier by Nazi Germany.

After World War II, China under the leadership of Mao Zedong and the Communist Party of China was able to demonstrate that there could be a well-balanced growth of agriculture as the foundation of the economy, heavy industry as the leading factor and light industry as the bridging factor between the first two. The line of Mao was to provide as quickly as possible the producer and consumer goods for the people, especially the peasant masses. But even Mao was unfairly accused by modern revisionists of industrial overinvestment and premature cooperativization. At any rate, the Chinese example under the leadership of Mao bettered the Soviet example under the leadership of Stalin in well-balanced development in a poor country engaged in socialist construction. The theory

and practice of scientific socialism, therefore, is ever developing.

All modern revisionists are carried away by the theory of “productive forces” and economism. They prate about the law of value but at the same time they obscure the critical Marxist theory of surplus value and the creative line of using what is otherwise private profit as social profit and of converting what is otherwise an anarchic yet monopolistic production for private profit into a system of planned production for use and for the benefit of the entire society.

Marxists have always agreed with Adam Smith and his followers that the value of a commodity is equivalent to the average socially necessary labor time and that the exchange value (price) is realized in the market. In the socialist system, there is a system of wage differentials paid according to quantity and quality of work done. Within the system of public ownership of the means of production and economic planning, the new value created is allocated for the wages fund for consumption, economic reinvestment not only to cover depreciation but also expansion of production, general welfare (education, health, infrastructure, etc.), administration and national defense.

Aside from the wage system with differentials which corresponds to the system of commodity values, the commodities produced incorporate inputs which are bought from other parts of the domestic or world market at certain prices and which are taken into account in the market price of the commodities. Price comparisons can also be made with similar commodities produced abroad.

The socialist system of production has proven to be effective in creating full employment, attaining high rates of economic growth, responding to the basic needs of the people and providing social services until a new bourgeoisie starts to appropriate an increasing part of the surplus product and develops a taste for high-grade consumer goods which it at first acquires through institutional buying from abroad.

In addition to the high consumption and excessive privileges of the new bourgeoisie, another big drain is the misallocation of resources towards military expenditures because of the imperialist threat. This in fact constituted the biggest drain on the resources of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe under the long reign of Brezhnev. But this is obscured by imperialist propaganda whenever it asserts that socialism is inherently flawed or that the so-called Stalinist model pursued by the modern revisionists has failed. In going for the arms race, the Brezhnev regime deviated from the concepts of people’s defense and all-round consolidation adhered to by Stalin when the Soviet Union was militarily weaker and faced bigger threats from the capitalist powers.

The fact is that the socialist economies progressed for a certain number of decades and it would take another number of decades for the modern revisionists to make these economies retrogress into capitalism, under such bourgeois notions as stimulating production and improving the quality of production through private enterprise and the free market.

The adoption of capitalist-oriented reforms to “supplement” and “assist” socialist economic development is thereby wrongly rationalized. But the bourgeoisie, the corrupt bureaucrats and rich peasants are recreated and generated to undermine and destroy socialism from within. After a certain period of liberalization of the economy, the bourgeois forces can demand further privatization and marketization more vigorously and ultimately claim political power as in Eastern Europe and Soviet Union.

But usually at the beginning of their effort to subvert the socialist economy, when there are yet no significant number of private entrepreneurs within the country, they wage a campaign for learning “efficient management” from capitalist countries (unmindful of the wasteful business cycles and wars and the centuries of exploiting the proletariat, the colonies and the spheres of influence), for expanded trade with the capitalist countries, foreign investments, loans and technology transfer and therefore for an investment law attractive to the multinational firms and banks as well as to the domestic bourgeoisie which must be promoted if even the foreign bourgeoisie is allowed to enjoy the freedom of investing and owning assets in the country and hiring local people.

Without having to breach or abandon basic socialist principles and without having to enlarge domestic and foreign private ownership of the means of production, it is possible to use wage differentials and bonuses as incentives for raising the quantity and quality of goods according to reliable and accurate information on productive capacity and consumer demand and according to the resultant economic plan, to satisfy the basic needs of the people first and then to proceed to produce non-basic goods for improving the standard of living, to build one generation of better housing after another as a lifetime incentive and to decentralize economic activities with better results.

The production of both basic and non-basic consumer goods are complementary and interactive. When basic

needs are satisfied and private savings mount, the people start looking for things to spend on in order to improve or make their lives more interesting. Some high-grade consumer goods can be locally produced. Others can be imported without prejudicing the priority given to the development of the entire economy and the importation of essential producer and consumer goods.

In the case of the Soviet Union, before there could be a Gorbachov, there was the prolonged period of Brezhnev in which the new bourgeoisie developed domestically and resources were wasted in the arms race and in the costly commitments abroad under the theory of defending the Soviet Union by developing the strategic offense capability and by being able to wage wars abroad.

We have seen that the concept of people's defense or people's war against an aggressor, within the people's self-reliant capabilities, within their own national borders and without undermining the growth of the socialist economy, still constitutes the correct policy. The Soviet corps of research scientists, engineers and technologists was the largest in the world. They made great advances in basic research, experiments and prototyping. But only those advances suitable to the high technology requirements of the arms race were used in a big way. And because of disorientation and some false sense of economy in civil production, old and outmoded equipment tended to be kept and reproduced so that this exceedingly important area of the economy was deprived of the benefits of high technology.

In a socialist economy, the planners must adopt a reasonable measure for depreciation of productive equipment, durable consumer goods and infrastructures so that there is room for innovation and enlivening of production. It is not true that there has to be competition among capitalists in order to generate new and better products. The Soviet Union was able to keep on raising its military and space technology in a planned way. 1982

In carrying out socialist construction, after the transitory period of reviving the economy from the ravages of war and completing the bourgeois-democratic reforms, we shall uphold the principle of instituting the socialist relations of production to liberate the productive forces and promote their growth; and after having advanced along the socialist line and gone beyond certain transitory measures, we shall never retrogress to the revisionist line of using capitalist-oriented reforms to push socialism forward.

The cultural revolution

In continuing the revolution, combating revisionism and other counterrevolutionary forces and preventing the restoration of capitalism in socialist society, the cultural revolution must be carried out coextensively and interactively with the political and socioeconomic revolution. If we are to avoid the errors which caused the failure of the great proletarian cultural revolution in China, we must grasp that the cultural revolution is a persuasive democratic process with Marxist-Leninist theory in the lead carried out along the general line of the people's revolutionary struggle, that the process is a protracted one and so many times more protracted than either the people's war or socialist economic construction and should not be rushed in order not to be persecutory; and that to preempt anarchy institutions like the Party, the state, the people's organizations, the educational system, the mass media and so on should take on responsibility for leadership over the cultural mass movement, with due process rigorously followed and the rights of individuals and groups respected. The cultural revolution is an important process for keeping high the proletarian revolutionary consciousness and the spirit of selflessness and service to the people. As one generation after another draws away from the accomplished process of seizing political power from the reactionaries and the heroic efforts to establish a socialist society, those who are in the bureaucracy of the ruling party, the state and even in the mass organizations can degenerate into a new bourgeoisie and adopt modern revisionism and other retrograde ideas and policies. The youth and intelligentsia can adopt petty-bourgeois attitudes and grow cynical towards those in power and fall for anticommunist views and adulate the ideas and fashions of the domestic and international bourgeoisie.

Even while we are still engaged in the new-democratic revolution in the Philippines, we are already carrying out a cultural revolution among the people. We are promoting a cultural revolution with a national, democratic and scientific character. At the core of this revolutionary mass phenomenon are proletarian revolutionary cadres guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism.

Our cultural revolution of a new-democratic type is distinct from and yet continuous with the socialist cultural revolution. Like now, we shall continue to combine Party leadership, the mass movement and a strong sense of the rights of the individual within the anti-imperialist and socialist framework. We shall take all the necessary time, no matter how long, to raise the people's revolutionary consciousness from one level to another through formal

and informal educational and cultural activities and to isolate and defeat the ideas that run counter to socialism.

In socialist society, we shall carry out the cultural revolution to promote the proletarian revolutionary stand and the spirit of service to the people. The cultural revolution shall ceaselessly put revolutionary politics (patriotic and proletarian) and moral incentive in command of production and other social activities. The revolutionization of the superstructure shall complement and interact with the revolutionization of the mode of production. When the bourgeoisie is deprived of its economic and political power, it seeks to make a comeback at first in the ideological and cultural fields. When it succeeds at ideological revision and cultural pollution, then it can undertake the changes in political and economic policies which favor capitalist restoration. The bourgeoisie is most effective when it can work through unremolded and degenerate elements within the state and the ruling party. The proletarian revolutionaries have therefore to be ever vigilant and resolute in maintaining the correct line and in militantly waging the socialist cultural revolution.

The main contradiction in socialist society is the one between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The old bourgeois class and the landlord class are easy to identify and the people are vigilant towards them. So the members of these defeated classes would rather encourage the intelligentsia and the bureaucracy to start adopting the petty-bourgeois mode of thinking and behavior. On the basis of this, the bourgeoisie can regain lost ground, especially in the ideological and cultural fields. When the proletariat loses the fight in these fields, the already pronounced bourgeois revisionists can push the anti-proletarian change of political and economic policies under the guise of transcending classes and class struggle.

By that time, the bourgeoisie shall have been well on the way of reimposing itself on the proletariat and the people and restoring capitalism. The restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe proves that the victory of socialism is not irreversible in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. All proletarian revolutionaries can learn important lessons from the way the bourgeoisie has come on top of the proletariat in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe through peaceful evolution from within the state and the party and by using the state against the party, particularly the dwindling proletarian revolutionaries in the party.

In building socialism as the long-term preparation for communism, we shall strive to reduce the gap and solve the contradictions between the proletariat and peasantry, between mental and physical labor and between urban and rural life. We shall do so by mustering the capabilities of the proletariat and the rest of the people, utilizing science and technology and fostering a socialist civilization.

We owe to Mao the theory of continuing revolution, combating modern revisionism and preventing capitalist restoration in socialist society; and the application of this theory in the great proletarian cultural revolution, which succeeded for a number of years until the errors accumulated and resulted in a Rightist backlash. If the positive aspects are upheld and the negative aspects are corrected, then Mao's theory and practice of the cultural revolution can be the treasury of knowledge on the basic principles and methods for continuing the revolution in socialist society. The theoretical work on the cultural revolution is a wide and open field for study.

The failure of a revolution is never the permanent end of it. The Paris Commune of 1871 succeeded briefly and failed. But the theory of class struggle and proletarian dictatorship was never invalidated. After 46 years, the Great October Socialist Revolution triumphed. Then, the forces of fascism wiped out the working class parties in many European countries and eventually invaded the Soviet Union. But soon after World War II, several socialist countries arose in Eastern Europe and Asia.

Modern revisionism would emerge to afflict a number of socialist countries. And finally from 1989 to 1991, we witnessed the collapse of revisionist parties and regimes. This confirms the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist criticism and repudiation of modern revisionism and eliminates a certain number of revisionist parties and regimes which have caused theoretical and political confusion in the socialist and anti-imperialist movement.

Unfortunately, the capitalist powers have become more arrogant and cruel upon the disappearance of the Soviet Union as a superpower rival of the United States. But they are beset by the crisis of overproduction and contradictions are growing between them and their client states in the imperialist and neocolonial framework. In fact the continuing crisis of the countries in which capitalism and bourgeois dictatorship have been restored in a blatant manner, has all along been part of the global capitalist crisis. The former Soviet republics and the East European countries have become hotbeds of nationalism, ethnic conflicts, militarism and civil war and lay bare the rotteness of the capitalist system.

Upon the aggravation of capitalist oppression and exploitation, the anti-imperialist and socialist cause is

bound to surge to a new and higher level. The high technology in the hands of the capitalist powers has already deepened and aggravated the crisis of overproduction. The trade war among the capitalist powers is developing in the wake of the end of the bipolar Cold War. The United States is disturbing the balance among the capitalist powers as it seeks to revive its productive capacity, expand its trade and solve its huge deficit and debt problems in an environment where the other capitalist powers are holding tightly on to their productive and trade advantages and all neocolonial client states (except a few earners of export surplus due to US market accommodations) in the South and East are long depressed and find no relief from deficits, debt problem and austerity measures.

For some time, notwithstanding the disappearance of the two superpower rivalry, the social turbulence and political violence will increase throughout the world. From these will reemerge the anti-imperialist and socialist movement at a new and higher level. The increased oppression and exploitation of the peoples of the world can only serve to generate the revolutionary movement. What has come about as a hostile environment for this movement is a precondition and a challenge for its resurgence.

Proletarian internationalism

The ever worsening crisis of the Philippine ruling system provides the fertile ground for the continuance and growth in strength of the revolutionary mass movement led by the Communist Party of the Philippines. But to gain total victory in the new-democratic revolution and proceed to the socialist revolution, the Party must take fully into account the international situation and draw further strength from the world proletariat and other positive forces abroad.

In international relations, we must be guided above all by the principle of proletarian internationalism. Especially in the current situation, we must unite and close ranks with the working class parties and organizations that adhere to Marxism-Leninism and are waging revolutionary struggles in their respective countries.

The ever worsening crisis of the world capitalist system and the ever escalating oppression and exploitation are prodding the proletarian revolutionaries and peoples in countries to reaffirm the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism. Even now, it is clear that the current decade is one of social turmoil in the world capitalist system and popular resistance to neocolonialism. It is not going to be a decade of Pax Americana and capitulation by the forces of revolutionary change.

More than a billion people (a quarter of humanity) continue to live and work in societies that consider themselves socialist and are led by parties that consider themselves communist. The crisis of world capitalist system shall have become far worse than now before the degree or semblance of socialism that exists in the world can be erased.

The disintegration of the revisionist ruling parties and regimes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union and their counterparts abroad is part of the crisis of the world capitalist system and is in fact a positive development in the sense that it provides alerting lessons to all proletarian revolutionaries, demonstrate the folly of straying from Marxism-Leninism and from the road of socialism and argues against the illusions that the modern revisionists have conjured for a long time on a world scale.

In accordance with the principle of proletarian internationalism, the Communist Party of the Philippines is more than ever determined to engage in all possible ways to develop mutual understanding, fraternal relations, and mutual support and cooperation with all working class parties and proletarian revolutionaries the world over.

The Party is grateful to all fraternal proletarian parties for the moral and concrete support that they extend to the resolute revolutionary struggle of the Filipino people and for recognizing the Party as one of the advanced detachments of the world proletariat which can contribute to the restrengthening of the world socialist and anti-imperialist movement in theory and practice. Like today when it sincerely follows the slogan, "Workers of all countries, unite!" and gives uppermost importance to the world unity of workers through party-to-party relations, the Party shall uphold proletarian internationalism as the highest principle and general line of international relations when it is in power and shall give the uppermost importance to the world unity of workers through party-to-party relations as well as through the relations of the socialist state with other socialist states.

Fidelity to proletarian internationalism is a necessary measure of whether a party is Marxist-Leninist or not and whether a state is socialist or not. It is aimed at creating the world conditions for socialism to prevail over capitalism, for the working class to defeat the bourgeoisie and all reaction, and paving the way for communism; and therefore at realizing the mutual support and cooperation of all proletarian revolutionary forces, without any party or state infringing on the independence and equality of others.

We have seen parties and states that start out as proletarian revolutionary but later degenerate and become revisionist and relate with other parties and states only as these become subservient and become their foreign policy tools. They subordinate the principle of proletarian internationalism to diplomatic and economic relations with bourgeois states. They stop mentioning proletarian internationalism as if it were a dirty phrase as cosmopolitan relations with transnational corporations and banks gain the uppermost importance.

Learning lessons from recent history, the Communist Party of the Philippines is resolved that in the future the foreign policy of the new Philippines shall encompass relations with other socialist states, with working class parties, with peoples and revolutionary movements and with states (irrespective of ideology or social system) in that order of importance, under the guidance of proletarian internationalism in basic correspondence to the socialist character of the state and the proletarian revolutionary character of the ruling party.

The Party is confident that the ever worsening crisis of the world capitalist system and the resurgence of the socialist and anti-imperialist movement will create the global conditions favorable for their winning total victory in the new-democratic revolution and for establishing a socialist society that requires the proletarian party and state to practice proletarian internationalism at a new and higher level.

Unite to Raise Higher the Fighting Will and Capabilities of the Party and the People, Carry Out the Decisions of the Tenth CC Plenum

Statement on the 24th Anniversary of the CPP, December 26, 1992

The Communist Party of the Philippines celebrates today the 24th anniversary of its establishment, with a greater resolve than ever to unite the Party membership and raise higher the fighting will and capabilities of the entire Party and broad masses of the Filipino people against the enemy, the US-Ramos clique.

This newly-installed ruling clique is the principal target of the revolutionary movement of the people for national liberation and democracy. It is the current general representative of such antinational and antidemocratic forces as US and Japanese foreign monopoly capitalism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

General Ramos has come into power as a minority president of the neocolonial puppet republic, with far less resources with which to deceive and suppress the people and the revolutionary movement than any of his predecessors.

The crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal system continues to worsen at an accelerated rate. The broad masses of the people have no way out of their intolerable oppression and exploitation but to expand and intensify the armed revolution and the legal democratic movement.

The crisis of overproduction in the world capitalist system is also worsening. It has been accelerated and exacerbated by high technology and by the abuse of the international credit system. The long-running depression in the underdeveloped countries and the former Soviet bloc countries is recoiling upon the industrial capitalist countries and is making them reel from prolonged recession. The ruling system in the Philippines can find no relief from abroad but aggravation of the domestic crisis due to the crisis of the world capitalist system.

The disintegration of the revisionist ruling parties and regimes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, the collapse of the latter, the end of the bipolar world and cold war of two superpowers are part of the crisis of the world capitalist system and have brought about social turmoil on a wider scale. There is a new world disorder. The US and US-led capitalist alliance are weighed down and strained by severe domestic and international problems. There is gloom and disarray in the capitalist world.

The new international environment is favorable for the Philippine revolution. We are now entering a new period of revolutionary struggle on a global scale. The factors of anti-imperialism and socialism are once again stirring to life. The genuine communists the world over are at the forefront of the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and reaction and for a better world. The proletariat and the people of the world are launching sizable organized mass actions against their oppressors.

In the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the earlier disintegration of the revisionist ruling parties and regimes in Eastern Europe, the revisionist parties elsewhere in the world have either disintegrated or are turning themselves into supplements of social democratic parties. In contrast, the Marxist-Leninist parties are seizing the initiative in upholding the class leadership of the proletariat, in promoting the anti-imperialist mass movement and in striving to develop themselves from small to big and from weak to strong. The Communist Party of the Philippines is fortunate to be among the Marxist-Leninist parties at the forefront, by dint of perseverance in revolutionary struggle, carrying out the new democratic revolution through armed struggle and holding high the red flag for national liberation, democracy and socialism against imperialism and all forms of reaction.

1. Build on the accumulated achievements of the Party and carry out the rectification movement

The twenty-fourth anniversary of the reestablishment of the Party of the Philippines is exceedingly significant. It follows the great victory of the Party in holding the Tenth Plenum of its Central Committee. It is an occasion for pushing further the implementation of the decisions of this plenum.

These decisions take into account the situation of the Party, the Philippines and the world, reaffirm the basic Marxist-Leninist principles of the Party, recognize the revolutionary achievements of the Party cadres and members, rectify and repudiate the major errors and shortcomings which have caused serious losses and define the tasks ahead in order to further strengthen the Party in the spheres of ideology, politics and organization.

The plenum was successfully held in the midst of the fierce revolutionary struggle of the people led by the

Party against the total war policy of the enemy. It was characterized by democratic discussion and by resolute unity to rectify the errors that have caused unprecedented setbacks to the revolutionary movement and to raise higher the fighting will and capabilities of the Party and the people against the US-Ramos regime.

The plenum was attended by all regular members of the Central Committee in the Philippines, except for a few who for some reason did not make it in time. All interregional commissions of the Party were represented. Regular members of the Central Committee abroad participated by sending their proposals and views on major questions. The Central Committee, except for one or two now attacking the CC from outside the Party structure, is solidly united in support of the Tenth Plenum and its decisions.

Most important decisions

The Tenth CC Plenum has reaffirmed the theory of Marxism-Leninism as the guide of the Party to its revolutionary practice, the line against modern revisionism, the vanguard role of the working class and the Party, the analysis of Philippine society as semicolonial and semifeudal, the program for a people's democratic revolution, the theory and strategic line of people's war, the united front along the revolutionary class line, democratic centralism, the socialist perspective and proletarian internationalism.

The most important act of the Tenth CC Plenum is the recognition of the urgency of undertaking the rectification movement in view of the grave ideological, political and organizational errors which have caused serious setbacks and losses. If there is no rectification, those errors will persist and will inflict further losses on the Party and the revolutionary movement. Those who stand in the way of the rectification movement oppose the all-round strengthening of the Party and the revolutionary movement.

The Plenum approved the analysis and all major conclusions of the rectification document, "Reaffirm Our Basic Principles and Rectify the Errors," and likewise the further elaboration on the important events and decisions since 1980 in order to grasp more firmly the significant achievements of the Party and the revolutionary movement, the criticism of the major errors and shortcomings and the corrective measures and tasks set forth.

The rectification document is mainly and essentially a self-critical summing up by the Central Committee and is based on the facts and ideas accumulated and drawn by the Central Committee from lower Party organs and organizations through various forms of democratic interaction such as reports, consultations, direct investigation and collective assessments for a period longer than ten years. As the highest policy making body of the Party, the Central Committee has approved the rectification movement and issued the documents pertinent to the understanding and implementation of the rectification movement.

Setting the example for assessment, criticism and self-criticism within the scope of its responsibility and competence, the Central Committee is directing and urging the lower Party organs and organizations to undertake within their respective scopes of responsibility and competence further assessments, criticism and self-criticism and to submit their report on these to their higher organs in the dialectical course of the rectification movement.

It is wrong to presume that the Central Committee has no policy making right and duty, that the rectification document has no factual basis and has not been democratically processed, that it seeks to end the dialectical process of knowing and that lower Party organs and organizations can avoid making their own assessments, criticism and self-criticism within their own scope of responsibility and competence by simply declaring themselves for or against documents issued by higher organs.

The few elements who are most bitterly opposed to the rectification movement are those who resist the repudiation of the gravest "Left" opportunist errors which have caused the most serious losses. They have gone into combination with a still fewer elements who attack the very basic principles of the Party from a Right opportunist position and openly take pride in whipping up ultrademocracy, factionalism and splittism in an ambitious but futile attempt to wreck the Party from within wittingly or unwittingly for the benefit of the enemy. The factional combination of unhealthy elements has veritably put itself out of the Party by publicly issuing slander articles against the Central Committee and the entire Party and pushing a bourgeois counterrevolutionary line against the proletarian revolutionary line of the Party.

The rectification movement is mainly and essentially an educational movement within the Party to identify and correct major errors and shortcomings on a Party-wide scale as well as on the scale of specific lower organs and organizations of the Party. The purpose is to strengthen the proletarian revolutionary stand of all Party cadres and members and inspire them to work and struggle more effectively for further victories in the revolutionary movement.

Another decision of the Tenth CC Plenum that is of utmost importance is the approval of the definitive article, "Stand for Socialism Against Modern Revisionism." This comprehensive document explains the betrayal of socialism and disintegration of the revisionist ruling parties and regimes in Eastern Europe and collapse of the Soviet Union. The document is of far reaching significance and consequence because it provides the Party rank and file with a wider, deeper and farsighted understanding of scientific socialism and the counter-revolutionary phenomenon of modern revisionism.

It combats the ideological offensive of the imperialists, the local reactionaries and their anticommunist hirelings from the petty bourgeoisie, prevents this anticommunist ideological offensive from sowing confusion

within the Party and provides the entire Party with the well-informed confidence to fight for the completion of the new democratic revolution and the commencement of the socialist revolution upon the nationwide seizure of political power.

A. In the sphere of ideology

The Party is determined to undertake a number of definite measures to carry out the decision of the Tenth CC Plenum to raise higher the level of theoretical and political education among Party cadres and members. Since last year, even before the Tenth CC Plenum, initial efforts have been undertaken in this regard.

The structure of theoretical and political education is defined. As the foundation, the basic course must instill the correct proletarian revolutionary outlook and method of analysis and activity and provide basic knowledge about Philippine history, the character of Philippine society, the new democratic revolution, the motive forces, the targets, the tasks and the socialist perspective. The documents of the Party are the main texts for reading and study.

The intermediate course widens and deepens the Party members' understanding of building the Party, the people's army and the united front, socioeconomic work, cultural work and international relations. The historical experience of the Party, the current situation, problems and tasks are discussed and studied in connection with the documents of the Party and the most significant and most relevant works of Comrade Mao Zedong and other great communists.

The advanced course provides the Party cadres and members with a comprehensive understanding of dialectical and historical materialism, political economy, scientific socialism, modern revisionism and the world proletarian revolution. The documents of the Party and the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao are read and studied.

Enough personnel and resources must be deployed for work in the sphere of theoretical and political education. The education personnel must be trained and developed at various levels and in various organs and units. The study material must be made available for the formal study courses as well as for reading and study in advance of the formal courses.

The basic course can be undertaken by the basic units of the Party within the shortest possible time. Many units of the Party have started to either take up for the first time or review the basic course. The intermediate course can follow suit after the provision of competent discussion leaders and more study material.

The higher Party school can take charge of the advanced course and continuously field discussion leaders to various regions. It is important to conduct formal study courses consistently in order to raise constantly the level of theoretical and political education of the Party membership. To be most effective, these must be conducted in a living way, linked to the current situation, problems and tasks and opposed to the erroneous currents of thought and activity that have inflicted losses on the Party and the revolutionary movement.

In this regard, the most important study materials, immediately available and most relevant to the current Party situation, are the rectification documents, the stand for socialism against modern revisionism and other issuances of the Tenth Plenum. The immediate study of these materials is essential to understanding the situation, doing our work, assessing it and making further advances.

In the field of ideology, it is of crucial importance that we increase the number of Party cadres who have a firm grasp of the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method. Without these, they can fall into the pitfalls of such errors of subjectivism as empiricism, dogmatism and revisionism.

We must have the proletarian revolutionary cadres and members who have a comprehensive and profound view of the objective reality, grasp the law of contradiction within things and processes and use this law to advance the revolutionary struggle. All Party cadres must become well-grounded in dialectical and historical materialism.

In the course of the rectification movement, let us take into account both the achievements to build on and the problems to solve if we are to further strengthen ourselves and advance. We must recognize the factors for winning greater victories and solving problems within the flow of events and not from elsewhere. Our current strength is still comparable to that of the first few years of the 1980's. That is because the overwhelming majority of our Party cadres and members are well-motivated by the correct revolutionary theory and the just cause of the people and are doing their work well in various spheres.

It is utterly wrong to suppose that the line struggle within the Party occurs only when a completely different

line or programme has arisen to openly oppose the Party line and programme. Such mistaken notion disarms the Party ideologically and allows all sorts of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois lines and ideas to run rampant inside the Party by simply paying lip service to the basic principles of the Party or by merely assuming the barest proletarian guise.

There is always a struggle between the proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois reactionary line in a communist party even at its best, whether it is in power or not yet in power. That is because there is always a degree of influence from the unremolded petty bourgeoisie within and outside the party. This social stratum generates subjectivist and "Left" and Right opportunist modes of thinking.

Without the ideological vigilance and militancy of the proletarian revolutionaries, the communist party can be subverted and wrecked from within by the unremolded petty bourgeoisie on behalf of the bourgeoisie. This has happened to a lot of communist parties not yet in power as well as to those in power as in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe since 1956.

The Marxist-Leninist and antirevisionist theoretical foundation of the Party has served us well. By and large, we have withstood and overcome the anticommunist ideological offensive of the imperialists, the local reactionaries and their retinue of ideologues and propagandists coming from the petty bourgeoisie.

The study that we have made of the disintegration of the revisionist ruling parties and regimes and the collapse of the Soviet Union has not only served to defend and strengthen our Party ideologically and politically but has also been enthusiastically received by Marxist-Leninist parties in other parts of the world. We have thereby made a contribution to the upholding and defense of Marxism-Leninism.

It is of great importance for the entire Party, as the Central Committee has done in its Tenth Plenum, to recognize correctly the character of current Philippine society as semicolonial and semifeudal. From this given fact proceeds our understanding of the new democratic character and general line of the current stage of the Philippine revolution.

The fundamental characteristics of the ruling system have been thoroughly exposed by the ceaselessly worsening crisis from the regime of Marcos through that of Aquino to that of Ramos. Our theoretical studies and direct social investigation in the field are abundant in clarifying the mode of production and the superstructure. Most important of all, the cumulative all-round victories of our Party in revolutionary struggle have proven beyond doubt the correctness of the Party's comprehensive and profound view of Philippine society and its line of national democratic revolution through armed struggle.

The Tenth CC Plenum has repudiated the baseless questioning and wrong conclusion that the Party's class analysis of Philippine society no longer holds true. The fallacy involves the exaggeration of the "urban-rural" distribution of the population provided by the statistical agency of the reactionary government. It disregards the agrarian character of the economy, its lack of basic industries and the social class structure. The wrong view gave rise to "Left" opportunist currents regarding the strategy and tactics of the revolution, especially the concept of "strategic counteroffensive" within the strategic defensive as well as to Right opportunist currents, especially on the question of the united front, from the 1981 Politburo meeting onward.

"Left" opportunism: militarism and insurrectionist wishful thinking

The Tenth CC Plenum has upheld the earlier withdrawal in 1990 of the concept of "strategic counteroffensive" within the strategic defensive. This was the seed concept whose "three strategic coordinations" and initial notion of uprisings in third and fourth class municipalities were converted and elaborated on paper and in practice into the "three strategic combinations" and the Red Area-White Area framework of the Mindanao Commission from 1983 onwards.

Up to fifteen companies of the NPA were formed in Mindanao as full-time fighting units from 1983 to 1984 by drastically reducing the number of local guerrilla units and armed propaganda teams for mass work. The companies won military victories dramatically but only temporarily. By 1984, the enemy had deployed far larger forces and increasingly pushed the concentrated NPA companies to a position of isolation and passivity and inflicted gross setbacks on the mass base and local Party and army organizations.

In 1985, in the absence of a comprehensive assessment and analysis of the increasing setbacks, suspicion grew that these had been due to enemy deep penetration agents, among other causes. Panic rapidly ensued after arrests and torture of DPA suspects "confirmed" the worst fears about a large-scale enemy infiltration network. This gave way to Kampanyang AHOS, resulting in the prejudgment, torture and murder of more than 950 DPA suspects, including Party comrades, Red fighters, mass activists and other people. By 1986, the Party membership had fallen from 9000 to 3000, the mass base had shrunk by 50 percent and the 15 companies and 30 platoons of the NPA had fallen to 2 companies and 17 platoons.

There was clearly a sequence of the erroneous "innovation" on the theory of people's war in favor of an unacknowledged militarist line of regularization and violation of the requirements of the strategic defensive, the non-recognition of the error because this was concealed by temporary military successes before the enemy could launch a full-scale counterattack, great loss of mass base, isolation

and passivity of unsustainable large formations, gross setbacks, panic and finally the orgy of self-destruction, the anti-infiltrator hysteria called Kampanyang AHOS. The Tenth Plenum has repudiated the perverse notion that Kampanyang AHOS is a "revolutionary success" and has made a political judgment of it as a crime against the individual victims, the Party and the people, involving the violation of basic individual rights as defined in the Rules Establishing the People's Revolutionary Government, the Party Constitution and the Rules of the NPA. Imbued with the highest sense of justice, the Party simply cannot condone the prejudgment, torture and murder of close to a thousand people.

The executive committee and so-called caretaker committee of the 1985 Mindanao Commission are accountable for approving, planning, launching and carrying out this outrage. Among the culpable members of these committees are some of the most bitter and active opponents of the rectification movement who refuse accounting before the proper Party organs, do not want to face the consequences and are attempting to shift the blame to

other organs or factors. On the whole, lower Party, NPA personnel and other people in the regions are deemed less responsible and are deserving of amnesty or pardon if they have already made an accounting of their responsibility, have accepted disciplinary measures, are truly remorseful and have been active in the revolutionary work of recovery.

Because the disastrous militarist line of regularized full-time fighting companies in Mindanao remained uncriticized and was even held up as a successful model for replication, it was pushed on a nationwide scale from 1985 onwards. The line of forming companies and battalions by greatly lessening the number of local guerrilla units and armed propaganda teams for mass work culminated in the formation of 36 companies and two battalions. In 1987 the nationally coordinated offensive was launched, wasting ammunition stocks and other resources and pushing for even more verticalized formations and command structures.

This was also combined with the intensified armed city partisan actions that tended to steal the scene from the military factional struggle of the reactionaries and jeopardize the legal and defensive character of the urban-based democratic movement in the same year of 1987. Lessons had not been drawn from the already proven disaster of the tactics of urban insurrectionism in Davao and other cities in Mindanao.

By the end of 1988, there was a reduction of the mass base by 12 percent. Several regional Party committees were already complaining of the unsustainability of many of the companies and the reduction of the mass base. Taking cognizance of these facts, the principal leaders of the Party increased their criticism of the imbalances in military and mass work and forces and called for the correction of the plan to increase what were already patently unsustainable companies and battalions from 1988 onwards.

Following the successful enemy raids in 1988 on the central organs, including the general command of the NPA, in Metro Manila, and with Kampanyang AHOS still widely believed to have really uncovered a largescale enemy infiltration network in Mindanao, many leading cadres and units became highly susceptible to suspiciousness and panic. The Olympia was launched in Manila-Rizal after the June "breakthrough" while the OPML in southern Tagalog raged. There is a close resemblance between Kampanyang AHOS and Olympia and OPML as phenomena resulting from grave setbacks. These remind us of the self-destructive actions undertaken against "informer suspects" and "hostile barrios" in the aftermath of the debacle of the Jose Lava line of military adventurism, which had also concentrated companies and battalions at the expense of painstaking mass work and hoped in vain for a spontaneous anti-Quirino armed uprising in 1949 and 1950.

The Tenth CC Plenum has upheld the guidelines on the principles and methods of investigation, trial and evaluation of evidence. These guidelines were issued in October 1988 and effectively stopped OPML on its track, resulting in its condemnation as a madness and the adoption of the appropriate disciplinary and recovery measures in November 1988. These also stopped Olympia in the same month and guided its review and rectification starting in December 1988 and January 1989. These also pushed the review of Kampanyang AHOS. These can be used to prevent recurrences of anti-infiltrator hysteria and promote respect for civil rights.

Adjustments and scaling down of the plan to increase the unsustainably concentrated companies and battalions were made in 1989. In the guerrilla fronts where the guerrilla units were redeployed to put stress on mass work and recovery of lost territory while maintaining an active posture militarily by means of widespread small unit operations and selective concentrated tactical offensives, the mass base once more expanded and became consolidated.

But mainly due to instructions and pressures from above, the militarist line persisted and resisted rectification. Certain regions and guerrilla fronts strained to maintain unsustainable companies and blocked redeployment to achieve balance between mass work and military work. For instance, in one region, around 80 percent of the Red fighters were concentrated in companies and one battalion and only around 20 percent (151) were in local guerrilla units. Inevitably, the result in this particular instance was a 50 percent or more reduction of the mass base.

Because of the persistence of the militarist line in the Party, the accumulated adverse effects of this line, the failure to compensate elsewhere for the loss of mass base due to enemy onslaught in certain areas and the delayed and insufficient response of the Party leadership, the rural mass base in terms of membership continued to shrink until the end of 1991 by almost 60 percent nationwide from the 1986 level and likewise the number of barrios covered by guerrilla fronts, by 15 percent. The number of officers and fighters fell below the level of 1986. 31 In the urban areas, the mass movement could not go into any sustained upswing even in 1990 and 1991, despite the rapid deterioration of the socioeconomic situation and the high tide of mass discontent against the US-Aquino

regime. The insurrectionist agitation and agent-provocateur acts (bus burning and the like) discouraged the participation of the legal mass organizations and the spontaneous masses. Sweeping propaganda and agitation was running too far ahead of solid mass organizing. The attention and energy of urban cadres were also being funneled into proliferating and endless alliance caucuses or into "debates" to push the line that the conditions are ripe for sustained mass actions only when these are so for an armed urban insurrection in the medium term. The Left opportunist errors of military adventurism and insurrectionism play into the hands of the enemy. Despite the rhetoric of hastening the advance of the revolutionary movement, there is neglect of painstaking mass work and solid mass organizing and there is a disdain for developing the people's war in stages. Thus, the foundation for winning victories in the armed revolution and the legal democratic movement is undermined.

Extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare with an ever expanding and deepening mass base

In the concrete application of the theory of people's war, the Party takes into account the current strength of the New People's Army and the balance of forces between us and the enemy. The Tenth CC Plenum upholds the line of extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare with an ever expanding and deepening mass base. This line is drawn from the experience of successes and failures of the Party and the people's army during the last 24 years.

We have many good Party cadres and members and NPA commanders and fighters who have persevered in the correct line. Thus, the Party and the New People's Army continue to have and further build a substantial mass base. There is an ample and strong basis for further developing such integral components of the people's war as armed struggle, land reform and mass base building within the framework of the national democratic revolution.

When the NPA of 200 Red fighters was already being clobbered by the division-size Task Force Lawin in the second district of Tarlac in 1970, the same NPA had already created a far wider mass base in Isabela and was seeding other parts of the country with expansion cadres. And after the three NPA companies and one platoon allowed themselves to be isolated in the Isabela forest region by Task Force Saranay from 1972 onwards, the NPA was creating more guerrilla fronts on a nationwide scale. As in Isabela in 1977, the remedy in Mindanao after the disaster of 1984 to 1986 was to redeploy the unsustainable and isolated companies in order to allow smaller but sustainable units to do mass work and build the mass base once more.

In looking at the balance of forces, let us start with the fact that the total regular combat forces of the enemy can cover only less than five percent of Philippine territory at any given time. Thus, they can never deprive the people's army of the space for maneuver in the countryside, unless mass work is neglected and the NPA engages in self-constriction into a small number of concentrated companies and battalions.

At the moment, the enemy in his Lambat Bitag II has deployed a total of seven regular divisions (two in the Cordillera, one in Bicol, one in Samar, one in the northern part of Zamboanga peninsula, one in Northeastern Mindanao, one in North-central Mindanao) and one in Western Visayas. All of these have been able to concentrate on only a third, at the most, of our guerrilla fronts, leaving out scores of our guerrilla fronts. The enemy must be made to suffer the dilemma of concentration and dispersal, while our guerrilla forces must be able to concentrate, disperse and shift more easily on a limitless field of popular support and favorable terrain in the countryside.

As a result of the Tenth CC Plenum and the rectification movement, the Party Central Committee as the general staff of the armed revolution and the entire Party are determined to expand and consolidate the mass base, recover lost ground and further expand into new areas; and are therefore redeploying the New People's Army in such a manner that there is a center of gravity in every guerrilla front and at every higher level of command and there are dispersed units to do the mass work and build more guerrilla fronts.

The center of gravity (the headquarters platoon in a small and medium-sized guerrilla front or subdivision of a large guerrilla front or the headquarters company at the regional level of command) must be in relative concentration within a radius that easily allows assembly for tactical offensives and other operations requiring absolute concentration and yet does not become an unsustainable logistical burden on the people and is even a participant in mass work and other noncombat functions although within a radius smaller than that of the dispersed units for mass work.

At the current level of the force structure of the NPA, the center of gravity should not absorb more than one third or even one-fourth of the total force (depending on the characteristics of the region) so that the rest of the force can be dispersed for expanding and consolidating the mass base. The main thrust is to build more guerrilla

fronts with a well-organized mass base and to use this as the foundation for sustainable larger military formations which serve as center of gravity and are in relative concentration at higher levels of the army organization.

At its present force strength, the New People's Army can cover so many thousands of villages in several hundred municipalities (Philippine total is 1500) in several scores of provinces (Philippine total is 73 provinces), if on the average an NPA squad dispersed for mass work can operate in at least one municipality, is supported by the local organs of political power, the local Party branches and the mass organizations and is augmented by the militia units and self-defense units of the mass organizations.

When unsustainable NPA companies and battalions absorb cadres and resources and reduce rather than increase the number of local guerrilla forces and armed propaganda teams, the inevitable result is reduction of the mass base and self-constriction. If we thus go into self-constriction, then we play into the hands of the enemy and open ourselves to defeat under his strategy of "war of quick decision" (strategic offensive) and gradual constriction. If we do not have enough armed propaganda teams to create the widest room for maneuver through mass work, the enemy divisions or brigades and the copycat special operations teams and CAFGUs would become effective in taking away our mass base in certain areas and in constricting our mass base nationwide.

We should resolutely keep to the tactics of the strategic defensive and discover or create the opportunities for tactical offensives that we can win. We should always look for the weak points of the enemy and hit them by surprise at the tactical level. We should not overstep or violate the requirements of the strategic defensive by absolutely concentrating on a permanent or full-time basis larger units that we cannot sustain logistically and that prejudice our mass work.

Even those units designated as centers of gravity should, while in relative concentration, pay attention to mass work and other functions than offensive operations requiring absolute concentration or convergence of columns. The accumulation of our victories, the all-rounded fulfillment of requisites and the actual change in the strategic balance of forces will tell us when we can move from one strategic stage to another.

We must be self-reliant by dint of hard work and struggle. The logistics of the people's army must consist of the contributions from the masses who have gained from land reform and other results of revolutionary work, production by and for the people's army, tax collection from the enlightened gentry and businessmen in the areas under control and confiscations from the enemy. The Tenth CC Plenum has also criticized and repudiated various types of urban insurrectionism, especially two types that have done the worst damage. One is that type that frontally or obliquely attacks the theory and strategic line of people's war and has most lethally combined with militarism in Mindanao in the 1981-86 period. The other is that type that has undermined the mass movement and threatened to jeopardize the just cause of mass organizations in Metro Manila.

In this regard, the Tenth CC Plenum has pushed the line of respecting the legal and defensive character of the urban-based democratic movement and undertaking painstaking mass work and solid mass organizing at the base of sweeping propaganda and dramatic mass actions. It has also adopted measures to enhance the viability and security of cadres in the legal democratic movement as well as the correct orientation and sustainability of underground work.

Armed city partisan warfare must be under the correct ideological, political and organizational leadership of the Party and must fall within the NPA command structure. It must be within the framework of the strategic line of people's war. To become armed city partisans, individuals must first render service in the countryside for at least two years. The development of armed city partisan warfare must be related to and coordinated with the development of the armed struggle in the countryside and the legal democratic movement in the cities.

The current of Right opportunism

So far, "Left" opportunism, especially in the form of militarism, in combination with insurrectionist wishful thinking, has done the worst damage to the Party, the New People's Army and the entire revolutionary mass movement.

However, from 1990 onwards, Right opportunism has become unprecedentedly conspicuous and strident in opposing the proletarian revolutionary line. It has had a course of development since the early 1980s, when Right opportunists (including some antifascists recruited in the late 1970s without sufficient ideological checkup and remolding) proposed among other things the downgrading and even liquidation of the Party in favor of a "vanguard" broad front and the "separate dynamism" of mass organizations.

In the aftermath of the fall of the Marcos dictatorship, the 1986 boycott policy was criticized as a major tactical

error. Indeed, it was an ultra-Left and sectarian error, confusing the legal and illegal forces and forms of struggle. But there were those who went so far as to make bourgeois reformist criticism of the error, describe the US-directed comprador-landlord Aquino regime as a liberal-democratic regime and presume that the newly installed regime had gotten the middle forces and was itself at the middle of the political spectrum and that the Party and revolutionary armed struggle had been pushed into a "politically defensive position" and therefore needed the ceasefire talks and the 1986 60-day ceasefire agreement.

All the loyal and honest Party members who tended to fall into a Right opportunist view of the new situation in 1986 corrected themselves in 1987 upon the Party's clarification of the ever-worsening social crisis and the continuing need for armed revolution and upon the further unfolding of the antinational and antidemocratic class character of the US-Aquino regime.

But to this day, the most consistent and the worst elements among the Right opportunists have persisted in their bourgeois reformist critique of the 1986 boycott error and consider this the biggest error of the Party in its entire history, up to the point of covering up and condoning military adventurism and Kampanyang AHOS which are by far the worst disaster.

Practically bringing themselves out of the Party, these elements have promoted bourgeois populism and liberalism, pacifism and capitulationism and have overrated electoral struggle within the ruling system as the principal way to "legitimation" of the patriotic and progressive forces. They have drummed up the idea of a supraclass third force that seeks to alienate the people from the Party and have sought to monopolize foreign funding for NGO projects in order to advance their own interests.

The most subtle, most elaborated and most corrosive concepts attacking the proletarian revolutionary line have been generated by the worst Right opportunist elements on the question of the united front and the leadership of the working class (through the Party). These elements contend that the leadership of the working class must be laid aside or liquidated in order supposedly to attract more people to the united front in general and the National Democratic Front in particular.

Thus, the concept of federation in the building of the NDF made a headway. Under this concept, the Party is reduced to being a member-organization subordinate to a majority of nonproletarian organizations and to the National Council of the federation. The concept does not immediately appear to be wrong because there are Party groups within the nonproletarian member-organizations. But the basis is established for liquidating the class leadership of the proletariat and its party, and for negating the independence and initiative of the Party and the new democratic character of the revolution. As a matter of fact, certain anti-Party elements have started to attack the Party by using the name of the NDF.

The 1990 draft NDF Constitution does not make any reference to the working class leadership and the basic worker-peasant alliance in the new-democratic revolution. It adopts simultaneously the concepts of confederation, federation and unitary organization. The concept of the NDF as a unitary organization, claiming as its direct individual members all the members of the "member-organizations", is one more way by which the Party's independence and initiative is negated.

The 1990 draft NDF Program avoids any clear reference to the working class leadership, the basic worker-peasant alliance and the new democratic character of the revolution. It adopts such key terms as "nationalism," "pluralism" and "mixed economy" and clearly puts these within the framework of the old bourgeois democratic revolution by suspending or eliminating the working class leadership and the socialist perspective. The 1990 draft NDF program clearly proposes that upon the basic completion of the national democratic revolution through the seizure of political power, a "national democratic society" shall be built indefinitely and the socialist revolution and construction shall not commence.

Upholding the revolutionary class line in the united front and acting to prevent the collision between the Party and the NDF, the Tenth CC Plenum has made the decision that the Party can participate in a formal alliance (not a federation nor a unitary organization) only if the Party maintains its independence and initiative and its representatives enjoy equal footing with those of other organizations on the basis of consensus and consultations in conferences and councils, without prejudice to the absolute leadership of the Party over the NPA and to bilateral relations of the Party with any of the allied organizations in the NDF.

Thus, the Party has proposed a new draft NDF Constitution and this is already being processed by the appropriate NDF organ. A new draft NDF Program is also under preparation. The Tenth CC Plenum has also clarified

the relationship between the Party, the NPA and the NDF by stressing the Party's responsibility of ensuring and upholding the proletarian class leadership over the entire revolutionary movement. It enjoins all Party members to resolutely take on this responsibility and reminds all Party members, especially those in united front work, that the united front is not an arena for liquidating the working class leadership and that under the present historical conditions there can be no revolutionary united front without the class leadership of the proletariat.

Certain dubious elements use the wrong concepts about the united front in order to attack—from a petty-bourgeois viewpoint—the basic principles and the actual class leadership of the national democratic revolution. Echoing the chorus of the imperialist ideological offensive and the Gorbachovite anticommunist prattle, they go about prating that the Marxist-Leninist principles of the Party are outdated and authoritarian and that the class struggle has lost its centrality in the revolution. They deck out their antiquated petty-bourgeois ideas as new and fashionable and use these to attack the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method.

The worst element of the Right opportunists pushed a "medium-term" plan from late 1989 to early 1992, combining bourgeois reformism with wishful thinking for an armed urban insurrection. The intention was to build at the legal level a new broad front consisting of the Left, Middle and anti-Aquino Right by making a clamor for multilateral peace negotiations and then proceed at the "level of the revolutionary front" to build a still bigger alliance to include the NDF, MNLF, RAM, SFP and YOU. The idea was to have a common tactical program (the alternative agenda) that could unite the various political forces and "foster the linkages" between the legal broad front and the revolutionary (illegal) front until such time that the two levels could merge into an upsurge and finally lead to an uprising.

By aiming for an armed urban insurrection within this framework, this worst element of the Right opportunists succeeded in sabotaging the growth and potential upsurge of the legal mass movement under the extremely favorable conditions in the latter half of 1990 until 1991. He subsequently denied the fluid and volatile character of the objective situation and pushed the line that the conditions were not ripe for sustained mass actions simply because his "medium-term" plan of creating the conditions for an upsurge leading to an insurrection (broad front for multilateral peace talks up to the bus burning actions) had the opposite effect of sabotaging the mass movement and actually helping the US-Aquino regime to coast along until the next elections.

The Tenth CC Plenum made a decision to take disciplinary action against this worst element of the Right opportunists for his misrepresentations and usurpation of the authority of the Political Bureau in attempting to spread counterrevolutionary ideas over a wide range of issues and in committing other gross violations of the Party's basic principles and rules of discipline, such as spreading anti-Party intrigue and publicly circulating anti-Party articles since the last quarter of 1991, and to confront him further regarding his disclosure of Party secrets to the enemy in 1987. The decision is focused on this individual's wrong ideas, his involvement in the gravest "Left" and Right opportunist errors and his long-running anti-Party behavior.

While there are the incorrigible counterrevolutionary Rightists who must be dealt with politically and organizationally, there are also the honest Party members who have unwittingly provided a base for the former because they have not fully remolded themselves into proletarian revolutionaries and are therefore susceptible to subjectivist and opportunist currents. The Party offers them further ideological and political education and further revolutionary practice.

There is a conspicuous seepage of counterrevolutionary Rightist ideas into the Party, especially because since the latter half of the 1970s there has been looseness in admitting into the Party certain elements of petty-bourgeois status and orientation on the basis mainly of their antifascist political stand, without adequate ideological check-up and further education and remolding. Since 1989, however, the few unhealthy and dubious elements of the Rightist kind have increasingly exposed their character and the extent of their anti-Party activities.

In conjunction with the imperialists in their ideological offensive, this handful of elements have—since the disintegration of the revisionist ruling parties and regimes—become bolder in reviling Marxist-Leninist principles as "outdated" and "authoritarian" and in calling for "paradigms," "visions" and "programs" alternative to the Party Program. The renegades are in fact peddling antiquated anti-proletarian and anti-Marxist petty-bourgeois ideas which they deck out as new and fashionable despite the fact that the foreign models that had earlier adopted these ideas have been swamped by the bourgeoisie and rendered historically irrelevant.

There are elements who misappropriate the issue of the environment by posing it as something supraclass. They deny the outstanding record of the Party in condemning and opposing the imperialist plunder of the human

and natural resources of the Philippines, in making critical studies focused on environmental issues and the great mass movements against the imperialist devastation of the environment in the country since the reestablishment of the Party. The Party has already reiterated in definitive terms its firm stand on the issue of ecology.

The petty-bourgeois populists, liberals and social democrats, have promoted the phenomenon of NGO bureaucracy. They use the names of progressive mass organizations to solicit money from foreign funding agencies, seek to monopolize the foreign funding and spread their bourgeois reformist ideas in the mass movement and in the ideologically weak portions of the Party.

Since 1989, this handful of elements have become emboldened enough to openly attack the Party because they wrongly calculate that the time has come for them to lay claim to certain organizations and monopolize foreign funding. They have been intoxicated by both the disintegration of the revisionist ruling parties and regimes and the powerful anti-Marxist ideological offensive of the imperialists. Using the demagogic slogan of anti-Stalinism, they have openly attacked the basic principles, policies and line of the Party.

There is a natural petty-bourgeois conjuncture of the small hodgepodge of populists, liberals, neoliberals, social-democrats and Gorbachovites. They have a false sense of superiority over the revolutionary proletariat and the CPP and they echo all the anti-Marxist notions and cliches of the imperialist ideologues and propagandists.

However, they have a sense of their puny number and lack of mass support. Thus, notwithstanding all their slogans of openness, democratic process and reform calculated to undermine the Party, they are banding themselves and colluding with the worst "Left" opportunists responsible for military adventurism, urban insurrectionism, gangsterism and the Kampanyang AHOS bloody witchhunt to oppose the Party and the revolutionary movement. They also seek to lure Party cadres in the urban areas with paltry sums from foreign funding agencies.

The US-Ramos regime is well aware that there are two kinds of elements who have put themselves off the line of the Party and out of the Party's discipline. One type consists of those few who have committed the worst offenses in connection with "Left" opportunist errors against the Party and the people. The other type includes the still fewer elements who have been pursuing a Right opportunist line and opposing the class leadership of the proletariat and the revolutionary armed struggle.

Thus, the regime has adopted a sophisticated psywar policy to complement its brutal military policy. It has repealed Republic Act 1700 (the Anti-Subversion Law) but at the same time retained other oppressive laws. It has postured as being desirous of bilateral peace negotiations with the NDF but it has in fact preoccupied itself with the futile scheme to undermine, disintegrate and destroy the Party and the revolutionary movement.

The tactics of the psywar scheme include both encouraging the activities of the "Left" and Right opportunists and trying to recruit them one by one as intelligence and psywar agents. These opportunists have gone so far as to publicly attack the Central Committee, the Tenth Plenum and the rectification movement. They produce and publicly circulate anti-Party articles, to conjure the illusion of a split within the Party and to actually try to split and wreck it from within through an anti-Party campaign closely tailored to the needs of the enemy psywar scheme.

The regime is also using the long-running "preliminary" to peace negotiations to drum up its line of pacification in an attempt to derail the people's revolutionary armed struggle for a just and lasting peace, induce the progressive legal organizations to assume a "neutral" or "third force" position (together with the representatives of the exploiting classes and even the reactionary government) and whip up capitulationism and splittism in the ranks of the revolutionary movement. The foregoing tactics of the US-Ramos regime have been applied for some time. In an intelligence briefing to the regime's national unification commission last early November, the military briefing officers boasted of having certain renegades in tow and knowing much about the "split" in the revolutionary movement. This came soon after the avalanche of anti-Party slander articles in October. There are indications that the US State Department and US intelligence have also gotten copies of the same articles soon after production.

The most effective way to counter the total war policy and psywar scheme of the US-Ramos clique is to strengthen the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally, to tighten the security of the Party and heighten vigilance and to expand and intensify the revolutionary armed struggle and the legal democratic mass movement.

C . In the field of organization

Since last year, the drafts Constitution and Program have been ready for Party-wide discussion in preparation for the Party Congress. More than ever the Party is resolved to hold the Party Congress. It shall be the democratic instrument of the Party general membership for going up to a new and higher level of unity of genuine

communists and for raising the level of revolutionary struggle under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism.

It is the decision of the Tenth CC Plenum that the next Party Congress shall be the high point of the ongoing rectification movement and shall not be a place for compromising the proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois reactionary line. In preparation for this congress, all lower Party organs and organizations are required to submit their assessments, criticism and self-criticism within their respective scopes of responsibility and competence so that the central leading and staff organs can improve their own and prepare documents for Party-wide study and submission to the Party Congress.

Since the launching of the rectification movement, some of those "Left" opportunists who have been responsible for the worst errors and losses have circulated beyond the proper channels articles against the rectification document and movement. They have promoted and practiced the "freedom of criticism" denounced by the great Lenin as a violation of the principles of democratic centralism and as petty-bourgeois ultra-democracy and anarchy and have combined with the Right opportunist in doing so.

All Party cadres and members are urged to unite in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism, support the Central Committee and resolutely proceed with the rectification movement to raise higher the fighting will and capabilities of the Party and the people against the US-Ramos regime.

We cannot condone the "Left" and Right opportunists who have viciously attacked the central leadership, the Tenth Plenum and the rectification movement by issuing and publicly circulating and delivering to the enemy intelligence and psywar services and the bourgeois mass media articles vilifying the Party, the Central Committee and the rectification movement. Among these opportunists are elements who have not only objectively but consciously placed themselves in the service of the US-Ramos scheme to discredit the Central Committee and thereby to decapitate and destroy the Party and the revolutionary movement.

Among these opportunists are a few individuals who publicly claim in their widely circulated slander articles that they continue to be active CC members even while they were incapacitated due to enemy detention and—upon their release—they have not yet undergone processing for reinstatement or have refused to be processed by the duly-authorized officers of the Central Committee.

By what reasoning or license from the enemy do they claim in their slander articles that they are still CC members and are in a position to deprive the Central Committee of its policy-making power, nullify the rectification movement and the Tenth CC Plenum, oust the Central Committee and call for a new Plenum and new Congress? 45 Those newly released from enemy detention who are still qualified and who sincerely want to reassume Party work at the level of the Central Committee should promptly submit themselves to the required process of reintegration.

The anti-Party elements sound formidable when they launch their lies and misrepresentations from the dark. If allowed to pass unanswered, they can actually inflict some damage on the Party. But when they are exposed by the floodlight of the truth and countered by the steel of Party unity, they can be seen clearly and repudiated as a motley of "Left" and Right opportunists and renegades. They seem to be able to band together in attacking the Party but they cannot put up anything to replace what they seek to destroy. They can only try in vain to approach and mislead those whom they estimate to be ideologically weak portions of the Party.

The combined "Left" and Right opportunists and renegades have made themselves the principal organizational problem. They have gotten out of the realm of ideological struggle by spreading lies about the Central Committee, the Tenth Plenum and rectification movement, by instigating factionalism and supplying anti-Party articles to the enemy.

The ideological, political and organizational struggle must therefore proceed together, with the main emphasis on theoretical and political education and on a narrowing of the target in taking organizational measures. The dividing line between the Party and the anti-Party elements is clearly set by the Tenth Plenum of the Central Committee and the rectification movement in particular as well as by the Party Constitution and Program.

In view of the already large losses of the Party and the revolutionary movement before the end of 1991 due to the grave errors, the Party would continue to suffer still bigger losses without the rectification movement. Only the renegades and the enemy are hellbent on stopping or discrediting the rectification movement and threatening to wreak further damage. They do not wish the Party to identify and correct the errors, reverse the grave setbacks and further strengthen the Party and revolutionary movement.

We must be resolute and militant in combating the wrong ideas and the political and organizational

maneuvers of those who have exposed themselves as opportunists and renegades. By their own publications and actions, they have exposed clearly their bourgeois reactionary line. We must uphold, defend and promote the proletarian revolutionary line of the Party.

Even as the necessary and appropriate organizational measures must be immediately undertaken against those who vehemently oppose the Tenth Plenum, the rectification movement, the Central Committee and the entire Party, we must pay attention to and rectify the long-running major errors in the sphere of organization with as much vigor as before, especially because the anti-Party elements are trying to take advantage of them.

Ultrademocracy, factionalism and anarchy have been put by the anti-Party elements on top of the long-running problem of bureaucratism and alienation of some organs, units and members from the people and mass work. The remedies already adopted to cure bureaucratism must proceed. It is a happy development that there are serious efforts to stress painstaking mass work and solid mass organizing and increase the deployment of Party cadres and members from the cities to the countryside for the people's war. Party-led mass organizations in the urban areas are also determined to send larger numbers of activists to participate in the revolutionary work in the countryside.

The Tenth CC Plenum has made the decisions to strengthen the central leading organs such as the Executive Committee, Political Bureau and the Central Committee as well as the central staff organs, including the General Secretariat. The territorial commissions have been reverted to the status of central staff organs with the task of facilitating interregional coordination, strengthening the regional Party committees and ensuring close links between the regions and the central Party leadership. These decisions have been taken in the interest of firm leadership and increased efficiency.

The Tenth CC Plenum has made the decisions requiring the strengthening of the system of reports and consultations between higher and lower organs, the faster resolution of long-running and current problems and the reassignment of cadres for the purpose of upgrading work in certain areas and for securing Party cadres and the Party from enemy threats. Decisions have also been made to counteract the phenomena of independent kingdoms and factionalism.

The Tenth CC Plenum has made decisions to streamline the Party organization, combat bureaucratism, stimulate collective Party life from the basic level upwards, develop the closest links with the masses and encourage inner Party democracy characterized by criticism and self-criticism on the basis of the facts and for the purpose of greater unity.

Threats to the security of the Party have increased because certain renegades have in fact or in effect put themselves in the service of the enemy psywar machine and the anti-Party elements are under close enemy surveillance. We are aware of certain elements who proclaim themselves communists but are in fact anticommunists opposing the basic Marxist-Leninist principles of the Party and who have no other motive and objective but to decapitate, split and wreck the Party.

The renegades endanger the Party organs, units and members by approaching them under the guise of democratic discussion and debates outside of the proper structure and channels of the Party. They do not only violate democratic centralism and inner Party democracy but they also put within the scope of the enemy's surveillance the Party units and members accessible to them. All Party organs, units and members must be vigilant and cut themselves off from these anti-Party elements.

It is the right and duty of the Party to repudiate and disauthorize former Party organs who have removed themselves from the Party structure and democratic centralism by attacking the central leadership and the rectification movement and by waging a campaign to decapitate and wreck the Party. Elements within such groups who sincerely wish to continue serving the revolution must dissociate themselves from all factional and anti-Party activities, submit themselves to the Party rules and processes and rectify their errors.

We should be firm against the few renegades who have sought to discredit the rectification movement since the beginning by caricaturing it as a "bloody Stalinist purge", by seeking to spread anticommunist ideas within the Party and to condone the worst errors of military adventurism and the barbarities of Kampanyang AHOS. So far, only a very few have been put under disciplinary action. It is the few renegades who have publicly threatened to decapitate, disintegrate and destroy the Party.

We must unite firmly to build further our ideological, political and organizational strength on the basis of our accumulated achievements, rectify the errors and shortcomings and march forward. We must take advantage of

the ever worsening crisis of the domestic ruling system and the world capitalist system and we must unite to raise higher the fighting will and capabilities of the Party and the revolutionary movement against the US-Ramos regime.

II. Raise the armed struggle and legal democratic movement to a new and higher level

The chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal society has worsened from the Marcos regime through the Aquino regime to the Ramos regime. The objective conditions are fluid and volatile and are therefore favorable for raising the revolutionary armed struggle and the legal democratic movement to a new and higher level. The widespread and deep-going mass discontent and revolutionary mood of the people are the raw material for people's war.

It is up to the subjective forces (the organized forces) of the revolution to take advantage of the favorable objective conditions. They can either succeed or fail to do so. For instance, there was limited success, if not failure, on the part of the subjective forces to intensify armed tactical offensives and carry out sustained mass actions despite the opportunities presented by the critical conditions of 1990, 1991 and 1992.

There is much work to be done by way of revolutionary leadership and rectification when tactical offensives by the people's army and mass actions do not materialize to an extent and manner commensurate to the objective conditions as well as to the claimed strength of the subjective forces in the regions expected to deliver results.

The Party's leadership in the Philippine revolution can be realized only by arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses along the national democratic line. The effectiveness of this leadership can be most manifested by the armed tactical offensives of the New People's Army and the mass actions of the legal democratic movement. These should result in the further strengthening of the subjective forces and further weakening of the enemy.

There is absolutely no doubt that the political and economic crisis of the ruling system is ever worsening. The rise of General Ramos to the presidency of the neocolonial republic, with only 23.5 percent of the votes cast, marks the further deterioration of the fractious ruling political system. All the accumulated and worsening problems of the system have fallen on the head of this isolated and desperate but cunning president.

General Ramos is using all kinds of weapons in his strategy and tactics to preserve the oppressive and exploitative system and attack the revolutionary mass movement. But the domestic and foreign resources available for pursuing his counterrevolutionary work are far less than what was available to Marcos and Aquino and continue to dwindle. General Ramos is toeing the same line drawn by the US and Japanese imperialists and by the local reactionary classes and is carrying out the same policies which drain the social wealth of the country and undermine even the ruling system.

Total war policy of the US-Ramos regime

The main line of the US-Ramos regime is to annihilate the revolutionary forces under the so-called total war policy. This is characterized by all the barbarities of the " low-intensity conflict" scheme. Since General Ramos became president, he has ordered the intensification of military campaigns of suppression (Lambat Bitag II) and has sought an unprecedented increase in the budget for the regular military, police and paramilitary forces.

All the combat effectives of the 262,000 total armed personnel of the enemy (Army, 62,000; Navy, 26,000; Air Force, 17,000; PNP, 92,000; and CAFGUs, 65,000) are overstretched nationwide. In suppression campaigns, they can simultaneously concentrate their assault forces on only around a third of the several scores of NPA guerrilla fronts.

The enemy carried out from 1991 to 1992 such major operational plans as the following: Oplan Tarabay-Silawan in Marag Valley, Kalinga-Apayao; Oplan Salidummay/Nakilala in Zinundungan Valley, Cagayan; Oplan White Flower in Abra de Ilog, Occidental Mindoro; Oplan Skylark in Salay, Misamis Oriental; Oplan Ipitan in Sta. Catalina, Negros Oriental; Oplan Rolling Thunder in Andap Valley, Surigao del Sur; Oplan Stronghold in Prosperidad, Agusan del Sur; and Oplan Rainbow in parts of the Zamboanga provinces and Misamis Oriental.

In trying to destroy the revolutionary forces, General Ramos is emboldened by the fact that for several years a militarist line in the Party and the people's army has been playing into the hands of his military forces by concentrating unsustainably large military formations and reducing the number of local guerrilla forces and the cadres for expanding and consolidating the mass base. The war of quick decision (strategic offensive) and gradual constriction, particularly the previous Lambat Bitag I and the current Lambat Bitag II, are being hailed by the enemy as great successes in certain.

In fact losses from the enemy campaigns of suppression have been significantly lessened in regions where the

revolutionary forces have—at the regional and guerrilla front levels—centers of gravity in relative concentration when not on an offensive mode, and have far more forces dispersed for mass work on a wide scale. By having a wide and deep-going mass base, the NPA has a wide room for maneuver and can flexibly concentrate, disperse and shift, according to the demands of the situation. Even when there are large formations on our side, these eventually become isolated and passive if the mass base is lost or drastically reduced.

The enemy in division or brigade strength can indeed concentrate on any area and capture it. But when he does so, he pays a heavy price for taking over the area and leaving wider areas unattended elsewhere. In such areas, the guerrilla forces have more opportunities for mass work and tactical offensives. Thus, at the strategic level, the enemy has the dilemma of concentrating or dispersing his forces. Either way, he loses the war.

Whenever the guerrilla forces are encircled by an overwhelmingly superior force, they can slip out of the encirclement and fight on exterior lines rather than fight on the interior lines of the enemy. Gradual constriction will succeed if in the first place the forces of the people's army go into self-constriction. It is wrong to concede that the best of our experience and studies as well as the teachings of Mao Zedong concerning the theory and strategic line of people's war are inferior to the enemy's war of quick decision and gradual constriction.

As earlier pointed out, the enemy has a total regular force capable of concentrating on and controlling only a small portion of Philippine territory at every given time. The enemy's special operations teams (SOTs) and paramilitary forces are ineffectual bad copies of the NPA armed propaganda teams, the local guerrilla forces and militia because they [the former] have a counterrevolutionary character and seek to destroy both by violence and deception the revolutionary gains of the people.

Compared to Lambat Bitag I, there is now under Lambat Bitag II less use of special operations teams for psywar operations "to win the hearts and minds" of the people at the barrio level. There is an increased use of bombardments, base-denial and massive search-and-destroy operations to wreak havoc on entire communities and force their evacuation in areas believed to be strongholds of the people's army. This is a sign of the enemy's desperation rather than of improved tactics.

At the same time, while seeking in the main to annihilate the people's army through the bloody campaigns of suppression under the total war policy, General Ramos has laid out a full array of psywar tactics at the national level in a bid to disintegrate the revolutionary forces. General Ramos can make some headway only if we are not alert and prompt at countering these tactics.

He has "legalized" the Communist Party by repealing the Anti-Subversion Law (R.A. 1700) in order to induce the revolutionaries to surface and come forward under his terms. But he retains all other oppressive laws for use against those who remain loyal to the armed revolutionary movement. He has gone farther than Aquino in pretending to be for peace talks with the revolutionary forces through the National Democratic Front. In a development amounting to mutual recognition as belligerents, the representatives of the Ramos regime and the NDF have co-signed a joint declaration in The Hague, Netherlands and their principals (General Ramos as GRP president and Manuel Romero as NDF chairman) have reciprocally approved this declaration.

The psywar experts of the Ramos regime have in mind the El Salvador peace negotiations and agreement as the model for liquidating the New People's Army. The regime is willing to move ahead in exploratory talks or even in peace negotiations only insofar as every step along this course of action is preceded by advantages in other courses of action aimed at undermining, disintegrating and annihilating the NPA.

One of the major schemes of the regime is to use the National Unification Commission in organizing a structure of territorial and sectoral consultations among representatives of the reactionary government, churches, business, the landed gentry, the nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and other sectors. The objective is to create a "peace" climate for promoting the regime's line of pacification, discredit and isolate the revolutionary forces, and dangle the same stale offers of amnesty and rehabilitation made since the time of Marcos. The NUC is nothing more than a revival of the previously frustrated "peace and order councils" scheme of General Ramos under Oplan Mamamayan.

Certain organizations, coopted or financed by agencies of the reactionary government and foreign funding agencies, are pretending to be a "third force" and are trying to induce the progressive legal organizations to shift from a Left position to a "neutral position" of calling on both the reactionary government and the NDF to negotiate on the false premise that both sides are equally responsible for the violence at the expense of the people. Officials of the reactionary government, conservative institutions and representatives of the exploiting classes also

misrepresent themselves as part of the "third force" and claim to speak for the people.

The US-Ramos regime is also developing a very ambitious and very offensive kind of psywar against the revolutionary forces. Certain renegades (previously ranking high in the progressive movement) are acting as dupes if not as outright hirelings in this psywar scheme by producing and publicly circulating statements which are made to appear as those of honest Party members or even of active Party officials. They serve the enemy by publicly announcing their opposition to the Central Committee, the Tenth Plenum, the rectification movement, the antirevisionist line, the strategic line of people's war and democratic centralism.

Their statements comprehensively attack the principles, policies and line of the Party and slander the Party Central Committee. They started to publicly circulate their statements in late 1991 and escalated the production and public distribution of these statements in 1992. The renegades are being used by the enemy intelligence agencies in the futile attempt to split the revolutionary movement, extract information from the underground and to serve as baits for trapping the underground personnel of the Party.

Related to the anti-CPP and anti-NPA schemes are the efforts of the Ramos regime to reconcile with anti-Ramos factions within the Armed Forces of the Philippines and Philippine National Police, including the Marcos-lining Soldiers of the Filipino People (SFP), the Enrile-lining Rebolusyonaryong Alyansa ng mga Makabayan (RAM) and the relatively independent Young Officers Union (YOU) and with their known aboveground political principals or representatives.

The Ramos regime is under orders from the United States (especially the State Department and Pentagon) to reconcile and reunify the factions in the military and the national police so that ultimately a counterrevolutionary front can be solidified against the revolutionary forces. But the factional differences remain deep. The anti-Ramos military factions insist that their members who have not reached the age of compulsory retirement should not be simply paid or pensioned off but retained in the military service with higher ranks. Some settlement may be reached. But this can be fragile in view of the ever worsening crisis.

In an effort to make it appear that it is dealing with the question of political prisoners in an even handed way, the Ramos regime has released a few Left political detainees on account of their right to bail but has released far more military detainees who belong to the anti-Ramos factions. The regime has cynically turned a deaf ear to the demands of the people, the human rights organizations and the NDF representative in the exploratory talks for the release of the hundreds of political prisoners.

Despite all its schemes to neutralize its armed and nonarmed political opponents and consolidate its position, the Ramos ruling clique can only aggravate the socioeconomic crisis by pursuing the policies dictated by its foreign masters and the local reactionaries. The ruling clique thereby generates a worse political crisis within the system as well as incites the people to armed revolution.

General Ramos knows the insolubility and gravity of the crisis and the determination of the revolutionary forces to persevere in protracted people's war. Thus, he is preparing for a return to a Marcos-type fascist dictatorship under the guise of amending the Constitution and changing the form of government, from presidential to parliamentary. All the current psywar schemes and efforts of Ramos to neutralize and disintegrate the broad opposition are calculated to prepare the ground for a return to undisguised autocracy and authoritarianism.

The worsening crisis of the ruling system

The agrarian, preindustrial and semifeudal character of the Philippine economy continues to deepen and aggravate. The US, Japanese and European multinational firms and banks and the local reactionary classes of big compradors and landlords continue mercilessly to drain the Filipino people's economic lifeblood in the form of superprofits from domestic and foreign trade and from import-dependent manufacturing and far more profusely in the form of debt service.

From 1986 to 1991, the Philippines paid in debt service to its foreign creditors a total of US\$29.3 billion, an amount which is as large as the total accumulated debt, and received a total inflow of new loans amounting to US\$17.7 billion. The net resource outflow is therefore US\$11.5 billion. The total accumulated debt of US\$29 billion has been held down mainly by enormous local public borrowing to cover the rising deficits and to buy foreign exchange for foreign debt servicing.

There is a breakdown in agricultural and industrial production, infrastructure and the basic services. The foreign exchange necessary for importing equipment, fuel and other goods continues to dwindle. And the foreign credit needed to cover the increasing deficits is also tightening. Further domestic and foreign public borrowing is

fueling inflation.

The income from the export of raw materials (agricultural and mineral) and from the reexport of low-value added goods continue to dwindle because of the long-running deterioration of the terms of trade and the ongoing recessionary trend in the world capitalist system. From 1986 to 1991, the US\$5.8 billion (or nearly \$1 billion yearly) total income from the export of contract labor has in part offset the resource outflow and has been greater than the US\$4.4 billion total actual inflow of the much-vaunted official development assistance from Japan, the United States and Europe. Under recessionary conditions in the world, even the export of contract labor can be adversely affected.

Debt service continues to eat up around 40 percent of the Philippine budget. This will rise further as the national government assumes the ₱300 billion accumulated debt of the Central Bank. The budget for the military, police and paramilitary forces and for the intelligence, counterintelligence and psywar agencies has been increased. In the course of military operations, even the resources of civilian agencies are being commandeered by the military. Funds for infrastructure building, public education, health services, housing and public utilities are decreasing.

The local government officials are now allowed to tax the people and spend the money according to their own decisions in a wide ranging way. These help to tighten the squeeze of the central reactionary government on the broad masses of the people. Bureaucratic corruption at the central and local levels is scandalously worsening.

The people are suffering from accumulated unemployment of around 50 percent. Out of the total labor force of 27.5 million, 3.6 million are admitted to be unemployed and about 8 million are underemployed. But out of the total employed, only 45.4 percent are wage and salary workers. The self-employed, own account workers and unpaid family workers are considered employed despite the fact that the general run do not have regular and sufficient income to afford them a decent level of subsistence. The overwhelming majority of those considered as underemployed are in fact unemployed.

On top of the high rate of unemployment is the soaring rate of inflation which reduces the real income of the employed and exacerbates the misery of the unemployed and underemployed. Statistics of the reactionary regime deliberately present a lower inflation rate by manipulating such parameters as the base year and the content of the basket of basic goods. The cost of living is estimated to be ₱214 a day for a family of six but the legislated minimum wage (which employers to their own advantage generally violate) is ₱84.50 to ₱106.70 in the agricultural sector and ₱118 in the industrial sector.

Eighty percent or 47 million of the people live below the poverty line. The real value of the income of the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the middle social strata keeps on decreasing. At the same time, there is scarcity of goods and services due to the breakdown of production. The quality of life continues to deteriorate due to widespread poverty, the frequent outbreaks of communicable diseases, the lack of health services, the deterioration of the public school system, destruction of the environment and the breakdown of basic urban facilities, including water shortages and the frequent electricity outages.

The imperialists and their big comprador-landlord agents continue to damage the environment in so many ways. What is currently most alarming is the rate of deforestation, which is at 200,000 hectares per year. At this rate, the remaining forest cover of 987,000 hectares is bound to disappear in five years' time. The alternating floods and drought, soil erosion, watershed destruction, loss of biodiversity and the death of 30 percent of the rivers and the rapid decrease of fish catch are already wreaking havoc on the lives of the people.

But those who suffer most are the victims of largescale military campaigns of the enemy. They are subjected to senseless bombardments by airplanes and artillery, search-and-destroy operations, forced mass evacuations, mass detention, torture, massacres and assassinations which far exceed the capability and resources of human rights organizations to document. But what these organizations are able to document are horrendous enough. The widescale violations of human rights add to the acute sense of oppression that comes from the daily violence of economic exploitation. Since 1986, more than a million people have been forced by the enemy's military operations to leave their homes and farms permanently or for a prolonged period of time.

In both urban and rural areas, the military, police and paramilitary forces use the unbridled power of their guns not only in the official suppression campaigns against the people but also in the course of unofficial criminal activities strictly for their private gain. The officers and men are notorious for their involvement in criminal syndicates engaged in robbery, kidnapping, murder for hire, illegal logging, extortions, gambling, prostitution and other

forms of criminality. The tendency of the military, police and paramilitary forces to disintegrate is not only due to inter-service rivalries and political factionalism but also due to the proliferation of competing criminal gangs among them.

Persevere on the road of armed revolution

The Communist Party of the Philippines is correct in pursuing and persevering on the road of armed revolution. It would be a shame and a catastrophe if at this time there is any wavering about this road. There is no way for the Filipino people to liberate themselves nationally and socially from the intolerably worsening system of oppression and exploitation but to overthrow it and establish a new social system under the leadership of the proletariat and with the full participation of the people, especially the toiling masses of workers and peasants. Revolutionary armed struggle is the main form of struggle because it smashes the reactionary state and effects the seizure of political power, without which the proletariat and the people cannot make social revolution. There are those who say that there is no more need for armed struggle because the US military bases agreement has come to an end. But the oppression and exploitation of the Filipino people by the United States and other imperialists continues. The United States— at a much reduced cost to itself—continues to direct, control, supply and use the Philippine reactionary armed forces and to have access to military facilities in the Philippines. Moreover, under US encouragement and under the pretext of UN peacekeeping, the aggressive capability of Japan has been increased. There is an overall scheme by the United States and Japan to suppress armed revolutionary movements of the people in Southeast Asia.

Our armed struggle is within the framework of the national democratic revolution. Insofar as it has to be carried out in the countryside for an extended period among the peasant majority of the people, it must take the anti-feudal line and must be integrated with land reform and mass-base building (mass organizations and organs of political power).

Eighty percent of the peasant masses are landless. The US-Ramos regime is so cynical about the land problem that it does not pretend anymore to be concerned about it, unlike the previous Marcos and Aquino regimes which made pretenses and empty promises about solving the land problem. The Ramos regime has so far been silent on the question of land reform.

The Party must effect the basic worker-peasant alliance. It must rely mainly on the poor peasants, lower middle peasants and farm workers; win over the middle peasants; neutralize the rich peasants; and take advantage of the split between the enlightened gentry and the despotic ones in order to isolate and destroy the power of the latter.

The minimum land reform program must be carried out on a widescale as the general line. This includes the reduction of land rent, interest rates and fees for irrigation, work animals and farm equipment; raising the wages of farm workers; improving the prices of farm products for the benefit of the peasants; and raising production in agriculture and sideline occupations through individual initiative and rudimentary forms of cooperation. This program beats the false promises of land redistribution by every reactionary regime.

The maximum land reform program of confiscating the land and distributing it free to the peasant tillers, can be done only against the despotic landlords and landgrabbers and also where the people's army and the revolutionary forces are strong enough to carry out such a land reform in an equitable and productive way and frustrate the violent reaction of the enemy. In so many places, we must still recognize and take advantage of the differentiation of the small, middle and big landlords as well as of the enlightened and despotic gentry and prevent the entire landlord class from uniting against the revolution.

The people's war and the New People's Army

In carrying out the armed struggle, the New People's Army must follow the absolute leadership of the Party and must implement the theory and strategic line of people's war, which is to encircle the cities from the countryside and accumulate strength until it is possible to seize the cities. The concrete form of people's war at this stage of the strategic defensive is extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare with an ever widening and deepening mass base. The gross reduction of the mass base due to the interplay of the enemy's total war policy and the gross error of militarism must be promptly and vigorously solved.

It may be said even now that the current NPA troop strength with high-powered rifles is equivalent to several scores of companies or at least a score of battalions or several regiments or brigades. It is even possible to designate them as such. But we must never forget that we are still waging guerrilla warfare and we must deploy our forces accordingly.

The current armed strength of the NPA can allow it to control the villages of at least 500 municipalities out of the total 1500 in the Philippines, if the NPA forces are properly deployed. In the drive to expand and consolidate the guerrilla fronts, a small or medium-sized guerrilla front or districts of bigger guerrilla fronts can have a sum total of one company of Red fighters. But the headquarters platoon of such force must be in relative concentration as the center of gravity and the squads in the other platoons must be dispersed for mass work, with each squad capable of controlling and influencing the villages of one municipality as guerrilla zone, especially with the support of the militia and self-defense units of the mass organizations, the local organs of political power and the local Party branches.

At levels of command higher than the guerrilla front, such as the regional, interregional and central levels, the centers of gravity can be company-size or more, depending on the degree of the development of the people's war. But these must be in relative concentration, within the necessary radius that allows them to do various types of work, avoid becoming an unbearable logistical burden and yet have the ability to assemble or link up with other units for offensive and other concentrated operations.

The NPA should avoid self-constriction. It should not concentrate fifty percent or more into a few absolutely concentrated companies and battalions and thereby drastically reduce the number of local guerrilla squads and armed propaganda teams for mass work. Without an ever expanding and consolidated mass base, the larger unsustainable formations will be preoccupied with logistical needs and will eventually fall into passivity and isolation and gross setbacks even after a period of successful military offensives.

The Party and the NPA rely on the support of the people through the local organs of political power, mass organizations, the local branches of the Party, the militia and self-defense units of the mass organizations. We must reiterate that to meet logistical needs, the NPA should rely mainly on contributions of the masses as a percentage of the benefits derived from land reform and other gains of the revolutionary movement, production by and for the people's army, taxes from the enlightened gentry and businessmen and confiscations from the enemy.

The central leadership of the Party and the national command of the NPA are needed to reallocate surpluses from one region to another region in need and from consolidated areas to areas of expansion. It is wrong and disorienting to undertake special operations of a politically objectionable character and to make plans dependent on material assistance from higher levels of the Party or the people's army or from sources abroad, especially in the current international environment.

At its current level of armed strength, the NPA has the capability of assembling forces of various sizes (small team, squad, platoon, company and even battalion) for launching tactical offensives. The guerrilla front command or district command of bigger guerrilla fronts can plan and undertake platoon-size or oversized platoon offensives; and the regional command or command of big guerrilla fronts, company-size offensives. The Party Central Committee, the Military Commission and the NPA national operational command must be guided by the line of centralized leadership and decentralized operations but must work out the guidelines and plans for the people's war and for the correct deployment and redeployment of forces from period to period nationwide and in major battlefields.

The "Left" opportunists have imagined that total victory is possible without developing the people's war and people's army in stages by rapidly organizing large military formations and/or aiming for armed urban insurrections. But there are also the Right opportunists who have a disdain for the protracted people's war, who wrongly counterpoise the legal struggle as political struggle and the armed struggle as a "nonpolitical" or as a purely military one and who are spreading such erroneous lines as that the entire revolutionary movement has been "marginalized" (relative to the rat race within the ruling system) because of the armed struggle; that the people are already tired of their own armed resistance to the counterrevolutionary violence of the oppressors and exploiters; and are hopeless because of the international environment of 1989-1991.

As regards the struggle between revolution and counterrevolution, the revolutionary forces and the people led by the Party are at the center of the political stage precisely because of their armed struggle. Without the people's army, the people have nothing. Were the revolutionary forces to give up armed struggle, they will indeed become as marginal within the ruling system as those who pretend to be revolutionary and yet wish the revolutionary forces to give up the armed struggle or lose sight of its crucial importance in the seizure of political power and realization of social revolution.

The successes of the revolutionary movement is measured in terms of building the Party, the people's army,

the organs of political power and the mass organizations. We have never sought to measure success simply by asking whether we have already taken over the presidential palace in Manila and how many seats we have in the executive offices, the legislature and the courts of the reactionary government. On the other hand, we have been establishing organs of democratic political power wherever we can in order to destroy the tentacles of the reactionary state and ultimately seize power in the cities.

Relations between armed and legal forms of struggle

There must be a clarification of the relationship between the armed and legal forms of struggle and the various forms of legal struggle. Both the armed and legal or nonarmed forms of struggle are political forms of struggle. It has been often said correctly that war is the continuation of political struggle by another means. The New People's Army and the people's war have their revolutionary political character and are political instruments of the people.

Relative to the armed struggle, the legal forms of struggle are secondary because these cannot by themselves or in the main effect the seizure of political power by the proletariat and the people. Total victory in the armed struggle is required by the social revolution. But legal forms of struggle are important and are indispensable to the advance of the armed revolution. They have a distinctive character and a distinctive role to play. They are defensive in the face of the overwhelming forces of the enemy police and military but are certainly meant to persuade a great number of people to fight the enemy.

There have been concrete forms of legal struggle. The most important of these consists of the mass education, mass organizing and mass mobilization constantly carried out in accordance with the national democratic program and seen dramatically through strikes, demonstrations, marches and other forms of concerted mass actions on burning class, sectoral and multisectoral issues. The workers' trade unions, the urban poor communities, and the mass organizations of students and other youth, women, teachers and other professionals and various sectors must be expanded and consolidated every day through painstaking work.

Another form of legal struggle involves developing certain personnel and portions of the establishment (conservative organizations and institutions) to make a patriotic and progressive stand on issues and thereby breach, paralyze or disintegrate the ruling system from within in combination with the revolutionary and progressive forces from without. The Party has succeeded in developing progressive fractions within the reactionary government, churches, business organizations, reactionary trade unions and so on.

Still another form of legal struggle is the electoral struggle, which occurs every so many years. So far, this has not yielded the results commensurate to our mass base and has rated lower than the aforecited forms of legal struggle. The electoral struggle is designed by the politicians of the reactionary classes to create the illusion of democracy and exclude the genuine representatives of the people, especially the toiling masses, from political power. But the legal democratic forces must engage in electoral struggle to propagate the national democratic line and try to put in and develop progressive elements in the reactionary government.

Still another form of legal struggle is the one conducted in legal and political defense of the comrades and allies who are arrested and detained and suffer various forms of persecution by the enemy. Those arrested and detained by the enemy have less initiative than when they were not in the hands of the enemy. But in pursuing the struggle that is possible, they do not only fight for themselves but they can also inspire people outside of prison to fight more resolutely. The martyrs and the living victims of persecution can inspire the entire people to greater resistance to oppression.

The exploratory talks that have occurred between the Ramos regime and the NDF deserve to be mentioned last here as a form of legal struggle. The talks have not matured yet into formal bilateral peace talks. By these talks, an illegal force like the NDF can succeed in legally propagating its national democratic line as the line for a just and lasting peace and in attaining international recognition for its status of belligerency. But we must guard against the danger of sending the wrong signals to the revolutionary forces, making the enemy appear as tractable and creating false illusions among the people. The revolutionary forces must always be ready to pull out of the exploratory talks or bilateral peace talks if these undermine rather than strengthen the revolutionary forces.

The legal progressive organizations must give the highest priority to their own political education, their own organizational buildup and mass campaigns. They can propagate the national democratic program anywhere in the legal arena. But such a program should not be funneled exclusively or mainly into either the bourgeois electoral game, into lobbying in any institution or branch of the reactionary government or into the frame of peace negotiations between the NDF and the reactionary government. The revolutionary cadres in the legal democratic

movement must grasp the correct relationship and coordination between the armed and legal forms of struggle as well as between the various forms of legal struggle.

The Right opportunists exaggerate the importance of all legal forms of struggle or pick out one of these to exaggerate its importance and place the legal struggle on top of the armed revolution. One way of differentiating the revolutionaries from the reformists is their way of evaluating and correlating the armed and legal forms of struggle.

Reformism becomes most obvious when it denies the necessity of armed revolution in the Philippine today. On the other hand, it is "Left" opportunism to deny the necessity and importance of the legal democratic movement and preoccupy oneself with the armed struggle to the point of failing to see the correct relationship and coordination of the armed struggle and the legal democratic movement.

Those who do not recognize and appreciate the great importance of the organs of political power and mass organizations being created in the countryside in the course of people's war can be disappointed by an already prolonged period of armed revolution. Such persons are usually carried away by the petty-bourgeois notion that success in the armed revolution in the Philippines can be measured only by how much political power we have already gained in the cities.

Of course, the end game in the armed revolution is the seizure of the cities. But we might get farther away from this objective if we fall into "Left" opportunism or we allow Right opportunism to discourage the armed revolution. We must develop the people's war in its current stage of the strategic defensive, accumulate strength and on the basis of this we shall be able to proceed to the next stage.

III. Greet the new period of revolutionary struggle in the world

So soon after the gloating of the United States and the other major industrial capitalist countries over the fall of "socialism" (in fact bureaucratic capitalism masquerading as socialism), the world capitalist system is conspicuously afflicted by an unprecedentedly severe crisis of overproduction. There are mounting inventories of all kinds of industrial and agricultural products that cannot be sold profitably. There is an epidemic of bankruptcies. And the winning monopolies are driven to do what precisely aggravates the crisis.

In the attempt to raise their rates of profit and improve efficiency and competitiveness through the further adoption of high technology, these monopoly firms have thrown out of job not only great numbers of blue collar workers but also ever greater proportions of white collar workers (whose ranks had been enlarged in previous decades by high technology and neocolonialism) privatized so that the monopoly bourgeoisie can increase its profits and cut down the number and the wages of public service employees.

As a result, all capitalist countries are reeling from a prolonged recessionary trend. In fact, conditions of depression have set in, if we consider that production growth rates (below two percent) involve the further reduction of employment and the further bloating of accounts in the service and military-industrial sectors. The current rate of unemployment is high in most of the advanced industrial capitalist countries, especially if we see through the statistical sleight of hand.

Background to the current world capitalist crisis

From the end of World War II, after several decades of unprecedented and relatively unimpeded international expansion of capital, especially through neocolonial use of finance capital, the United States and other major capitalist powers are now surrounded by an ocean of bad debts and depressed underdeveloped and lesser industrial capitalist countries. The foreign debt of the third world and former Soviet bloc countries is around US\$1.8 trillion (of which at least US\$1.6 trillion is third world debt) and the effective demand in the world market for their own kind of products, mainly raw materials and some manufactures, have been going down. The result for most of these countries has been the depression of their economies since the early 1980s.

Thus, the major capitalist powers have a tendency to pull back from common global schemes of capital expansion and are increasingly driven to consolidate their national and regional positions and compete with each other. Most industrial capitalist countries have resorted to excessive borrowing to keep their economies going by providing the contracts and financial support to the monopoly firms and by feeding consumer credit. The US economy stands out as the top excessive borrower, with a total debt of US\$11 trillion, of which US\$5 trillion are federal and state debts—largely foreign-funded—and the rest, corporate and consumer credit.

In the 1970s, the industrial capitalist countries seemed to have found a solution to the crisis of overproduction, specifically the problem of stagflation, by financing the global operations of monopoly firms and the

consumer credit and welfare measures within their own boundaries and by profuse lending—under the auspices of global neo-Keynesianism—to most of the third world and Soviet bloc countries and thereby disposing of surplus goods and capital. But eventually after a decade, it became clear that the overseas borrowers could not pay back their debts due to overconsumption, further distortion of their economies and deteriorating terms of trade. The prices of imported manufactures kept on rising while those of raw material and agricultural exports kept on falling. Technological advances also allowed the industrial capitalist countries either to substitute imported raw materials or draw more products out of a lesser quantity of these.

In the 1980s, the United States attracted foreign funds with its policy of high interest rates and thereby artificially kept itself by financial policy as the single largest country market for the consumer products of Western Europe and Japan and the newly industrializing or export-oriented economies (like the economic tigers of Asia and some Latin American countries), proceeded to engage in high speed spending for the high-tech military buildup and thereby undermined the US manufacturing base for exports. The United States became the biggest deficit spender and biggest debtor in the world and fell into industrial decline.

Even as there was a shift from neo-Keynesianism to monetarism and stronger demands for privatization and austerity for the third world, the world capitalist system as directed by the Group of Seven and managed by the IMF and World Bank, was able in the 1980s to pull in the biggest and last possible clients: China, Soviet Union and India, in that chronological order. Notwithstanding the US strategic defeat in the Vietnam war and the Soviet attainment—under Brezhnev—of strategic military parity with the United States in high-tech military production in the previous decade, the US-led capitalist alliance succeeded with its neocolonial deployment of capital in the third world and Eastern Europe to induce the biggest and last possible clients into accepting full integration into the world capitalist system.

The continuous internal growth of monopoly bureaucrat capitalism in the Soviet Union and in the East European countries since 1956 had made them receptive to being totally integrated into the world capitalist system. West Germany played the key role in drawing them in while the United States used the Cold War to hold down the total amount of economic accommodations to the Soviet Union from the West. In the 1970s, the Soviet bloc countries in Eastern Europe were under neocolonial control not only by the Soviet Union but also by the West. Soviet and Western neocolonialism consisted of delivering overpriced supplies and sucking the lifeblood of the people through loan arrangements. During the time of Gorbachov, the Soviet Union itself was already very much within the web of the world capitalist system. By then, it had become a beggar of hard currency for paying for vital imports and for servicing their debts, especially from West Germany.

It is now clearer than ever that there were concurrent and related developments since 1989. The political disintegration of the revisionist ruling parties and the collapse of the Soviet Union were so drastic and dramatic that the socioeconomic crisis of monopoly bureaucrat capitalism in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union was obscured and was not seen by many as a part of the global crisis of overproduction afflicting the biggest capitalist economies.

Since 1989, the monopoly bourgeoisie has so effectively used high-tech media, with the collaboration of the unremolded and coopted petty bourgeoisie, to carry out an ideological offensive against the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism and to misrepresent bureaucrat capitalism as socialism and Stalinism. The antisocialist ideas of the big bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie have been decked out as new ideas superior to Marxism-Leninism. Even those with no or with very little understanding of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice have presumed to be able to explain away the 1989-1991 developments in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union by simply citing Stalin as having been the one responsible for these rather than the process of capitalist restoration since 1956.

Within the same year of 1992 the industrial capitalist countries were so gravely wracked by the crisis of overproduction that they passed from triumphalism to gloom so soon after the collapse of the Soviet Union. In the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the monopoly bureaucrat bourgeoisie and the few privileged private entrepreneurs have continued to exploit the people after scrapping the "socialist" signboard. The broad masses of the people, including the petty bourgeoisie are suffering an economic hell worse than ever before.

The US strategic decline

The US strategic decline is due to overconsumption and military overspending. The United States can go on a serious drive to reverse the decline only by inflicting further harm on its own people and curtailing the accommodations it had previously made to its industrial capitalist allies. The United States has to funnel more funds to its

own monopoly bourgeoisie in order to make its own industry more efficient and more competitive. But it can do this only at the expense of the American people whose jobs are now being drastically reduced by the accelerated adoption of high technology. Those countries that have high export surpluses from the US market have to contend with the US plan to cut these surpluses down.

So long as US resources are allocated in favor of the monopoly bourgeoisie, the American people suffer exploitation. The US prosperity in the last decade has resulted in the impoverishment of the people. The US social structure demonstrates the greed of the monopoly bourgeoisie at the expense of the overwhelming majority of the people. The wealthiest of the monopoly bourgeoisie or the top one percent of the population controls more wealth than the bottom 90 percent; and directly owns 46 percent of the wealth. The top 20 percent of the population controls 100 percent of the stock corporations.

On the other hand, 50 percent of the people have no wealth or are in debt. Seventy percent have no money left after paying for basic necessities (housing, food, utilities and sundries). A full 75 million people (larger than the entire Philippine population) live in abject poverty. Seventy percent of them are white and 30 percent, nonwhite.

The US economic crisis has been so severe that Bush failed to get himself reelected, despite his attempt to present himself as the personification of victory in the Cold War and in the Gulf War. The recession, the unemployment, the extremely skewed income structure, the conspicuousness of poverty, the ever growing trade and budgetary deficits, the colossal debt, the faltering trade offensive and the deteriorating quality of life (including homelessness, dilapidation of the basic infrastructure, blighting of cities, pollution and criminality) have worked against the reelection bid of Bush.

The president-elect Clinton has benefited from a protest vote. He has promised to revive the US economy and generate more jobs, raise industrial productivity and competitiveness through high technology, attend to social problems at home, go into infrastructure building, provide basic social services, reduce military expenditures, and tax US companies abroad.

Were Clinton to try carrying out what he has promised, the American people will have to suffer more exploitation and joblessness. The US monopoly bourgeoisie is merely being assured of further opportunities to amass profits and cannot be expected to share these with the rest of the American people. Despite all the naive liberal prattle that Clinton will draw the United States inward, the nature of US imperialism requires the US monopoly bourgeoisie to aggravate the exploitation and oppression of peoples abroad, shift the US capitalist crisis to other countries and sharpen contradictions with other industrial capitalist countries.

1. US contradictions with Western Europe

There are growing economic contradictions between the United States and Western Europe. These currently include investment, trade, currency and credit problems in the relations between the two sides, in Western Europe, in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union and elsewhere in the world.

After all the hosannas to economic union, the European Community (Western Europe) is in a state of economic and social turbulence due to the world capitalist crisis of overproduction. The recession, high rates of unemployment, social cutbacks and inflationary pressures are taking their toll. There are tensions among the EEC members as a result of the questions about sovereignty, the currency turmoil, the German high interest rates, the protracted Uruguay Round of the GATT, the assignment of economic functions to the EEC members, the questions about major and minor members of the community, and the question of dividing the spoils in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Germany is the economic giant at the core of the European economic union. It is expected to resent any substantial reduction of US importation of German surplus goods. At the same time, it is the chief exploiter of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. It is using the Czech part of Czechoslovakia (now being dissolved) as the manufacturing and commercial base for exploiting the consumer market in Eastern Europe. It is also pouring investments into Russia in the bid to get the lion's share in the exploitation of natural resources and the consumer market there.

The United States continues to seek the reduction of its own military expenditures, especially overseas, and get its allies in Western Europe to share the military expenses. Thus, opportunities are there for the revival of German nationalism and militarism through intermediate arrangements, like the formation of a European force, initially a German-French force under the auspices of the Conference of Security and Cooperation in Europe. But at the same time, the United States wants to remain in overall command and control through the NATO.

2. US contradictions with Japan and the situation in East Asia

The United States is also increasingly at odds with Japan over a comprehensive range of economic issues. There is growing US resentment over accommodations for Japanese investments and goods in the US market and over Japan's supposed non-reciprocation by refusing to open up its domestic market. The United States can bully Japan because the latter is dependent on the former for technology agreements and access to the markets and to sources of fuel and other raw materials which are still under US political hegemony and economic manipulation. The United States also wants Japan to yield more market share to US goods in East Asia and elsewhere and to become dependent on US rice and other food imports.

The United States has encouraged Japan to share military expenses, increase its military strength and expenditures, purchase US high-tech military equipment and raise its aggressive capabilities. Thus, Japanese nationalism and militarism have been revived under the slogan of regional security in East Asia and UN peacekeeping. Japanese troops are initially deployed as a security force in Cambodia. But the United States is wary over Japan's economic prowess and its current position as No. 1 investor and creditor in East Asia, over its ability to produce its own high-tech weapons as well as reproduce those bought from the United States and over its high potential as an all-round rival in East Asia.

The contradictions between the United States and Japan are likely to sharpen within the decade because each—in the drive to fix problems—will have to do so at the expense of the other. For one, Japan with its serious economic problems is further driven to have its own way, independent of the United States, in East Asia.

The Japanese bubble economy has burst. Profit rates on all major lines of production have drastically fallen. Consumer demand is low and inventories are fast piling up. It has become obvious that the Japanese banks have overextended themselves in speculation. Stock values have fallen by 50 percent within the year. Bankruptcies are leading to further concentration of monopoly capital.

Let us consider the possibilities for the East Asian economies that have benefited from previous accommodations in the US market should the United States succeed by any significant degree in reviving its production of tradable goods, in consolidating the US market and the North American Free Trade Association (NAFTA) and in pushing a trade offensive on a wider scale.

The Japanese economy, which is already on a downswing, will go through further paroxysms. The so-called economic tigers of Asia, including the Chinese provinces of Guangdong and Fujian, will be in serious economic trouble. Social turmoil is likely to erupt in a number of countries in East Asia. However, China can for a certain period of time try to work out internal social arrangements and external arrangements with the countries of East Asia and the former Soviet republics in anticipation of further US attempts to consolidate and go on an economic offensive.

China is under pressure from the United States to gradually make the Chinese political system correspond openly to the growth of capitalism in the Chinese economy and society. As Washington policymakers put it, China must "respect human rights" or else suffer such consequences as withdrawal of the most-favored-nation status, more restraints on trade, increased military sales to Taiwan and so on. They assert that liberalization of the Chinese economy must be accompanied by liberalization of the Chinese political system.

However, China would rapidly go the way of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in the final stage of capitalist restoration were it now to drop its avowed four cardinal principles. Thus China is banking on closer relations with Japan and other neighboring countries in order to counter US pressures and threats. On the balance, the United States is not pushing too hard because its strategy planners fear the adverse consequences of political turmoil in China. They prefer a process of peaceful evolution from socialism to capitalism, as anticipated even by John Foster Dulles and proven in the Soviet bloc countries since 1956.

3. China and other less developed industrial economies

In East Asia, China looms large as a third factor in the growing contradictions between the United States and Japan. Whatever social character it assumes, China has an industrial base and a large natural resource base and is the largest market in the world. It has gained economic access to the United States, Japan, the rest of East Asia, Western Europe, the Central Asian republics, Russia, Ukraine and the whole Eastern Europe.

Other than China, there are large countries or economies in the world whose industrial base is less developed than that of the major capitalist powers. These are India, Russia, Ukraine, Brazil and South Korea. All these countries or economies are threatened by industrial decline and compradorization as economic competition intensifies

among the major industrial capitalist countries. Either the industrial bourgeoisie of the lesser industrial economies manage to grow further or social degradation continues and eventually social upheavals will occur.

The monopoly bureaucrat capitalists of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe are now divided into two contending factions, one is for the revival of the industries and the other is for the phased closure of these and for the compradorization of the economy. The revival and growth of the industrial base are prevented by the general policy of the major capitalist powers to dump their surplus goods, conserve their capital and acquire only the most profitable assets and by such domestic factors as unbridled bureaucratic corruption, the further impoverishment of the people and the dearth of private entrepreneurial capital and expertise.

The monopoly bureaucrat capitalists are being compelled to maintain the outmoded state enterprises or close them. There is widespread social misery and growing social turmoil. This is generating nationalism, ethnic conflicts, civil wars and military fascism. At the same time, there are indications of rising revolutionary forces. There are calls for social revolution.

Notwithstanding the decades of misrepresentation of monopoly bureaucrat capitalism as socialism, in ways most detrimental to the proletariat and people in the former Soviet bloc countries, the historical and theoretical legacy of Lenin and Stalin remains an ineradicable ideological and political resource for the proletariat and people to draw from as the social conditions worsen. In so short a time, the capitalists and the fake democrats in the former Soviet bloc countries have been discredited. The broad masses of the people are disgusted with the monopoly bureaucrat bourgeoisie and the favored private entrepreneurs and are angered by their impoverished condition.

Four major contradictions and social turmoil

The neocolonial deployment of financial capital, under the slogan of development, has further distorted the economies of the client states and further impoverished the people. The share of 75 percent (third world peoples) of the world population in the global GNP was 23 percent in the 1980s and fell to 19 percent in the 1990s. This is poverty worsening in the third world. With the impoverishment of the people in the former Soviet bloc countries, 80 percent of the world population are now living a life of poverty and misery due to oppression and exploitation.

It is simply impossible that these oppressed and exploited people can allow themselves to suffer the ever worsening crisis without resistance. In the new period of revolutionary struggle that has arisen in the world, there are some subjective forces of the revolution to begin with. The people themselves demand social revolution in the face of the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system.

Some elements tend to forget that the world capitalist system is in crisis and that the oppressed peoples are bound to fight back. Such elements are people dazzled and befuddled by the integration of veritably all countries into the world capitalist system, the disintegration of revisionist ruling parties and regimes, the collapse of the Soviet Union, the defeat of this military superpower in the cold war, the use of US high-tech military might in the Gulf war and the ruthless US drive to isolate and disintegrate the social systems in Cuba and North Korea.

Let us look at the world comprehensively. The preindustrial underdeveloped countries and some countries with an industrial base in the third world and the former Soviet bloc countries have been in a state of depression for a long period of time. These countries have earlier been integrated into the world capitalist system and have been unable to earn enough hard currency to pay for supplies and service their debt from the industrial capitalist countries. They have been unable to sell profitably in the world market the raw materials and some manufactures that they have excess capacity to produce. Thus, they have fallen into depression. And this depression is now recoiling upon the major industrial capitalist countries themselves.

As of now, the world is wracked by four major contradictions. These are: first is the contradiction between the major industrial capitalist powers and the neocolonial client-states on the one hand and the proletariat and people on the other hand in the underdeveloped and bureaucrat-capitalist controlled countries; second is the contradiction among the major capitalist powers which have consolidated themselves as the three most powerful capitalist centers, the United States, Western Europe and Japan; third is the contradiction in all the industrial capitalist countries between the monopoly bourgeoisie on the one hand and the proletariat and people; and fourth is the contradiction between the major industrial capitalist powers and the lesser industrial capitalist countries, including those ruled by bureaucrat capitalist regimes.

The foregoing contradictions are running at the same time at a pace dictated by the aggravation of the crisis of overproduction, now accelerated by the application of high technology. Social turbulence and social upheavals

can occur within national boundaries but on a scale so wide that they span several countries and several continents at the same time and that no single capitalist power nor group of capitalist powers can stop social revolution in all those countries.

In its war of aggression against Iraq in 1991, the United States could not go it alone in bearing the cost of the war and had to pool the financial resources of several countries. Since then, the multi-polarization and contradictions among the major capitalist powers have gone further. In years to come, contradictions are likely to arise among the major capitalist powers regarding the sharing of costs and the division of the spoils in common aggressive actions against other countries.

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, categorically marking the end of the cold war, the level of political violence has risen. The former Soviet republics, Yugoslavia and other East European countries have become hot beds of armed ethnic conflicts and civil war. The limits to the capacity of the major capitalist powers to intervene militarily are showing, even as they instigate the outbreak of violence.

The major capitalist powers have deployed troops in other countries in the name of United Nations peace-keeping and humanitarian aid. Among the most recent interventions are in Cambodia, Croatia, Bosnia and Somalia. At the rate that the civil wars are arising or continuing, the attention and resources of the major capitalist powers and the United Nations are already overstrained. The bourgeois "democratization" (putting up front civilian officials and putting the military behind them to serve the same exploiting classes) pushed by the Reagan administration in Latin America and the Philippines in the 1980s is already overstrained by the ever worsening economic and social crisis. As exemplified by coups in Haiti, Peru and other countries, there is a trend back towards undisguised authoritarian and military junta rule. These will incite the people to armed revolution.

The "peaceful resolution of regional armed conflicts" promoted by the United States and the Soviet Union in Iraq and Iran, Central Asia (particularly in Afghanistan), southern Africa (particularly South Africa and Angola), Central America (particularly Nicaragua and El Salvador) and Indochina (particularly Cambodia) is either under severe strain or is already in shambles. Armed conflict has either continued, resumed or is likely to break out in these areas.

There are the long-running revolutionary armed struggles for national liberation and democracy, like those of the peoples of the Philippines, Burma, Palestine, Peru, Colombia, Guatemala, Turkey, Kurdistan and other countries. The conditions for revolutionary armed struggle exist in many countries in the third world and the former Soviet bloc. So long as the revolutionary forces and the people are determined to wage armed revolution, no single capitalist power or combination of capitalist powers can stop or defeat them.

The long-running depression and austerity measures imposed by the IMF and the World Bank in the third world have caused social unrest. The protest actions of the organized masses of the workers, peasants and other people are rising, despite the brutal attempts of the reactionary states to suppress them. There are also the spontaneous actions of the impoverished masses such as food riots and raids on stores and warehouses in several extremely impoverished countries.

There are the cycles of coups d'etat, the civil wars and ethnic conflicts which result from the social and economic crisis in the third world and the former Soviet bloc countries. These are occurring on a widening scale and these can stimulate the rise of revolutionary movements in due time.

The United States and the US-led capitalist alliance have imposed economic blockades and repeatedly threatened several countries with aggression, such as Cuba, North Korea, Libya Iraq and Yugoslavia. Such countries ward off the threats and aggressive acts of the US and other imperialists by asserting their national sovereignty, mobilizing their own people and availing themselves of breaches in the apparent single superpower hegemony of the United States over the entire world.

At the centers of industrial capitalism, industry-wide strikes of workers are occurring. They are opposing massive layoffs, the wage freeze and other forms of exploitation. There are also large and widespread mass actions and various forms of resistance to the brutality of state forces, the rise of racism and neofascism and imperialist acts of intervention and aggression.

In the United States, there have been popular outrage against poverty, hunger and homelessness and street resistance to police brutality in many cities. In capitalist countries, especially in Germany and several West European countries, the broad masses of the people are demonstrating in great numbers against the depredations of neofascist and racist groups, which are directed against migrant workers from the third world and refugees from

Eastern Europe and other parts of the world.

How the world situation affects the Philippine situation

The crisis of the world capitalist system is producing turmoil on a widescale. It is completely a passing illusion that capitalism has created a new world order at the end of the cold war. On the contrary, there is a new world disorder. It is on an ever widening scale. And it can be the ground for the resurgence of Marxist-Leninist parties and the anti-imperialist movement for social revolution.

How is the Philippines affected by the current world situation? There is no relief from but aggravation of the crisis of the ruling system. The US-Ramos regime cannot hope to attract enough foreign investments or borrow enough funds to cover the increasing trade and budgetary deficits, service the accumulated debt, satisfy the troops, police and paramilitary forces, repair the broken down infrastructure and turn the Philippines into one more "economic tiger" in Asia.

The kind of investments being attracted to the Philippines is that which whets the appetite of the exploiting classes for conspicuous consumption and real estate speculation. These mop up whatever is left of the foreign exchange from the export income after debt service and dollar-salting. The level of austerity and misery for the broad masses of the people is further going down.

The US scheme is to reduce "economic aid" and military expenditures in the Philippines and yet to continue having access to military facilities and using them under the US-RP military assistance and mutual defense agreements at a great cost to the client state. It is a cheapskate's scheme. The Philippine reactionary government is compelled more and more to draw from domestic resources what it needs to pursue the total war policy which the United States itself has pushed in the first place.

The crisis of the world capitalist system ensures the worsening of the crisis of the ruling system. It aggravates the domestic crisis and creates increasingly more favorable conditions for the armed revolution. The Philippine revolutionary movement may not be able to secure any significant material assistance from abroad at the moment but factors objectively favorable to and politically supportive of our revolution can increasingly arise from the crisis and turmoil of the world capitalist system itself and from the eventual resurgence of the anti-imperialist movement abroad. At any rate, the Philippine revolutionary forces have never depended on foreign material assistance.

The anti-imperialist parties, organizations and movements which were favored in the past by the Soviet and East European ruling parties in the course of the cold war have either found themselves in a difficult situation, have fallen into disarray or have even disintegrated or become openly social democratic. But the unprecedented and seemingly unchallengeable dominance of US imperialism and the world capitalist system is offset by the rapid worsening of the crisis, by the increased understanding that peoples can liberate themselves in a self-reliant way and by the elimination of modern revisionism, monopoly bureaucrat capitalism and social imperialism as sources of ideological and political confusion. The way is wide open for the Marxist-Leninist parties and genuine revolutionary forces to come forward.

The Communist Party of the Philippines and other working class parties

At the moment, the Korean Workers' Party and the Cuban Communist Party continue to stand prominently and vigorously for the anti-imperialist and socialist cause and speak boldly for proletarian internationalism. The Chinese and Vietnamese Communist Parties still avow themselves to be following the road of socialism. They are preoccupied with economic construction and promoting their own economic and trade relations with foreign countries. The Cuban Communist Party continues to issue the call, socialism or death, in order to inspire the Cuban people. It stands heroically in defense of Cuban national sovereignty and has mobilized the Cuban people in the face of the growing threats of US imperialism. The Korean Workers' Party has initiated and propagated the 1992 Pyongyang Declaration, signed by scores of parties, in order to uphold and defend the cause of socialism and national independence.

The biggest communist parties which have denounced the Gorbachovite phenomenon and made a critique of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in varying degrees of comprehensiveness and profundity include the following: Communist Party of India (Marxist), Bangladesh Workers' Party, Communist Party of Portugal, Communist Party of Greece and Communist Party of France.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is one of the Marxist-Leninist parties which appreciate Mao Zedong

Thought, up to the theory of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship, combating modern revisionism and preventing the restoration of capitalism. In accordance with the basic teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao regarding scientific socialism and revisionism, the Party has made and issued a critique of what has occurred in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe from 1956 to 1992. This is meant to strengthen the Marxist-Leninist stand of the Party rank and file, counter the ongoing imperialist ideological offensive and contribute to the worldwide study of scientific socialism and the revisionist betrayal. This has been well received by all the communist parties that are seriously studying the degeneration and disintegration of the ruling parties and regimes in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The Party is taking an active role in bilateral relations and in multilateral seminars and conferences (short of agreeing to the formation of a new International) in order to promote Marxist-Leninist understanding of the drastically new situation as well as mutual support and cooperation. The purpose is to consolidate and expand the ranks of the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations and advance the anti-imperialist and socialist cause.

In its relations with other working class parties abroad, the Party is guided by the overall principle of proletarian internationalism and by the principles of national integrity, independence, equality, noninterference and mutual support and cooperation. In participating in the broad anti-imperialist movement in the world, the Party wishes to be at the proletarian revolutionary core but is ever willing to join with all anti-imperialist forces, irrespective of differences in ideology and social conditions.

The Party enjoys a high standing among the revolutionary forces in the world today because of its firm adherence to Marxist-Leninist principles, is deeply rooted among the masses of workers and peasants and has been waging the armed revolution self-reliantly for twenty four years.

The proletariat and people of the world are entering into a new period of revolutionary struggle. The Party has the basic strength and confidence to pass from the old to the new period. The advent of the new period is characterized by a wider and deeper crisis of the world capitalist system, the disintegration of revisionist parties and regimes and the initial gradual resurgence of the forces of anti-imperialism and socialism on a global scale.

Celebrate the 25th Anniversary of our Party and Lead the Philippine Revolution from Victory to Victory

Message of the CPP Central Committee, December 26, 1993

Let us celebrate the 25th anniversary of the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines on December 26, 1968 on the theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Since then, the Party has achieved great ideological, political and organizational victories. These constitute the glorious record of the Party in the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the entire people for national liberation and democracy against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

These great victories are the result of the correct revolutionary line and the hard work, struggles and sacrifices of the Party cadres and members and the broad masses of the people. Our Party cadres and members have faithfully upheld Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as their guide to revolutionary action and have gone deep among the workers, peasants and other people in order to arouse, organize and mobilize them and thereby lead them correctly and effectively. Let us always remember and pay homage to all the revolutionary martyrs who have made the supreme sacrifice in order to make our victories possible. When we reestablished the Party in 1968, we were determined to bring to a victorious conclusion the first great rectification movement and to carry out constantly the fighting and constructive tasks of the people's democratic revolution. We are now in the midst of the second great rectification movement, partially started in 1988 and proceeding in comprehensively and thoroughly since 1992. As a result of this, are reinvigorated to wage revolutionary struggle and overcome the grave deviations, errors and shortcomings. Thus, we now celebrate the restrengthening of our Party on a nationwide scale. We have reaffirmed our basic revolutionary principles and rectified major errors. We are successfully raising to a new and higher level the revolutionary unity and fighting will and capabilities of the Party and the people against the enemy, the US-Ramos clique that currently represents the ruling system of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class, both servile to foreign monopoly capitalism.

The 25th anniversary of the Party coincides with the 100th birth anniversary of Mao Zedong. We offer our victories as our bouquet of tribute to the memory of this great communist thinker, leader and fighter. His correct leadership of the new-democratic and socialist stages of the Chinese revolution continues to inspire us. His Marxist-Leninist critique of imperialism, modern revisionism and neocolonialism and his theory and practice of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship are vindicated by the events of 1989 to the present and give us scientific light and hope that the socialist and communist future of the Filipino people and mankind is achievable.

The reestablishment of the Party was preceded by the development of the legal anti-imperialist and antifeudal mass movement from 1961 onward, by the emergence of advanced revolutionary mass activists among the workers, peasants and youth; and by the clandestine theoretical and political education of proletarian revolutionary cadres in Marxism-Leninism and the first great rectification movement which partially started in 1965 and was vigorously launched in 1967.

In 1962, the representative of the new proletarian revolutionary cadres joined the leadership of the old merger party of the communist and socialist parties and took the initiative of pushing the open progressive mass movement in a comprehensive way, providing refresher courses to veteran cadres and combating subjectivism and opportunism in the history of the old merger party as well as modern revisionism then centered in the Soviet Union. He took the line that the revolutionary party of the proletariat must ceaselessly promote the legal democratic movement but the point is to resume at the soonest possible time and accomplish the unfinished armed revolution of the people against foreign and feudal domination. As Comrade Mao Zedong taught, the chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system demands a protracted people's war.

Proletarian revolutionary cadres entered the trade union movement by doing social investigation and educational work. They came into contact and close working relations with the veteran cadres and the masses of workers and peasants from 1962 onward. Among the toiling masses, the proletarian revolutionary cadres increased their number. They also continued to arouse, recruit and militate the student and other youth to serve the people. The Progressive Review shed light on domestic and international issues from a Marxist-Leninist vantage from

1962 onward. From 1964 onward, theoretical and political education was promoted through Kabataang Makabayan, a comprehensive youth organization of young workers and peasants, students and young professionals.

In 1965 the proletarian revolutionary cadres put forward a review of the history of the old merger party of the communist and socialist parties and criticized the major errors which had caused the almost total destruction of the revolutionary movement in the 1950s. From 1966 onward, Struggle for National Democracy became the principal study material of the mass movement. Inspired by all previous revolutionary struggles of the Filipino people and goaded by the worsening conditions of oppression and exploitation, the youth joined up with the workers second great rectification movement and peasants through social investigations, mass work and concerted activities. They were also inspired by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the Vietnamese war of national liberation against US imperialist aggression and other revolutionary struggles abroad.

In 1967, a sharp division and struggle developed between the proletarian revolutionary cadres and the Lava revisionist renegades who refused to rectify their long-running errors and who took the patronage of the Soviet revisionist renegades. Consequently, preparations were made for the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines, entailing comprehensive and thoroughgoing criticism and repudiation of modern revisionism and the Lava revisionist renegades in Manila as well as the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique which had usurped authority over remnants of the old people's army in Central Luzon.

In more than a year before the reestablishment of the Party, the first great rectification movement was carried out along the Marxist-Leninist line. The document, Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party, was enthusiastically studied by the proletarian revolutionary cadres and the advanced revolutionary mass activists. They studied and analyzed the history and circumstances of the working class and the entire people. The Program for a People's Democratic Revolution and the Constitution of the Party were also prepared and studied.

The Marxist-Leninist classics of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao were propagated. While seriously studying the revolutionary theory of the proletariat and the ideological and political line relevant to the concrete conditions of the Philippines, the proletarian revolutionary cadres were in the forefront of the legal democratic movement and were resolved to reestablish the Communist Party of the Philippines. The major errors and shortcomings of the old communist party (since 1930) and the subsequent merger party (since 1938) were identified, criticized and repudiated. The most damaging errors were those of the series of Lava brothers who had acted as general secretaries of the old merger party within the period of 1942 to 1964. They were afflicted by bourgeois subjectivism and swung from Right to "Left" opportunism and vice versa. The proletarian revolutionary cadres consistently pursued the Marxist-Leninist ideological, political and organizational line. Since the beginning of the 1960s, they had been responsible for clarifying the character of Philippine society as semicolonial and semifeudal, the character of the present revolution as national democratic of the new type (led by the proletariat), the motive forces, the targets, the strategy and tactics and the socialist perspective of the Philippine revolution.

Reestablishment and Formative Years of the Party

The reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines was characterized by the integration of the universal theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism with the concrete conditions and concrete practice of the Philippine revolution. The history and current circumstances of the proletarian revolutionary cadres and the Filipino people were thoroughly studied and analyzed, using the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method.

At the congress of reestablishment on December 26, 1968, there were twelve delegates (one in absentia), representing a few scores of proletarian revolutionary cadres who had studied the full course on Marxism-Leninism and the Philippine revolution and several hundreds of advanced revolutionary mass activists. The latter were prospective Party members and were assisting the Party cadres in the mass organizations of workers, peasants and youth. These organizations under the effective leadership of the proletarian revolutionary cadres had a total membership of no more than fifteen thousand people.

Soon after its reestablishment, the Party linked up with the good cadres, commanders and fighters of the remnant units of the old people's army, engaged them in ideological and political studies, mass work and politico-military training. Together, they repudiated the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique and established the New People's Army on March 29, 1969. The Party inherited the good cadres, commanders and fighters and the rural mass base from the previous revolutionary movement and was true to the revolutionary line of pursuing the new-democratic revolution through people's war and through the development of the worker-peasant alliance. The Plenum of the Party Central Committee in 1969 integrated into the Central Committee the most outstanding cadres of the

peasant movement and the people's army. It decided that the mass base in Central Luzon would be the main resource base for the nationwide expansion of the revolutionary forces. It also decided to seek military assistance from abroad upon the proposal of the cadres in the NPA.

The people's army became the main organization of the Party under its absolute leadership. It started with only 60 fighters and only nine automatic rifles and 26 inferior firearms in the second district of Tarlac province. It had a mass base of 80,000 peasants with revolutionary experience since the 1930s, especially since the armed struggle against the Japanese occupation during World War II. In preparation for starting guerrilla warfare at several strategic points in the archipelago and for building the people's army nationwide, politico-military training of the Red fighters in Tarlac as well as cadres for deployment in Northern Luzon and the Visayas was conducted by the Party in the months before the establishment of the New People's Army.

Even as the Party initiated and developed the people's war from scratch, it never ceased to lead and develop the legal democratic mass movement based in the urban areas. It coordinated the revolutionary struggle in both urban and rural areas. The dialectical relationship between legal and illegal forms of struggle helped to strengthen each other. In terms of developing the capability to seize political power, the revolutionary armed struggle based in the countryside is the principal form of revolutionary struggle. The legal forms of struggle based in the urban areas are secondary, indispensably important but vulnerable to enemy suppression and therefore defensive in character. Both forms of struggle are integral aspects of the people's war.

Since the beginning of the people's war in 1969 under the leadership of the Party, the united front mainly for armed struggle and secondarily for legal struggle was promoted. The revolutionary class line in the entire national democratic revolution is the same class line for developing the united front. It requires the leadership of the working class through the Party; the basic worker-peasant alliance through the people's army and the peasant movement; the basic revolutionary forces, including the petty-bourgeoisie; the positive forces, including the middle bourgeoisie; and taking advantage of the contradictions among the reactionaries in order to isolate and destroy the power of the most reactionary big comprador-landlord clique most subservient to foreign monopoly capitalism at every given time.

Even before 1969, the good remnants of the people's army had been creating the barrio organizing committees as organs of political power. But the Party would subsequently raise these to a higher level of development in accordance with the revolutionary antifeudal line of the working class through its Party, relying mainly on the poor and lower-middle peasants and the farm workers, winning over the middle peasants, neutralizing the rich peasants and taking advantage of the contradictions between enlightened and evil gentry in order to isolate and destroy the despotic power of the latter.

In 1969, the Party was able to hold a large demonstration of 15,000 peasants in Metro Manila and subsequently 50,000 in Tarlac province. These proved that the reestablished party had already gained a sizable peasant mass following. At the same time, the NPA waged guerrilla warfare and raised the number of its nine automatic rifles to 200 from early 1969 to the middle of 1970 through ambushes and raids. In 1969, the enemy attempted to nip the people's army in the bud but failed. He resorted to massacres, bloody crimes of intrigue, widespread illegal searches and detention, torture and other barbaric acts in order to suppress the revolutionary movement in Tarlac from 1969 onward.

Some of the major errors in 1969 included the persistence of the roving rebel band mentality, the purely military viewpoint, the neglect of solid mass organizing, the failure to improve the [proletarian] class character of the barrio organizing committees and the adventurist dispatch of armed cadres to Negros province without even an initial mass base, the putschist attacks on "barrio self-defense units" without distinguishing between the bad elements from the good elements in them and the like. These errors were promptly criticized and corrected.

But the overwhelming concentration of one full division of the enemy, Task Force Lawin, in the second district of Tarlac against only 200 Red fighters resulted in severe losses. In the latter part of 1970, Marcos announced the demise of the New People's Army after enemy armed units under Task Force Lawin seized the sixty M-16 rifles of the NPA main force in one raid. At any rate, valuable lessons were learnt and immediately transmitted to the revolutionary cadres and forces in Isabela province. A few cadres and weapons had been shifted from Tarlac to Isabela. At the end of 1970, the NPA successfully raided in Baguio City the armory of the Philippine Military Academy and seized several scores of Browning automatic rifles—a fitting riposte to the earlier enemy capture of the weapons of the NPA main force in Central Luzon.

Unknown to the enemy, the Party had already created a large mass base of 50,000 people in Isabela and Nueva Vizcaya by 1970. This area would become the training ground for more cadres for nationwide expansion. This also became the venue for the 1970 Politburo meeting which produced the "Organizational Guide and the Outline of Reports" and pushed for the revolutionary seeding of the whole country with cadres arising from the armed revolutionary movement and the legal democratic mass movement. These cadres were instructed to form provisional regional Party committees. The 1970 PB meeting decided to accelerate the recruitment and education of Party members from the ranks of advance mass activists in the First Quarter Storm of 1970. Thus, before the end of the year there were already more than 200 Party members who had taken the basic Party course with the basic Party documents, (Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party, the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution and the Party Constitution) and *Philippine Society and Revolution* as the basic texts.

In continuing to lead the legal democratic mass movement based in the urban areas, the Party directed and carried out the First Quarter Storm of 1970. This consisted of weekly demonstrations and marches, participated in by 50,000 to 100,000 youth and workers in Metro Manila and considerable numbers of youth and other people in provincial cities. These mass actions broadcast the general line of national democratic revolution and generated a powerful mass movement all over the country. These yielded advance revolutionary mass activists who would subsequently join the Communist Party and the New People's Army.

Previous high points of the legal mass movement in the 1960s had been the anti-CAFA demonstration of 5000 mainly students in March 1961, the demonstration of 15,000 workers, peasants and students in January 1966 and the demonstration of 15,000 to 20,000 peasants in April 1969 in Manila and 50,000 of them in Tarlac also in 1969. The proletarian revolutionaries who reestablished the Party and the people's army consistently led the urban-based legal democratic movement and took away the initiative from the blatant enemy forces as well as from the Lava revisionist renegades, the clerico-fascists and other groups that were opposed to the people's war and acted as special agents of the reactionary state.

In 1970, *Philippine Society and Revolution* was printed and publicly distributed to provide a full presentation of the entire history, the current basic problems of the Filipino people and the new democratic revolution. This became the best seller aboveground and underground. There were also timely definitive articles from the Party about domestic and international issues. The most prominent among these were concerning the major domestic and international issues, including the First Quarter Storm (FQS) of 1970, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China and the Vietnam war. Ang Bayan (The People), the main organ of information of the Central Committee, carried the articles.

The Party central leadership directed the entire Party organization to conduct general mass education on the national democratic revolution and special mass courses focused on the specific interests of the various types of mass formations. At the same time, the Party central leadership drew up the three-level Party course of Marxist-Leninist study. In accordance with the Party Constitution, the Revolutionary School of Mao Zedong Thought was put in overall charge of Party education and specifically in charge of the intermediate and advance study courses and the Education Department under the General Secretariat was put in charge of the basic Party course. The course outlines and the reading lists were drawn up. The Revolutionary School of Mao Zedong Thought took charge of the selection, translation and reproduction of study materials. The Education Department of the General Secretariat took charge of producing the study guide of the basic Party course and the translation of related materials. The mass organizations took charge of basic mass education.

In 1971, the CC Plenum summed up and drew lessons from the revolutionary experience gained in Central Luzon, Northern Luzon, Manila-Rizal, Southern Luzon and Negros Island. It paid ample attention to the major errors committed in Tarlac and to the objectives of recovering lost areas in Tarlac province and expanding into the whole of Central Luzon by taking advantage of the 1971 collapse of the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique which had previously blocked the expansion of the revolutionary movement there in 1969 and 1970. It criticized and rectified the rapid and arbitrary punishment of suspected informers in Isabela. The principles and methods of adhering to due process were clarified. So was the question of forming the people's court. The Organizational Guide and Outlines of Reports was further improved and finalized.

The same Plenum discussed thoroughly and planned the nationwide expansion of the Party and other revolutionary forces. It was decided that the country would be covered by seven regional Party organizations: Northern Luzon, Central Luzon, Manila-Rizal, Southern Luzon, Western Visayas, Eastern Visayas and Mindanao. Cadres

were chosen either to strengthen the existing regional committees or form new ones where these did not yet exist. The establishment of a provisional regional Party committee in Mindanao, the second largest island in the archipelago, was one of the major objectives.

Consequent to the Plenum, the Party central leadership formulated the Rules for Establishing the People's Government and the Revolutionary Guide to Land Reform. The local organs of political power at the barrio level were considered the base of higher levels of the people's government which would be built from one territorial level to a higher one. It was made clear that the Party would be the ruling party in the evolving people's government and that it exercises political power, especially at levels where the people's government does not yet exist. It was also made clear that the minimum program of land reform would be the general antifeudal line. This entailed land rent reduction, elimination of usury, raising of farm wages, improving the prices of the peasants' produce, raising production in agricultural and sideline occupations through the initiative of individual households and rudimentary forms of cooperation.

The translation and reproduction of the works of Mao Zedong were pushed. The Party made a selection of these works to make seven volumes under the titles: *On Philosophy*, *On Class Analysis and Social Investigation*, *On Party Building*, *On the Armed Struggle* (two volumes), *On the United Front* and *On Economic Work and Land Reform*. These were intended for the Intermediate Party course and for advance reading and study by Party organs, units and individual Party members.

On the third anniversary of the Party's reestablishment in 1971, a three-year summing up was made of the first three years of revolutionary experience. Both dogmatism and empiricism were criticized. Revolutionary phrasemongering and blind practice were repudiated. The call for closer links with the masses and for more thorough social investigation was made in order to strengthen the integration of theory and practice. The main thrust of the criticism was to correlate properly the fighting tasks of the NPA with the task of social investigation, propaganda and solid mass organizing. The cadres and fighters were reminded that it was not enough to build barrio organizing committees and that they had to organize the various types of mass organizations, the Party branches in the localities and the militia. The concrete dialectical relationship of consolidation and expansion was explained.

Wishing to impose a fascist dictatorship on the Filipino people and reacting to the upsurge of the revolutionary armed struggle and the legal democratic mass movement, the US-Marcos ruling clique accelerated its campaigns of suppression and its preparations for martial rule from 1970 to 1972. First there was the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus on August 21, 1971 immediately after the Plaza Miranda bombing which the regime automatically blamed on Marcos' arch rival Benigno Aquino and on the Party. The Party made a prompt denial and put the responsibility squarely on Marcos himself. Secondly, the regime imposed martial law on September 22, 1972 based on a proclamation predating September 21, 1972.

As Marcos prepared for the installation of his dictatorship, the Party intensified the revolutionary armed struggle and the legal democratic mass movement and, in anticipation of the martial rule, strengthened the revolutionary urban underground. Thus, when martial law was imposed on the people, the Party could secure most of its Party cadres and members and revolutionary mass activists in the urban areas. Most of those immediately arrested by the fascist dictatorship did not belong to the Party. Nevertheless, a number of Party members were arrested and detained indefinitely.

Among all parties in the country, including the political parties of the reactionary opposition, the Party was the most competent and clear in explaining the long-term premeditation and preparations (including the so-called constitutional reforms and the massacres) that Marcos had made for the imposition of the fascist dictatorship on the people and thereby prolong his rule. The Party correctly described that the open rule of terror was an act of desperation of both the ruling clique and the entire ruling system, a manifestation of the gravity of its crisis and the inability of the ruling classes to rule in the old way, and predicted that martial rule would fail to suppress the revolutionary movement but serve to further incite the people to armed revolution. The

Party called for the realization of a formal national united front organization and put forward the 10-point of the National Democratic Front on April 24, 1973. In accordance with this program, the NDF Preparatory Committee (NDF-Prepcom) sought to coordinate the formerly legal organizations which had been forced underground, to win over allies from the urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie, and to establish cooperative relations with the reactionary groups and leaders opposed to the fascist dictatorship of the US-Marcos ruling clique.

In 1972, Northern Luzon was divided into two subregional committees, Cagayan Valley (Northeastern Luzon) and Ilocos, Mountain Provinces and Pangasinan (IMP or Northwestern Luzon). It was advantageous [necessary and advantageous] for the Party to form the subregional Party organization of northwestern Luzon and develop the guerrilla forces in the Cordillera because the division-size Task Force Saranay of the enemy had been determinedly launching search-and-destroy operations against the NPA main units in Isabela since the latter half of 1971. The whole of Central Luzon remained under one regional Party committee. So did each of Southern Luzon (with Southern Tagalog and Bicol as subregions), Metro Manila, Western Visayas, Eastern Visayas and Mindanao.

As a result of the declaration of martial law, there was the urgent need to redeploy the high concentration of more than one thousand Party members from Manila-Rizal who had gone underground. But the capacity of the regional Party organizations outside of Manila-Rizal to absorb these cadres was still limited. The main base in Isabela was blockaded by the enemy and the Party had just begun to expand in Central Luzon under difficult conditions. The underground organizations of the Manila-Rizal Party organization and the central staff organs of the Party absorbed many of the cadres. A significant number of them were gradually redeployed to other regions. It was only in 1974 that they could be rapidly absorbed by the other regions.

The open rule of terror became a favorable condition for the growth in strength and advance of the revolutionary movement. However, there were severe difficulties and setbacks for the revolutionary movement. There were the unbridled military campaigns of suppression directed against the known guerrilla zones. Since July 1972, the main units of the people's army in the forest region of Isabela had borne the brunt of enemy attacks aimed at searching for and destroying them and depopulating the area. Eventually, these main units (two well-armed companies) became isolated and passive in the same forest region from 1972 onward. One ill-armed company disintegrated in Nueva Vizcaya.

The initial armed propaganda teams in Mindanao were decimated in 1972-73 because they made the mistake of going first to the armed hill tribes without doing mass work among the peasants in the plains. NPA companies rose and fell in Aurora and Sorsogon provinces in the 1973-74 period. Some national cadres of the Party were arrested in 1973 and 1974.

But on the whole, from year to year, the nationwide expansion of the Party, the NPA and the other revolutionary forces and the start of guerrilla warfare and mass work at strategic points of the country more than compensated for the setbacks in different places at different times. There never was an instance when an entire regional Party organization was wiped out by the enemy in the period 1969-85, even if from time to time and from region to region, the regional Party committee was hit hard in varying degrees by the arrest of the principal regional cadres. Neither did the arrest of central Party cadres in 1974, 1976 and 1977 cause the overall setback of the Party and the revolutionary movement in any year.

The nationwide expansion of the revolutionary forces was achieved under the direction of the Party Central Committee. The central and regional cadres who were directly responsible for two NPA companies in the Isabela forest region did not shift them to Cagayan province until 1977 despite the depopulation of the Isabela forest region and the sustained campaign of encirclement and suppression by the enemy and despite the repeated instructions of the Party central leadership for the shift and the redeployment of troops to be made and the clear demonstration by the platoon in Tumauini, Isabela that it was good to be out of the enemy's sphere of the encirclement.

In accordance with the decision of the 1969 Plenum and upon prodding by cadres in command of the people's army, the Party central leadership was able to make a plan and arrangements, which were very complicated, for the shipment of weapons from abroad in 1972. But notwithstanding the decision to deliberately avoid the heating up of Isabela to make way for the importation of firearms, the same high military cadres who had been eager to get the imported firearms decided to intensify tactical offensives in the province. In these offensives in the latter half of 1971, the scores of Browning automatic rifles (BAR) seized in the raid of the arsenal of the Philippine Military Academy in December 1970, were used and thus revealed the general location of the NPA main forces.

As a result, the enemy escalated the armed strength and operations of Task Force Saranay to the level of a full division in Isabela. This compounded even more all the complexities, difficulties and vulnerabilities of the importation plan and the resulting errors involved in the plan and implementation. The failure of the entire importation plan and the errors involved were criticized promptly and thoroughly. But again upon the proddings of the same military cadres, another plan was adopted under more complex, more difficult, more limited and more vulnerable objective conditions and were implemented only to end up in failure in 1974. The failure and errors were once

more promptly and thoroughly criticized. The 1972 and 1974 importation plans had the promise of strategic advantage but when they failed they had no strategic adverse consequences to the nationwide expansion and development of the revolutionary forces.

In 1974, the success of the Party in nationwide expansion and development of the revolutionary forces were indubitably clear. On the basis of the wealth of experience, both positive and negative but mainly positive, it was timely to write and issue the Specific Characteristics of the People's War in the Philippines. This is guided by the teachings of Mao Zedong on people's war and yet takes into account the concrete geographic, socioeconomic and political conditions of the Philippines and the revolutionary experience so far gained by the Party. This definitive work demonstrated the advances already made and those that could still be made and pointed to the principles and methods by which objective and subjective advantages could be enhanced and how disadvantages could be turned into advantages and by which difficulties and setbacks could be overcome. It took into account the most favorable as well as the most unfavorable conditions under which the revolutionary forces can still preserve themselves and carry forward the revolutionary armed struggle in accordance with the principle of self-reliance.

The point was to take advantage of the chronic crisis of the semifeudal and semicolonial conditions, with the countryside as a wide area of maneuver enhanced by the mountainous and archipelagic character of the country, develop the people's war in stages along the probable course of the strategic defensive, strategic stalemate and strategic offensive (with the people's army growing from small to big and from weak to strong), to wage guerrilla warfare and to be guided by the line of centralized leadership (ideological and political) and decentralized operations.

Party membership had grown from 2000 in 1972 to 4000 in 1974 but it was still highly concentrated in the central staff organs and regional Party organizations in Manila-Rizal. In 1974, the central leadership decided to streamline the central staff organs and deployed the biggest ever number of Party members to the regional Party organizations outside Manila-Rizal. Guerrilla fronts and guerrilla zones were growing in number and strength all over the country. It was favorable and necessary to strengthen the Party core and leadership within the people's army.

From late 1974 to early 1975, the Party was also able to initiate and lead a few hundreds of workers' strikes all over the country. On the basis of these strikes, it was already possible to foresee that eventually before the end of the decade a gigantic mass protest movement, far greater than the First Quarter Storm of 1970 and mobilizing workers in the main, would arise if the correct line would be pursued. Legal mass organizations, including trade unions, peasant associations and student organizations were reemergent under the leadership of the Party.

The whole of 1975 was a year of rapid development of the revolutionary forces on a nationwide scale. In December of that year, the Central Committee held a plenum whose significance and degree of accomplishment were those of a national Party congress. It replenished the ranks of the Central Committee by nominating the most outstanding cadres from the regional Party organizations and central staff organs and electing from the long list of nominees new members of the Central Committee by secret balloting. It reviewed the revolutionary experience from all over the country since 1968 and drew positive and negative lessons from it. It assessed and evaluated the strengths and weaknesses of the revolutionary forces in various regions and made many important decisions to strengthen all of them. It concluded that the martial rule of the US-Marcos regime had failed to destroy the revolutionary movement and had instead created favorable conditions for the armed revolution. The Party had attained a membership of 5000 and the NPA had accumulated a force of nearly 1000 Red fighters armed with automatic rifles, excluding a thousand more with inferior firearms (single-shot rifles and handguns).

Northeastern Luzon had a few hundreds of Red fighters with automatic rifles (in two companies in the Isabela forest region, one oversized platoon in Tumauni and another oversized platoon in Aurora); Northwestern Luzon, a few scores of Red fighters in squads; Central Luzon, close to a hundred, plus around 30 which had come from the company in Aurora and had shifted to Nueva Ecija; Southern Tagalog, a few scores in Quezon; Bicol, a few tens, remnants of the company in Sorsogon; Eastern Visayas, several scores; Western Visayas, several scores; and Mindanao, around 150 at the core of several times more of inferior firearms. Mindanao, Samar and Panay had the most homemade shotguns, garands and M-1 carbines which ran in the hundreds. These augmented the automatic rifles.

On the basis of the discussions and decisions of the Plenum, the central leadership formulated and issued Our Urgent Tasks in 1976. This document clarified the antifascist, anti-imperialist and antifeudal line and

elaborated on the principles and methods of building in stages the mass organizations, the organs of political power and the Party within the army and in the localities. It showed the way to raise their level on the basis of the best and most practicable lessons from the revolutionary experience of the Party and the people. It would become the most important and most fruitful document in guiding mass work and mass campaigns in the rural and urban areas and in building the organs of political power. It demonstrated the practical steps to take, from the stage of social investigation and initial contacts in a new area. In the period 1976-77, the growth in the number and strength of the guerrilla fronts and the urban-based legal democratic forces proceeded rapidly and cumulatively. The main line of development was for the regional Party organizations to strengthen themselves notwithstanding the arrest of the principal central leaders of the Party in 1976 and 1977. Regional Party committees that read, studied and applied the "Specific Characteristics of People's War in the Philippines" and "Our Urgent Tasks" gained confidence in waging revolutionary armed struggle and in building the Party, the people's army and the mass base.

The revolutionary forces of Northwestern Luzon struck deep roots among the people in the Cordillera and the lowlands of Pangasinan. Those in Central Luzon relied on the revolutionary traditions of the people in the region and expanded far beyond the confines of the original mass base in Tarlac in 1969-72. Those in Manila-Rizal took advantage of the continuous development of the legal democratic forces and the hypocritical "normalization" measures of the enemy. Cadres in Southern Tagalog and Bicol persevered in revolutionary struggle despite the grave errors of previous leaders in the Southern Luzon Party Committee and one supervisor assigned by the NPA National Operational Command until 1974 and the serious adverse consequences of such errors.

In 1976 and 1977, the regional Party committee and organization of Eastern Visayas were showing to the entire country how to develop the revolutionary forces in an all-round way. This is documented by the summing-up paper of the regional Party committee submitted to the Central Committee and published by *Rebolusyon* in 1977. Those of Negros and Panay in Western Visayas were also doing well. So were those of Mindanao. The two NPA companies that had become isolated and passive in the Isabela forest region was able to shift to Cagayan province and redeploy there in 1977. The central as well as the new regional leadership comprehensively and thoroughly criticized the previous error of prolonged isolation of these units in the Isabela forest region from the masses.

In 1976 and 1977, the central leadership could foresee that guerrilla fronts would multiply, with platoons as the center of gravity, on the basis of a wide network of squads, each capable of operating in a guerrilla zone (roughly equivalent to a municipality) and dividing into armed propaganda teams with militia support to do mass work under favorable conditions (when no superior enemy force are concentrating on the area).

Cumulative growth along the correct line and the interference of opportunism

A new central leadership of the Party assumed responsibility in November 1977. It enjoyed legitimate continuity with the previous central leadership as well as the support of all the regional Party organizations. It succeeded in overcoming the loss of some principal leaders of the Party. It firmed itself up by drawing strength from the central staff organs and the regional Party committees and organizations through a series of consultations, promotion of cadres to the Central Committee and plenary meetings of the Central Committee.

By and large, the Party's ideological, political and organizational line was followed by the central leadership and the regional Party organizations and the NPA regional commands. But certain elements in the Central Committee and central staff organs began in 1978 to question the analysis of Philippine society as semicolonial and semifeudal, arguing that Philippine society had become more urbanized and industrialized than China before 1949 and to preoccupy themselves with the wish to "innovate on", "adjust" and "refine" the theory and strategic line of people's war and to cause a leap from the early substage of the strategic defensive to the advance stage.

They were in effect praising the US-Marcos dictatorship for "industrializing" the Philippines. They blinded themselves to the fact that the big comprador bureaucrat-capitalist policy and operations of the Marcos ruling clique was deepening the semifeudal status of the Philippine economy and likewise to the fact that the NPA had no more than 1200 Red fighters with automatic rifles for making the big leap to the advanced substage. With their wishful thinking, they laid the subjectivist ground for interfering with the proper development of the people's war, particularly the multiplication of guerrilla fronts with platoons (and eventually companies) in relative concentration as centers of gravity.

From 1977 to 1979, the regional Party organizations which followed the correct line consolidated and expanded their forces and in an all-round and balanced way. The outstanding example was provided by the Eastern Visayas

regional Party organization. It used the squads to control entire municipalities either as guerrilla zones or consolidated guerrilla zones and built platoons as centers of gravity and strike forces of guerrilla fronts. It excelled in mass work and in launching tactical offensives

While generally all the regional Party committees and organizations were supportive of the central leadership in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism, certain elements in the Manila-Rizal Party committee were obsessed by struggle mania and insisted on making it a question of principle whether the Party should openly participate or not in the farcical 1978 "parliamentary elections" staged by the US-Marcos dictatorship. Thus, it became impossible for the central leadership and the MR leadership to work out a decision similar to that previously taken by the Party in the 1969 and 1971 elections. Instead of describing the 1978 elections as a farce, in common with the central leadership, the Manila-Rizal leadership insisted on forcing the issue and dividing the house on a boycott-participation dichotomy in dogmatic conformity to the terms of Bolshevik history. In 1979, the Manila-Rizal Party organization went into shambles.

From 1980 to 1985, there was an unprecedented acceleration of growth of the Party and the revolutionary movement due to the rapid worsening of the crisis of the ruling system starting in 1979, the accumulated strength of the revolutionary forces and the continuing correct line of work pursued by the overwhelming majority of cadres and fighters. At the same time, overlapping with these factors, there was the increasing drive of the impetuous elements in the central leadership and in certain regional Party committees to bring about the so-called strategic counteroffensive (as the highest substage of the strategic defensive) and regularization in the Party and the people's army (creating more layers of bureaucracy and command without the corresponding development of the mass base and Marxist-Leninist education of the cadres) and the premature formation of NPA companies at the cost of reducing the number of squads and platoons.

In the enlarged Plenum of 1980 attended by representatives from the regional Party organizations, the Central Committee replenished its ranks with those deemed as the most outstanding cadres from the regional Party committees and the central staff organs and created six interregional commissions as staff organs to supervise the regional Party organizations which had been increased to sixteen (16). The Plenum spent a lot of time discussing the character of Philippine society, questioning the analysis of Philippine society as semicolonial and semifeudal and asserting that Philippine conditions were unlike those of Russia and China before their revolutionary victories. The Plenum preoccupied itself with looking for a rationale to modify the strategic line of people's war of encircling the cities from the countryside and giving a greater role to armed insurrections. Emphasis was given to Vietnam as the model for emulation to the point of taking the 1945 uprising and the Tet offensive out of their historical context.

In 1981, the meeting of the Political Bureau further elaborated on the need for "regularization" in the Party and the NPA and for giving insurrections a role sooner and greater than the central leadership had ever given to it. The concept of "strategic counteroffensive" was put forward. It was a rhetorical malapropism, converting the probable third and final stage of the entire people's war into a mere substage of the strategic defensive. It was a "Left" opportunist wish to overreach far beyond what the given nationwide strength of the NPA (which was no more than 2000 Red fighters with automatic rifles) could permit. Notes of individuals who attended the PB meeting were circulated for study and application by regional Party organizations. Subsequently, there was a drive to create layers of the Party bureaucracy and army command, to form NPA companies by drastically reducing the number of smaller units and taking cadres away from work at the grass roots.

The basic Party course was undertaken from 1979 onward but would peter out sometime in 1983 even while there was an urgent need for it and for higher levels of Marxist-Leninist education. In every PB meeting during the 1980's there was always a recognition of the need to carry out theoretical and political education and a decision to do so. But from 1983 onward, the central leadership did not find it necessary to maintain any central staff organ responsible for implementing any program of theoretical and political education. This was supposed to have been delegated to the regional Party organizations but in fact these were not given any clear direction and were preoccupied with practical work.

Copies of study materials in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and even basic Party documents dwindled and disappeared. Concealing the dearth or absence of these study materials, it became commonplace to say that the Party learned from all possible revolutionary examples abroad. The successful anti-authoritarian insurrection in Nicaragua which was led by quasi-Marxist petty-bourgeois radical anti-imperialists became more highly rated by

certain elements than the Chinese revolution and other social revolutions led by Marxist-Leninist parties. Some of the former leaders of the Manila-Rizal Party committee had also taken pride in reading Lenin but characteristically quoted him out of context to exaggerate the importance of their urban work. Eclecticism and subjectivism ran rampant.

The proletarian revolutionary cadres were not lacking in the presentation of facts in arguments against the erroneous trend of questioning the analysis of Philippine society as semicolonial and semifeudal and undermining the theory and strategic line of people's war. There were the research and writings done before on the subject. And in 1982 and 1983, there were the articles on the mode of production and the losing course of the armed forces of the Philippines. Even the group commissioned by the central leadership to restudy the character of Philippine society would conclude later on that Philippine society was still semicolonial and semifeudal. There were also correct statements repeatedly made by proletarian revolutionary cadres that the Party must pay attention to the horizontal basis (the mass base, the small units dispersed for mass work, etc.) for building the vertical structure of forces (higher NPA formations).

In 1982, the Mindanao Commission made its own elaboration on strategy and tactics on the basis of the notes of one commission member coming from the 1981 Politburo meeting. On the false presumption that under the strategy of people's war there had been no coordination between city and countryside, between political and military work and between domestic and international work, the commission put out a paper metaphysically dichotomizing these supposed coordinates and then "re-coordinated" them in order to undermine the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside, upvaluing urban insurrections as the highest form of politico-military struggle, downgrading the people's army as a purely military and secondary force and exaggerating the importance of international work to undermine the importance of self-reliant revolutionary struggle.

The Party and the NPA were "regularized", filling up positions at various levels without sufficient ideological, political and organizational training of the cadres. Up to 1984, the premature formation of absolutely concentrated NPA companies in Mindanao was pushed upon the reasoning that they had to hit the enemy forces before these were fully reinforced by forces from the Moro areas. So long as the absolutely concentrated companies could be formed, some of the top cadres in the people's army in Mindanao did not mind the people's army being downgraded on paper as being purely military and secondary to the putative "urban insurrectionary forces" which were considered principal because the spontaneous popular forces were in contrast considered political.

In 1983 and 1984, the formation of the absolutely concentrated NPA companies went into full swing. In 1984 these companies were pushed to an isolated and passive position by the drastic loss of mass base and by the enemy campaigns of suppression which proved to be effective in a purely military situation. But still in 1984, the Executive Committee of the Mindanao Commission made another paper which further elaborated on the line military adventurism and urban insurrectionism and distributed this to all lower organs of the organizations of the Party and the NPA without the benefit of any democratic discussion beyond the aforesaid executive committee and without consideration of the gross setbacks already occurring as a result of the wrong line.

In the Plenum of 1985, the promoters of the line of combining military adventurism and urban insurrectionism had the temerity to demand the full rejection of the theory and strategic line of protracted people's war in favor of their wrong line which by then had already caused gross setbacks and led to the murderous anti-DPA hysteria called Kampanyang Ahos. Dishonestly, they did not present the facts of these disasters to the Plenum and they strutted about as victorious leaders in their sphere of work. The Plenum repulsed the proposal to discard the strategic line of people's war but did not withdraw the erroneous "strategic counteroffensive" concept which had encouraged the line of "regularization", military adventurism and urban insurrectionism.

Focal attention is given to the sequence of the wrong line of urban insurrectionism and military adventurism, gross setbacks, and anti-DPA hysteria in the period of 1982 to 1986 in Mindanao because this sequence of events inflicted the worst damage ever to the Party and the revolutionary forces—up to the point of murdering Party cadres, Red fighters and NDF supporters by the hundreds in both rural and urban areas on the basis of mere suspicion and false confessions extracted by torture. "Left" opportunism took various forms and expressions in various regions, especially because the dismal experience in Mindanao was not correctly summed up and criticized and was even evaluated as a model for emulation and because the cadres responsible for the grave errors in Mindanao were promoted to the Central Committee's Politburo and its Executive Committee, the Military Commission and "general command" of the NPA and were able to propagate their wrong line from 1984 to 1990 on a

nationwide scale through a series of military conferences.

Thus from 1985 to 1990, the Party and the other revolutionary forces suffered losses and setbacks unprecedented in their entire history. The easy and shallow explanation for these given by the "Left" opportunists was that the enemy was proving to be superior with his strategy of "war of quick decision" and "gradual constriction" and that the premature and unsustainable premature companies and battalions were doing their best along the correct line but that the Party and the masses could not catch up with the NPA. This is a puerile line of reasoning. The correct line is necessitates stopping military adventurists and urban insurrectionists from preempting for themselves the personnel and resources of the Party and thereby playing into the hands of the enemy with their wrong line. The Party should always lead comprehensive and balanced building of the Party, the mass organizations, the organs of political power and the properly-sized NPA units. The Party and the people should never be made to tail after "Left" opportunists but should stop them on their track.

An examination of the record from 1980 to the present shows clearly that the revolutionary movement developed best in accordance with the strategic line of people's war and the implementation of Our Urgent Tasks. Painstaking mass work and solid organizing of the various types of mass organizations, organs of political power and the Party have laid the foundation for the development of the guerrilla forces and the guerrilla fronts. The correct force structure of the NPA is one in which small guerrilla units are dispersed on a wide scale to do mass work and, on this basis, the center of gravity (the rallying point and strike force) can arise. This is the force structure that can carry out extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on an expanding and ever consolidated mass base.

In contrast, where the revolutionary forces suffered grave setbacks, there is the overconcentration of Red fighters in prematurely formed companies and there is a far lesser number of Red fighters in small units for expanding and consolidating the mass base. After the big debacle in Mindanao, one of the worst examples is the concentration of 598 Red fighters in one battalion and two companies (80 percent) and only 151 (20 percent) Red fighters were in local guerrilla units. Inevitably, the result has been a dwindling of the mass base by more than 50 percent within a short period of time, preoccupation with logistical problems and, of course, the ineffectiveness, isolation and passivity of the prematurely large military formations.

In the nationwide propagation of military adventurism, the drive to form 36 companies and two battalions in 1986 repeated the grave errors in Mindanao from 1982-84. These higher formations were set up by drastically decreasing the number of local squads for mass work and for control of guerrilla zones (usually the size of municipalities). Some of the remaining local squads and platoons were reduced to being service and logistical support units of the prematurely formed bigger units. When bigger formations suffered losses of personnel due to battle casualties or demoralization, they replenished personnel by devouring the smaller guerrilla units.

The line of military adventurism and urban insurrectionism became clearly untenable in most regions in 1987 and 1988, especially after the 1987 attritive actions which wasted ammunition in attacks on enemy hard points and after the enemy made retaliatory actions in both urban and rural areas. Some regional Party committees complained of the companies and battalions as excessively heavy logistical burdens and yet less effective than smaller units in launching tactical offensives and as the cause for the big loss of mass base. But the "Left" opportunists in the central leadership continued to insist that the prematurely bigger formations were the life buoy rather than the millstone around the neck of the revolutionary movement.

As early as 1988, the proletarian revolutionaries in the central leadership recognized the imbalances in revolutionary work and called for corrections and adjustments. The brief review of the history of the Party on the occasion of its 20th anniversary signaled the consolidation of the proletarian revolutionary line against military adventurism and urban insurrectionism. From year to year, the devastating results of the wrong line came in. These prompted the proletarian revolutionary cadres in the Central Committee and lower organs and organizations to argue against the wrong line. The yearly anniversary statements of the Party and the records of the meetings of the Executive Committee and the Politburo of the Central Committee reflected a two-line struggle and the eventual victory of the proletarian revolutionary line and the defeat of the "Left" opportunists.

In 1989 major corrections and adjustments started to be made. The proletarian revolutionaries in the central leadership prevailed and stopped the further formation of premature and unsustainable companies. Upon the direction of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee, an increasing number of regional Party committees dissolved and redeployed some of these companies. In 1990 the concept of "strategic counteroffensive" was finally withdrawn, thus undoing the roots of military adventurism and urban insurrectionism. In 1990 and 1991,

the gross damage caused by the wrong line on a nationwide scale became absolutely clear. Thus in 1991, the central leadership decided to undertake a comprehensive and thoroughgoing rectification movement.

"Left" opportunism has a Rightist content and direction. The "Left" opportunist line of combining military adventurism and urban insurrectionism is no exception. The "Left" motivation and facade is to accelerate total victory in the revolution far beyond the given level of strength of the revolutionary forces. But in fact the line plays into the hands of the enemy and delivers the revolutionary forces to both self-destruction and destruction by the enemy. Those who espouse the ultra-Left line either simultaneously carry both ultra-Left and Rightist ideas or swing from a conspicuously ultra-Left position to a blatant Rightist position after the telling frustration of the ultra-Left position.

By arguing that relations with the Soviet and Soviet-bloc revisionist parties would mean access to more powerful weapons and funds for accelerating the victory of the armed revolution, the "Left" opportunists went to the extent of reconsidering these parties as genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and the societies that they ruled as genuinely socialist. They turned their backs on the foundational antirevisionist line of the Party as early as 1982. Without even seeking the nullification of the antirevisionist line in the Party Program and Constitution, they spread within the Party the line that the Soviet Union was socialist and not social-imperialist and was a great exponent of proletarian internationalism and a great source of aid for proletarian revolutionaries and the national liberation movements. In 1984 and 1985, papers carrying the line were passed off as documents of the Central Committee and started to be implemented.

The "Left" opportunists, including those in the "General Command" of the NPA based themselves in Metro Manila under the pretext of waiting for a "sudden turn of events" along the line of urban insurrectionism and, more importantly, for the purpose of carrying out special operations. The special operations consisted of making arrangements for the importation of weapons, which never materialized, and conducting gangster activities, including robbery holdups and kidnap-for-ransom, which were never authorized by the appropriate central organs and were unaccountable to them. The "Left" opportunists were engaged in outright criminal activities for selfish interests. They stubbornly based themselves in Manila-Rizal even as they were repeatedly rounded up here in 1988 and in 1991. They were not at all commanding the people's army in a people's war but preoccupied themselves with "special operations."

Following the enemy roundup of the GC in 1988, an anti-informer hysteria emerged in Metro Manila and this spread to a number of regions. This followed the pattern of the wrong line of combining military adventurism and urban insurrectionism, gross setbacks and anti-DPA hysteria. It was similar to the sequence of events in Mindanao from 1982 to 1986. The anti-DPA hysteria which consecutively involved Olympia, Operation Missing Link (OPML) and Save the Center (STC) had the high potential of destroying no less than the central leadership of the Party and the entire revolutionary movement. It was stopped by the formulation and implementation of the "Guidelines on the Correct Principles and Methods of Investigation, Trial and Evaluation of Evidence."

In 1982, the "Left" opportunists adopted the insurrectionist terminology of FSLN and FMLN of Central America regarding the people's army as a "military force" and the spontaneous masses in uprising as the "political force." But some of them also openly adopted from these liberation fronts the idea that the vanguard Party of the proletariat must be replaced by the vanguard front. Thus, the idea to liquidate the leading role of the Party in the Philippine revolution came to be espoused both by the "Left" and the Right opportunists within the Party. The so-called New Katipunan was envisioned to replace the Party and the NDF.

Although the Right opportunists in the Party were mainly responsible for pushing the idea that the NDF be a federation or confederation in which the Party loses its independence and initiative, becomes a mere member organization and subject to the majority vote of noncommunists, one of the key leaders of the "Left" opportunists became the most active in pushing the same idea. This wrong idea was adopted by the Politburo meeting in 1987. The same ringleader of the "Left" opportunists carried out the wrong line of converting the NDF into a federation or confederation and at the same time a unitary organization of individuals, bound by a program of bourgeois nationalism, pluralism and mixed economy in 1990.

In the years after the fall of the fascist autocracy of Marcos, the "Left" opportunists collaborated with the Right opportunists within the Party and with the anticommunist petty-bourgeois groups like the pro-imperialist liberals, bourgeois populists, Christian democrats, petty-bourgeois socialists and Trotskyites to overstate the boycott error of 1986 as the biggest error ever in the entire history of the Party. In their view, it was a strategic error causing the

strategic decline and marginalization of the Party, unless the Party opted for a deemphasis or liquidation of the revolutionary armed struggle.

The boycott error was indeed a major tactical error which could be criticized from a correct Left viewpoint. But one of the ringleaders of the "Left" opportunists, deliberately and dishonestly overstated the boycott error to rationalize and whip up bourgeois reformism and capitulationism and obscure the far graver error of military adventurism and urban insurrectionism which led to the gross setbacks in Mindanao in 1984 and the bloody anti-DPA hysteria in 1985-86.

In 1986, after the release of political prisoners (except those falsely accused and convicted of common crimes), the proletarian revolutionaries held the view that the new presidency of the exploiting classes could be beaten in propaganda about the question of peace without necessarily entering into any ceasefire agreement. But the actual principal promoters of localized as well as nationwide ceasefire without any prior substantive agenda and any prior substantive talks were the "Left" opportunists who were directly responsible for the debacle in Mindanao from 1984 to 1986, who criticized the 1986 boycott error from a Rightist position and who thought that ceasefire was the way out of the debacle in Mindanao.

The principal pushers of the "Left" opportunist line in yesteryears have unabashedly become counterrevolutionary Rightists and have openly combined with the anticommunist petty-bourgeois groups to push the NDF to capitulate on behalf of the revolutionary forces to the US-Ramos ruling clique and to make propaganda about seeking convergences and accommodation with this clique supposedly because the people's war is futile, the people are satisfied with oppression and exploitation and are tired of their own revolutionary resistance, the domestic ruling system and the world capitalist system are invincible and the global trend is for national liberation movements to strike peace deals with the enemy. Frustrated in their previous "Left" opportunism, some of the more recent counterrevolutionary Rightists are even more rabidly capitulationist, reformist and liquidationist than the long-time Right opportunists who have not made ultra-Left pretenses.

Various types of insurrectionism have arisen within the Party. Like all kinds of opportunism, they have a petty-bourgeois social base, outlook and methods. The appearance is Leftist but the content is Rightist. The exponents of insurrectionism are carried away by impetuosity. They wish to finish the revolution quickly and easily. They do not have the proletarian class logic, wisdom and tenacity for the protracted people's war, especially its requirement of painstaking mass work and solid mass organizing. They deck out the stale theory of spontaneous masses as something new and superior to the theory of protracted people's war. However, when they are frustrated, the insurrectionists typically swing to a conspicuously Rightist position.

The proponents of the "strategic counteroffensive" held the view that uprisings could be made in third and fourth class municipalities to ignite nationwide insurrection. This kind of insurrectionism is more akin to the failed uprisings of the Sakdalistas in the thirties than to the 1968 Tet offensive which had the backing of an already powerful people's army. The proposal of this kind of insurrectionism served to encourage other kinds of insurrectionism in rejection of the development of people's war in stages and wave upon wave.

So far, the kind of insurrectionism that has been most destructive to the revolutionary to the revolutionary forces is that one which seeks to reduce the people's army into a purely military force and put it in the service of urban armed insurrections as the "highest form of politico-military struggle." The dramatic actions of armed city partisans and people's strikes are conducted supposedly to whip up the insurrectionary consciousness and then the spontaneous masses rather than the organized revolutionary forces are expected to overthrow the ruling system.

One variant of this kind of insurrectionism was linked to military adventurism in Mindanao and had resulted in grave damages to the revolutionary movement there. Another variant of this insurrectionism is that one pushed by the former secretary of the Manila-Rizal Party Committee. It sought to use small groups of armed men to steal the scene from the masses in mass actions and deliberately provoke the police and military to attack the mass demonstrators.

But the most ambitious and yet the most absurd type of insurrectionism was actually pushed by one of the "Left" opportunists who was the main drafter of the 1984 paper in Mindanao, which elaborated on the line of combining urban insurrectionism with military adventurism. While usurping authority from the central leading organs of the Party and trying to change the character of Ang Bayan, the National United Front Commission and the National Democratic Front, he worked out all by himself a medium-term plan of insurrection and pushed it in

collaboration with the former secretary of Manila-Rizal Party committee and certain members of the National United Front Commission.

He sought to combine the legal organizations of the Left, Middle and Right to form the so-called people's caucus and to call on then President Aquino in 1990 to agree to a so-called people's agenda. If Aquino refused, then in the medium term the legal organizations of the Left, Middle and Right would conjoin with all "armed opposition groups" like the NDF, MNLF and the factions of the reactionary armed forces (RAM, YOU and SFP) and once more call on Aquino to agree to a still broader people's agenda. Should Aquino refuse again, then the insurrection would be carried out. This was a ridiculous idea of going Right in order to realize the ultra-Left objective of armed urban insurrection before the end of the presidential term of Aquino in 1992.

The insurrectionism of the medium-term plan and that of the former leadership of the MR regional Party organization sabotaged the legal democratic mass movement from 1990-1992. The chief promoters of these two types of insurrectionism held the common view that there could be no favorable objective conditions for mass protest actions, unless these result in armed urban uprisings immediately or in the medium term. They campaigned in 1991 and 1992 to deny the worsening crisis of the ruling system as a favorable condition for the party to lead (arouse, organize and mobilize) the masses for offensives (mass protest actions and NPA tactical offensives) but at the same time they were agitating for nothing less than an armed urban insurrection. They were being Rightist and at the same time ultra-Leftist.

The only type of insurrectionism there is that is clearly Rightist from the very beginning is that one which proposes insurrection as the end of an indefinite protracted legal struggle and as the replacement of protracted people's war in the Philippines. The Lava revisionist renegades and the exponents of bourgeois populism are the main proponents of this kind of insurrectionism. Certain elements who have become bureaucrats of foreign-funded "NGOs" run along the reformist line but at the same time spread the notion of spontaneous peasant insurrections as the replacement of protracted people's war.

It is not surprising that as a result of the rectification movement, the "Left" opportunists have conspicuously merged with the Right opportunists in order to push an outrightly anticommunist, anti-Stalin line formulated mainly by the long-running counterrevolutionary Right and are now openly collaborating with the US-Ramos regime and with such anticommunist groups as the Lava revisionists, the pro-imperialist liberals, the bourgeois populists who call themselves popular democrats, Christian democrats who call themselves social democrats, the petty-bourgeois socialists and the Trotskyites.

It has come to light from the admission of one former "Left" opportunist now acting openly as a counterrevolutionary Rightist and as an agent of the enemy that he and a handful of elements inside and outside the Party have sought to form a "reform bloc" within the Party since 1988 to liquidate the Party from within in imitation of Gorbachov. If not for the rectification document being ready within the last quarter of 1991, he and his counterrevolutionary group would have caused more confusion and done more damage with the four anti-Party papers that he had written and addressed to the general membership of the Party.

As a result of the rectification movement, the anti-Party elements have been clearly held responsible for their grave errors (and for some, their crimes) and have been exposed and isolated. They have been compelled by their own counterrevolutionary character to publicly attack the Party and to move out of it. They have openly proclaimed their opposition to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism, the antirevisionist line, the analysis of Philippine society as semifeudal and semicolonial, the general line of new democratic revolution, the vanguard role of the working class through the Party, the strategic line of people's war, the revolutionary class line in the united front, democratic centralism, the socialist perspective and proletarian internationalism.

They are receiving funds and other kinds of assistance from foreign and local reactionary entities in order to attack the Communist Party of the Philippines and the revolutionary mass movement. They are now in the process of forming anticommunist groups and alliances in various sectors and one more anticommunist party as a minor adjunct of the major big comprador-landlord parties. They have gone to the extent of announcing their intention to seek convergences with the US-Ramos ruling clique and are openly collaborating with civil and military agencies of the regime. This indicates that the ringleaders of these new anticommunist formations have long been linked to the US and Philippine reactionary governments. Among these ringleaders are longtime intelligence and psywar agents of the enemy.

The correct line of the Party was responsible for the general trend of advance from year to year from 1968 to

1984. But the wrong line of "strategic counteroffensive", "regularization", and combining military adventurism with insurrectionism from 1980 onward overlapped with the correct revolutionary line until the beginning of the rectification movement in 1992 so much so that from 1985 onward, the wrong line was doing more damage than the correct line could do to advance the revolutionary movement.

There has always been a two-line struggle between the proletarian revolutionaries and the unremolded petty-bourgeois within the reestablished Party. To deny this fact is to be an idealist. The Party somehow reflects the social reality from the outside and there is always uneven development of the Party membership and thus unremolded petty-bourgeois elements can hold on to and generate varying degrees of anti-proletarian ideas within the working class party.

In the 1968-80 period, the anti-proletarian ideas and acts were fragmentary and sporadic. But from 1980, these would become systematized to undermine the proletarian revolutionary line, principally through "Left" opportunism and secondarily through Right opportunism. Since 1988, there has been a conscious and systematic effort by a so-called reform bloc to liquidate the proletarian revolutionary line in a comprehensive way. In 1990, the anti-Party elements usurped authority over certain central staff organs, one interregional commission and one regional Party organization to openly attack the line of the Party and push their counterrevolutionary line. Finally, within the last quarter of 1991, one of the ringleaders of the anti-Party group drafted and issued anti-Party manifestos in the form of letters to the Party general membership.

Just as the anti-Party elements were conspiring to take over the Party and destroy it from within, the proletarian revolutionaries in the Central Committee started to confront and combat them with the correct revolutionary line. They started in 1988 to criticize the gross imbalances in work and in the deployment of personnel and resources and to demand corrections. They arrested the general trend of decline from 1989 and proceeded from year to year to prevail over the wrong line until the decision was taken in 1991 to carry out a rectification movement to defeat the wrong line in a comprehensive and thoroughgoing manner and strengthen the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally. Thus, the rectification movement came into force in 1992, especially after the Plenum of the Central Committee approved the rectification documents.

As a result of the rectification movement, there is a new and higher level of revolutionary unity among the Party cadres and members along the correct proletarian revolutionary line within the Party and along the general line of the new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war among the broad masses of the people. The Party cadres and members are more determined and more militant than ever to rectify and overcome the major deviations, errors and shortcomings, practice correct evaluation, criticism and self-criticism, go more deeply into the midst of the toiling masses of workers and peasants in order to learn from them, lead them and raise to a new and higher level the fighting will and capabilities of the Party and the people against the US-Ramos ruling clique and the entire ruling system.

The current situation and our tasks

The current situation of the Party is excellent as a result of the rectification movement. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, the Party cadres and members have resolutely united to reaffirm the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and rectify errors in order to raise higher the fighting will and capabilities of the Party and the people against the ruling system and the US-Ramos ruling clique.

The entire Party is reinvigorated as the vanguard force of the Filipino proletariat and people. It has further strengthened itself ideologically, politically and organizationally. It is more resolute and more confident in integrating the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and in leading the new democratic revolution against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

On the 25th anniversary of the Party, the tens of thousands of Party cadres and members, the thousands of Red fighters of the New People's Army and the millions of people under the organs of political power and mass organizations in both urban and rural areas are determined more than ever to wage the revolutionary struggle against the enemy.

The rectification movement led and initiated by the central leadership is an overwhelming and resounding success. The national staff organs, the interregional commissions, all regional Party organizations and the general membership have seriously studied the principal rectification documents, "Reaffirm Our Basic Principles and Rectify Errors", the "General Review of Important Events and Decisions" and "Stand for Socialism Against Modern Revisionism." They uphold and support these documents and all the related and consequent decisions of the

1992 Plenum of the Central Committee.

The rectification documents are guiding the summings-up, criticism and self-criticism and definition of tasks. These documents were drawn up by the central leadership on the basis of the concentration of the facts and ideas from the 1980-1992 period of the history of the reestablished Party and scores of major documents and hundreds of other related documents from lower Party organs and organizations resulting from direct investigation, reports, consultations and conferences.

Subsequently, in a dialectical process, the lower Party organs and organizations have already in 1992 and 1993 made new summings-up, criticism and self-criticism, and definition of tasks in the light of the rectification documents. The process of gaining revolutionary knowledge is a never ending dialectical process. It characterizes the rectification movement. The principle involved in the process is "from the masses to the masses."

The overwhelming majority of the central staff organs and regional Party committees have made their new summings-up, criticism and self-criticism, and definition of tasks and submitted their reports to the Central Committee. Only a few other organs are still in the process of doing these and are expected to submit them soon. Those already submitted are being studied by the Central Committee and are being shared with those organs other than those submitting them. *Rebolusyon* is also publishing the publishable materials for study by the general Party membership.

In the course of the rectification movement, the proletarian revolutionary line has asserted itself and defeated the counterrevolutionary bourgeois line. The opposition to the proletarian revolutionary line has clearly exposed itself. First, it conspicuously became an anti-Party faction of "Left" opportunists and Right opportunists and then the "Left" opportunists dropped off their "Left" mask and exposed their counterrevolutionary Rightist character. Finally, these anti-Party factionalists splittists and liquidationists flagrantly put themselves out of the Party by publicly declaring "autonomy" and their anticommunist, anti-Stalin line.

They are a mere handful of frustrated military adventurists and urban insurrectionists who are responsible for Kampanyang Ahos and are criminal gangsters as well as long-running Rightists who have sought to liquidate the Party and subordinate the working class to the bourgeoisie and now have the full initiative within the gang of counterrevolutionary Rightists in pushing the line of anticommunism, reformism and capitulationism. Some of these counterrevolutionaries have exposed their longstanding character as enemy agents.

Since July 1993, the anti-Party group has publicly come out in an anticommunist alliance which includes the lackeys of the US-Ramos ruling clique, the local lackeys of the now defunct Soviet revisionist party, the bourgeois populists (popdems), pro-US liberals, Christian democrats ("Socdems"), petty-bourgeois socialists and Trotskyites. The self-exposure of the anti-Party elements as counterrevolutionary Rightists is a manifestation of the overwhelming victory of the rectification movement and facilitates their own isolation and political extinction. In more than a year, the Party has demonstrated the main and essential character of the rectification movement, has upheld, defended and advanced the correct revolutionary line, has shown respect for due process and exercised restraint in dealing with the anti-Party ringleaders and those few whom they have misled through lies, slander and intrigues.

The ideological situation and tasks

The rectification movement is mainly and essentially an educational movement in Marxist-Leninist theory and practice. Theoretical education is of crucial importance because there can be no revolutionary movement without revolutionary theory. The theory can only be as true and effective as it is integrated with the concrete revolutionary practice and guides it from victory to victory through the twists and turns of the revolutionary struggle.

Theoretical education means the study of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism as taught by the great communists Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao and as integrated with the history and circumstances of the Filipino proletariat and people by the Communist Party of the Philippines. There is already a rich accumulation of revolutionary experience and writings under the leadership of the Party. There are the experiences and writings of the positive kind to promote and there are those of the negative kind that must be criticized and repudiated. We must raise our rich revolutionary experience to the level of theory.

The first requisite for winning cumulative and lasting victories in the current rectification movement and in the entire revolutionary process is for the entire Party to carry out successfully the movement in Marxist-Leninist theoretical and political education. The unremolded petty-bourgeois elements were able to generate subjectivism within the Party and to bring in even the most outrightly counterrevolutionary ideas because they had been able to

move into the vacuum created by the lack or scarcity of Marxist-Leninist education in certain parts of the Party. It is not enough for the Party to be good at promoting the general line of the national democratic revolution. It is necessary for the Party to have a good grounding in the basic principles of the revolutionary proletariat through Marxist-Leninist theoretical education.

It must be recognized that the "Left" opportunists (the military adventurists and urban insurrectionists) and the Right opportunists (advocates of Gorbachovite revisionism, bourgeois populism, liberalism, petty-bourgeois socialism, Trotskyism, Bukharinism, nationalism, pluralism and pacifism) were able to arise within the Party because of the lack or scarcity of Marxist-Leninist education. All these opportunist political trends took a grounding in idealist philosophy, bourgeois subjectivism and eclecticism.

All the victories won so far by the rectification movement are unstable and ephemeral if Marxist theoretical and political education is not carried out correctly, promptly and relentlessly. Sooner than expected, the ringleaders of opportunism have thoroughly exposed themselves as anticommunists and counterrevolutionaries by their own proclamations and actions. This development should not make the Party complacent about the urgent and long-term need for Marxist-Leninist education.

We have defeated the anti-Party elements within the Party because of the bankruptcy of their ideological, political and organizational line and because of the speed by which they have exposed themselves as anticommunists through their own words and deeds. But if we do not move fast enough to carry out Marxist-Leninist theoretical and political education, there is no assurance that anti-Party elements would not emerge once more from within the Party to inflict damage on it and the revolutionary movement. We have a lot of work to do in order to raise the level of our education and to make sure that the new members of the Party get the basic Party education.

The central leadership must stress that ideological work is the most important component of the rectification movement and the entire revolutionary struggle, especially because the imperialists and the reactionaries have succeeded in recruiting quite a number of unremolded petty-bourgeois intellectuals, posing as ex-communists, as their special agents in an ideological and political offensive. The central leadership must set the direction and deploy sufficient personnel and resources for ideological work.

The three levels of Party study courses (basic, intermediate and advance) must be resolutely promoted. The outlines of study, the list of reading materials and the reading materials must be circulated in advance to all Party organs and units. In the exercise of leadership, the Central Committee must direct the Revolutionary School of Mao Zedong Thought as the higher Party school and the General Secretariat and in particular its Education Department to carry out the program of Party education. All the regional Party committees and the staff organs must go full swing into the movement of Marxist-Leninist theoretical and political education.

The basic Party course must instill the basic proletarian revolutionary stand, viewpoint and method and must clarify the basic periods of Philippine history, the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society, the new-democratic character of the current stage of the Philippine revolution, the motive forces, targets, the strategy and tactics of protracted people's war, the comprehensive tasks and the socialist perspective of the revolution.

The basic texts include: the Five Golden Rays and the Philippine version of this; the Guide for Party Cadres and Members, ("Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party", the Party Constitution and the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution); *Philippine Society and Revolution*, Philippine Crisis and Revolution, On the Mode of Production, Our Urgent Tasks (OUT), Specific Characteristics of Our People's War (SCPW), and the current documents of rectification, "Reaffirm our Basic Principles and Rectify Errors", "General Review of Important Events and Decisions from 1980 to 1991", "Stand for Socialism Against Modern Revisionism", and "Unite to Raise the Fighting Will and Capabilities of the Party and the People."

The intermediate Party course must require more extensive knowledge of the study materials in the basic Party course and go more deeply into our revolutionary experience and the problems and tasks of social investigation and class analysis; building the Party, the New People's Army, the united front; economic work; and cultural work. Those taking the course can be encouraged to express themselves orally and in writing about the problems of the revolutionary struggle and recommend solutions and make comparative studies of subjectivist and opportunist lines of thinking and action, make comprehensive studies of the Philippine revolution and other revolutions abroad.

The basic texts include those of the basic Party course and other documents from various levels of the Party in its 25-year history. Main references are the selected works of Comrade Mao Zedong that are most pertinent to the

entire process of new democratic revolution. The Philippine selections of Mao's works originally published in the 1970s must be reproduced.

The advanced Party course must provide Party cadres with a comprehensive and profound knowledge of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism in materialist philosophy, capitalist and socialist political economy, scientific socialism, the struggle against classical and modern revisionism, the theory of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship, the history and strategy of the international communist movement.

The basic texts include mainly the concise works and extracts from the long works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao and related documents of the CPP. Those taking the advanced course are encouraged to express themselves orally or in writing about the subjects and to try to raise to the level of theory the concrete revolutionary practice of the Party.

In the course of the rectification movement, the assessment and evaluation of the achievements and errors of the Party in varying scales and in varying periods can result in good Marxist-Leninist education and strong ideological building of the Party. The errors and shortcomings can be turned into a good thing. They can serve to give us a sharpened understanding of the correct line and lead us to rectify them. The anti-Party elements have viciously attempted to foul up the rectification movement by seeking to conceal the serious deviations and errors and the crimes which they have committed.

The Marxist-Leninist classics and contemporary materials from the CPP and other Marxist-Leninist parties must be circulated in advance so that they can be read and studied by individual members and by collectives ahead of the formal Party courses. Party organs and units must be encouraged to go ahead in undertaking their own programs of study for the benefit of their members ahead of any formal course run by a higher organ.

The meetings to assess and evaluate work by specific organs and units, conduct criticism and self-criticism and set forth new tasks are important for raising the level of ideological and political consciousness and militancy of all Party members. As a matter of fact, this is the most concrete and living way of acquiring a Marxist-Leninist education.

Meetings regarding administrative and procedural matters must be shortened and made more efficient in order to give more time to collective study. Ideological work must be given ample time.

It is absolutely necessary for all members of the CPP to understand not only the two stages of the Philippine revolution (new democratic and socialist) under the leadership of the working class but also the crucial importance of combating revisionism and similar trends now and in the future and the theory and practice of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship to consolidate socialism, combat revisionism and prevent the restoration of capitalism until imperialism is defeated on a global scale and communism becomes possible.

In its ideological building, the Party firmly upholds the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. We should never again deviate from the antirevisionist line. We must never be misled by any illusion that we can accelerate the victory of the revolution by depending on military and financial assistance from abroad and at the same time by departing from our Marxist-Leninist line. Had the Soviet party agreed to have "fraternal" relations with the CPP in the past, the costs in ideological and political confusion would have been subsequently devastating. No revisionist party abroad is genuinely interested in supporting the Philippine revolution. We should stop thinking that, if we fell silent on the question of revisionism, someday some revisionist party would rise above its self-centered interests and would help us.

The Party resolutely seeks to realize the new democratic and socialist stages of the Philippine revolution. The ever worsening conditions of oppression and exploitation by foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism necessitate and justify the new-democratic revolution. The ever worsening crisis of the domestic ruling system and that of the world capitalist system and the resolute strengthening of the revolutionary forces guarantee the eventual victory of the new-democratic revolution. As regards the socialist future of the Philippines, it is realizable as proven in the past by the proletariat and people of several countries.

As regards the question of whether socialism can be built by the Filipino proletariat and people alone on the scale of the Philippines, the answer is that by the time that the new-democratic revolution wins so many other peoples shall have made major advances in revolution in a global resurgence of the anti-imperialist and socialist movement, as a result of the now unprecedented crisis of the world capitalist system.

As regards the question of whether there is still a socialist future after the betrayal of socialism by the modern revisionists, the answer is that the achievements of Lenin, Stalin and Mao in socialist revolution and construction

have become more clear, the rise and fall of revisionist regimes provide us with unforgettable lessons, the unprecedented crisis of the world capitalist system is bound to lead to the resurgence of the anti-imperialist and socialist movement and the theory and practice of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship shows us the way to the socialist and communist future of mankind.

Since 1989, the crisis of the world capitalist system (including monopoly bureaucrat capitalism, with or without the mask of "socialism") has worsened so rapidly that the high-tech ideological offensive of the imperialists and its retinue of blatant anticommunist petty-bourgeois, the revisionists and neorevisionists and the most backward reactionaries has become so discredited and blunted. On the scale of the Philippines, owing mainly to the grave crisis of the domestic ruling system and the rectification movement, the Party has been able to frustrate the long-drawn scheme of the imperialists, the anticommunist petty-bourgeois and the reactionaries to discredit and wipe out Marxism-Leninism, the Party and the revolutionary movement.

It is a distinct honor for the CPP to be at the vanguard of the new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war in the Philippines and to be one of the few armed revolutionary movements led by a Marxist-Leninist party in the world. It has the outstanding role of upholding the torch of armed revolution in a period of revolutionary struggle in the world, when the revolutionary forces in the world are still germinating or are small due to the success of neocolonialism and modern revisionism in undermining for several decades and setting back the anti-imperialist and socialist movement.

The Philippine revolutionary struggle led by the Communist Party of the Philippines is now at the forefront of the revolutionary struggles led by the proletariat in the world. There can be no serious gathering of revolutionary forces in the world today without the participation of the Party or the National Democratic Front. In the final years of Soviet social-imperialism, states, parties and movements closely associated with it were compromised in varying degrees.

It is the proletarian internationalist duty of the CPP to stay on the road of armed revolution to demonstrate to the proletariat and people of the world that it is necessary and possible to wage armed revolution against the counterrevolutionary forces and grow in strength and advance. At the same time, we should expect the imperialists and reactionaries to use all means to destroy our forces. By persevering on the road of armed revolution, the Party looks forward to the time when the anti-imperialist and socialist movement shall surge forward once again on an unprecedented scale at a new and higher level.

The Party upholds proletarian internationalism as the principle that guides in common and coordinates all the workers of the world now and in the long future in struggling against monopoly capitalism and in building socialism until imperialism is defeated on a global scale and communism becomes possible.

In consonance with its Marxist-Leninist ideological building, the Party seeks to develop the closest fraternal relations and common understanding with Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations. It works for the closer ideological and political understanding of all Marxist-Leninist parties that are not hostile to Stalin and Mao and that wish to uphold the continuous development of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice. It also seeks to develop the broadest range of solidarity relations with parties, organizations and movements abroad on the political basis of adherence to the anti-imperialist cause.

The semicolonial and semifeudal conditions of Philippine society have deepened and worsened since the reestablishment of the CPP in 1968. It must be stated in all candor that the "Left" and Right opportunists have been utterly wrong in spreading the lie since the late 1970s that the US-Marcos fascist regime was industrializing and urbanizing the Philippines and was invalidating the description of Philippine society as semicolonial and semifeudal.

The "Left" opportunists generated false illusions about Philippine society in order to undermine the theory and strategic line of protracted people's war and to push the erroneous line of "strategic counteroffensive", "regularization", military adventurism and urban insurrectionism. The Right opportunists spread the same illusions in order to push the line of misdirecting the united front and the legal form of struggle towards the liquidation of the Party and the armed revolution.

Now, the incorrigible opportunists of both types are out of the Party, are seeking to destroy it and are shamelessly spreading the lie that the "Philippines 2000" (Medium-Term Development Plan) of the US-Ramos ruling clique will turn the Philippines into a "newly industrializing country." They openly babble about seeking "convergences" with the US-Ramos ruling clique. They have completely unmasked themselves as special psywar agents of

foreign monopoly capitalism and the local reactionary classes.

The Philippine economy remains agrarian, preindustrial and semifeudal. It is dependent mainly on a backward type of agriculture for its staple food and exports. It has no basic industries that produce basic metals, chemicals, machine tools and precision instruments. It is dependent on imported equipment, manufactured components, fuel and other raw materials. The value of its export of agricultural and mineral products and low value-added manufactures keeps on falling far below the value of its import of consumer and producer goods. The export of cheap labor (overseas contract workers) fetches more income than any of the export products.

In a country with a gross national product of around US\$49 billion and a population of 65 million, the import bill normally runs nearly 30 percent of GNP and the export income less than 20 percent. The trade deficit is nearly ten percent of the GNP. Foreign loans are annually incurred to cover the debt service, the trade deficit and profit remittances of the multinational firms. The current level of foreign debt is more than US\$33 billion. The annual debt service burden is at the level of US\$ 4.6 billion. The domestic public debt is more than ₱570 billion (US\$20 billion).

The budget of the reactionary government is one of the most absurd budgets in the world. From 1986-1991, an average of 53 percent of the budget was devoted to debt service. The second largest expenditure is for the military, police, paramilitary forces and intelligence services, gobbling up more than 15 percent of the budget. There are dwindling funds for education, health and infrastructures. The approved budget for 1993 involved the estimated expenditure of ₱310 billion (US\$11 billion), the revenue of ₱284 billion and the estimated deficit of ₱26 billion. But the expenditures have soared and the expected deficit is far larger. And yet there is a breakdown in infrastructures and basic social services (electricity, water and the like) and consequently production.

Accumulated unemployment in the labor force of 27 million is more than 50 percent, although official statistics claim unbelievably low unemployment rate of only nearly 10 percent and underemployment rates ranging from 31 to 33 percent. The legislated minimum daily wage is ₱118 but the daily cost of living for a family of six is ₱229. The inflation rate is running high but the official claim is that it is less than 10 percent. Eighty percent of the people fall below the poverty line. They belong mostly to the working class and the peasantry, and include most of the urban petty-bourgeoisie.

The working people suffer not only the misery and want due to economic exploitation but also the most conspicuous forms of oppression. Official and unofficial violence is used to deprive the workers and peasants of their right to organize and seek the improvement of their conditions even where there are yet no revolutionary forces. In areas where the revolutionary forces exist, the reactionary forces unleash the most vicious forms of violence, including bombardments, arson, massacres, selective murders, illegal arrest and detention, torture, forced mass evacuations, zoning and strategic hamlets. All these are desperate measures of the enemy. They are carried out under the total war policy of the US-Ramos ruling clique. This policy is currently operationalized as Lambat-Bitag III.

The new catchphrase of the ruling clique is "Philippines 2000." It is supposed to be an economic plan premised on the violent suppression or capitulation of the revolutionary forces, the provision of union-free and strike-free areas for the foreign investors and the further enlargement of the incentives long offered to the multinational firms. There is absolutely no basis for the regime to expect that foreign investments would come to industrialize the Philippines. The current general crisis of the imperialist countries involves an unprecedented contraction of productive capital and huge inventories of unsold goods. The economic plan of the regime does not solve but seeks to aggravate the land problem. It is therefore contrary to any serious plan of industrialization.

The local reactionary classes of big compradors and landlords have a common interest in oppressing and exploiting the Filipino people but they are divided into rival economic and political factions. The US-Ramos clique is the chief representative of the reactionaries but it faces opposition from the other factions. Conscious of the minority vote that brought him to the presidency and taking orders from the Pentagon, General Ramos has taken steps to agree on a ceasefire with the Moro National Liberation Front and to reconcile with the anti-Ramos sections of the reactionary armed forces, especially the Reform the Armed Forces Movement (RAM) and the Soldiers of the Filipino People (SFP) and the nationalist Young Officers Union (YOU). But the conditions for long-lasting mutual accommodation are limited.

The US-Ramos ruling clique has even gone further than its predecessor, the US-Aquino clique, in drumming up the rumor of peace talks by actually agreeing to exploratory talks abroad in 1992, resulting in The Hague Joint

Declaration between the National Democratic Front and the Manila government, and asking for a second round of exploratory talks in Vietnam. The main purpose of General Ramos is to carry out psychological warfare, to misrepresent his regime as desirous of peace, conjure false illusions among the people and split the revolutionary movement. The Party and the National Democratic Front are standing up firmly for the national and democratic rights and interests of the people and are fending off the attempts of the counterrevolutionaries to whip up pacifism, capitulationism, reformism and liquidationism.

The socioeconomic crisis of the ruling system will keep on fueling the political crisis. There are two conceivable ways of ending the crisis of the system. One is to bring about the industrial development of the Philippines. But this way is blocked by the concurrent crises of the domestic ruling system and the world capitalist system and the determination of the Ramos ruling clique to preserve big comprador and landlord interests. The other way is for the new-democratic revolution to proceed through people's war and win victory.

So long as the semicolonial and semifeudal character of the ruling system persists, its chronic crisis provides the fertile ground for the growth in strength and advance of the armed revolution. Together, the objective fact of the chronic crisis and the development of the revolutionary forces ensure the general tendency of the ruling system to disintegrate in what may be called the terminal crisis of ruling system even if the crisis is going to be ended not so soon but by a protracted people's war. Were the armed revolution to be terminated, the ruling system will continue to muddle through indefinitely, despite its chronic crisis.

The revolutionary forces would be far stronger had it not been for the "Left" opportunist errors of "regularization", military adventurism and urban insurrectionism inspired by the notion of the "strategic counteroffensive." These played into the hands of the enemy by skipping the necessary phases in the development of the revolutionary forces in the strategic defensive, ruining the mass base and making the people's army less effective and vulnerable to the enemy's strategic offensive (war of quick decision) and tactics of gradual constriction. Mao Zedong has taught us since a long time ago that it suits the enemy with superior military forces to carry out the strategic offensive and it suits the people's army to go on a strategic defensive and launch tactical offensives within a wide area of maneuver created by mass work in the countryside. The strategic line of people's war is to encircle the cities from the countryside and accumulate strength in the countryside until it is possible to seize the cities. Only a fool can imagine that cities can provide a wider room for a force inferior to the reactionary armed forces. The dismal record of the urban insurrectionists and criminal gangs provide abundant proof. The countryside becomes a far wider area for maneuver than the cities only if the mass base is constantly expanded and consolidated far beyond the capacity of the enemy to concentrate upon and occupy for extended periods of time. He can concentrate on a guerrilla front or any portion of it but he gives away space elsewhere, allowing the revolutionary forces to grow in strength outside the enemy's points of concentration or areas under strategic enemy encirclement. It is impossible for the enemy to unfold any strategic encirclement without any gaps. The units of the people's army can launch tactical offensives against inferior enemy units inside and outside that strategic encirclement. In the rectification movement, there must be a redeployment of the Red fighters in order to have a force structure in which 20 to 30 percent of the Red fighters are in the centers of gravity and 70 to 80 percent are in smaller units for mass work on a wide scale. Without the mass base, there can be no people's war. The current line is to conduct extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on an ever expanding and ever deepening mass base. It is absurd when the enemy is the one using small units as "special operations teams" (SOTs) for psywar and intelligence in order to effect gradual constriction and it is the NPA giving up the use of small units to expand and consolidate the mass base beyond the capacity of the enemy to cover. It is the long-tested winning practice of the NPA to have a wide network of guerrilla squads (divisible into armed propaganda teams), creating the mass base and coming to the call of the center of gravity for launching tactical offensives.

The record shows that small units (platoons and squads) of the NPA have been far more effective in carrying out tactical offensives than the prematurely formed companies and battalions which are formed at the expense of the smaller units, which further convert some of the remaining smaller units into supply units or which gobble up smaller units in the course of troop replenishment. The center of gravity in a guerrilla front may only be a platoon (itself doing mass work and in relative concentration when not engaged in a tactical offensive) but it can draw in any number of smaller units necessary to make a larger force (company-size or oversized platoon) for a tactical offensive or a series of offensives.

In building the mass base, the organs of political power, the mass organizations and the local Party branches

must be built. The overall committee that is the organ of political power must hew to the revolutionary class line, must be assisted by working committees in charge of mass organizations, public education, land reform, production, finance, defense, health, arbitration and cultural affairs, must be supported by mass organizations of the workers (if any), peasants, youth, women, cultural activists and children and must be led by the Party.

There must be mass campaigns in order to develop the power and mass participation of the people and to gain immediate social benefits. The key campaign in the countryside is the minimum land reform program of rent reduction, elimination of usury, raising of farm wages, improving the prices of farm products, and raising production in agriculture and sideline occupations. This is in accordance with the antifeudal line which is within the framework of the new-democratic revolution. There are other possible campaigns which can be undertaken by the organs of political power, its working committees and the mass organizations under the leadership of the Party.

There must be no premature proclamation of the existence of a municipal, provincial or regional organ of political power. In our experience, this has helped the enemy to identify the areas where we are relatively the strongest and against which he directs his armed reaction. The wide-scale guerrilla warfare must be like a veil to deprive the enemy of specific fixed targets.

As the vanguard of the Filipino proletariat and the entire Filipino people, the CPP must wield two powerful weapons: the armed struggle and the united front. It must have absolute leadership over the NPA. In the united front, be this formal or informal, the National Democratic Front or the legal alliances, the Party must maintain its independence and initiative and exercise class leadership. The united front is mainly for the armed struggle and secondarily for the legal struggle.

We must repudiate the "Left" opportunists who wish to separate the NPA from the absolute leadership of the Party and who misuse certain units in military adventurism, urban insurrectionism and gangsterism. We must likewise repudiate the Right opportunists who also wish to liquidate the Party by replacing it as the center of the revolution with a bogus united front, which is a federation or confederation and/or a unitary organization of individuals in which the representatives of the Party are eventually, if not immediately swamped by nonproletarian or anti-proletarian forces. Such an arrangement may at first be dominated by the petty-bourgeois but it is subsequently delivered to the big bourgeoisie under a program of bourgeois nationalism, pluralism and mixed economy.

In leading the new democratic revolution, the Party must rely mainly on the worker-peasant alliance, win over the urban petty-bourgeoisie as one more basic revolutionary force, further win over the middle bourgeoisie and take advantage of the splits among the reactionaries in order to isolate and destroy the most reactionary clique, which is the most subservient to foreign monopoly capitalism at every given time.

In pursuing the antifeudal line, the Party must rely mainly on the poor and lower-middle peasants, win over the middle-middle peasants, neutralize the rich peasants and the enlightened gentry, take advantage of the contradictions between the enlightened gentry and the evil gentry in order to isolate and destroy the power of the despotic landlords. The Party should take advantage of the contradictions between the enlightened and the evil gentry. It will take a higher level of development in the revolutionary movement for us to be able to carry out the maximum land reform program of confiscation and free land distribution.

It is "Left" opportunism to carry out the maximum land reform program while we are still carrying out guerrilla warfare. We should not forget the bitter lessons learned from the premature application of the maximum land reform program in Tarlac in 1972 and Sorsogon in 1974 or in more recent times in Nueva Vizcaya. There is a difference between singling out a despotic landlord for the confiscation of his land or a landgrabber for the restitution of the land to the real owners on the one hand and compelling all landlords (including small ones and otherwise enlightened ones) to unify in armed reaction to the confiscation of their land on the other hand. The current of peasant insurrectionism pushed by certain foreign-funded NGO bureaucrats who are in fact reformists is a malicious attempt to confuse our cadres among the peasant masses.

The principal form of revolutionary struggle is the armed struggle because it answers the central question of revolution, which is the seizure of political power, and for smashing the military and bureaucratic machinery of the counterrevolutionary state. In this regard, the legal form of struggle is secondary. But it is indispensable and important to extend the influence of the revolutionary movement to more and more people in their millions and prepare the ground for the expansion of the revolutionary forces through the legal form of struggle.

The Party must coordinate the urban and rural, armed and nonarmed, legal and illegal, underground and

aboveground forces and forms of struggle. The coordination must bring about the development of all forces and forms of struggle. We must repudiate the Right opportunists who have falsely claimed that the Party neglected the legal struggle by waging revolutionary armed struggle and who wish the Party to cease or to "de-emphasize" this principal form of revolutionary struggle. The fact is that it is the Party which has been consistently the leading force in the legal democratic movement. To do better in the urban-based legal democratic movement, the Party must reduce the proportion of cadres preoccupied by office work, institutions and coalitions and it must deploy and develop more cadres in the factories, urban poor communities and schools. And instead of ceasing or "de-emphasizing" the armed struggle, the Party must rectify the reverse flow of cadres from the countryside to the cities and must dispatch more cadres and revolutionary mass activists to the countryside.

The Red fighters and the peasant masses are in dire need of Party members and revolutionary mass activists, who are willing to train as political officers of the people's army and who have professional and technical skills. It is fine that there is now a campaign to urge the workers, the youth and the professionals to render revolutionary service in the countryside permanently or for a certain significant period. The "Left" and Right opportunists have done sabotaged the armed revolutionary movement by drawing Party cadres to the urban areas and discouraging others to go to the countryside.

It is not the Right opportunists and their bourgeois reformist collaborators who have led and built the legal democratic movement: it is the Party. In the field of legal struggle, we have long seen the puny and inconsequential results of the reformist line and work of the Lava revisionist renegades, the bourgeois populists (popdems), the liberals, Christian democrats, the petty-bourgeois socialists and other groups that wish the party to capitulate and take their reformist line. Were the Party to go aboveground, it will become as puny and inconsequential as its bourgeois reformist detractors and will be at the mercy of the enemy.

The incorrigible "Left" and Right opportunists have left the Party after failing to destroy it from within. The work of rectification within the Party is unwittingly facilitated by the open proclamation of their anticommunist, anti-Stalin line. Now, all the Party members and the public recognize clearly what they are: counterrevolutionary Rightists and special agents of the US-Ramos ruling clique. The long-running paid agents of the enemy among them are trying to whip them up into a new pseudo-Left party as well as into an anticommunist alliance with other groups, including the yellow organizations that are funded by US and Philippine government agencies.

The political and economic position of the Ramos ruling clique is far weaker than its predecessors, the Marcos and Aquino cliques. But it has outstanding psywar skills and has acquired the paid as well as volunteer services of factionalists, splittists and liquidationists who have gone out of the Party. But psywar cannot alleviate the ever worsening crisis of the ruling system. The Ramos ruling clique is daydreaming when it speculates that the Party can be induced or pressured to take a pacifist, reformist and capitulationist line by repealing the anti-subversion law and by financing and using a few renegades and reformists posing as progressives in order to slander the Party and stage localized "peace talks."

Before the rectification movement, when the major deviations, errors and shortcomings in the Party and the revolutionary movement were not being comprehensively and thoroughly rectified, the Party and the revolutionary movement could withstand Lambat-Bitag 1, 2 and 3 and put to shame the yearly false prediction of NPA defeat by General Ramos. The rectification movement should give him and his ilk nightmares even during daytime.

Consequent to the rectification movement, the Party is stronger ideologically, politically and organizationally. Its revolutionary will is steeled by theoretical and political education in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and dedication to the national and democratic rights and interests of the Filipino people. Its cadres and members are being redeployed to create a far wider and deeper mass base for protracted people's war.

Organizational situation and tasks

The membership of the Party runs into a few tens of thousands. It is in the central leading and staff organs and in seventeen regional Party committees and organizations covering the entire country. It is in the New People's Army and in aboveground and underground mass organizations of workers, peasants, farm workers, fishermen, women, youth and professionals. It is in the Party branches in urban and rural localities. It is in the Party groups and committees at various levels of mass organizations.

There is a great and urgent need for increasing the Party membership. The Party leading organs at various levels must assess and evaluate the membership ideologically, politically and organizationally within their respective jurisdictions and see how the current membership can raise its IPO level and serve as the basis for expanding the

Party membership. The plan for Party recruitment must be worked out and submitted to higher leading organs.

The Party must recruit candidate-members from the ranks of the advanced revolutionary mass activists. The organizational building of the Party must be based on ideological and political work. The period of candidature must be followed. After the application for membership is filed and the candidate-member is sworn in on the basis of the recommendation of two full members of the Party and verification of record done by a third Party member, a Party branch must take full responsibility for providing the basic theoretical and political education to the candidate-member and directing his or her trial work within the period of candidature. A major part of the trial work for the candidate-members of urban petty-bourgeois social standing must be social investigation and mass work particularly among the workers or peasants.

It has occurred so often that someone becomes a candidate-member and then his/her development towards full membership is neglected and then forgotten and the candidate-member is shy about pursuing the question of becoming a full member of the Party. The Party Constitution should be the common point of reference for the Party branch and the candidate-member regarding the question. When full membership is not possible within the period of candidature, the Party branch must explain the reasons. The candidate-member can also inquire. The sale of Party literature must be a basic assignment of all Party candidate-members and full members.

The most important basic requisite for Party membership are the proletarian revolutionary attitude to serve the people, ideological and political education and active participation in a Party branch. The existing full members and candidate members must be checked up and encouraged to raise their ideological, political and organizational level.

All Party organs, units and members must uphold, study and apply the principle of democratic centralism. This is the basic organizational principle of the Party. It must be studied in a living way against the manifestations of bureaucratism and ultrademocracy that have already occurred or are persisting within the Party.

Democratic centralism is democracy guided by centralized leadership and centralism that is based on democracy. The essence of centralism is upholding the scientific theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism and the essence of democracy is the conscious participation of the entire Party membership in carrying out the revolutionary line and in providing the basis for decisions by higher Party organs. There is inner Party democracy but there is also discipline.

It is fine that the rectification movement which has been launched by the central leadership in response to the demands of the lower Party organs and organizations, has become a full mass movement and has inspired the lower Party organs and organizations to make further summings-up, criticism and self-criticism and definition of tasks. This movement strengthens the Party comprehensively, including organizationally.

Following the rectification movement, the Party can further strengthen the Party organs at every level, up to the Central Committee and the National Congress of the Party. The delay in holding the Party Congress is not the responsibility alone of the current central leadership. At the same time, the plenary conferences of the Central Committee in the past were legitimately done and were representative of the entire Party organization. Some of them had the weight of national congresses because of the importance of decisions that they had taken. No anti-Party faction can claim to be superior to the current Central Committee or any of the previous composition of the Central Committee.

There is bureaucratism when centralized leadership does not rely on a democratic basis and does not use democratic methods in arriving at a decision and is engaged in a one-way top-down traffic. There is ultrademocracy when any lower organ, unit or individual Party member can decide and do anything against the principles, line and policies set by the Party, declares autonomy from the Party and approaches directly the general membership to attack the Party center.

In the entire history of the Party so far, the worst practitioners of bureaucratism were the "Left" opportunists and the Right opportunists. The "Left" opportunists promoted the line of the "strategic counteroffensive", "regularization", military adventurism and insurrectionism without seeking the approval of the Party Congress, prolonged the period of not holding a Party congress even as they sought to change the correct line of the Party, always preferred to send down commands within the Party and the people's army without investigation and consultations and outside the people's army instituted the practice of "political officers" as a single person level of authority and as some kind of *deus ex machina*.

Through their access to foreign funding, the Right opportunists made themselves important in the Party by

becoming moneybags for financing "regularization" and mass campaigns, creating institutional offices, becoming "NGO" bureaucrats, fabricating paper organizations, consortia and coalitions and using the name of the masses already organized by the Party, drawing away quite a number of cadres and potential ones from work with the masses and, worst of all, spreading the ideas and lingo of the Western bourgeois funding agencies, especially through in-house publications.

The worst practitioners of ultrademocracy were also those "Left" and Right opportunists who had practiced bureaucratism while they were in positions of authority in the Party. Together, they went into a frenzy of ultrademocracy unprecedented in the entire history of the Party. They had earlier manifested their ultrademocracy by building "independent kingdoms" by blocking no less than the central leading organs and by adopting and implementing policies contrary to the Party line.

The "Left" opportunists wanted to separate the people's army for their own military adventurist, urban insurrectionist and gangster line and actually had their way to a considerable extent, thereby damaging the interests and prestige of the Party. The Right opportunists had also tried earlier to liquidate the vanguard role of the Party as well as the Party itself and wanted to cut down the proletarian revolutionaries in the Party and cut off the Party from the illegal and legal united front so that they can lord over foreign-funded "NGOs" and mass organizations without direction by and accounting to the Party. Both the "Left and Right opportunists were the real authoritarians in their respective turfs vis-à-vis subordinates and were anarchists in relation to the Central Committee and the entire Party.

There are selfish and narrow interests propelling the erstwhile "Left" and Right opportunists to form a faction against the Party, seek to destroy it from within and then to stridently join up with the US-Ramos ruling clique, the Lava revisionist renegades, the bourgeois populists (popdems), the liberals, Christian democrats (Socdems), petty-bourgeois democrats, socialists and Trotskyites to attack the Party. A number of the ringleaders of the opportunists who have blatantly become anticommunists have criminal accountability and have absconded with Party funds and facilities. They wish to escape accountability and therefore wish to decapitate and destroy the entire Party and the revolutionary movement.

In trying to mislead the people, the counterrevolutionary renegades prated about there being no democratic process within the Party. But their small circles conspired in what they called caucuses, attacked entire central organs and leaders of the Party and then publicly issued their statements of judgment and condemnation against the Party, the Party center and individuals whom they pillory as "Stalinists", a term they use demagogically to capitalize on the anticommunist propaganda of the imperialists and the local reactionaries.

They slap their own faces when they use the term as defined by anticommunists. Among the ringleaders of the counterrevolutionary renegades are those accountable for Kampanyang Ahos, the most vicious crime ever committed not only against the hundreds of individual victims but also against the Party and the people. Among the renegades are long-time intelligence and psywar agents of US imperialism and the Philippine reactionary government. They are the principal formulators of the anti-Stalin, anticommunist line and the line of delivering the Party and the revolutionary movement to the enemy.

In view of the long period of not being able to assign any significant number of Party cadres from the urban to the rural areas, because of the erroneous lines running for a long period, the Party is determined to inspire, encourage and guide an increasing number of Party cadres to go to the rural from the urban areas. The central organs of the Party have taken the lead in this regard by basing themselves in the countryside. It is therefore of great importance to expand the membership of the Party.

Even before the rectification movement, the Party had called for the shift of a good number of Party members to the countryside in order to replenish the loss of Party cadres. But the erroneous lines barred the way. As a result of the arrests of Party cadres in urban areas, the Central Committee has also issued the security guidelines and instructed urban-based Party cadres whose identity is known to the enemy to shift to work in the countryside. But the promoters of the wrong lines, especially the former head of the NPA general command, the former secretary of the Standing Group of the Visayas Commission and the secretary of the Manila-Rizal Party committee, refused to heed the decision.

The enemy agents in the midst of the renegades have succeeded in swinging the renegades to a blatant anti-communist line and the enemy has gained a considerable amount of information from the renegades. For this alone, it is of urgent necessity and importance to shift known Party cadres from the urban to the rural areas and to

generate a great number of Party members who are no longer known to the renegades. These renegades must be totally deprived of information that they can use to harm the Party.

Contrary to the intrigues of the anti-Party elements since early 1992 that it would cause a big split or become a "bloody Stalinist purge" of thousands of Party members, outstripping Kampanyang Ahos, the rectification movement has already proven to be mainly an educational movement in the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The Central Committee has narrowed the target of the rectification movement to a handful of anti-Party ringleaders.

These were expelled only after they had undertaken a series of flagrant anti-Party activities: public dissemination of slander articles aimed at decapitating and destroying the Party starting in late 1991 and proceeding more stridently from 1992 onward, declarations of anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist positions, disruptions of legal mass organizations and alliances, declarations of autonomy and separation, and open collaboration with civil and military agencies of the US-Ramos clique and with an assortment of anticommunist petty-bourgeois groups under the common slogan of anti-Stalinism.

For a long period, these expellees had committed serious errors of line, inflicting unprecedentedly huge damage to the Party and the revolutionary movement and are subject to disciplinary action. They had also committed serious crimes, such as treason, murder, bloody witchhunts, gangsterism and gross malversation of funds and are subject to trial by the people's court. They oppose the rectification movement and wish to destroy the Party because they want to escape their responsibilities. It is completely beneficial to the Party and the revolutionary movement that they are expelled. They had destroyed more than they had ever contributed to the strength of the Party in the period of 1980-92 and they sought to further wreak destruction in a vain attempt to stop the rectification movement.

The policy towards those whom the anti-Party ringleaders have misled is to give them time to come to their senses and see the facts and the truth. They have been easily swayed by lies, slander and intrigues. They come from ideologically weak parts of the Party, are few in number and some of them are fictitious communists. It is far more productive and far more important to recruit new candidate members of the Party from the long-running revolutionary mass movement than to keep on running after those who have been thoroughly disinformed and disoriented by the counterrevolutionary renegades.

The Central Committee has reconstituted only two regional Party committees (Manila-Rizal and Negros) and only two central staff organs (the Peasant Secretariat and the United Front Commission) and dissolved one interregional commission (Visayas Commission) in connection with the rectification movement and in response to the demands from below because some of the leaders had degenerated into anti-Party elements. The Mindanao Commission dissolved the Central Mindanao region due to its contraction (it had been reduced to the size of a district) and due to the factional activities of some anti-Party elements there. It has been placed under the jurisdiction of an adjoining regional Party organization for simpler administration and closer guidance. These organizational measures were undertaken to secure the Party from the wrecking operations of the anti-Party factionalists, splittists and liquidationists.

The decision of the Central Committee to launch the second great rectification movement constitutes a great historic victory of far reaching significance and consequence to the Philippine revolution and the Filipino people. Making the decision has been preceded by a long struggle of several years between the proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois reactionary line within the Party.

In the course of the rectification movement, the proletarian revolutionaries in the Party have upheld the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and have defeated the handful of bourgeois reactionaries. The overcoming of the major deviations, errors and shortcomings and the strengthening of the Party are victories which lead to greater victories in the entire revolutionary movement of the proletariat and people. The Philippine revolution will advance further and continue to be a brilliant part of the world proletarian revolution.

There is much to celebrate now and there is much revolutionary work and struggle ahead. We shall surely win greater victories in the years ahead because the Party is more than ever determined to lead the people in their millions in the revolutionary struggle for national liberation and democracy against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Long live the Filipino proletariat and people!

Long live the Philippine revolution and the world proletarian revolution!

***Carry the Rectification Movement Through
to the End and Advance the Revolutionary Cause
in an All-round Way***

Statement on the 26th CPP Anniversary, December 26, 1994

Let us celebrate the 26th anniversary of the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines. Let us renew our determination to serve the people and to advance the revolution. Let us honor our martyrs and heroes for their example of hard struggle and self-sacrifice and rejoice over the victories that our Party has won.

Our Party has resolutely, militantly and successfully performed its historic role of being the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It has correctly integrated this revolutionary theory of the proletariat with the concrete conditions of the Philippine revolution and has led the proletariat and the people from victory to victory in the struggle for national liberation and democracy against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

Since 1992, our Party has won resounding revolutionary victory in the second great rectification movement against petty-bourgeois and bourgeois subjectivism, revisionism, "Left" and Right opportunism, bureaucratism, ultrademocracy and liquidationism. We have basically overcome the major deviations, errors, weaknesses and damage wrought for more than a decade by the unremolded petty-bourgeois elements, the incorrigible opportunists, who have become traitors to the Party and the revolutionary movement.

In the process, we have raised higher the fighting will and capabilities of the Party and the people against the US-Ramos regime, the entire domestic ruling system and the world capitalist system for the cause of national liberation and socialism and the ultimate goal of communism. Our Party is revitalized and stronger than ever.

Our victory in the second great rectification movement is due to the revolutionary integrity and loyalty of the Party cadres and members, the revolutionary tenacity and vigorous support and participation of the revolutionary masses as well as to the all-round strength accumulated in 26 years of revolutionary struggle, despite the damage wrought by the erroneous lines from 1980 to 1992.

Our victory is comparable to that of the first rectification movement from 1967 to 1972, in terms of upholding the basic revolutionary principles and asserting the proletarian revolutionary line against the bourgeois counterrevolutionary line of the Lavaites. However, the current base of our strength is far larger and our experience is far richer than in the years of 1967 to 1972. The potential for victories to come is far greater.

The conditions for further advancing the Philippine revolution are favorable. The crisis of the ruling system continues to worsen. The intensifying oppression and exploitation of the people is generating revolutionary resistance and impelling the people to armed revolution. At the same time, the crisis of the world capitalist system has resulted to a new world disorder of unprecedented proportions since the end of World War II. The proletariat and the people of the world have no recourse but to regenerate and rebuild the anti-imperialist and socialist movement and wage revolutionary struggles.

Uphold and defend Marxist-Leninist theory and practice

Our Party has raised higher the level of its strength in an all-round way through the rectification movement and has waged a more resolute and militant revolutionary struggle against the enemy. It has scored great achievements ideologically, politically and organizationally under the guidance of the basic rectification documents issued by the Central Committee and in accordance with the three-year plan for 1992-95 decided by the Central Committee in 1992 and reviewed and adjusted by the Political Bureau in 1993. Upon the initiative and under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, the entire Party has upheld and defended the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, has reasserted the proletarian revolutionary line among the party cadres and members against the bourgeois counterrevolutionary line and has carried forward the general line of national democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat.

Raise the level of ideological unity

More than ever before, there is a sharper clarity of basic principles, line and policies. There is a higher level of ideological unity arising from the study of the positive and negative aspects of concrete revolutionary practice over

a long period of time. As a result, all loyal Party cadres and members are carrying out their revolutionary tasks with ever greater resolve, enthusiasm and militancy. In contrast, the ringleaders of the incorrigible subjectivists and opportunists have totally exposed themselves as opportunist traitors.

The definitive documents and directives issued by the Party Central Committee in the course of the rectification movement are being seriously studied throughout the Party. These guide the central staff organs and the regional Party committees in summing up their experience, identifying their achievements and shortcomings, in making criticism and self-criticism and carrying out their tasks with renewed vigor and rising determination.

The rectification movement has been deepened and enriched by the summing up of experiences and criticism and self-criticism from one level to another, covering the period from 1980 to the present. The process has been dialectical, with lower leading organs and organizations providing more facts and insights than before and higher organs taking advantage of the expanded information and analysis from below and providing wiser and more accurate guidance than before.

In celebration of the 100th birth anniversary of Mao Zedong, the chairman of the Party Central Committee has presented in concise form our Party history in its first quarter of a century of existence. This has encouraged all regional Party committees and organizations to review and analyze their revolutionary experience from the beginning under the guidance of basic revolutionary principles. They are grasping how the revolutionary movement grew in strength step by step before the incorrigible subjectivists and opportunists could impose their counterrevolutionary bourgeois line and lead the revolution astray in areas under their authority and influence.

So far, as should properly be the case, ideological work has been extensive and intensive in summing up of experience, criticism and self-criticism and definition of revolutionary tasks. This means the study of theory in a living way, especially because it has been a weapon for fighting and defeating the long-running bourgeois counterrevolutionary line of the renegades who in the end have openly sought to liquidate the Party.

The rectification documents of the Party at various levels and the articles published in *Rebolusyon*, theoretical organ of the Party Central Committee, uphold and defend Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the proletarian revolutionary line of the Party. These have equipped our Party cadres and members in confronting and frustrating the incorrigible opportunists, renegades and enemy agents who negated Marxism-Leninism under slogans maligning Stalin and Mao and caricaturing the Party central leadership.

The liquidationists have taken a ride on the "new thinking" of Gorbachov and on the anti-Stalin and anti-Mao ideological offensive of the imperialists and have become totally exposed as rabid anticommunists. They have become totally discredited within the Party for misrepresenting the fallen revisionist regimes as socialist and Stalinist, spreading the notion that the anti-imperialist and socialist movement is futile and trying to draw the party membership to the counterrevolutionary reformist line that urban-based legal struggle is the sole or main form of struggle on the erroneous presumption that Philippine society has ceased to be semicolonial and semifeudal.

Revisionism has been the principal ideological disease afflicting the incorrigible opportunists. This is true not only in the case of the Right opportunists but also in the case of the "Left" opportunists who pushed the line of urban insurrectionism and military adventurism. The latter made revisionist misinterpretation of the revolutionary armed struggle by flying away from the necessity of self-reliant painstaking mass work and by wishfully thinking that they can win victory by depending on the spontaneous masses and on support from outside the organized revolutionary forces, especially on military and financial assistance expected from the Soviet and pro-Soviet parties.

The opportunist traitors are of varied counterrevolutionary stripes. There are those spouting the anticommunist slogans of Gorbachov to distinguish themselves from the old revisionists who continue to worship Brezhnev. There are also those who spread Trotskyism, trying to pass it off as Leninism. In common, these opportunist traitors collaborate with the US-Ramos regime and the pseudoprogressive petty-bourgeois groups along an anti-Stalin, anti-Mao and anticommunist line.

The Party is reproducing and circulating the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao to shed light on the basic principles of the revolution led by the proletariat as well as books and articles from abroad that are instructive on Marxist-Leninist philosophy, political economy, scientific socialism, modern revisionism, the theory and practice of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship and the international communist movement. The Party stresses the importance of studying modern revisionism and the theory and practice of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship to combat imperialism's systematic line of attack that the socialist cause is

futile and hopeless.

The publications issued are meant to be read and studied by Party collectives in advance of the formal courses. The outlines and reading lists of the basic, intermediate and advanced Party courses are guiding the reproduction of study materials and advance reading and study. Party cadres and members enthusiastically undertake advance reading and study the materials so far reproduced in order to contend effectively with the ideological offensive of the imperialists and their retinue of local reactionaries and anticommunist petty-bourgeois.

The text of the basic Party course has undergone improvement under the Education Department of the General Secretariat. The entire Party is enthusiastically conducting the basic Party course as well as the general basic mass course on Philippine society and revolution. The basic Party course stresses the proletarian revolutionary line and the spirit of serving the people and encompasses the basic character of Philippine society and revolution, the strategic line of protracted people's war, Party building and the socialist perspective.

The Party considers ideological work as the most important kind of work. The Central Committee and the regional committees are determined to put more personnel, effort and resources in ideological work. It was under conditions of diminishing and disappearing Marxist-Leninist theoretical and political studies that the subjectivists and opportunist charlatans were able to creep into the leadership of the Party and to spread anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist ideas under the guise of "innovating on", "adjusting", "refining" and "creatively applying" Marxism-Leninism and to aim for the complete liquidation of the Party through ideological sabotage.

Were it not for the rectification movement, the Party and the revolutionary movement would have been destroyed from within by the accumulation of grave errors of subjectivism, revisionism and opportunism and finally by the accelerated efforts of the opportunist traitors to discredit the Central Committee, stop the rectification movement, take over the Party completely and destroy its proletarian character. As a result of the rectification movement, the party and the revolutionary mass movement are revitalized and advancing along the correct line. Instead of being able to liquidate the Party, the opportunist traitors have only succeeded in exposing their counterrevolutionary and anticommunist character by shamelessly echoing the anti-Stalin and anti-Mao slogans from the propaganda machine of the imperialist ideological offensive.

In the course of their ideological and political degeneration, the former "Left" opportunist advocates of military adventurism and urban insurrectionism and the former Right opportunist advocates of liquidating the Party with their unabashed petty-bourgeois concept of the united front have joined the puny and anarchic ranks of rabid anti-communists, reformists, capitulationists, pacifists, NGO bureaucrats and beggars of funds from the reactionary state and the anticommunist foreign funding agencies. The worst of the opportunist traitors are now claiming that the anti-imperialist and class struggles have become outdated and marginalized. In their attempt to mislead the people into reformism, they interpret every issue (especially development, social movement, gender, environment, ethnicity and the like) in supraclass and pro-imperialist terms and counterpose it to the comprehensive struggle of the people for national liberation and democracy.

It is of crucial importance to study, criticize and repudiate modern revisionism and the restoration of capitalism not only in the former Soviet bloc countries but also in China. A failure to do so can cause confusion and thus can undermine and ultimately destroy the Party as already proven by the disintegration of the revisionist parties following the baton and example of the Soviet revisionist party in the past.

In fact, the opportunist traitors have taken advantage of the Dengist revisionism and betrayal of Mao's teachings and revolutionary achievements as much as Brezhnevite and Gorbachovite revisionism in an attempt to depreciate and oppose Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, liquidate the proletarian revolutionary line of the Party and destroy the entire Party. Revisionism is at the core of the eclecticism, conjuncturalism, populism and liberalism in various anticommunist petty-bourgeois trends of thought within the Party since the early 1980s. The opportunist traitors have deliberately and maliciously used certain petty-bourgeois-led though anti-imperialist revolutions as countermodels to the proletarian revolutionary character of the great socialist revolutions in the former Soviet Union and China.

Obsessed with their anticommunist and counterrevolutionary work, the opportunist traitors continue to boast that they will form a "new" party with a hodgepodge "new thinking" that combines the stale anticommunist ideas of Gorbachovism, Trotskyism, nationalism, populism, liberalism, anarchism and social-democracy. They are now egged on and financed by local and foreign anticommunist agencies to form pseudo-Left and pseudoprogressive organizations and to use the repeal of the anti-subversion law against the Communist Party of the Philippines and

the armed revolution.

In 1992 the opportunist traitors tried to band together into an anti-Party faction in order to liquidate the Party from within. They posed as adherents of Gorbachovite revisionist "new thinking" and "democratic" process and publicized articles of slander against the Party so soon after decking themselves out as "refiners" and "developers" of Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. After failing to wreck the Party from within, they tried in 1993 to split the ranks of the revolutionary masses, organized new anticommunist groups financed by the reactionary state and foreign anticommunist funding agencies and collaborated with the anticommunist petty-bourgeois, like the old revisionists, Trotskyites, Christian democrats, liberals and the like in a campaign in the bourgeois press against the CPP, NPA and NDF. Thus, they flagrantly became special agents in the anticommunist psychological warfare scheme of the US-Ramos regime.

The opportunist traitors were already defeated by their own self-exposure and the actions of the Party in 1993. But their agents in the United Front Commission (UFC) of the Party touted themselves as centrists who denied that there was a two-line struggle and maliciously used centrism or neutrality between what is correct and what is wrong in order to attack the proletarian revolutionary line and block the rectification movement. In 1994, the centrists were roundly defeated in the course of the two-line struggle between the proletarian revolutionaries and the bourgeois counterrevolutionaries. In the course of the struggle against the counterrevolutionary bourgeois ideas of the opportunist traitors, the ideological consciousness of Party cadres and members has been so heightened as to be able to recognize what constitutes counterrevolution under whatever guise.

Because it seriously and successfully carries out revolutionary work, including the rectification movement and the perseverance in armed revolution, the Party is now at the forefront of the international communist movement and is highly regarded by Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary movements abroad. In contrast, workers and communist parties and liberation fronts disoriented by modern revisionism and petty-bourgeois radicalism, have either disintegrated completely or gone into further degeneration and capitulation or into neocolonial compromise.

The publications of the Party, especially the rectification documents and the definitive article on socialism against modern revisionism, are highly regarded and seriously studied by Marxist-Leninists abroad. Many revolutionary parties, movements and organizations have shown great interest in exchanging experiences and views with the Party and in visiting the Philippines to study its revolutionary work.

In the spirit of proletarian internationalism, the Party has assumed an outstanding role in upholding and defending Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought or Maoism. It chaired the International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations from 1992 to 1994. It is one of the principal propagators of the General Declaration on Mao Zedong Thought or Maoism.

The CPP has resolutely taken the position that confidence in the ultimate victory of socialism and communism against imperialism, revisionism and neocolonialism has its most comprehensive and most profound scientific basis in Maoism which extends Marxism-Leninism to the critique and repudiation of modern revisionism and the theory and practice of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship.

Carry the national democratic revolution forward

In the face of the ever worsening chronic crisis of the ruling semicolonial and semifeudal system, the Party and the people are more determined than ever before to carry out the national democratic revolution through protracted people's war in order to complete the struggle for national independence and democracy and to establish the people's democratic state and develop a self-reliant industrial economy and a national, scientific and mass culture.

In semicolonial Philippines, US and Japanese imperialists indirectly rule the people through the reactionary state which is the joint class dictatorship of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class. There is no genuine and complete national independence. In semifeudal Philippines, the economy remains agrarian and backward, with some import-dependent industrial enterprises but without basic industries. The big compradors and landlords are the basic exploiters in the domestic mode of production and collaborate with the foreign monopoly capitalists in the extraction of superprofits.

The Party has thoroughly debunked the claim of the opportunist traitors that, from the time of the Marcos fascist regime, the Philippines has become industrialized and urbanized to such an extent that it is no longer semicolonial and semifeudal and that a change of strategy is necessary from protracted people's war to quick urban insurrectionary victory or else protracted legal struggle. The "Left" opportunists who pushed the line of strategic

counteroffensive and urban insurrectionism and military adventurism and the Right opportunists who pushed the line of legal struggle as the main or sole form of struggle have based themselves on the erroneous presumption that the Philippines is already more than 40 percent urbanized. In fact, according to the 1990 census, the national capital region and the provincial cities comprise only 13 and 8 percent of the national population, respectively.

The same opportunist traitors (including the former "Left" opportunists who have openly swung to the Right opportunist position) who previously credited the Marcos fascist regime with achieving a high degree of industrialization and urbanization now self-contradictorily agree with the US-Ramos regime that the Philippines is still a nonindustrial country to be turned into a "newly-industrialized country" by the year 2000. They also sing with the regime the imperialist tunes about "environment-friendly sustainable development" against national industrialization and "empowerment of the people" through foreign-financed NGOs and anticommunist social movements under the imperialist and local reactionary states. It is clear that the opportunist traitors follow the class leadership of the bourgeoisie in their wishful thinking and the worst of them are in the pay of the psychological warfare and intelligence agencies of the enemy.

In the course of the rectification movement, the Party has reaffirmed the revolutionary class line, which involves the following: the class leadership of the proletariat, the basic alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry, the progressive alliance of the toiling masses and the urban petty bourgeoisie, the alliance of the positive forces which include the middle bourgeoisie, taking advantage of the splits among the reactionaries to isolate and destroy the power of the enemy, the regime or clique that is most reactionary and most servile to imperialism.

In consonance with the democratic character of the Philippine revolution at this stage, the Party pursues the revolutionary antifeudal class line in the countryside. It relies mainly on the poor peasants and farm workers, wins over the middle peasants, neutralizes the rich peasants and takes advantage of the split between the enlightened and the evil gentry in order to isolate and destroy the power of the despotic landlords.

Reassert armed struggle as the principal form of revolutionary struggle

The Party has reasserted that the principal form of revolutionary struggle is armed struggle, that the strategic line is to encircle the cities from the countryside over a protracted period of time, and accumulate enough strength to be able to seize the cities ultimately and that the armed struggle must be integrated with genuine land reform and mass-base building within the context of the national democratic revolution, under the leadership of the proletariat and with a socialist perspective.

Through the rectification movement, the Party has successfully clarified the general line of national democratic revolution through protracted people's war. Following the guidance and example of the Party Central Committee, all regional Party organs and organizations have summed up their experience, engaged in criticism and self-criticism and carried out practical measures in order to counteract and overcome the long-running grave errors and damage as a result of the "Left" opportunist line of "strategic counteroffensive", urban insurrectionism and military adventurism as well as of the Right opportunist line of making urban-based legal struggle the principal or sole form of struggle.

Party units, Red commanders and fighters have undergone politico-military training mainly and essentially to provide them with the revolutionary orientation that the people's army is under the absolute leadership of the Party and is the people's instrument for smashing reactionary political power in the countryside, establishing the organs of political power, expanding and consolidating the mass base, supporting the land reform campaign and accumulating victories in the countryside until the urban citadels of the enemy are ripe for the strategic offensive.

As a result of the rectification movement, Party members and Red fighters have a sharpened comprehensive and profound understanding of the necessity of developing the protracted people's war in strategic stages and of carrying out extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare with an ever expanding and deepening mass base in the current stage of the strategic defensive. They reject urban insurrectionism as the lead factor as well as the premature formation of larger army units which become divorced from the masses and are unsustainable. They reject any line which constricts and destroys the mass base and allows the enemy to copy, even if artificially, the strategy and tactics of people's war. The "Left" opportunists went for what the enemy wanted them to do, lose the mass base and fight in a purely military situation, so that his "war of quick decision" (strategic offensive) and "gradual

constriction" would become effective.

The Party has redeployed the unsustainably large NPA formations, including two battalions and all the companies previously in absolute concentration so that more guerrilla fronts with a sound mass base can arise. In every guerrilla front, 70 to 75 percent of the Red fighters are dispersed in squads, each of which can cover a guerrilla zone roughly equivalent to a municipality and can subdivide into armed propaganda teams to cover a certain number of barrios under favorable conditions, when the enemy is not concentrating his forces on such barrios. At the same time, there is a center of gravity consisting of no more than 30 percent of the Red fighters who are in relative concentration and do mass work within a limited radius that allows instant and effective command, control and communications.

The sum total of Red fighters in a large guerrilla front can be a company; in a medium one, an oversized platoon or in a small one, a platoon. In due time, each guerrilla front should have a sum total of one company. In any case, there is the necessary existence and coordination of the center of gravity and the dispersed units. To maximize the advantages and minimize the disadvantages of guerrilla warfare, the guerrilla forces are mastering the flexible tactics of dispersal, concentration and shifting. The small dispersed units (squads or armed propaganda teams) are tasked to do more mass work and likewise to be vigilant against being put in a purely defensive position.

The focus of the rectification movement has been to reorient, reorganize and retrain the Red fighters and to expand and consolidate the mass base since 1992. As a result, the people's army has been able to significantly increase the number of tactical offensives nationwide since 1993. Successful tactical offensives are increasing at a rate higher than in the period of 1989-1992. The ratio of successful tactical offensives to total number launched approaches 100 percent in sharp contrast to the low ratio and the low absolute number of tactical offensives in the period from 1987 to 1992.

The NPA pursues the line of launching only the tactical offensives it can win and avoiding battles that it cannot win. It attacks the enemy, using the element of surprise. It gains knowledge of the weak points of the enemy and keeps him blind and deaf by relying on an ever expanding and consolidated mass base. The NPA retains its capability to concentrate one, two or three platoons to launch a major tactical offensive. At the same time, most of the guerrilla squads are dispersed most of the time to do mass work nationwide. In the face of any strong long-term enemy campaign of encirclement and suppression, the NPA can shift its main units in order to be able to fight on exterior lines even as its smaller secondary units may be able to move in and out of enemy encirclement.

The Party is leading mass work in the countryside. Mass work involves propaganda and agitation among the peasant masses, organizing the organs of political power and the peasant association and other types of associations and carrying out land reform and other types of mass campaigns for the benefit of the people. The expansion and consolidation of the mass base have reversed the decline from 1988 to 1992. The scope of rural mass work covers thousands of barrios in hundreds of municipalities and scores of provinces. In doing mass work, the Party and the NPA consolidate the old retained areas, expand to new areas and recover areas lost due to "Left" opportunism, the arbitrary anti-informer campaigns and prolonged enemy campaigns. Great success has been achieved in consolidating and expanding the mass base of the armed revolutionary movement. The most brilliant achievements are in consolidating old retained areas, variably recovering 50 to 100 percent of certain lost areas in various regions and in expanding to new areas.

As a result of painstaking mass work and solid organizing demanded by the rectification movement and the people, the revolutionary mass organizations of peasants, workers (when present), fishermen, women, youth, children and cultural activists and the provisional organs of political power (barrio organizing committees BOC) and regular organs of political power (barrio revolutionary committees BRC) which are formed along the united front line have increased by a great number from the level of 1992.

In guerrilla base areas, the former appointive BOCs have graduated into the stage of BRCs upon the election of its members by the people in the barrio or by representatives of the mass organizations, after the formation of a comprehensive range of mass organizations as the base of such a committee. The BRC is supported by the mass organizations and the entire people and has working committees for handling further mass organizing, public education, self-defense, land reform, production, finance, health and sanitation, arbitration, cultural activities and other important functions.

The key mass campaign in the countryside is the Party's minimum land reform program on a wide scale,

involving the mobilization of the peasant masses. This is to reduce land rent and interest rates by 50 percent or any other reasonable percentage of the previous level, increase wages of farm workers, improve the prices of products at the farm gate and raise production in agriculture and sideline occupations through the family and rudimentary cooperation. Only when possible, necessary and defensible is there land confiscation from the despotic landlords for redistribution to the landless tillers and the restitution of the land from the landgrabbers to their rightful owners. The possibility of land confiscation for free redistribution arises in the guerrilla base areas, especially in areas remote from the military forces of the enemy.

The land reform campaign is carried out mainly by the peasant association, under the leadership of the Party and with the support of the people's army. Other types of mass campaigns involve public education and culture, training in self-defense, health and sanitation, promotion of women's rights, protection of the environment. production and raising material support for the people's army. The backward villages are being transformed into political, economic and cultural bastions of the revolution through the mass movement.

The political education, organization and campaigns of the people create the self-reliant and invincible foundation of the people's war. To be self-reliant, the revolutionary forces rely on the contributions of the people and on production specially designated for supporting the revolutionary forces. The people can make material and financial contributions because they increase their income through land reform and improvement of agricultural productivity. In addition, taxes are collected from enlightened elements and sections of the exploiting classes that follow the laws and regulations of the people's democratic government. Furthermore, the people's army in authorized actions confiscate weapons and resources from the enemy.

The revolutionary movement repudiates the poison long spread by the opportunist traitors that insurrectionary gangs and prematurely enlarged military units can survive, prosper and win victory quickly beyond their given capabilities by depending on external military and financial support from the Soviet Union and pro-Soviet parties and other foreign entities, and by engaging in criminal gangsterism. After being frustrated in their line of strategic counteroffensive, military adventurism and urban insurrection, the big opportunist traitors who were able to sneak into the central organs of the Party and who reigned over the "general command" of the NPA, the standing group of the Visayas Commission and the executive committee of the Manila-Rizal Party Committee are now engaged in private business (some of them with stolen money from the revolutionary movement) or employed in foreign-funded NGOs and various offices of the reactionary government, including the psywar and intelligence agencies of the enemies.

The few units and elements of the people's army in Negros, Panay and Central Mindanao as well as the armed city partisan units using the name of Alex Boncayao Brigade in Manila-Rizal that were led astray by the opportunist traitors have either rejoined the people's army, degenerated further into criminal gangsterism, surrendered to the enemy or completely disintegrated in 1993 and 1994. After failing to wreck the people's army wherever they had some influence, all the ringleaders of the anti-Party faction are now openly engaged in urban-based anticommunist activities under the encouragement of the US Ramos regime. They have putsched their way to the side of the enemy.

Just as "Left" opportunists who have eventually become barefaced counterrevolutionaries have spread revisionist ideas about the armed struggle, the Right opportunists who have openly become anticommunists have spread revisionist ideas about the united front. The wrong ideas about the united front include the following: that it is the center of revolutionary leadership, that it is the framework for denying and liquidating the role of the proletariat, that it is mainly or exclusively for developing the legal struggle, and that it is a petty-bourgeois vehicle for recycling the old democratic revolution, promoting bourgeois nationalism, pluralism and mixed economy and stopping the revolution from taking the socialist road after the victory of the new-democratic revolution. The Party has completely defeated the opportunist traitors who have nestled in the United Front Commission and have cleverly opposed the rectification movement under the guise of centrism, denying the two-line struggle between the Party and the anti-Party faction, mixing up what is correct and wrong and disrupting communications between the Party central leadership on the one hand and the urban-based Party and mass organizations on the other. The Party has effectively performed the role of leadership in the united front by defining the correct relationship of the party, the people's army and the united front, proposing in 1992 a new constitution and program of the National Democratic Front (NDF) and by initiating the NDF First National Conference to ramify these documents and revitalize the NDF in 1994. From the time that the Party in 1992 made fundamental criticism of the bogus 1990

Congress to the holding of the First National Conference, the principal officers and majority of those elected to the NDF national executive committee in 1990 became the caretaker leadership no longer by virtue of the bogus congress but by virtue of the consensus of the allied organizations in the NDF. In accordance with the rectification movement from 1992 and with the decisions of its First National Conference, the NDF stands as a united front or alliance of basic revolutionary forces recognizing the leadership of the proletariat along the general line of the national democratic revolution with a socialist perspective. It is a formal united front for the revolutionary armed struggle, allowing the independence and initiative of the Party and the absolute leadership of the Party over the NPA. It is not a federation in which the Party is merely a member-organization, subject to the constant mechanical majority of nonproletarian member-organizations. The opportunist traitors have been thwarted in their vile attempt to destroy both the CPP and the NDF by maneuvering to collide most of the allied organizations against the CPP and by misusing the name of the NDF against the Party.

Promote the legal democratic movement

On the central question of seizing political power, which is the principal objective of the national democratic revolution, armed struggle is definitely the principal form of struggle and legal struggle is secondary. To say that legal struggle is secondary in this context does not mean that it is unimportant and dispensable. It simply means that the legal struggle is not the sole or main weapon for seizing political power.

The opportunist traitors, both the incorrigible "Left" opportunists and the more consistent Right opportunists, maliciously claim that the strategy of people's war deny the importance of legal struggle and its necessary dialectical link with armed struggle. And yet they have been the ones undermining and sabotaging the legal democratic mass movement with their prescription of either putschism or reformism.

The historical and continuing fact is that the urban-based legal democratic movement has developed since it came under the leadership of the proletarian revolutionary cadres of the Party in the course of struggle against the ruling system, whichever is the ruling clique. To this day, the legal forces of the national democratic movement are at the forefront in the legal struggle and are the largest forces in opposition to the antinational and antidemocratic policies of the US-Ramos regime.

As a result of the rectification movement, the Party has revitalized the revolutionary core of the mass movement and impelled the powerful resurgence of the legal democratic movement. At the moment, the multisectoral alliance, the sectoral alliances and the legal mass organizations of workers, peasants, national minorities, fishermen, urban poor, youth, women, teachers and other professionals, human rights activists and the like that run along the national democratic line are still the most conscious, the most militant and most formidable forces in the legal democratic movement.

Recovering from the damaging consequences of "Left" and Right opportunist errors, these forces have become more resolute, reinvigorated and active in fighting the three evils of foreign monopoly capitalism and bureaucrat capitalism. They have seized full initiative in undertaking mass protest actions nationwide and have brought the legal democratic movement to a new and higher level.

They have stood out in launching mass protest actions against the oil price hike, the expanded value-added tax, the antilabor policies and measures, the anti-peasant policies and measures, the anti-student and antipeople educational policies, the forced mass evacuations, the continued detention of political prisoners, the assassination of urban poor organizers, other human rights violations, the Clinton visit, the ratification of the GATT final act and so on.

What is most significant about the legal democratic mass movement is that it is expanding through painstaking mass work and solid organizing. It is being consolidated not only through organizational but also through intensified educational campaigns. The mass organizations, sectoral and multisectoral alliances undertake mass campaigns self-reliantly by arousing, organizing and mobilizing the people. There is the fundamental departure from ways of the past when there was a one-sided preoccupation with sweeping propaganda and dependence on funds coming from special sources outside the mass movement for buying in rallyists or slick propaganda, including paid advertisements in the bourgeois media.

In contrast, the opportunist traitors have totally exposed themselves as reformists, capitulationists and pacifists acting as special psywar agents of the ruling system. They have become isolated and have been abandoned by those whom they misled for a while in 1992 and 1993. They are now conspicuously as puny and impotent as their anticommunist petty-bourgeois cohorts among the old revisionists (Lavaites), the bourgeois populists

(popdems), the Christian democrats (soc-dems), Trotskyites (Bisig and Sanlakas) and Gorbachovite pro-imperialist liberals (Siglaya) who deck themselves out as new "social democrats." Their common anticommunist line has brought them into the service of the psychological warfare and low-intensity conflict scheme of the US-Ramos regime.

The movement for genuine and militant anti-imperialist trade unionism in the private and public sector has grown in strength and advanced in struggle against foreign monopoly capitalism, the ruling system and the retinue of old and new labor aristocrats. Workers in key enterprises have been given priority in mass work. Public sector employees are also being organized and activated. The urban poor are also expanding and consolidating their community organizations.

In contrast, the old set of labor aristocrats headed by those in the Trade Union Congress of the Philippines (TUCP) and the Federation of Free Workers (FFW) and the new set of labor aristocrats in Bukluran ng Manggagawang Pilipino (BMP) and the National Confederation of Labor (NCL) have further discredited themselves among the workers by banding together to form an anticommunist "Caucus for Labor Unity (CLU)" and to make a "social accord" with the Ramos regime and the foreign and local capitalists in the Philippine Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Employers Confederation of the Philippines (ECOP), endorsing the regime's Philippines 2000 and its policy of cheap and docile labor.

The peasant movement for genuine and thoroughgoing land reform has also grown in strength and advanced the struggle against the foreign monopoly capitalists and the ruling system, especially the landlord class, and the retinue of supporters of the bogus "comprehensive agrarian reform program" of the reactionary government and the beggars of funds from the coffers of the reactionary government and foreign funding agencies. The fishermen and workers in fishing companies are strengthening their organizations.

The anticommunist supporters of the bogus land reform program of the reactionary government, including the bureaucrats and racketeers in foreign-funded NGOs, are being isolated and expelled or are barred from pursuing their counterrevolutionary reformism projects and activities in the rural areas controlled by the revolutionary movement. The anticommunist organizations include the CIA-instigated Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement (PRRM), Cooperative Foundation of the Philippines and "Demokratikong" KMP or (D-KMP) whose main objective is to attack the genuine peasant associations. The foreign-funded work is now part of the low-intensity conflict scheme of the US-Ramos regime.

The movements of the indigenous peoples in the Cordillera, Mindanao and elsewhere are strengthening themselves along the line of the national democratic revolution against the escalation of ethnocidal aggression in the form of massive military operations and psywar through so-called development aid programs. They oppose the ethnocentrism and ethnic conflicts being whipped up by the imperialists and the local reactionaries.

The movement of the student and other youth is resurgent and is concerned not only about its sectoral interests but is taking up national and international issues, espousing national freedom and democracy and launching mass protest actions. It is at the forefront of the legal democratic movement against the US-Ramos regime, reactionary school authorities and the new and old anticommunist groups. It is actively cooperating with the working people and encouraging the educated youth to learn from the masses and serve the people.

The women's movement is steadily growing in urban and rural areas. It is fighting patriarchy in exploitative society and is developing its strength. In the course of the struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, women struggle for and gain equal footing with men. They combat sexism in reverse as espoused and utilized by certain types of bourgeois feminists to separate the women's movement from the national democratic movement and make them collide.

Teachers in both public and private schools are revitalizing their movement. They are the largest professional group in the country and receive the lowest compensation. They do not only demand the improvement of their socioeconomic condition but also the promotion of a nationalist, scientific and mass culture.

The artists and other cultural workers are strengthening their ranks and becoming more militant than ever. They enliven the revolutionary mass movement and raise the revolutionary mass movement spirit of the people with their creative works and cultural performances. They use traditional and modern art forms and techniques of artistic creation to promote social realism, revolutionary romanticism and a national, scientific and mass culture.

The movement of health workers is promoting service to the people and the revolutionary forces and opposing the counterrevolutionary position of "medical neutrality" between the revolutionary and counterrevolutionary

forces. There is a drive to recruit health workers for service in the rural areas and the people's army.

The movement of lawyers is advocating a patriotic and progressive course against the basic social evils in the Philippine society, paying attention to the defense of civil liberties and political rights and repudiating the degeneration of former civil libertarians who have been drawn into the service of the reactionary government and the exploiting classes at the expense of the workers and peasants. Scientists and technologists are being attracted to the national democratic movement. They demand a social system in which they can apply their knowledge and skills for the development of the country. They are rebuilding organizations that can participate in the legal democratic movement as well as make immediate concrete contributions to the revolutionary movement and to improve the people's livelihood. All the patriotic and progressive classes, sectors and forces are being revitalized and further strengthened in accordance with the general line of the national democratic revolution. They take up the constant basic issues as well as the most urgent issues at any given time. They take up issues posed by foreign monopoly capitalism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. They oppose the policies of the US-Ramos regime, dictated by the transnational corporations and by their national agencies and the multilateral agencies, like the IMF, World Bank and GATT/WTO. They oppose the ceaseless US control of the reactionary armed forces, the US-Japan control of regional security, the US military access to Philippine territory and the forward deployment of US troops, war materiel and weapons, including nuclear weapons. They are militantly opposed to the imperialist use of the UN Security Council and other UN agencies. The human rights movement is revitalizing itself in the national capital region and is consolidating itself on a nationwide scale in opposition to the human rights violators, including the military, police and paramilitary personnel of the enemy, and to the bureaucrats of certain foreign-funded human rights organizations who have become hostile to the forces of the national democratic movement under the guise of "human rights neutrality" and who have aligned themselves with the opportunist traitors involved in murderous anti-informer hysteria.

The genuine advocates of clean and healthy environment and wise utilization of natural resources in the course of self-reliant development are necessarily opposed to the foreign monopolists and local exploiters because they are mainly and essentially the polluters and plunderers of the natural environment. They actively combat the line peddled by foreign-funded NGO bureaucrats who specialize in blaming the people for the ecological disaster in the Philippines and in misrepresenting the national democratic movement as being unconcerned about environmental issues.

In fact, the legal progressive forces and the armed revolutionary forces of the national democratic movement have maintained the lead in combating the imperialist plunderers and polluters of the environment. They are taking further initiative in fighting the causes of environmental destruction, in implementing the policy of totally banning commercial logging for export from now and in the next 25 years and stopping the dumping of toxic wastes from the industrial capitalist countries on Philippine territory.

The movement for genuine peace advocates in promoting the line that a just and lasting peace is possible only if the root causes of the civil war are addressed and the objectives of the national democratic revolution are achieved. It opposes the reactionary government, the bogus third force and opportunist traitors that wish the revolutionary forces to give up its inherent status of belligerency and capitulate to the constitution, government and armed forces of the enemy.

Consolidating themselves through the rectification movement, the personnel of the Party abroad have been able to do mass work among the overseas Filipinos and build organizations of various types along the national democratic line. They have successfully frustrated the attempts of the opportunist traitors to liquidate the Party and the NDF abroad and to coop up Party personnel in service-oriented agencies constrained by anticommunist policies of foreign funding agencies and anticommunist prejudices of a handful of "solidarity" anarchists who are divorced from their own proletariat and people.

Because of its successful leadership of the Philippine revolution and its steadfast commitment to proletarian internationalism, the Party enjoys high prestige in the international communist movement and in the broad anti-imperialist movement abroad. As proven by the messages of comradeship and solidarity on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of its reestablishment, the Party maintains relations with more than a hundred parties, organizations and movements in all continents of the world.

Build the Party organization under the principle of democratic centralism

In the course of the rectification movement, the Party has upheld the principle of democratic centralism and

has promoted both discipline and inner Party democracy. In accordance with its sworn duty, the Central Committee has kept in mind that the essence of centralism is the correct ideological and political line and has provided effective leadership on the democratic basis of the conscious and active support of the lower Party organs and organizations.

There has been a lively and fruitful dialectical relationship between centralized leadership and democratic base, uniting all the Party cadres and members and further bringing them to a new and higher level of unity in the struggle against the major deviations, errors and crimes committed by the opportunist traitors.

The Party Central Committee, the Political Bureau and Executive Committee and the General Secretariat have been strengthened on the basis of the ideological, political and organizational consolidation of the lower Party organs and organizations, down to the local Party branches and Party groups in the local chapters of mass organizations. The principal process for all-round consolidation has been the rectification movement, involving the reaffirmation of basic revolutionary principles, summing up of experience, criticism and self-criticism and the tasks correctly set at all levels of the Party.

Among the central staff organs, the National Organization Department has resolutely and actively played a key role in assisting the Central Committee and the General Secretariat in the strengthening of the Party organization, the expansion and consolidation of the Party membership, reconstitution of defective Party organs and frustration of the wrecking operations of the opportunist traitors and the "centrist" collaborators.

The implementation of the plan to increase nationwide Party membership by 10,000 from 1992 to 1995 is mainly the responsibility of regional and lower Party committees. As they are being activated and consolidated, through the mass movement, the existing Party membership base can recruit into the Party a great number of new candidate and full members. The main thrust in recruitment is to increase the proportion of Party members from the proletariat and other working people and thereby deeply base the Party among them.

There is a new wave of Party recruits by the thousands nationwide. They are drawn from the ranks of the most advanced mass activists who have long or recently been in the resurgent mass movement. It is possible to recruit a large number of Party candidate-members and full members because of the accumulation of advanced mass activists and the new mass activists as a result of the resurgent mass movement.

The Party members and mass activists from the youth organizations have played a key role in supporting the Party core and mass activists of the organizations of workers, urban poor and peasants against the opportunist traitors and are rapidly increasing their own ranks. At the same time, the proportion of Party members from the ranks of workers and peasants are rising more rapidly as the regional Party committees lay stress on recruiting Party members from the long accumulated number of worker and peasants activists.

In so many years before the rectification movement, there was a glaring neglect of Party recruitment and basic Party life at the branch level. There was a predilection for recruiting Party members only from the ranks of full-time personnel in mass organizations and staff offices. But even in this sphere, there was eventually a slackening of party life and discipline. Now, party branches are being built for the first time or being rebuilt in a considerable number of factories, plantations, communities and transport lines. The party core is being strengthened in the NPA and in all types of underground and legal mass organizations at all levels.

The Party has already made a significant beginning in encouraging urban-based Party members and mass activists to go to the countryside in order to wage people's war. There is growing enthusiasm among workers and educated youth to serve in the people's army and serve the people in the countryside. Many of them who go to the countryside get acquainted with the revolutionary struggle there decide to stay on, with the approval of the urban-based Party organs originally responsible for them.

As a result of the all-round success of the rectification movement, the Party can certainly strengthen itself in the next Party Congress along the correct line. Such a congress will reflect the reaffirmation of basic revolutionary principles, the revitalization of the Party and the resurgence of the revolutionary mass movement. It shall be the launching base of another great stride forward of the Party and the people's democratic revolution.

When in 1992 the opportunist traitors still pretended to be within the Party tried to whip up factionalism and splittism, more than 90 percent of the Party membership remained loyal to the Party and the Central Committee. There were Party members who did not as yet comprehend fully the long-running counterrevolutionary bourgeois line of the opportunist traitors who insisted on being still within the Party and on being engaged merely in ideological debate even as they were clearly and vehemently attacking the basic revolutionary principles of the Party

and conducting factional caucuses and campaigns of slander against the Party center and the entire Party.

The opportunist traitors became totally discredited when they declared autonomy and separation from the Party in 1993, tried in vain to form a "national coordinating board" to fight the Party and collaborated openly with anticommunist forces and brandished anti-Stalin and anti-Mao slogans. However, they left behind their agents within the United Front Commission to whip up centrism and denial of the two-line struggle in 1993 and 1994. This prolonged the wrecking operations of the opportunist traitors in a few institutions and organizations with a predominantly urban petty-bourgeois membership under the UFC.

Centrism has been resoundingly defeated. AS distinction made between the malicious elements who have used centrism to serve the opportunist traitors as the honest elements who have vacillated because the pre-emptive campaign of disinformation spread by the opportunist traitors for a long period of time. the Party has adopted a policy of recovering the honest elements and repudiating the dishonest elements who have used centrism to shield off the opportunist traitors, mix up right and wrong and cause damage to the Party. Many of the honest elements have returned to the fold of the Party.

It has come to light that the worst perpetrators of bureaucratism are the incorrigible opportunists, especially those who have turned traitor. They used bureaucratic authority to impose the wrong line on the organs and organizations within their sphere of responsibility. They violated the founding principles of the Party and used conspiratorial and demagogic methods to undermine and attack the proletarian revolutionary line of the Party and the correct decisions of the Central Committee and other leading organs of the Party. They maliciously deprived the Central Committee and other leading organs and entire organizations of information on the disastrous results of their "Left" and Right opportunist lines and their crimes, misrepresented the Party and the Party center to the rank and file and persisted in their errors and crimes.

Even as they practiced bureaucratism in their independent kingdoms, the opportunist traitors and the incorrigible opportunists practiced ultrademocracy relative to higher leading organs for a long time. It is therefore no surprise that in opposing the rectification movement they promoted ultrademocracy, factionalism and splittism. Failing to stop the rectification movement, they sought to decapitate and demolish the Party and alienate Party members and mass organizations from it and they misappropriated Party resources for their factional purposes and personal gain. 181

The most rabid opportunist traitors are Arturo Tabara, Filemon Lagman, Ricardo Reyes, Romulo Kintanar and Benjamin de Vera. They are also the most responsible for the gravest opportunist errors and crimes. In collaboration with them as a major attacker of the Party is Jose Eliseo Rocamora, a long time intelligence agent of the Philippine government and an asset of US intelligence, who together with Ricardo Reyes has been the most instrumental in pushing the anti-Stalin and anti-Mao line and in connecting the opportunist traitors to the psychological warfare and intelligence scheme of the US-Ramos regime.

Under the rules of organization, the Party has meted out the necessary and appropriate disciplinary measures against the opportunist traitors and incorrigible opportunist. Criminal liabilities, such as espionage, murder and misappropriation of Party resources, are subject to prosecution and trial before a people's court. In sharp contrast the barbarities instigated by some of the opportunist traitors to previous campaigns of anti-informer hysteria, the Party strictly adheres to the principle of due process and had brought its charges against the criminal suspects before the people's court.

In cases where the suspect is publicly known to be engaged in hostile criminal actions against the revolutionary movement and is armed or under armed escorts and is therefore capable of violently resisting arrest and dangerous, the duly authorized arresting units follow definite procedure for giving or avoiding battle. It is a matter of political judgment that arrest operations have not yet been carried out against the traitors. The Party allows the traitors to expose themselves further and thereby frustrate the enemy's scheme to use these traitors for counterrevolutionary purposes.

The opportunist traitors are among the best teachers by negative example. It is constructive to the entire Party to criticize and repudiate them thoroughly. The complete satisfaction of the demand for strict discipline and for the upholding of revolutionary justice entails learning from the grave errors and crimes of the traitors.

It has become absolutely clear that there is a constant need to be vigilant against both the frontal enemy and the incorrigible opportunists who creep into positions of authority within the Party and try to liquidate the proletarian revolutionary character of the Party. Our experience in the second great rectification movement shows that

when bourgeois subjectivism and opportunism fester in the Party for so long, the Party is in danger of liquidation and a bitter two-line struggle ensues. It is our happy situation that the proletarian revolutionary line has defeated the bourgeois reactionary line in an all-round way.

Ever worsening crisis of the ruling system

The ever worsening crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system provides the favorable conditions for the growth in strength and advance of the revolutionary movement. The US-Ramos regime is implementing policies to keep the people within the bounds of the system and to deepen and aggravate both the socioeconomic and political crisis.

The Philippines is one of the worst victims of neocolonialism. It is called the basket case of East Asia. It suffers from an all-round loss of independence and from socioeconomic degradation due to the persistence of the big comprador-landlord state and the economic and financial manipulation of the imperialists. The economic policies of the Philippine reactionary government are dictated by the transnational monopoly firms, their commercial banks and their multilateral agencies including UN agencies, the Group of Seven, OECD, IMF, World Bank, Asian Development Bank and the GATT/WTO.

Constant state of economic depression

The economic policies of the reactionary government are spelled out in terms of dependence on foreign investments and foreign loans, trade liberalization, tax incentives and denationalization for the benefit of the foreign monopolies, guarantees of super profit remittances, debt service payments, growing budgetary and trade deficits, depressed income for the working people and curtailment of their rights, more regressive taxation, further drastic reduction of the already meager social services and other austerity measures at the expense of the broad masses of the people.

The submission of the reactionary government to one IMF-imposed structural adjustment program after another, the wrong priorities due to conditions set by the World Bank and Asian Development Bank in extending loans and grants and the ratification of GATT final act guarantee the preservation of the backward fundamentals of the Philippine economy and the further aggravation of poverty and misery among the people.

The so-called medium-term development plan (Philippines 2000) or the list of flagship programs and projects of the US-Ramos regime cannot turn the Philippines into a newly industrialized country by the year 2000. The exceptional reference to building an integrated steel mill is either ritualistic or mere recycling of the old concept of "beauty parlor" processing of imported steel sheets and other steel products.

There is absolutely no intention of creating the basic industries as the foundation of national industrialization and to carry out genuine and thoroughgoing land reform. There is merely the wish and the drive to export more of what is produced by the current system of production: agricultural and mineral raw materials, low value-added reexports and surplus labor. These are all under squeeze in the current contraction of the world capitalist market due to the prolonged crisis of over production.

Agricultural production at the base of the economy continues to decline due to higher costs of imported inputs and the contraction of the world market. And yet the GATT opens the economy wider to the importation of agricultural goods already produced by the Philippines. The so-called Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Law (CARL) remains a sham because of the high valuation of land, high retention limit and so many exemptions. To aggravate the land problem, the reactionaries are adding more exemptions and offering land on 50-year lease, renewable every 25 years thereafter, to multinational firms.

The US-Ramos regime has boasted of a rising growth of about 5.5 percent in the gross national product from 1993 to 1994. This growth is supposed to be "investment-led." But in fact, the "investments" that bloat the GNP figure include the colossal amount of treasury bills issued at high interest rates, the sale income from the privatization of state firms by foreign interests, the very temporary inflow of speculative capital in the stock market, Taiwanese and Japanese investments in real estate, the estimated remittances of overseas contract workers, the foreign credit for extremely expensive energy-generation projects and so on.

The economists of the reactionary government admit that about half of total foreign investment is speculative capital directed toward the stock market and government securities at high interest rates and the other half goes into direct equity, especially real estate development, takeover of profitable state enterprises, telecommunications, energy projects and so on. The financial situation of the Philippines is volatile because the speculative capital in the stock and bond markets can be withdrawn as quickly as it comes in.

A higher GNP growth rate does not mean better economic conditions in the Philippines so long as it means the retention of the agrarian and semifeudal character of the economy, with no basic industries and no genuine and thoroughgoing land reform. The Philippine GNP remains small, yielding in the abstract an average per capita annual income of some US\$600, which in fact includes the huge percentage appropriated by the imperialists and the local exploiting classes. The highest one percent and ten percent of the population have increased their share of the national income at the expense of the lower 90 percent whose share has decreased. . More than 76 percent of the population live below the poverty line The foreign trade deficit reached the record level of US\$6.2 billion at yearend 1993 and is expected to reach a new record level of US\$7.5 billion this year. The value of exported agricultural and mineral raw materials and low-value-added reexport keeps on falling below the value of imported consumer and producer goods. The rapidly increasing trade deficit from year to year exposes the vulnerability of the Philippine economic and financial situation.

International reserves, which usually cover a few months of imports, can be wiped out overnight when the speculative foreign capital ceases to flow in or is withdrawn massively, as in Mexico, where the trade deficit, the peso devaluation and the withdrawal of speculative capital have interacted and caused the economy to take a hard financial fall. Lacking the oil resources of Mexico, the Philippines is bound to be struck hard by a financial crisis worse than that of Mexico.

The foreign debt burden has leaped from US\$30.9 billion at year-end of 1992 to US\$34.2 billion at year-end 1993 and is still rising fast but is only slowly being reported to the public by the reactionary government. The public domestic debt has risen even faster than the foreign debt from ₱521 billion in 1992 to ₱663 billion in 1993 and the rate of increase is further accelerating. The debt service burden has risen from the level of US\$4.5 billion in 1992 to US\$8.6 billion in 1993. From year to year there is a huge disparity between the minimized figure for debt service in the publicized budget approved by Congress and the amount actually paid under the automatic appropriation law for public debt.

The trade and budgetary deficits are ever increasing. Most of the government spending, amounting to as much as 50 to 60 percent, is on debt service and on maintaining the coercive apparatuses of the state. Total spending for the latter can be summed up by adding up expenses for them under various departments, including the Department of National Defense (DND), the Department of Interior and Local Government (DILG), which runs the Integrated National Police and engages in armed counterrevolution, and intelligence funds under the Office of the President. The colossal amount of ₱1.2 billion is for intelligence alone and is used for spying on the people, including employees of the reactionary government. Hundreds of millions of pesos are also allocated for fake amnesty beneficiaries and renegades.

While expenditures for the debt service and the military are ever rising, expenditures for public education, health, public utilities, infrastructure and other social facilities are dwindling. The bureaucracy is on the whole parasitic because there are more personnel and perks in the less productive offices than in the more benign ones, such as those in social services. And there is a pyramid of bureaucratism at the tip of which the high bureaucrats (the bureaucrat capitalists) extract astounding official and unofficial rewards from their offices. Bureaucratic corruption is unprecedentedly rampant and extremely visible at all levels of the reactionary government. Military and police officers are also scandalously involved in criminal syndicates.

The Philippine economy is in a constant state of economic depression as a result of the ever worsening terms of trade, the ever growing debt burden and the deterioration of the import-dependent system of production. The constant rate of underemployment is at least 25 percent, variably expressed in an officially understated unemployment figure and a larger underemployment figure, under dubious definitions of employment.

In current reality, full unemployment can be easily beyond 40 percent in contrast with the patently false official figure of nine percent which is unbelievably lower than the officially admitted unemployment rates in most of the more developed economies. However, the officially acknowledged figure for underemployment, which actually means unemployment, is far larger. Both urban and rural areas overflow with labor power that is without regular employment. This reserve army of labor is a huge factor in keeping wages low as well as a huge resource of Red fighters.

The rates in the increase of consumer prices and in the depreciation of the peso are high. The official inflation rate is unbelievably at 9 percent and the peso is overvalued in international exchange due to ceaseless foreign borrowing, inflow of speculative and volatile foreign capital through the purchase of treasury bills at high redemption

rates, stocks and bonds, and privatization of state firms like Petron. These short-term devices bring long-lasting damage to the economy. At any rate, the estimated daily cost of living for a family of six at year-end 1993 was ₱259 for the entire Philippines, ₱321 in the National Capital Region (NCR) and ₱252 in the provinces while nominal income levels are ₱119 for nonagricultural workers, ₱108 plantation workers and ₱97 for agricultural workers outside plantations.

The US-Ramos regime is deliberately using the exceedingly high rate of unemployment to further press down the real wage level of those who are employed, to deprive them of job security, social insurance and other hard-won rights and to break up the trade unions. Trade unions cover only 12 percent of the 25.5 million officially described as employed and underemployed. However, only 584,000 workers are covered by collective bargaining agreements (CBAs). The antilabor policy of the regime is premised on attracting foreign investors in so-called export-oriented manufacturing with cheap and docile labor. It promotes "labor-only contracting", uses several devices of state intervention (compulsory arbitration, assumption of jurisdiction, temporary restraining orders, etc.) to break strikes and unions and provides no-union and no-strike guarantees over extensive areas—given such fancy names as "industrial estates" and export processing zones—throughout the country and encourages all employers to employ workers on a series of six-month contracts (labor contract system) or on a piece-rate system.

In the absence of national industrialization and land reform, oddjobbers have swollen Metro Manila and such provincial cities as Cebu and Davao. Rural poverty is increasingly being shifted from the countryside to the urban areas in the form of expanding slum districts. In the countryside, conditions of feudal and semifeudal exploitation have worsened on a widening scale. The small proportion of farm tenants who opted in the past for the system of fixed rent are losing leasehold rights and the right to amortize the land that they till because of rising costs of consumption and production. The regime baptizes barrios as agrarian reform communities but offers nothing more than the fancy name and unfulfilled promises of technical and credit support. As the rural population grows on the limited agricultural land, the rural oddjobbers constitute the largest reserve army of labor in the country.

The US-Ramos regime is promoting land accumulation and real estate speculation among Filipinos with surplus funds and access to bank credit. Every level of the reactionary government is drumming up the prospect of building "industrial estates" or special zones for export-oriented manufacturing, tourist facilities and new government edifices in order to do away with the land tenure rights of the masses of tenants and grab the land from the ethnic minorities and poor settlers who have no official title to the land. Aside from the foregoing pretexts, the reactionary government continues to exempt from land reform those classified as commercial, industrial and other estates. The enemy military, police, paramilitary and private armies are conducting the most brutal forms of armed operations to seize land from the tillers.

The Ramos ruling clique is the biggest grabber of public land in the hinterlands as well as in the privatization of prime land like the former US military bases in Clark and Subic, Fort Bonifacio and the Manila International Airport. The private accumulation of land for real or pretended commercial and other purposes is the actual main thrust of the Ramos regime rather than the industrial development of the country.

Violent contradictions within the ruling system

The worsening socioeconomic crisis generates the worsening political crisis of the ruling system. The civil and military politicians of the big comprador-landlords fail to restore the pre-1972 two-party system and stop the factionalization of the reactionary armed forces. Even as the pre-fascist political institutions and processes appear restored, they are rendered weak by the multi-polarization of the reactionaries and they reek with the stench of corruption more than ever. The economic and financial pie for looting by political rival groups among the reactionaries is still large for a few corrupt bureaucrats but is drastically less than what was available during the heyday of Marcos.

The basic conditions which brought about the Marcos fascist dictatorship persist. The Aquino regime did not make any radical departure from those conditions and was merely an interregnum which gave those conditions the semblance of being different. In fact, Aquino was politically and militarily dependent on such political proteges of Marcos as Ramos and Enrile. And they have pushed over the likes of Aquino from the top of the ruling system. The principal political rivals of Ramos now include such political descendants of Marcos as his own immediate relatives and Eduardo Cojuangco.

The basic shift in Philippine reactionary politics has been from the Marcos monopoly of political power to the multi-polarization among the political proteges and descendants of Marcos and the increasing role of military

politicians and military factions upon the relatively decreased resources for bureaucratic plunder compared to what was available during the regime of Marcos. There is mutual accommodation among the current major reactionary political factions, parties and coalitions against the people but there is also intensification of their contest for power.

In his drive to remedy his position as president by minority vote, to enlarge his political power and possibly to overreach for the monopoly power attained by Marcos, his political mentor for a long time, Ramos has entered into the most corrupt mutual accommodation with his political rivals in Congress and is now putting together a coalition of Lakas-NUCD with the Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino (LDP) party, now headed by the long-time Marcos crony, Senate president Angara, against the Kilusan ng Bagong Lipunan (KBL) and Nationalist People's Coalition (NPC) in the 1995 local and legislative elections.

However, the contradictions among the political descendants of Marcos persist. The key organizers of the pro-Ramos coalition are aware of the Ramos objective of staying in power beyond 1998 through an amendment of the constitutional ban against presidential reelection and under the cover of shifting from the presidential to the parliamentary form of government. The big showdown in the ruling system will certainly arise when and if Ramos pushes through with his Marcos-type scheme.

The anti-Ramos factions in the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP), like the Rebolusyonaryong Alyansang Makabayan (RAM), Soldiers of the Filipino People (SFP) and the Young Officers' Union (YOU) appear to have gone into a compromise with the US-Ramos ruling clique to effect the release of their detained leaders in 1992. But they continue to make their respective demands and now and then threaten to take military action. The officers and men of these factions in the AFP have refused to sign the Ramos brand of amnesty and have used their truce with the ruling clique to secretly recruit more officers and men in the AFP and organize their civilian followers. They consider themselves better than Ramos and other military politicians who have come on top of them.

The coercive apparatuses of the state are weakened not only by the political factionalization among their personnel but also by the widespread involvement of military, police and paramilitary officers and men in bureaucratic corruption and criminal activities, like illegal logging, smuggling, prostitution, gambling, kidnap-for-ransom and robbery. It is commonplace for entire military and police commands to be more preoccupied with enriching themselves than in risking life and limb in armed campaigns and operations of suppression against the revolutionaries. Because of the large outlays for psychological warfare, intelligence, amnesty and "rehabilitation", and "civic action", they have the incentives to fabricate results in the armed counterrevolution (such as fake surrenderees and amnesty beneficiaries and all sorts of projects) and at the same time enrich themselves.

The Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) has gone into a protracted ceasefire with the reactionary government. But it continues to demand national self-determination for the Moro people. And the reactionary government is not satisfying this demand but is escalating national oppression. At the same time, the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) and other armed groups (including the armed clans) are contesting the leadership of the MNLF by trying to demonstrate that they are more determined to wage armed struggle against the Manila government.

The most serious cause for the weakness of the entire reactionary state is the intolerable oppression and exploitation it inflicts on the people which generates resistance. In a self-defeating way, it unleashes the most brutal forms of violence against the people and use up an ever increasing amount of resources in superprofit remittances, debt service, military expenditures and bureaucratic corruption. Had there been no sabotage of the strategic line of protracted people's war by the advocates of "strategic counteroffensive", urban insurrectionism and military adventurism, the armed revolutionary movement would have made great advances since the fall of the Marcos fascist regime. Had there been no sabotage by the "Left" and Right opportunists, the legal democratic movement would have also made great strides.

Consequent to the rectification movement, the revolutionary forces can grow in strength and advance and cause the reactionary state to go into further crisis. It is the serious damage wrought by the opportunist traitors on the revolutionary movement that emboldened the US-Aquino regime and now the US-Ramos regime to claim having achieved "peace and stability," despite the aggravation of the socioeconomic and political crisis of the ruling system. It is correct to say that the crisis persists or that it is in its terminal stage. But this does not automatically translate into a victory of the revolution if the revolutionary forces are not strong enough to take advantage of the objective conditions. It only means that the objective conditions are favorable for the development of the

revolutionary forces.

For a number of reasons, Ramos has pretended to call for peace and reconciliation with rival politicians, anti-Ramos factions in the AFP, MNLF, and even with the revolutionary forces represented by the National Democratic Front (NDF). The reasons include his fear of the worsening crisis of the ruling system and the rise of the revolutionary forces, his desire to complement the brutality of the armed counterrevolution with psychological warfare and his wish to counter his vulnerability as a president by minority vote and his being a Protestant in a so-called Catholic country.

The US-Ramos regime sings the siren song of peace to serve the brutal campaigns of suppression against the revolutionary forces and the people. It calculates that the talks with the NDF can, at the least, sow confusion in the revolutionary ranks, encourage splits and capitulation and attract renegades to its "amnesty (surrender) and rehabilitation" scheme. But the revolutionary forces take resolutely the line that a just and lasting peace is possible only through the national democratic revolution. The Party and other revolutionary forces have authorized the NDF negotiating panel to talk with the GRP negotiating panel. At the same time, it is made clear that there is a balance of contradictory objectives between the two negotiating sides and that talks by any entity other than the NDF negotiating panel is impermissible.

While Ramos tries to broaden his base among the reactionary politicians and gain time by using disarming tactics towards his armed opponents, he enlarges his power by the most corrupt methods, as in his manipulative conquest of Congress, and in putting together the coalition of Lakas-NUCD and Laban. It remains to be seen how far Ramos can proceed with his Marcos-type ambition of monopolizing political power in view of current US preference for democratic pretenses and the sure resistance from domestic forces. In the meantime, Ramos has been assigned by his US masters in Washington the special mission of using the tactics of "low intensity conflict" to destroy the revolutionary movement. These tactics involve the brutal suppression of the political infrastructure (i.e., the Party, mass organizations, and organs of political power) of the armed revolutionary movement and the use of psychological warfare.

The military campaigns most destructive to the lives and properties of the people are those that force entire communities to evacuate for the purpose of depriving the NPA of its mass base. Aerial bombardment, artillery fire, strafing, bulldozing, and other similar means have been used. In the process, illegal detention, torture, massacres, looting and arson are perpetrated. Land left by the evacuees is taken over by big corporations and officials of the reactionary government. Military officers have the incentive of forcing mass evacuations whenever they can grab land for themselves or gain control over logging concessions.

The biggest number of human rights violations are committed in these forced mass evacuations. But some bureaucrats in some Manila-based human rights organizations have underplayed the massive human rights violations in forced evacuations and have played up the so-called reduction of human rights violations to individuals. To satisfy anticommunist foreign funding agencies, they posed themselves as neutral but they are in fact hostile to the forces of the national democratic movement. Thus, the genuine human rights organizations and progressive mass organizations are repudiating them.

The psychological warfare component of "low-intensity conflict" includes not only the civil relations operations of military personnel but also the propaganda operations of renegades, as well as academics, publicists and NGO bureaucrats, who pose as "third force" or "new left" and specialize in spreading lies against and maligning the revolutionary forces. The propaganda agents of foreign monopoly capitalism have become more aggressive in various sectors pushing the anti-Stalin and anti-Mao line since the US and its imperialist allies launched a vicious ideological and political offensive in connection with the turmoil in China in 1989 and the disintegration of the revisionist regimes in Eastern Europe. The Party and the National Democratic Front have taken decisions against these new special agents of anticommunism, identifying who they are, their common slogans and the variety of notions that they spread.

Even before the CPP launched the rectification movement, the Party and the revolutionary mass movement had been able to preserve themselves and withstand Lumbat Bitag I, II, III, because there are proletarian revolutionary cadres and Red commanders and fighters who have adhered to the correct line and have taken advantage of the ever worsening crisis of the ruling system. Through the rectification movement, the Party, the NPA, the NDF and the other revolutionary forces are now better armed ideologically, politically, and organizationally to fight the enemy. They have withstood and beaten back both the frontal attacks by the barefaced enemy as well as the

outflanking attacks by the enemy's special ideological and political agents.

From year to year, the enemy has tried to achieve what it calls strategic victory over the NPA. Encouraged by the splittist activities of the opportunist traitors in 1992-93 and then by their open anticommunist attacks in 1994, the reactionary armed forces launched massive offensive campaigns under Lambat Bitag III on several guerrilla fronts but dismally failed to attain its objectives. In 1994, the enemy continued to carry out large-scale campaigns of suppression in selected parts of the country and use small-unit operations in many parts of the country.

The false claims of the enemy about having reduced the armed strength and territory of the revolutionary movement are belied by the fact that the reactionary government continues to increase expenditures for the military, police and paramilitary forces and refuses to heed the popular clamor for the reduction of these forces and their withdrawal from offensive positions against the guerrilla fronts and the people. The officials of the reactionary armed forces have acknowledged that they cannot turn over 12,000 of the 40,000 barrios in the country to the Integrated National Police even if required to do so in 1994 under the law creating the Department of Interior and Local Government.

The constant false claim of the enemy is that the armed strength of the NPA decreased from year to year from the level of 25,000 HPR in 1987. The NPA never reached this level at any time because of the "Left" opportunist errors. Actually, the enemy is now worried that the NPA is expanding and consolidating its mass base and on this basis is increasingly launching extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare. Even as the US-Ramos regime, the opportunist traitors, the anticommunist petty-bourgeois and the reactionary press engage in a chorus about the so-called dwindling of the NPA armed strength, what counts is the actual expansion and consolidation of the base and the intensification of guerrilla warfare.

The Ramos regime is ever desperate for increased US military assistance. In exchange for this, the Ramos regime has invoked the US-RP Mutual Defense Treaty of 1951, the US-RP Military Assistance Pact of 1948 and the US-RP access agreement of 1992 to formally pave the way for the prepositioning of US military personnel and weapons on Philippine territory under the so-called RP-US Acquisition and Cross-Servicing Agreement (ACSA) and hereby to circumvent the constitutional prohibition against foreign military bases and nuclear weapons in the Philippines.

The prepositioning of US troops and equipment in the military camps of the reactionary armed forces is supposed to be in line with the US policy of forward deployment against enemies in the Asia-Pacific region and as far as the Middle East. At the same time, US military forces are being repositioned against the Philippine armed revolution. But no amount of increased foreign military assistance from the United States, Japan or any other country can suppress the Filipino people's national and democratic aspirations and their determination to wage the revolutionary armed struggle and the legal democratic movement.

Ever worsening crisis of the world capitalist system

The Philippines shares the lot of underdevelopment and depression with the overwhelming majority of countries in the world. These countries include those of the third world, including extensive areas of huge countries like China, India and Brazil which have some basic industries, and most of the former Soviet bloc countries, including extensive parts of the former Soviet Union, especially in Central Asia and the Caucasus. They suffer from neocolonial exploitation, depressed prices of their raw-material exports and an intolerable debt burden.

The high technology in the hands of the supermonopolies has accelerated the crisis of production and has made it unprecedentedly severe and prolonged. Worldwide effective consumer market demand continues to fall behind productivity as a result of massive unemployment and social welfare cutbacks, growing poverty and misery among the people even in the industrial capitalist countries and much more so among the people in most countries of the world, which are underdeveloped. There is sharpening contradiction of the forces and relations of production globally.

The crisis of overproduction generated by high technology for superprofits and by the abuse of every conceivable financial instrument is sharpening the competition among the monopolies within the industrial capitalist countries and among the global centers of capitalism. However, even as they compete with each other, the global centers of capitalism are united against the proletariat and people of the world and shift the burden of crisis to them. They use the Group of 7, the OECD, the IMF, World Bank, GATT/WTO and all other multilateral agencies under their direction to impose on all other countries their exploitative policies on investments, trade, credit, currency and other economic issues.

The crisis of overproduction continues to wrack the world capitalist system even as the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) has made an upbeat estimate of a general average growth rate of 2.8 percent in gross domestic product (GDP) of its 25 member-countries before the drastic currency devaluation of Mexico, which is its 25th member. The estimated increase in the growth rates of a minority of countries is at the expense of the overwhelming majority of countries which have plunged into a deeper state of depression and involves a relative rise and temporary fluctuation from previous recessionary levels in the industrial capitalist countries.

While a slight recovery is being claimed for the industrial capitalist economies, there is widespread prognosis that another slowdown is in the offing. Even among the OECD countries, the general tendency of profit rates to fall continues for entire national economies. The stock and bond markets continue to decline. And the trillions of dollars of speculative capital which were shifted from the industrial capitalist countries to the so-called emerging markets in East Asia and South America in 1992 have moved about like a destructive hurricane in 1993 and 1994 and finance speculators are now at a loss where to put them next after the financial devastation of Mexico.

The unemployment rate remains high at 11.6 percent in the OECD countries, despite various methods used in camouflaging unemployment. According to the official tally, a total of 35 million are unemployed in the industrial capitalist countries. The weakest of the industrial capitalist countries register rates of unemployment approaching 20 percent of their work force. The trend continues for the supermonopolies to kill jobs by adopting ever higher technology, declare higher profits or lessen losses by killing jobs and for governments to cut back on social welfare and privatize state firms and public services and thereby throw people out of job.

According to the OECD estimate, the United States scores the highest GDP growth rate with 3.9 percent. Japan appears to be coming out of recession, with about 1 percent growth rate. There is growing competition between the United States and Japan in shared markets due to US efforts at expanding its own manufacturing and exports. The United States is also pushing its exports into Japan as the US continues to incur huge trade deficits (more than US\$60 billion at year end) with the latter. US leverage on Japan is strong because the US consumer market remains among the largest for Japanese products, the US retains control over sources of fuel and other raw materials and continues to dictate the terms of security in the Asia-Pacific region. Germany remains the powerhouse of Europe, with a growth rate of 2.8 percent, as it dumps goods from its industrial plants in the West on the former East Germany and the other former Soviet bloc countries.

Outside the OECD, China scores the highest with a GNP growth rate of 11.5 percent but it is afflicted by an inflation rate of 25 percent and lopsided development. The economy suffers from the effects of the restoration of capitalism. "Export-oriented" manufacturing is over emphasized. The new big bourgeoisie keeps on enlarging its share of the national income and indulges in over consumption, while the workers, peasants and middle social strata are increasingly being impoverished. More than 90 percent of the people are in worse conditions of poverty than before the Dengist betrayal of socialism. There is widespread social unrest in China due to the high rate of unemployment, low wages of workers even in the coastal provinces, arbitrary dismissals, loss of job security, non-payment or delays in payments to peasants for their produce, inflation, arbitrary levies and corruption. Chinese officials themselves admit the degeneration of state industries and agriculture.

GDP growth rates in Hongkong, South Korea, Malaysia, Singapore, Taiwan, and Thailand average 7.6 percent; in South and Central America 4.4 percent; and in the Czech Republic, Poland and Slovakia, 3 percent, 4 percent, and 3.5 percent, respectively. Together with the coastal provinces of China, these countries are favored as assistants of the global centers of capitalism (United States, Japan and Western Europe) in their investment and market strategy. The United States is bound to further increase its exports to East Asia and decrease its orders for consumer manufacturers from the same region as the North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA) and Latin American free trade go into full swing.

In a further abuse of the world financial system from 1992 to 1994, the international fund managers generated so much financial derivatives and shifted colossal amounts of speculative capital to what they described as "emerging markets" in East Asia and South America to escape the declining stock and bond markets in the United States, Japan and Western Europe. But within the same period, the funds flowed out as fast as these flowed in to take quick profits. The wave of speculative capital that first hit the "emerging markets" of East Asia is still to take its heavy toll on the Philippines.

Now, Mexico is in the throes of a huge currency devaluation as a result of heavy intakes of this speculative

capital and its financial crisis is bound to generate similar crisis in other Latin American "emerging markets" and is compelling the United States to draw up rescue funds in exchange for annually taking part of the oil income of Mexico.

The Philippines is now on the eve of a financial crisis worse than that of Mexico because it is overloaded with foreign speculative capital, has an ever growing trade deficit, is already pressed down by huge debt burden and has no exports comparable to those of Mexico. In the current world economic situation, the US-Ramos regime cannot really expect to turn the Philippines into a newly industrialized country by the year 2000.

The United States has used the United Nations, especially its Security Council, the NATO and other multi-lateral and bilateral military alliances in order to impose its hegemony and share expenses with allies, pretend to defend the sovereignty of other countries or to perform a humanitarian mission and reap the fruit of intervention and aggression. The United States and its allies and the United Nations are overextending themselves under the guise of peacekeeping. In the aftermath of the 1991 victory of the US-led war of aggression under the UN banner, the United States has tightened its control over the oil resources and the economies of the countries in the Middle East and has engineered a fragile peace settlement between Israel and Palestine. It is also increasing its interests and influence in North America, Central Asia and the Near East. France is already complaining that the United States is manipulating religious fundamentalism as a device for creating opportunities for itself to penetrate and gain control over certain countries.

In the wake of the disintegration of the revisionist regimes in Eastern Europe and the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia and the East European countries are integrated into the Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe. All of them dream of being integrated someday into the European Union, oblivious of the scheme to retain them as neocolonial appendages. The anticommunist regimes in Central Europe propose to be integrated into the NATO even as Russia balks at such a proposal. The United States continues to soothe Russia with the rhetorics of "partnership in peace."

Most of the regional armed conflicts "settled" by the United States and the Soviet Union in the past such as those in Afghanistan, Angola and Mozambique remain unresolved. Even where peace agreements have been signed, the contending political forces jockey for position with the backing of armed organizations. Where the leadership of the revolutionary movement capitulated to the enemy as in El Salvador and Nicaragua, armed groups have turned to anarchy and banditry. Liberation fronts like the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) in Nicaragua and the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) have broken up and most of their leaders have been caught up in the web of reformism, outright capitulation or corruption.

In South Africa, the neocolonial compromise with the white colonial rulers which the African National Congress has gone into is similar to that involving the Nacionalista Party in the Philippines and the US government in 1935 and seems to be holding even as social unrest continues to simmer. In Palestine, the peace agreement that the Palestinian Liberation Organizations has made with the Israeli government is buffeted by continuing resistance of the Palestinian people.

Despite the unabashed restoration of capitalism in the former Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China, there are still countries that strongly defend national independence and socialism, like the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Cuba in the face of economic embargo and threats of US military aggression. The United States apply the carrot and stick on them and try to induce them to change policies. There are other countries like Iraq and Libya which defend their national independence against imperialism and are also under the rigors of economic embargo and political pressures.

The new world disorder is being generated by the ever-worsening economic crisis of the world capitalist system. Violent conflicts are occurring on an unprecedentedly wide scale in the countries exploited by foreign monopoly capitalism and economically depressed since the late '70s. These take the form of coups and counter-coups between bureaucratic cliques, civil wars among reactionaries, ethnic and religious conflicts, spontaneous mass protests, uprisings and revolutionary wars.

Even in industrial capitalist countries, there is rapid polarization due to the economic crisis and the discredit of the traditional parties of the big bourgeoisie. There is an upsurge of concerted mass actions by workers, youth, women, and other people. At the same time, chauvinism, neofascism, and racism have reemerged, chiefly directed against the migrant workers. In the absence of any strong revolutionary party of the proletariat, the big bourgeoisie is still able to rotate bourgeois politicians in government despite popular dissatisfaction with every set of them

soon after election.

The main arena of violent conflicts is the underdeveloped and depressed countries where the peoples and nations are intolerably oppressed. So far, the imperialists and the local reactionaries have manipulated most of the armed conflicts and kept their character regressive, often strongly motivated by ethnic and religious differences. This is due to the absence or weakness of Marxist-Leninist parties of the working class. But there are revolutionary wars, like those in the Philippines, Peru, Cambodia, Kurdistan, Colombia, Guatemala, and a part of Mexico, in Chiapas. The most bitter kinds of armed conflict have been in Bosnia in the wake of the breakup of Yugoslavia, in Chechnya in Russia, Georgia, Azerbaijan in the Caucasus, Tadjikistan in Central Asia, in Sri Lanka in South Asia, in Rwanda, Burundi, Somalia, Liberia, and Sudan in black Africa, in Algeria in North Africa and in Palestine and Lebanon.

The heaviest death toll has been in Rwanda, with a million killed in massacres and epidemic, and in Bosnia with about 300,000 killed. In the whole world, there are now scores of millions of refugees displaced by armed conflicts. As the crisis of the domestic ruling system and the world capitalist system worsens and the US is overextended in the new world disorder of imperialism and neocolonialism, the Filipino people can take advantage of the conditions and persevere in armed revolution. If previously with massive US military assistance and intervention the Philippine reactionary government could not suppress the armed revolutionary movement, now the US Ramos regime cannot really expect to make its counterrevolutionary kind of peace and stability.

As a result of its rectification movement, the Communist Party of the Philippines is ever more determined to lead the Filipino people in carrying out the national democratic revolution through protracted people's war and to do so in the spirit of proletarian internationalism in order to contribute to the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and people of the world against imperialism and for national liberation, socialism and ultimately communism.

The Communist Party of the Philippines actively develops relations of comradeship with other parties and organizations abroad on the basis of a common understanding of Marxism-Leninism and in accordance with the principles of independence, equality, mutual support and cooperation. It has relations with scores of working class and communist parties, as indicated by the number of those conveying greetings of solidarity on its 25th founding anniversary. By chairing the coordinating group of the International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations from 1992-1994, the CPP has taken an active role in consolidating and expanding the ranks of Marxist-Leninist parties that uphold and defend Mao Zedong Thought. It seeks to propagate the study and application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism or Maoism. It is interested in rebuilding and revitalizing the international communist movement.

At the same time, the Communist Party of the Philippines seeks to develop the broadest possible range of solidarity relations against imperialism and reaction. It develops such relations irrespective of the ideological position of the parties, movements and organizations that take an anti-imperialist position on the urgent issues. It has relations with hundreds of these parties and organizations in all continents of the world.

The ideological and political offensive of the imperialists, revisionists, reactionaries and all sorts of anticommunist petty-bourgeois in the world has been blunted by the severe crisis of the world capitalist system and the new world order. Under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the proletariat and people of the world cherish the inextinguishable hope for the resurgence of the anti-imperialist and socialist movement.

Tasks of the Party

The Party is proceeding well on the third and last year of the Three Year Plan for 1992-95. We must fulfil all ideological, political and organizational tasks set forth therein. We must carry the second great rectification movement through to the end and advance the revolutionary cause of the Filipino people against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism and specifically now the US-Ramos regime.

Our resounding victory over the revisionist and opportunist traitors has been made possible by our firm reaffirmation of the basic revolutionary principles, our militancy in revolutionary practice, our recognition, criticism and repudiation of the disastrous results of the errors and crimes of the opportunist traitors, the anti-Party character of their factional attempt to stop the rectification movement and liquidate the party in an all-round way, their public admissions of being outside and against the Party and their open collaboration with the enemy.

It is not enough to criticize and repudiate the glaringly erroneous ideas and crimes of the revisionist and the opportunist traitors, replace promptly what they have destroyed or repair what has been damaged. We must pull

out the roots of all kinds of subjectivism, revisionism, opportunism, bureaucratism and ultrademocracy and carry out the ideological, political and organizational work to prevent the recurrence and growth of the erroneous bourgeois subjectivist, revisionist and opportunist lines of thinking and action.

1. We must firmly uphold Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, as the theoretical guide in the concrete analysis of concrete conditions and in our revolutionary practice. We must complete the summing up of experience, assessment, criticism and self-criticism and clarification of tasks in all organs and units, engaging all Party cadres and members. We must strengthen the practice of periodic and timely criticism and self-criticism, always starting with the presentation of the facts and the desire to strengthen unity and improve our revolutionary work and always preceding with the clear objective of achieving a higher level of ideological and political unity. We must ensure that everyone in the Party has studied and understood the rectification documents issued by the Central Committee and by the regional Party committees with the guidance and approval of the Central Committee. We must relate these documents to our concrete revolutionary experience. The improved version of the basic Party course must be propagated and studied by all organs and units. The Central Committee and the regional committees must set the example in studying subjects in the intermediate and advance Party courses. The Party must deploy the personnel and resources for ensuring the implementation of the educational plan, especially the formal Party courses. We must reproduce the study materials for both the formal study courses and for advance reading by Party cadres. We must encourage advance study up to the comprehension of the critique of modern revisionism and the theory and practice of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship, in order to uphold and defend Marxism-Leninism and socialism against the ideological offensive of the imperialists and their anticommunist petty-bourgeois camp followers and raise revolutionary confidence on a scientific basis.

2. We must be firm about the correct analysis of the Philippine society and revolution and about the general line of national democratic revolution through protracted people's war, under the revolutionary class leadership of the proletariat and with socialist perspective. We must arouse, organize and mobilize the masses against the enemy, the US -Ramos clique. We must pursue the mass line. We must rely on and trust the masses. We must plunge further into painstaking mass work and solid organizing. We must expand and consolidate the mass base for self-reliant revolutionary struggle. We must carry our revolutionary armed struggle as the main form of struggle. Revolutionary politics must be in command of armed struggle and all other kinds of activity. We must widen and deepen the rural mass base in order to wage extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare in the stage of strategic defensive against the enemy. We must further integrate the armed struggle with genuine land reform and mass base building through the organs of political power, mass organizations and mass campaigns.

We must launch armed tactical offensives according to our capabilities. We must conduct only the offensive operations that we can win. In the forthcoming year, the positive results of the rectification movement must be demonstrated in the higher frequency and wider scope of our guerrilla warfare.

We must wage the legal struggle as the secondary but important and indispensable form of revolutionary struggle. We must develop the solid mass base for mass campaigns. It is necessary to spread the influence of the revolutionary movement through sweeping propaganda and mass campaigns. But these must be preceded, coincided and followed by solid mass organizing. The most important form of the legal struggle is the building of the mass organizations and the mass campaigns along the national democratic line on the outstanding issues against the enemy.

In both revolutionary armed struggle and legal struggle, the policy and tactics of the united front must be carried out in order to broaden the ranks of active participants and supporters. We must draw revolutionary strength from all patriotic and progressive classes, strata, sectors and organizations in accordance with the revolutionary class line of the Party.

3. We must adhere to the principle of democratic centralism, promote discipline and inner Party democracy, and avoid both bureaucratism and ultrademocracy. We must propagate the correct line of the Party as decided by the central leadership of the Party.

We must strengthen the organs of leadership at all levels. We must streamline the Party organization in order to allow a great number of Party cadres and members to do basic Party work at the grassroots. We must promote to the leading organs those Party cadres that have a good record of adhering to the correct line and doing mass work. We must increase the membership of our Party by the thousands in order to accomplish greater tasks for the revolution and the people. This is also the way to render useless the level of information drawn by the enemy

from the opportunist traitors. We must encourage a greater number of Party cadres and members to work in the New People's Army and among the masses in the countryside. In the countryside, there is the crying need for Party cadres who are workers and educated youth. We must continue to reverse the flow of Party cadres from the countryside to the cities in the 80's and make up for the damage done by the opportunist traitors and for the losses of Party cadres in the battlefield. There is also a need to secure the work and personal safety of Party cadres and members exposed to the opportunist traitors and the enemy. In waging the Philippine revolution, we are bound by the spirit of proletarian internationalism. In the course of our struggle for national liberation and democracy against imperialism, revisionism and reaction, we contribute to the great task of accomplishing the global historic mission of the proletariat to liberate humanity from imperialism and build socialism in the great epochal transition to communism.

Celebrate 27 Years of Revolutionary Struggle Strive All-out to Fulfill the Tasks Set for 1996

27th Anniversary Statement, December 26, 1995

On behalf of the Central Committee, I wish to convey the warmest greetings to all the Party cadres and members on the occasion of the 27th anniversary of the reestablishment of our beloved Party under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

We congratulate you for the overwhelming and resounding victory of the second great rectification movement. The very act of launching and sustaining the rectification movement since 1992 constitutes a great victory. We have brought the unity and capabilities of the Party and the people to a new and higher level of waging revolutionary struggle in accordance with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and along the general line of new-democratic revolution.

We have won brilliant victories in the ideological, political and organizational fields in the course of carrying out the critical and constructive tasks of the rectification movement. As a result of the rectification movement, our Party is revitalized and further strengthened to perform all the fundamental tasks in the national democratic revolution and to take advantage of the ever worsening crisis of the domestic ruling system and the world capitalist system. We have reaffirmed the basic revolutionary principles of the Party as the advanced detachment of the proletariat and identified, criticized, repudiated and defeated the major errors of revisionism, subjectivism and opportunism that have undermined and weakened the Party and the revolutionary mass movement. Under the leadership of the Party, the Filipino people and all the revolutionary forces are more than ever determined to fight the US-Ramos regime and the entire ruling system of comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class which are in the service of the US, Japanese and other imperialists. We are determined to carry out the rectification movement through to the end. In the forthcoming year, we shall be making still greater strides in carrying out the tasks of the rectification movement. The Central Committee enjoins the entire Party to be guided by the assessment and the tasks defined last July. Since then, the Party has made advances.

Resounding victories of the rectification movement

The Party has won a great ideological victory by upholding, defending and promoting Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as its theoretical weapon to combat revisionism and various forms of subjectivism and opportunism within the Party and to frustrate the anticommunist ideological offensive of the imperialists, the local reactionaries and their special agents.

As a result of the rectification movement, a high level of ideological unity in accordance with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism has been attained. There is common understanding among Party cadres and members that a strong ideological foundation guarantees the victory of the new-democratic revolution and consequently the socialist revolution until communism is reached.

The process of ideological building has proceeded vigorously through the summing-up and analysis of revolutionary practice, the criticism and repudiation of revisionist and subjectivist currents previously circulated by the renegades.

The Party is now increasingly putting the stress on criticizing the remaining influences of erroneous currents and conducting social investigations, summing up and analysis of current work and comradely criticism and self-criticism. The long-running major errors of the renegades and incorrigible opportunists have been amply identified, criticized and repudiated and the worst of the renegades have been thoroughly defeated through criticism and repudiation as well as through their own self-exposure.

Under the guidance of the rectification documents issued by the Central Committee, lower Party organs and units within their respective scope have undertaken collective summing-up and analysis of experience and have conducted criticism and self-criticism. The Central Committee has circulated for study a number of the rectification documents drawn up by organs lower than itself and some of these have been published in *Rebolusyon*.

At various levels, the Party is in the process of deepening and raising to a new and higher level the study of its revolutionary experience. Those who lag behind are encouraged to catch up. Those who are ahead are advised not to become complacent. There is no end to the process of study and further study. It is a constant process of widening and deepening knowledge on the basis of revolutionary practice.

The Central Committee is urging lower organs and units to look into internal causes of errors and damage even as the rectification documents it has issued look into the causes of major errors at higher levels. There is a dialectical relationship between the responsibility of higher and lower Party organs. 211 The living study of Marxism-Leninism through the summing-up and analysis of our revolutionary experience and through the study of the rectification documents have appropriately run ahead of the formal study courses. In fact this living study must enrich and enliven the formal study courses.

The primary study course of the Party is earnestly being propagated in combination with the special courses in the line of work of the Party members. The works of the great communists and other study materials are being translated, reproduced and distributed and are being read by Party cadres and members. All Party cadres and members are encouraged to read and study these materials even before taking a higher formal Party course. Some Party organs and units have run ahead with the intermediate and advanced study courses. In due time, these courses shall be undertaken more widely.

The organs concerned are working hard to overcome previous delays in the training of instructors and preparation of study materials for the Party courses. We are determined to accelerate work in this regard. We commend the regional Party committees and the Party units among the youth and women for taking initiative in conducting study courses at various levels.

The Party has frustrated the ideological offensive of imperialism and the local reactionaries and has carried out a counteroffensive. Through a resolute two-line ideological struggle, the Party has ferreted out and swept off the revisionists and incorrigible opportunists. Furthermore, the ideological struggle has been extended to one against anticommunist petty-bourgeois grouplets which have long been in cahoots with the incorrigible opportunists and revisionist renegades.

The Party has brilliantly proven the need for the vanguard role of the proletariat in the ever raging anti-imperialist and class struggle. It has continued to integrate in its program the solutions to problems about human rights, development, environment, women, youth, ethnic minorities, peace, civil society and the like which anti-communist petty-bourgeois grouplets wish to turn against the Party and the new-democratic revolution. These grouplets have been instigated and financed by imperialist funding agencies to wage an anticommunist campaign.

In the international communist movement, the Party enjoys a high standing because of its resolute stand for Marxism-Leninism against modern revisionism, its achievements in the revolutionary struggle and its current rectification movement. In the international arena, the Party has taken an outstanding role in upholding Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the socialist cause and is combating modern revisionism and the anticommunist ideological offensive of the imperialists. In the spirit of proletarian internationalism it modestly offers its revolutionary practice and ideas in exchanges and critically learns from other parties and movements.

The Party learns from the full scope of the basic teachings and experience of such great communist thinkers and leaders as Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao and puts the main stress on learning the basic principles and the basic achievements in socialist revolution and construction in the past and studying how to bring about the resurgence of the world proletarian revolution and the anti-imperialist movement.

We have integrated more firmly the universal theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism with the concrete conditions of the Philippines and our concrete revolutionary practice. The Party has won a great political victory reaffirming and sharpening the analysis of Philippine society as semicolonial and semifeudal and resolutely carrying out the new type of national-democratic revolution, under the leadership of the proletariat and with a socialist perspective.

The Party has defeated the "Left" and Right opportunist lines that have originated from a misinterpretation of the character of Philippine society, especially that of the economy. It has successfully warded off various kinds of imperialist-inspired and antiquated petty-bourgeois notions for derailing the revolution and capitulating to and collaborating with the imperialists and the local reactionaries.

The Party is requiring Party cadres and members to conduct social investigation as the basis of revolutionary work on varying scales. We are thereby deepening and sharpening our analysis of Philippine society and revolution. Both the "Left" and Right opportunists have dogmatically and uncritically adopted models and ideas from abroad.

In their obsession to rationalize their urban-basing, the "Left" and Right opportunists have respectively espoused urban insurrectionism and reformism as the leading factor in the revolution and in common ascribed to

the fascist dictatorship of the US-Marcos regime the achievement of having industrialized and urbanized the Philippines to such an extent as to "invalidate" the protracted people's war.

In fact, the fascist dictatorship aggravated and deepened the semifeudal and preindustrial character of the economy. And the population of Metro Manila and the provincial cities moved up from 19.8 percent in 1960 to only 21 percent in 1990. Employment in the import-dependent industrial sector has fluctuated around 15 percent. In the manufacturing sector in particular, it has dropped from 12.1 percent in 1960 to 9.7 percent in 1990.

The revolutionary class line of the Party in the new-democratic revolution entails upholding and realizing the class leadership of the proletariat, relying mainly on the peasantry, winning over the urban petty bourgeoisie as a basic revolutionary force and the national bourgeoisie as an additional positive force and taking advantage of the splits among the reactionaries in order to isolate and defeat the enemy, now the US-Ramos regime.

The Party firmly wields armed struggle and the united front as weapons of the revolutionary struggle. armed struggle is the principal form of revolutionary struggle. It is the weapon for overthrowing the counterrevolutionary state. The legal struggle is the secondary form of struggle but it is important and indispensable for advancing the revolutionary armed struggle.

The Party resolutely adheres to the strategic line of protracted people's war. It is the line of encircling the cities from the countryside and accumulating strength in the countryside until it is possible to seize the cities.

The New People's Army has been reoriented, retrained and redeployed in order to create an ever widening and deepening mass base for extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare within the stage of strategic defensive in the people's war. In every guerrilla front, the center of gravity has no more than 30 percent of the Red fighters and dispersed units comprise no less than 70 percent, with squads typically covering entire municipalities and subdividing into armed propaganda teams.

The typical guerrilla front now covers a congressional district or its equivalent and has a total force of a company of the NPA. The center of gravity is a platoon, serving as the headquarters force or rallying point of the Party and the NPA. The rest of the company of the guerrilla front is dispersed more widely than the components of the center of gravity in order to carry out mass work.

Some guerrilla fronts have expanded beyond their size in 1992 and in varying scope have recovered the mass base and areas previously lost as a result of the "Left" opportunist line of premature regularization, urban insurrectionism and militarism, previously promoted by the central leadership's line of "strategic counteroffensive" and the Mindanao Commission's "Red Area White Area" line. Other guerrilla fronts have decelerated the decline of their mass base. At the same time, new guerrilla fronts have arisen for the first time or reemerged from areas lost previously for more than five or even ten years.

To expand the mass base, the armed propaganda teams engage in a series of activities like utilizing contacts, conducting social investigation, forming people's organizing groups and appointing the barrio organizing committees. To consolidate the mass base, the armed propaganda teams form the mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth, women, children and cultural activists; guide the representatives of mass organizations to elect the barrio revolutionary committees and form the working committees to undertake various functions of government; encourage mass campaigns and train the militia and the self-defense units.

The number and frequency of NPA tactical offensives are gradually increasing. For some time, the long-running damage on the mass base and consequently the stress on mass-base building in the rectification movement have tended to decelerate tactical offensives. But rebuilding the mass base is the prerequisite to launching tactical offensives that we can win and sustain. For this reason, the NPA has deliberately let the enemy forces punch the air in certain areas and at certain times. At the same time, the reactionary regime and bourgeois mass media have blacked out information about our successful tactical offensives in order to conjure the illusion that the revolutionary forces are waning.

An outstanding politico-military campaign waged by the NPA, which cannot be ignored by the reactionary press, is the implementation of the policy of the Party to ban logging for export in Mindanao and other areas. But generally, the reactionary press has ignored the NPA actions related to the suppression of bad elements in the course of expanding and consolidating the mass base and carrying out the land reform campaign.

In the urban areas, the legal democratic mass movement is surging forward. The mass organizations of workers, urban poor, women, youth, teachers, cultural workers, human rights activists, health workers and other sectors have revitalized and further strengthened themselves. Their multisectoral and sectoral alliances have

launched mass campaigns along the national democratic line against the ruling system of the US-Ramos regime.

Mass protest actions are expanding and intensifying. These take up the basic issues against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism and the specific policies that aggravate the oppression and exploitation of the people. As in the revolutionary armed struggle, the tactics of the united front are employed in the legal democratic movement and are utilized in order to mobilize the broad masses of the people.

The patriotic and progressive forces are prepared to celebrate the centennial of the old democratic revolution of 1896 until the revolutionary resistance against the US war of aggression starting in 1899. They put the stress on the revolutionary essence of the old democratic revolution and its continuity with the anti-imperialist and antifeudal new-democratic revolution in opposition to the reactionary stress on June 12, 1898 proclamation of "independence" under the "noble protection" of the United States.

The economic and political crisis of the ruling system is so grave that any specific issue is likely to arise and galvanize the people into mass actions at any time. The outrage over the execution of Flor Contemplacion and the general plight of overseas Filipino workers have brought out hundreds of thousands of people to the streets in Metro Manila and other cities in order to condemn and isolate the US-Ramos regime.

The broad masses of the people in Metro Manila and more than twenty provincial cities have repeatedly conducted mass actions on such issues as the impositions of US-controlled international agencies (IMF, World Bank and WTO), the repression and exploitation of the working people, the increase in taxes in the form of the expanded value-added tax, the rising price of fuel, the shortage of rice and other staple food and so on. The mass protest actions in Negros island have been outstanding.

There is an increasingly effective coordination between the urban and rural mass movement and the legal and illegal forms of struggle. From the urban-based legal mass movement the Party is generating a great number of advanced mass activists, developing an increasing number of them to become Party members and encouraging a significant number of the workers and educated youth to join the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside.

The most important development in the legal democratic movement is that the Party cadres and mass activists are in the main working at the grassroots level and are engaged in solid mass organizing as the basis of mass campaigns. In turn, the mass campaigns serve to draw in the spontaneous masses for solid organizing.

The practice of absorbing the Party cadres and the most advanced mass activists in urban-based bureaucratic offices and becoming dependent on resources from above or from funding agencies has been vigorously criticized and repudiated. The legal democratic movement relies on the masses. The imperialists and local reactionaries are unwittingly aiding the revolutionary movement by financing and further corrupting their special anti-communist petty-bourgeois agents who are in turn being exposed as negative example and being driven off from local areas by the revolutionary forces.

The Party has deliberately reduced the existence and operations of armed city partisans in Metro Manila and some other cities to stress the need for the development of the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside and to prevent the revisionist renegades who have become enemy spies from jeopardizing their security. In the redeployment and operation of armed city partisans, they shall be directed by responsible command based in the countryside and priority shall be given to assignment of armed personnel who cannot be easily identified by the enemy.

The Party has won a great organizational victory in the course of the rectification movement by upholding the principle of democratic centralism, combating bureaucratism and ultrademocracy, recruiting the Party candidate-members from the ranks of the advanced mass activists in the urban and rural mass movement and tempering the Party and the masses in revolutionary mass struggles.

The Party is solidly national in scale and is more than ever deeply rooted among the masses of workers and peasants. Both the legal mass movement and the armed revolutionary movement manifest and sustain the strength of the Party. The revolutionary mass activists augment the strength of the Party cadres and members.

The Party is determined to increase the proportion of Party members who are of worker and peasant status. This is in line with the revolutionary character of the Party. It is in response to a great need. The incorrigible opportunists and revisionists in the past sabotaged the Party's line of recruiting members mainly from the working people.

At the same time, there is a great need to attract the educated youth to the Party. An increasing number of them have joined the worker cadres in responding to the call for educated youth to serve in the people's army and

do rural work. The Party is always open to individuals from the urban petty-bourgeoisie who wish to remold themselves and become communists.

The Party has successfully streamlined the organization of its cadres and members and put them closer to the masses. Unnecessary layers of organization have been done away with. The leading organs of the Party outside Manila-Rizal are now required to closely link with the appropriate command of people's army. The Central Committee is redeploying Party cadres and resources from relatively strong Party organizations to those lagging behind or previously damaged by the long-running opportunist currents and wrecking operations of the revisionist renegades.

All the fourteen regional Party organizations are financially self-reliant and many of them can deliver a part of their surplus to the Central Committee for general purposes and for assisting the regional Party committees in two regions where the counterrevolutionary opportunists did some serious damage. In all regions, mass work is basically self-reliant and is laying down the basis for the revitalization and reinforcement of the cadre personnel and armed strength.

The Party has become far more healthy and strong after the removal of the handful of incorrigible revisionists, opportunists and renegades as well as the few centrists who maliciously muddled right and wrong and espoused the unity of proletarian revolutionaries with the renegades. These few anti-Party elements have exposed their counterrevolutionary character and have followed the path of anticommunism, treason and criminal degeneration.

They have formed one grouplet that is flagrantly Trotskyite and attached to reactionary politicians. Its armed gangsters have misappropriated the name, ABB and is engaged in extortion, unionbusting, kidnap-for-ransom, killing for hire and intelligence work for the enemy. Another smaller grouplet also harps on anti-Stalinism and bourgeois democracy. It is directed by the principal criminals in Kampanyang Ahos and by enemy agents. Both grouplets are directed and manipulated by intelligence agencies of the US and Manila governments and collaborate with earlier anticommunist petty-bourgeois grouplets.

If the revisionist renegades and liquidationists had their way, the Party would have changed its character and disintegrated as in the case of many parties abroad. But the Party has been able to repel their malicious scheme and has used them as negative example in the course of the rectification movement. Unwittingly, they have helped the Party to reaffirm basic revolutionary principles and further strengthen all revolutionary forces.

Discipline and inner democracy are both flourishing within the Party. The summing-up and analysis of revolutionary experience and the concomitant comradely criticism and self-criticism lead to the definition of tasks to be carried out. Within the organs and units, the Party cadres and members begin their comradely discussions with the desire for unity, engage in the struggle of ideas on the basis of the facts and proceed to a new and higher level of revolutionary unity.

Taking advantage of the domestic crisis

The new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war can take full advantage of the chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system, especially because this crisis is further taking a downward course. The US-Ramos regime is the instrument of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class and is utterly subservient to the foreign monopolies both directly and through multilateral agencies like the IMF, World Bank and the WTO. The ever worsening crisis of the ruling system is inextricably connected with the ever worsening crisis of the world capitalist system.

It is a foregone conclusion that the Medium-Term Development Plan (Philippines 2000) of the US-Ramos regime is not going to change the agrarian and semifeudal character of the economy. So many parts of the country have been declared as industrial zones, yet no basic industries are being established. Only in a few enclaves are there some enterprises engaged in labor-intensive fringe-processing of semiconductors, garments, shoes, toys and the like for reexport.

Under the policy of import-liberalization, the earlier enterprises of repackaging and reassembling foreign manufactures for domestic consumption are in the process of being wiped out. In fact, in terms of output and employment, manufacturing is decreasing. As during the Marcos regime, there is a flurry of energy projects and infrastructure-building. But this is on a smaller scale despite the rapid deterioration of existing energy facilities and infrastructures during the last 15 years. There is certainly no land reform.

There is merely a proliferation of signboards, declaring certain areas as agrarian reform communities. In fact, the process of land concentration in the hands of the few has accelerated. The most exploitative forms of tenancy

are rampant. In the frontier areas, the corporate, bureaucratic and military landgrabbers continue to forcibly deprive the poor and middle peasants and indigenous people of what is left of their land.

The current reactionary regime makes scarce pretense for land reform. It has confiscated or canceled a great number of the certificates of land transfer (CLTs) and emancipation patents distributed by previous regimes. It has encouraged landlords to convert their rice and corn lands into other types of crop land exempted from its bogus agrarian reform program.

The socioeconomic crisis is rapidly worsening. And yet the US-Ramos regime is poised to claim a growth rate of more than 6 percent in the gross domestic product. This includes estimates of consumption, investment, government expenditures and exports as well as pure fabrications of production increases (including that in agricultural production despite the scandalous shortage and large importation of rice, sugar and fish).

Agricultural production for domestic consumption and export and mineral ore production for export are the main productive activities of the Philippine economy. The industrial sector is import-dependent, consumption-driven and lacks a foundation in heavy and basic industries. The economic value of import-dependent and low-value added manufacturing is exaggerated. It employs less workers than the old import-substitution manufacturing, pays far lower wages and yields a low net export income.

Foreign trade and budgetary deficits are ever growing. The reactionary government continues to beg for foreign loans. Foreign debt is now admitted to be more than US\$40 billion. In the worsening of the financial crisis, the reactionary government has rapidly increased the tax burden on the people, local public borrowing and foreign borrowing. It has gone so far as to become dependent on the most speculative type of foreign capital and on the sale of state assets, including prime land, major enterprises and public utilities to the foreign monopolists.

The funds flow into the hands of foreign monopoly capitalists, big compradors, landlords and the bureaucrat capitalists at the expense of the working people and the middle social strata. At the expense of social services, like education and health, such coercive apparatuses of the state as the military, police and paramilitary forces also continue to enlarge their share of the reactionary government's annual budget.

The problem of unemployment is worsening and is concealed by the statistics of the reactionary government. In the system of random sampling, one who says that he has worked for one day is now considered employed for the entire year. The unemployed and underemployed are mostly classified as workers in "elementary forms" of occupation in the service sector. By overestimating the proportions of the service and industrial sectors, the reactionary government minimizes the share of the agricultural sector in terms of output and employment.

Some five to six million of the unemployed in the domestic economy have been exported as cheap labor. The foreign exchange income from this, now estimated at US\$6 to US\$7 billion, is officially regarded as a major component of the gross national product. The export of cheap labor has scored higher foreign exchange income than that of any of the fringe-processed reexports, agricultural crops or mineral ores. But nearly all of this income goes into consumption of the families of the migrant workers.

The actual high inflation rate is cutting down the income of the people. Prices are rising fast due to the breakdown of production and the scarcity of rice and other basic goods, the rising cost of importing producer and consumer goods and the corporate and bureaucratic upward manipulation of fuel prices. There is no escape for anyone from the inflation and the expanded value-added tax built into the prices of all commodities.

The most serious and credible estimates of those who fall below the poverty line range from 75 to 80 percent. The impoverished have no way out of poverty and misery as the economy continues to deteriorate. The land frontier which traditionally absorbed the surplus labor has disappeared since the late '60s. Thus, there has been a large buildup of rural and urban odd-jobbers. The US-Ramos regime is intensifying exploitation and oppression through a deliberate policy of favoring the imperialists and local reactionaries and unleashing the military, police and paramilitary forces against the working people.

The workers are being forced to accept lower wage and living conditions. Unions are being busted. Strikes are banned and labor leaders and strikers are physically attacked and killed. Existing collective bargaining agreements are being violated on a wide scale. Foreign and domestic employers are encouraged to prevent unionization and relocate to so-called industrial zones where the "no-union, no-strike" policy is brazenly implemented. The shanties of workers, odd jobbers and other urban poor are often the target of military-police zoning operations and demolition campaigns.

In the countryside, brutal military campaigns are conducted, whether the people's army is there or not. The

objective is to grab the land from the peasants and the ethnic communities. The land is grabbed for corporate farming, integrated forest management, mining concessions and so on. The enemy onslaughts include aerial bombardments, artillery fire, rifle fire and arson. In the course of these, the peasants and indigenous people become the victims of looting, torture, rape and massacre.

The barbarities of the US-Ramos ruling clique can only incite more people to join the revolutionary armed struggle and to overthrow the entire ruling system. In the urban areas, the legal democratic movement is also surging forward to denounce the system and make demands for revolutionary change.

US imperialism and the local reactionaries have claimed that there is democratization after the fall of Marcos and the reestablishment of the pre-1972 reactionary institutions and processes. It was precisely after the fall of Marcos that military campaigns of suppression like Lambat-Bitag I, II and III, far more brutal than any under the Marcos regime, were launched by the post-Marcos regimes. Fascism has persisted but has been camouflaged since the fall of Marcos.

General Fidel Ramos has been the chief puppet of US imperialism, the chief representative of the local reactionaries and the pivot in the continuity of fascist repression, even under the figurehead presidency of Aquino. The joint class dictatorship of the comprador bourgeoisie and landlord class continues. The political descendants of the Marcos dictatorship are still colluding and competing in ruling the Philippines and have coopted or marginalized most of the anti-Marcos reactionaries.

It is clear that under the low-intensity conflict scheme of US imperialism, the brutal military campaigns of suppression against the revolutionary movement have been complemented by psychological warfare. The most dangerous of this psywar is not the deployment of "special operation teams" (SOT) and death squads but the operations of those special ideological and political agents assigned to destroy the Party and revolutionary movement from within.

One set of these agents spread the line that after the fall of Marcos there is democratization, at first by the forces of "elite democracy" and then by those of "popular democracy" through a legal struggle for reforms. They have harped on the line that human rights violations are on a decline and that these are committed by both the counterrevolutionary and revolutionary forces. They claim all would be well if the revolutionary armed struggle were "de-emphasized" or stopped.

Another set of agents spread the line that the revolutionary forces had better win within a short period of time through urban insurrectionism and militarism and by securing foreign military assistance or else the armed revolution would stagnate, retrogress or become futile. They were awed by the enemy's strategic offensive and tactics of "gradual constriction." And yet they played into the hands of the enemy as they damaged the mass base, went into self-constriction and pushed the NPA units into a purely military situation.

The two sets of enemy agents have been directed by US and Philippine psywar agencies. This is well verified by the fact that the principal agents have sought to destroy the Party and the revolutionary movement from within and have openly and shamelessly continued to engage in the grossest and most vicious type of anticommunist propaganda. Unfortunately for these renegades and traitors, the Party has frustrated, exposed and repudiated them. They have chosen to openly betray and attack the Party at the time that General Ramos is president. In contrast, the revolutionary unity of the Party and the masses in political consciousness and militancy shines resplendently against the crisis-ridden and grievously factionalized ruling system. Due to the worsening socioeconomic crisis, there is the worsening political crisis of the ruling system. The contradictions among the reactionaries are intensifying. Even as the reactionary factions unite against the people, they compete among themselves for political power and the spoils of office.

In the 1995 elections for legislative and local executive offices, the National Union of Christian Democrats (NUCD)-Laban and Lakas ng Demokratikong Pilipino (LDP) united in order to beat their opponents. They even colluded in electoral cheating under Oplan Dagdag-Bawas. But soon after the elections, the leaders of both political formations betrayed each other.

Ramos of NUCD-Laban engineered the ouster of Sen. Edgardo Angara of LDP as Senate President in order to pave the way for legislative actions aimed at realizing the autocratic ambitions of Ramos. Ramos wishes to amend the 1987 constitution in order to extend his rule as president beyond the limit of six years and eliminate certain guarantees formally provided by the bill of rights of said constitution.

Aside from pushing for constitutional amendments that may be made by a congress acting as a constituent

assembly, the Ramos regime is pushing the so-called Antiterrorism Bill, which is far more antidemocratic and repressive than the Antisubversion Law. It seeks to curtail the freedom of expression, regard publications against the regime as criminal, restore the death penalty for political offenses and seize the properties of those accused of terrorism.

Ramos is hellbent on accumulating emergency powers without having to declare martial law. He used the fuel crisis in the past to get the emergency power allowing him to dispense with the public bidding for contracts with state corporations and to enrich himself through secret negotiations with big business. He has encouraged the worst of business practices and he seeks emergency powers under the guise of trying to control such practices. But in fact his objective is to suppress workers' rights. He has also allowed the criminal syndicates to flourish under the direction of police and military officers. And yet he is poised to use the issue of rampant criminality to justify emergency power and the suspension of democratic rights.

At the beginning of his presidential term, Ramos appointed Vice President Joseph Estrada as chairman of the Presidential Anti-Crime Commission (PACC) in order to make him responsible for an impossible task, coopt him and choose the time and method for eliminating him as a political rival. The most brazen criminal syndicates are run by the reactionary military and police officers, including those in the PACC. Military and police officers also handle the criminal gangs headed by Conrado Balweg, Filemon Lagman, Arturo Tabara and "businessman" Romulo Kintanar.

While the most outrageous crimes of murder, robbery and kidnapping outrage the entire nation, both Ramos and Estrada cover up the responsibility of military and police officers and at the same time they maneuver and counter-maneuver as they blame each other for the failure to solve the crime problem. The generals who were flagrantly involved in the massacre of the Kuratong Baleleng gang and the disappearance of the loot have been exculpated.

As social turmoil is raging, Ramos wishes to misrepresent himself as desirous of peace and stability. Upon the prompting of US imperialism, he has sought to reconcile with anti-Ramos factions in the Armed Forces of the Philippines, like the ones bearing the names Reform the Armed Forces Movement (RAM), Soldiers of the Filipino People (SFP) and Young Officers' Union (YOU).

The reconciliation among factions of the same counterrevolutionary force is carried out under the long running "Armacost formula" for reuniting the AFP after the split necessitated by the overthrow of Marcos. But more significant than the so-called general peace agreement, which condones and amnesties the criminal responsibilities of the coup plotters, is the defection of Brig. Gen. Raymundo Jarque to the NDF and NPA by way of exposing the rottenness of the reactionary state and the continuing tendency of the AFP to disintegrate.

The Ramos regime is also drumming up its peace negotiations with the Moro National Liberation Front. So far, there has been no settlement because such make-or-break questions as the process of composing a provisional autonomous government, integration of armed forces, sharing of tax revenues and the like remain unresolved.

In case the MNLF completely capitulates to the Ramos regime, the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) and such groups as those of Abu Sayyaf are poised to seize the initiative to fight the Manila government. The MILF is now reputed to be better armed and better organized than the MNLF. The Manila government has shifted 20,000 troops to the areas of the Moro people in reaction to the MILF show of strength and in anticipation of the MNLF refusing to follow the baton of the US-Ramos regime.

The peace negotiations between the National Democratic Front and the Manila government formally opened in Brussels last June 26, with the Belgian government as host. But these have been unilaterally suspended by the Manila government after violating the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees by continuing to detain NDF consultant Sotero Llamas. The broad masses of the people see clearly the unjust and unreasonable position of the Manila government. The NDF is fully justified in letting the talks remain unresumed. So as not to create false illusions and confuse the people, the NDF and the revolutionary forces which it represents have always made it clear that they resolutely pursue the line of struggle for national liberation and democracy against the imperialists and the local reactionaries and that the peace negotiations are but one more form of legal struggle that is subordinate to the revolutionary armed struggle and to the legal mass movement.

It is only in one respect that the peace negotiations conducted by the NDF negotiating panel is superior to other forms of legal struggle: that these allow the revolutionary forces and organs of political power to face up to

the Manila government as an equal across the table under international norms and to accumulate points for the international recognition of the status of belligerency of the revolutionary movement under the laws of war.

Irrespective of the progress of the peace negotiations or the lack of it, the revolutionary forces and the people are building a new revolutionary state in more and more areas in the countryside to supplant the old reactionary state even as this is still entrenched in the cities. The revolutionary armed struggle and the legal democratic movement against the US-Ramos regime and the entire ruling system must ceaselessly progress.

So long as social conditions remain semicolonial and semifeudal there is fertile ground for the protracted people's war along the general line of the national democratic revolution. The need for people's war is more urgent because of the ceaseless anticommunist military onslaughts in the countryside and the repressive policy and measures being taken against the people in both urban and rural areas.

Had it not been for the "Left" and Right opportunist errors for so long, the armed revolutionary movement would have made solidly founded and steady advances. However, even defense secretary General Renato de Villa has had to admit before a senate committee hearing in July 1995 that the NPA has recovered many areas in the countryside since 1993 as a result of the rectification movement.

In the long past, not even the relatively more stable position of the ruling system before 1972, the persistence of US military bases and heavy doses of military aid, the Marcos fascist dictatorship from 1972-86 and colossal amounts of foreign loans could deter or cause the defeat of the self-reliant revolutionary movement.

The position of the domestic ruling system is far more unstable and weak than ever before. It is beset by a crisis arising from its distinct nature and from its dependence on the world capitalist system which is also stricken by crisis. The imperialists are preoccupied by domestic, regional and global problems.

Foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism themselves weaken the domestic ruling system to the core. The broad masses of the people resist the intensifying exploitation and oppression. The pouring of more billions of pesos into the coercive apparatuses of the state serves only to further weaken the system.

The reactionary military and police remain factionalized and are plunging into a vortex of corruption and criminality. The armed movements for self-determination of the Moro people are now larger than ever before. Most important of all, the rectification movement has made the New People's Army and other revolutionary forces led by the CPP more consolidated and stronger for protracted people's war. The subjective forces of the revolution are in a good position to take full advantage of the favorable objective conditions.

Taking advantage of the world disorder

The new-democratic revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines can take full advantage of the ever-worsening crisis of overproduction of the world capitalist system and the new world disorder raging on an ever widening scale in the wake of the end of the cold war between US imperialism and the now defunct Soviet social-imperialism.

The objective conditions in the world tend to favor the waging of the protracted people's war in the Philippines. So desperate is the US-Ramos regime about the crisis of the domestic ruling system that it readily welcomed the US demand for "access rights" of US military forces in the Philippines and is now maneuvering to pave the way for the return of the US military bases by making provocations in the Spratly island group and drumming up China as the threat to the Philippines and the ASEAN region.

The US and other imperialists are preoccupied with worsening domestic problems, with the growing contradictions among them and with various civil wars and other armed conflicts flaring up simultaneously in the world. Rather than the self-reliant armed revolutionary movement, it is the domestic ruling system that is in dire straits because of its constant dependence on foreign military and other assistance from the imperialists.

The concentration and centralization of capital by the supermonopolies are proceeding at an unprecedentedly high speed. Under the cover of the slogans of privatization and corporate retooling, the supermonopolies are using state monopoly capitalism and high technology to accelerate the concentration and centralization of capital in their hands.

The result is massive destruction of productive forces in entire national economies. These include the economies of industrial capitalist countries, those of the former revisionist-ruled countries and those of the underdeveloped countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The much-touted East Asian economies, engaged in low-wage sweatshop production for export, are adversely affected by the current crisis in the industrial capitalist

countries which are their principal markets.

Social turmoil is on an unprecedentedly wide scale. Civil wars and other types of armed conflict have been raging in Europe, particularly in the former Yugoslavia, especially Bosnia, and the former Soviet Union, as in Chechnya, in Central Asia, in South Asia, in East Asia, in Africa and in Latin America. Well-organized and spontaneous mass protests are intensifying and spreading in the industrial capitalist countries and elsewhere in the world.

The national economies of all the industrial capitalist countries have plunged to a new level of stagnation and are expected to stagnate further in the forthcoming year. The centers of world capitalism, the United States, Japan and the European Union are currently registering growth rates lower than those of last year (1994). As usual, the downward growth rates are bloated by the most nonproductive accounts in the service sector. The lesser industrial capitalist countries are falling deeper into a state of depression.

The United States is straining to retain its position as the economic and military leader of the world capitalist system. As it tries to solve its colossal debt and deficit problems without drastically reducing military expenditures, it does so at the expense of domestic social programs and causes social unrest among the workers, the people of color, women, youth and pensioners. The high-tech retooling of the industries is killing jobs, causing large inventories of unsold goods and forcing losing firms into bankruptcy, mergers and sellout. And yet the unemployed are misrepresented as parasites unwilling to work and feeding on social welfare. As in the rest of the industrial capitalist countries, the migrant workers are blamed for taking jobs away from the local workers.

The United States is upsetting the balance of its relations with other capitalist powers as it tries to reverse its industrial decline, improve its export competitiveness and spread the burden of expenditures in security alliances and military "peacekeeping" operations, in furtherance of its hegemonic schemes. At the same time, it unites with its imperialist allies in utilizing the US-led international agencies (UN, IMF, World Bank, WTO, OECD, G-7, etc.) to exploit and oppress the proletariat and people of the world.

The United States is consolidating its own national market and its nearest regional markets, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the whole of Latin America. These threaten to undercut in the US market the export-oriented economies in East Asia. At the same time, the United States is pushing its exports everywhere in the world. It has spearheaded the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum to further ensure that the ASEAN Free Trade Agreement (AFTA) stay within US control and preempt the Japan-instigated East Asia Economic Cooperation (EAEC) proposed by Malaysia. It leaps over its West European trade rivals in dumping goods in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

The United States has used the devaluation of the dollar as weapon for promoting its exports and putting Japan and the European Union at a disadvantage. At the same time, it has maneuvered itself into taking the main burden and risks—in the name of NATO, instead of the UN—in Bosnia and picking up seemingly advantageous bilateral security agreements with as many as six states, including some successor states of the former Yugoslavia and former Warsaw Pact members, Hungary and Romania, as "partners for peace." The Russian contingent is under the command of the NATO and in effect the United States.

On the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II and the United Nations, it is appropriate to observe that Japan and Germany have won in economic terms through the cold war and through the UN what they failed to win by aggression in World War II. However, after 50 years of overconsumption and footing the military bill, the United States is trying to revive its industrial production for export and spread the costs of policing the world in the interest of monopoly capitalism.

Like the United States, Japan and Germany are trying to consolidate their national and regional markets and are utilizing very much the same strategy and tactics to solve the domestic problems of monopoly capitalism at the expense of the proletariat and in favor of their supermonopolies. They are taking advantage of the US need for sharing the military burden by strengthening their own military forces and demanding permanent seats in the US security council.

Japan has not reversed its downward course since the burst of its economic bubble in 1991. In so short a time, it is moving into heavy public borrowing to revive its economy. But what remains most apparent problem is the abuse of the private banks long plagued by bad debts. Germany is still under the obvious strain of rising taxes and other costs of reunification. The industries of West Germany previously found some relief by dumping surplus goods into East Germany and farther East. But plant closures and unemployment in East Germany and the unceasing economic deterioration of the former Soviet-bloc countries have limited the market for German surplus

goods.

As in the United States, the fundamental problem in Japan and the European Union is the rapidly rising organic composition of capital and the disemployment of workers. This is exacerbated by shifting labor-intensive processes to countries where labor is far cheaper and importing what is more cheaply produced there. The shift of certain processes to other countries does not result in their development nor solve unemployment there.

In all the industrial capitalist countries, the thrust of state monopoly capitalism is to deliver to the private supermonopolies the profitable state enterprises, bloated contracts, bailouts, tax breaks, subsidies, guarantees for investments and exports and so on. At the same time, social programs are cut back for the benefit of big business in the attempt to cut down budgetary deficits. The tax burden is increasingly imposed on the working people, while unemployment is rising in the general trend of adopting high technology and raising the organic composition of capital.

The political parties of the big bourgeoisie are discredited, especially by corruption scandals and their failure to solve the economic and social crisis. To obscure its responsibility for the rapidly rising organic composition of capital and for the resultant crisis, the big bourgeoisie is whipping up nationalism, neofascism and racism and is spreading the lie that migrant workers and low-wage countries are taking away jobs from the workers of the industrial capitalist countries.

The proletariat and people in the industrial capitalist countries have scarcely begun to fight back against the monopoly bourgeoisie. There is yet no single revolutionary party of the proletariat politically and organizationally strong enough to challenge the capitalist ruling system anywhere. Unionization of workers has either decreased or has been coopted by the big bourgeoisie over the decades. So far, the general strikes in France, combining the workers, students and other people this December, are the most telling protest action against the capitalist ruling system.

The biggest destruction of productive forces in the last five years is seen in the successor states of the former revisionist-ruled countries in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The flagrant privatization of state assets has aggravated the state of depression which has run since the latter half of the '70s. In many enterprises, production has either been stopped or has plummeted. Unemployment runs rampant. The impoverishment of the people has been scandalously drastic. Even the average lifespan in the former Soviet Union has plummeted from 65 to 57 years.

The breakdown of the economies makes even Soviet neocolonialism and prolonged depression in the Brezhnev period look good. The continuing economic deterioration is due to unrestrained rapacity of an extremely criminal new bourgeoisie long nurtured by monopoly bureaucrat capitalism since 1956. The monopoly bourgeoisie have legitimized their accumulated private assets, accelerated further privatization of the most profitable state assets and welcomed the dumping of the surplus consumer goods from the West.

The inflow of investments from the West is highly selective, limited and intended to dominate the market. Even the highly speculative portfolio investments from the West have been scared off by the arbitrariness and deceptiveness of the new monopoly bourgeoisie and the rapid impoverishment of the people. At any rate, the foreign exchange inflow from this type of investments is used by the bankrupt government for importing consumer goods.

Many of the former revisionist-ruled countries entirely or partly have retrogressed to third world socio-economic conditions. Conditions of civil war and criminal warfare are seething among the bureaucratic cliques. The blatant anticommunist regimes have been discredited in so short a time. The revisionist renegades are making a comeback with an admixture of social-democratic, neoliberal and nationalist slogans. Even then, the conditions are ever worsening and are conducive to the rise of bourgeois nationalism and military fascism. The same objective conditions are conducive to the reemergence of proletarian revolutionary parties. But these parties have to reckon with decades of revisionist deception and the current powerful forces of capitalism.

The overwhelming majority of the nation states in Asia, Africa and Latin America remain grossly underdeveloped, agrarian and raw material producing. They are still the worst victims of imperialism and neocolonialism. Since the '70s, they have suffered from the overproduction of raw materials, economic depression, massive unemployment, deteriorating terms of trade, mounting debt burden and a growing net outflow of capital. The overwhelming majority of the population is peasant and impoverished. Even in such large countries as China, India and Brazil, which have acquired either an industrial foundation or some heavy and basic industries, there is

a large population of peasants and rural odd-jobbers in the hinterlands.

In the last 50 years, the workings of imperialism have kept most third world countries backward and have de-industrialized some. The imperialists [These] have allowed only a few economies (like those of Taiwan, South Korea and Brazil) to develop from an agrarian character and acquire an industrial foundation or a significant amount of basic industries. More countries have acquired an industrial foundation or basic industries due to socialism (China, North Korea and the like) principally and due to bourgeois nationalism (India, Egypt and the like) secondarily. The industrialization of eight or so countries in Asia and Latin America since World War II does not mean the industrialization of the rest of the more than 150 third world countries whose economies remain backward.

Countries dependent on raw-material production for export have been ruined since the '70s due to the overproduction of raw materials induced by large amounts of foreign loans for their production and infrastructure. After oil production went in full swing in the North Atlantic, even the OPEC lost much of its bargaining power with the industrial capitalist countries and even the Soviet Union could no longer get enough from its oil exports to finance its new monopoly bourgeoisie, its arms race and the vestiges of social welfare.

The socioeconomic conditions of the third world countries limited to raw-material production for export have continuously deteriorated. The fall of export incomes and the adoption of austerity measures have generated widespread political turbulence, including civil wars and coups and counter-coups between rival bureaucratic cliques. The imperialists and the corrupt bureaucratic cliques use bourgeois nationalism and ethnic, racial and religious differences to mislead the masses and keep them from taking the revolutionary road.

Outside the major industrial capitalist countries, the top 10 percent of the population in lesser capitalist countries and the thin upper crust of third world countries are the market for cars, the latest consumer electronic consumer products and other new glossy articles of consumption. But such a market is already being saturated and the potential market farther afield is constricted by the bitter consequences of the current crisis of overproduction, by the earlier crisis of overproduction in raw materials, by the overextended abuses of state monopoly capitalism, finance capital and neocolonialism and, of course, by the rising level of underutilized productive capacity and global unemployment.

For quite some time already, the supermonopolies have been rapidly destroying productive forces and de-industrializing the overwhelming majority of countries in the world. It is not correct to say that imperialism has industrialized the entire world and has made the proletariat the biggest class in all or most of the third world countries. Such a notion is factually false, counterrevolutionary and even racist, especially when the oppressed nations and peoples are blamed as taking jobs away from the workers in the industrial capitalist countries. The Philippine situation is typical rather than unique relative to the general run of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America in terms of the socioeconomic and political depredations of imperialism and local reaction.

In the wake of tighter integration in the world capitalist system, such huge countries as China and India, which owe their industrial base or heavy and basic industries either to socialism or bourgeois nationalism have been subjected to lopsided investments, compradorization and refeudalization. The majority of the people who are in the hinterlands of these countries are in far worse conditions of oppression and exploitation than before the unabashed integration into the world capitalist system. Even the export-oriented sweatshop manufacturing in China's coastal provinces and in the other East Asian economies is now threatened with reduced orders from the industrial capitalist countries.

The portfolio funds from the imperialist countries which have financed high consumption and covered budgetary and trade deficits in East Asia and Latin America since 1983 have flown back to the industrial capitalist countries since the mid-1994 and the collapse of the Mexican peso in 1994, respectively. Those countries, dependent on this revolving type of investments and much ballyhooed as "emergent markets", are left with serious damage to their economies and with a foreign debt that has been enlarged faster by the sale of public securities than by the official and commercial loans before 1982. The flight of the speculative capital back to the industrial capitalist countries have aggravated the overconcentration of capital in these countries.

Lenin's critique of modern imperialism and theory of uneven development remains valid. Neither Kautsky's theory of ultra-imperialism, the fallacies of "post-industrial society" nor Immanuel Wallerstein's world system has rendered Lenin outdated. The world is still in the era of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution. So far, socialism has never prevailed over capitalism on a global scale. Worse, the revisionist ruling cliques have betrayed

socialism since 1956 and thrown away the revolutionary advances made by the proletariat and the people in the first and second stages in the general crisis of capitalism, which resulted in World Wars I and II but which respectively brought about the first socialist state and then several socialist states.

Even as the global victory of socialism over capitalism—foretold by the Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960 as the main fruit of what was conceived to be the third stage of the general crisis of capitalism—has not materialized as a result of revisionist betrayal, the crisis of overproduction of the world capitalist system has aggravated and deepened from the level of relatively mild recessions in the 1950s and 1960s to the increasingly more severe ones since the 1970s, which have resulted in higher and long-lasting levels of unemployment and steady reduction of real income from the proletariat.

From the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the revisionist regimes in Eastern Europe to the 1995 celebration of the victories of the Allied Powers, the US and other imperialist countries have spoken of socialism as the worst plague that has ever afflicted mankind as if monopoly capitalism were not the one that has unleashed World Wars I and II as well as countless acts of bloody wars of aggression and intervention in the course of the cold war.

the world has moved into the worst period of the chronic crisis of moribund capitalism since the end of World War II and imperialism is in the process of unleashing horrors on the people worse than those during the cold war. But the death of capitalism anywhere in the world can only be effected by the revolutionary forces of the people led by the proletariat and by its party. To make revolution, the party of the proletariat makes concrete analysis of concrete conditions in the world and the country where it is based.

The Communist Party of the Philippines regards it as an internationalist duty to wage the national-democratic revolution through protracted people's war. It is thus that the Party and the Filipino people are among those currently at the forefront of the global anti-imperialist struggle for socialism. They are eagerly awaiting and encouraging the proletariat and people of the world to raise to a new and higher level their revolutionary consciousness and struggle in their respective countries.

The Party cadres and members who are assigned to international work and who are either based at home or abroad are guided by proletarian internationalism in accordance with the principles of independence, equality, mutual benefit and cooperation in developing relations with communist and workers' parties and revolutionary movements. They develop relations on the basis of varying scales of mutual understanding in ideology and politics. They encourage Filipino compatriots abroad to organize themselves and to participate in and support the Philippine revolution as well as the workers' struggle in the host country.

In bilateral relations with parties and organizations abroad, the Party engages in exchange of ideas and experience. It attends multilateral forums and seminars for the purpose of discussing ideological and international issues, seeking to develop mutual understanding through consensus and striving to rebuild the international communist movement as well as strengthening further anti-imperialist solidarity.

We uphold Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and therefore criticize modern revisionism and capitalist restoration. But at the same time, we are for developing the anti-imperialist united front in order to take advantage of the growing contradictions between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the proletariat in capitalist countries and in the entire world, between the imperialists and the oppressed nations and peoples, between the old and the new capitalist countries and among the imperialists.

Our Party supports and cooperates with the countries, nations, peoples, parties and movements to the extent that they stand up against the oppressive and exploitative practices of the imperialist states. We recognize the distinction and dialectics between the ideological integrity of the CPP as a Marxist-Leninist party and the necessary political practice of anti-imperialist solidarity. The proletarian revolutionaries must link up with the majority of the people in the world who fight for national liberation, democracy and socialism against imperialism.

Our tasks

In conclusion, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines urges all the Party cadres and members to unite more than ever before and raise ever higher the revolutionary capabilities of the Party and the people in accordance with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, carry the rectification movement through to the end and accomplish the tasks for 1996 as laid down by the July 1995 assessment.

Let us further strengthen the Party ideologically. Let us integrate the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism with the concrete conditions of our country and with our concrete revolutionary practice. Let us repudiate revisionism

and subjectivism. Let us use the rectification movement to enliven and revitalize our ideological study and work.

Even if we have already carried out rectification in our respective Party organs and units, let us continue to deepen the summing-up and analysis of our long experience and current work, engage in comradely criticism and self-criticism and clarify to ourselves our general and specific tasks. Let us relentlessly trace, identify, criticize and repudiate the erroneous ideological currents coming from higher levels as well as those arising from our own level of work.

Let us use the rectification documents to enliven and enrich our formal Party study courses at the primary, intermediate and advanced levels. Let us accelerate the holding of these courses and the concomitant the translation, reproduction and distribution of the study materials. Let us pay serious attention to Party education among our cadres and members from the ranks of the workers and peasants. All Party organs, units and individual Party members are encouraged to read and study these materials in accordance with the course outlines and syllabi ahead of the formal study courses.

We must forge ahead in criticizing and repudiating the counterrevolutionary ideas masquerading as progressive and emanating from the outside. We must counter the ideological offensive of the imperialists. In the international communist movement, let us continue to be guided by proletarian internationalism and stand for socialism against modern revisionism.

Let us further strengthen the Party politically. Let us continue to heighten and sharpen our understanding of the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society and the general line of new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war. Let us conduct social research and investigation and wage the revolutionary struggle accordingly.

We must resolutely and militantly wage the revolutionary struggle against the US-Ramos regime and the entire ruling system. The Party must lead the people in resisting the ever escalating oppression and exploitation. We must take advantage of the worsening crisis of the domestic ruling system and the world capitalist system.

Revolutionary politics must be in command of all our work. We must pursue the revolutionary class line and the mass line. The Party must lead the armed struggle as the principal form of struggle and must develop the united front in order to broaden participation in the armed struggle and the legal mass movement.

In the current phase of the strategic defensive stage of our protracted people's war, let us carry out extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on an ever widening and deepening mass base. Let us expand and consolidate our mass base. Let us continue to integrate the armed struggle, land reform and mass base building and develop all these stage by stage.

Let us carry out the legal democratic mass movement more resolutely and more vigorously than ever before. Let us continue to expose and condemn the greedy and brutal depredations on the people by foreign monopoly capitalists and the local reactionaries. Let us continue to raise the people's basic demands for national liberation and democracy. We must engage in solid mass organizing as the basis of mass campaigns. In turn the mass campaigns must lead to solid mass organizing through painstaking mass work.

Let us strengthen the Party organizationally. Under the principle of democratic centralism, let us strengthen our unity in accordance with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the general line of the new democratic revolution. Under the principle of democratic centralism, let us promote discipline and inner democracy. We must recognize the uneven development of our Party members and from this recognition help each other to raise our revolutionary consciousness and capabilities and our general level of development continually.

We must promptly recruit Party candidate-members from the ranks of the advanced revolutionary mass activists and promptly raise them to full Party membership. Let us fulfill the target of recruiting 10,000 new Party members before the end of 1996.

In the process, let us raise the proportion of Party members from the ranks of the working class and peasantry. Let us also continue to recruit more Party members from the ranks of the educated youth. We must deploy to the countryside more Party members and candidate-members from the ranks of the workers and educated youth.

We must promote self-reliance among all the regional Party organizations and in the entire revolutionary movement. At the same time, the Central Committee must draw personnel and resources from relatively stronger regional Party organizations to strengthen the Party organizations which are relatively weaker or are under intense enemy onslaught.

We are confident that at the end of the forthcoming year, we shall have won greater victories in the ideological,

political and organizational fields in order to reach a new and higher level of all-round development in our revolutionary struggle.

- Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!
- Long live the Philippine revolution!
- Long live the Filipino people!

28th CPP Anniversary Statement, December 26, 1996

On behalf of the Central Committee, I extend warmest greetings of comradeship to all the Party cadres and members on the occasion of the 28th anniversary of the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines on the theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. We congratulate you for all the victories in the course of the Second Great Rectification Movement. We have expanded and consolidated the mass base for carrying out the national-democratic revolution through protracted people's war. We have the confidence to lead the intensification of guerrilla warfare and the mass movement.

We celebrate our significant successes and allow these to resound. Let there be no room for complacency. Let our successes inspire us to pursue the revolutionary struggle ever more vigorously. Let us constantly improve our style of hard work and arduous struggle. Let us continue to rectify and overcome our errors and shortcomings through comradely criticism and self-criticism. Let us unite more than ever before and work ever harder to carry the Philippine revolution forward.

All-round achievements of the Party

The Communist Party of the Philippines is stronger than ever before as it continues to win all-round victories in ideology, politics and organization in carrying out the critical and constructive tasks of the rectification movement.

All Party cadres and members adhere to the ideological line of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. They uphold and strive to apply this on the concrete conditions of the Philippines and on the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution. They have learned important lessons from the rich accumulation of positive and negative experiences in 28 years of continuous revolutionary struggle.

They have tested and tempered themselves in all-round revolutionary struggle against the imperialists and the local reactionaries as well as against the subjectivists, revisionists and the "Left" and Right opportunists. Using the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method, they have gone repeatedly through the dialectical process of study and practice.

As a result of the Second Great Rectification Movement, the ideological level of the Party's rank and file and their revolutionary commitment of service to the people have risen. At the core of the Party are old and new cadres who have educated and trained themselves in the course of the rectification movement and revolutionary struggle against the enemy.

The Party has stood forthrightly against the modern revisionists and the capitalist-roaders in other countries where socialism had long been betrayed. It has won the respect of proletarian revolutionaries throughout the world by undertaking the rectification movement and by clarifying the Marxist-Leninist position for socialism against modern revisionism in the face of the imperialist ideological and political offensive.

The Second Great Rectification Movement has undergone two major phases. The first is identifying, criticizing and repudiating major errors and shortcomings for which the central leadership has been responsible. The second is dealing with errors and shortcomings arising at the level of specific organs and units, with or without the influence of errors and shortcomings from above.

The dialectical relationship of the two phases has enriched the living study of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The process involves the initiative of both the Central Committee and the lower organs of leadership. The departure of the incorrigible opportunists and liquidationists has enhanced this process. Comradely criticism and self-criticism has been promoted as a scientific method for raising the level of unity and fighting will and capabilities of the entire Party and the people.

Formal Party courses at the primary, intermediate and advanced levels are enthusiastically being undertaken. Party organs and units have taken the basic Party course and regional cadres, the intermediate course. All Party organ and units are being encouraged to move ahead in the reading and study of Marxist-Leninist texts. These texts are being reproduced and circulated, with the use of traditional and modern methods.

All Party cadres and members resolutely and militantly adhere to the general line of new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war in correspondence to the analysis of Philippine society as semicolonial and

semifeudal in the era of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution. The proletariat holds the class leadership and the perspective is socialist.

Together with the broad masses of the people, the Party pursues the general political line of struggle for national liberation and democracy to overthrow by armed force the ruling system of the big comprador bourgeoisie and landlord class and defeat its imperialist masters, chiefly US and Japanese imperialism. The Ramos regime is the current chief representative of the ruling system. It is the enemy escalating the oppression and exploitation of the broad masses of the people.

The political line is sharpened by resolute revolutionary struggle not only against the violence and deception perpetrated by the US-Ramos regime but also against "Left" and Right opportunism and the thinly disguised counterrevolutionary line of the renegades and various types of anticommunist petty-bourgeois grouplets that the enemy is using in the anti-CPP psychological warfare in the US-instigated low-intensity conflict.

With the correct ideological and political line, the Party strengthens itself as the advanced detachment of the proletariat and as the vanguard of the Philippine revolution. By leading the New People's Army, the CPP differentiates itself in principle and in practice from all those that pretend to be Left but take a reformist position against the revolutionary movement.

As a result of the rectification movement, the Party cadres and members have widened and deepened the revolutionary mass base, have recovered many of the areas lost because of "Left" and Right opportunist errors and have expanded into new areas. The mass base is more than ever ready for the intensification of guerrilla warfare nationwide. The regional Party committees and the guerrilla front commands can form, train and direct combat units to carry out tactical offensives, using flexible tactics.

Under the guidance of the central leadership and the closer direction of the regional Party committees, the guerrilla front commands can collect accurate information for discovering or creating opportunities for tactical offensives and assign the fighters for the core combat units, rotate them periodically for combat duty and mass work and augment their strength with small units or with fighters who know best the target and the pertinent social, political and physical terrain.

In the course of the rectification movement, the New People's Army has carried out tactical offensives and other armed operations and campaigns in the strategic defense of the people and in securing the advance of revolutionary mass work. In accordance with the demands of the masses, it is high time to raise the level of revolutionary armed struggle within the capabilities of the revolutionary forces and the masses. The NPA must launch only the tactical offensives that they are capable of winning and must let the enemy punch the air when he comes in superior force and there is no way to defeat him.

Land reform is being carried out as the main content of the democratic revolution. The minimum land reform program of rent reduction, elimination of usury, raising of farm wages, improving farm-gate prices and promoting production is being pursued vigorously. It needs to be carried out on a wide scale, especially in new areas as well as in recovered areas where previous gains in land reform have been lost. In only a few areas has land rent been reduced to as low as 10 percent of the crop. In far more areas, the antifeudal struggle need to be revived or even started for the first time.

The preliminary organ of political power, the barrio organizing committee, is a means of rapid expansion, following contact work and social investigation. It initiates the immediate assumption of responsibility by persons appointed and starts the process of consolidation, which entails building the mass organizations and conducting the mass movement in preparation for the regular elected organs of political power and building the local branches of the Party.

Mass campaign are being undertaken to wipe out illiteracy and conduct revolutionary education, organize and mobilize the masses, train the militia and self-defense units, promote production and sideline occupations, collect contributions and taxes, safeguard public health and sanitation, settle disputes among the people and create a healthy cultural life. Depending on the political and security situation, the barrio revolutionary committees can be elected by the representatives of the mass organizations or directly by the local people.

The legal democratic mass movement has developed dramatically since the beginning of the rectification movement. The mass organizations and alliances that take the national and democratic line have expanded and consolidated themselves. They are at the forefront of the struggle against the intensified oppression and exploitation by the US-Ramos regime.

The workers, peasants, urban poor, ethnic minorities, fisherfolk, women, student youth, professionals, patriotic businessmen, religious and other people have engaged in militant mass actions on class and sectoral issues as well as national and international issues. With more Party cadres and members at the grassroots level and doing painstaking mass work in urban and rural areas, the Party has maintained its leadership in the mass movement and has undertaken mass actions and campaigns on a self-reliant basis. Since 1992, and especially since last year, the Party has demonstrated the growing strength of the organized masses and has debunked the lie of the imperialists, the reactionaries and the reformists that the masses have turned away from the struggle for national liberation and democracy led by the Party.

There is coordination between the revolutionary armed struggle as the main form of struggle for overthrowing the ruling system and the legal struggle as the secondary but indispensable form of struggle for confronting the enemy in his own urban citadels and trunklines. The legal democratic mass movement has energetically broadcast the revolutionary message throughout the country.

Because of the rapid class polarization in the Philippines, the Party can further develop the united front in support of the revolutionary armed struggle against the enemy. The basic alliance of the toiling masses, the alliance of basic revolutionary forces (including the urban petty bourgeoisie) and the alliance of the positive forces (including the middle bourgeoisie) can be strengthened. Further on, the Party can take advantage of the splits among the reactionaries. The objective is to range the broadest array of forces in order to isolate and destroy the power of the enemy.

The Party upholds the organizational principle of democratic centralism. It is centralized leadership based on democracy and democracy guided by centralized leadership. There is both discipline and democracy in opposition to revisionism and liquidationism and to bureaucratism and ultrademocracy.

The Party has recruited many candidates and full members from the ranks of the advanced activists in the mass movement in the urban and rural areas. It has continued to grow in strength on a nationwide scale and is closely linked with the toiling masses of workers and peasants.

An increasing number of Party members and candidates-members from the ranks of workers and educated youth are going to the countryside to serve in the New People's Army or as cadres among the peasant masses in the community. At the same time, the vibrant legal democratic mass movement is testing and tempering an ever growing number of mass activists from the ranks of the workers, peasants, educated youth, women, ethnic minorities and other people and preparing them to become Party candidate-members and full Party members.

The removal of incorrigible opportunists renegades and traitors from the Party has made the Party and mass movement healthy and strong. If they had their way, these scoundrels would have destroyed the Party from within. They would have brought the Party to where they are now—collaborators of the US-Ramos regime. The correctness of the rectification movement is verified not only by the resounding victories of the Party but also by the flagrant degeneration of the few who have been removed or have removed themselves from the Party.

To let them announce publicly the status of their work, all central staff organs and regional Party organs are enjoined to submit within the next three months to the Central Committee the draft of a communique of five to ten pages reporting on their ideological, political and organizational achievements, major problems already solved or still to be solved, in their respective spheres of responsibility since the start of the Second Great Rectification Movement but especially in the year of 1996. These communiqués shall be published in *Rebolusyon* and *Ang Bayan*.

Bankruptcy and instability of the ruling system

The chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system continues to deepen and worsen. It provides the fertile ground for the subjective forces of the new democratic revolution to grow in strength. The ever intensifying exploitation and oppression drives the broad masses of the people to wage revolutionary struggle.

The Philippine economy has further deteriorated because of the unbridled rapacity of the foreign monopolies and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords. The US-Ramos regime has been extremely servile to the neocolonial and neoliberal dictates of the US, Japan and other imperialists, directly and through such multilateral agencies as the IMF, World Bank and WTO.

The regime's promise to turn the Philippines into a newly-industrializing country by the year 2000 and a "new economic tiger" is patently false. In fact, the policies of trade and investment liberalization, deregulation and privatization prevent industrial development and aggravate the agrarian character and underdevelopment of the

country.

Unlike Taiwan and South Korea during the cold war, the Philippines does not protect the investments of the state and domestic private sector, does not carry out land reform and does not have nor use savings to build basic industries. The Philippines is now confronted with a global crisis of overproduction of the low value-added products of export-oriented manufacturing, with reduced consumption in the stagnant industrial capitalist countries and with the export drive of the US in nearly all types of manufactures, including consumer electronics and textile.

The so-called GDP growth rate of more than 5 percent and the GNP of more than 7 percent in the Philippines means neither the industrial development nor any rise in the standard of living. In fact, the bigger the GDP and GNP becomes, the more the exploitation and impoverishment of the overwhelming majority of the people.

These macro-data are bloated by the rising cost of imported goods for local consumption and export-oriented manufacturing, the double counting of export receipts and remittances of overseas contract workers, the big bubble in real estate speculation and private construction, the high cost of importing energy, transport, telecommunications and office computer equipment, the revenues from selling off state assets, bureaucratic corruption and military spending, the rising tax and debt burden, the understatement of the inflation rate and the usual false estimates of gross output in agriculture, industry and services.

There can be no industrial development where the basic industries are not being established but where manufactures are imported in larger proportion than ever before and where land reform is not at all carried out beyond the tokens of the past but where land accumulation has been accelerated by so many old and new devices. Even the infrastructure (roads, bridges and the like) has become rotten and inadequate because funds have gone into far more unproductive spending as cited in pointing to the content of the GDP and the GNP.

Import-dependent manufacturing for domestic consumption and agricultural production (rice, corn, sugar and coconut) are threatened and cut down by import liberalization. The entire service sector, from banking to retail trade, has been opened to 100 percent foreign ownership. The land is open to massive acquisition by foreign and domestic speculators under the signboards of industrial zones, real estate development, integrated forest management agreement (IFMA), the Mining Act of 1995 and so on.

The ever growing foreign trade deficit and foreign debt burden show quickly the bankrupt status of the Philippine economy. The current accounts deficit is actually far bigger than what it appears to be. It is reduced by window-dressing, especially by double counting of the foreign exchange deposits of exporters and overseas contract workers as new non-merchandise income when these are converted into pesos. The deterioration of the Philippine economy is reflected in the abuse of a widening range of financial devices, including the following: foreign loans (public and private), local public debt (especially the

sale of treasury bills at high interest), conversion of foreign loans into local equity, foreign portfolio investments, privatization of state assets, expanded coverage of the value-added tax, repeated oil price increases and so on. The tax burden is being increased at the expense of the toiling masses and the middle social strata.

The budget of the reactionary government is becoming more ludicrous than ever. Most of the appropriations go to debt service and to the military, police and other coercive apparatuses of the state. The rest are mainly for bureaucratic purposes, including a splurge on office computer equipment. The so-called budgetary surplus in recent years has been created by revenues from the sale of state assets, borrowings from the banks and social security funds and, of course, by the increasing tax burden of the people.

The US-Ramos regime is obsessed with "modernizing" the armed forces and police rather than making any pretense at industrialization or providing social services. Under the cover of appropriating ₱331 billion for a 15-year period, the regime intends to spend more than ₱30 billion for "military modernization" within the 1993-1998 period. The money goes mainly to graft-ridden acquisition of weapons, communications equipment, planes and naval vessels, supplied by US companies.

The "social reform agenda" of the US-Ramos regime is a sham. This regime falsifies the data on the social conditions of the people, conceals or minimizes the havoc wrought on their lives by its policies and actions, exaggerates tokens of pretended social concern, and makes false promises. The acknowledgment of any social problem becomes an excuse for channeling public funds for bureaucratic corruption. Brute military force has been used to destroy the homes of the urban poor and to deprive ethnic communities of their land. Even such a huge natural disaster as the lahar overflow from the eruption of Mt. Pinatubo becomes an occasion for the officials of the regime to steal billions of pesos.

Unemployment continues to go beyond 40 percent. The prices of basic commodities keep on rising, pulled up by heavier taxation, rising cost of imports and repeated oil price increases. Inflation cuts down the real against the workers and peasants, even as the regime tries to conjure the illusion that it is benign and seeks national reconciliation.

The objective of the psychological warfare in the US-instigated "low intensity conflict" strategy is to create the illusion of political stability and democratization, split the patriotic and progressive forces and isolate the revolutionary forces. Thus, the regime has cultivated and handled special agents to pose as Left and to attack the Left. The political parties and coalitions of the big compradors and landlords unite against the people and the revolutionary movement. But they also compete against each other and tend to weaken and put their own political system in crisis and disarray.

The electoral exercises among them do not mean one-sidedly the stabilization of the ruling system but also mean the exposure of their severe differences, which the revolutionary movement can take advantage of. The ever worsening socioeconomic crisis generates more bitter rivalry over economic loot and power. And in turn the political crisis aggravates the socioeconomic crisis. These conditions present opportunities for the revolutionary movement to use the armed struggle and the united front to put the ruling system in an even more desperate and hopeless course. The US-Ramos regime wants to perpetuate itself in power. If Ramos himself cannot stay in power beyond 1998, he is bent on picking his successor and maximizing the political role of military officers in the ruling system. The election and appointment of military and police officers to civilian positions and rising appropriations for the military and police forces are clear manifestations of the militarization of the state.

Since coming to the presidency, the US-Ramos ruling clique has apparently been able to contain the political factionalization within the military by providing extraordinary political and economic accommodations to erstwhile anti-Ramos factions. But more than ever, the military and police forces remain grossly factionalized, as competing bureaucratic cliques and as criminal syndicates. The Moro people's struggle for self-determination does not cease income of the employed. The impoverishment of the broad masses of the people is accelerated. At the same time, the infrastructure is deteriorating and social spending for education, health and the like is being reduced in favor of military spending.

There is superabundance of urban and rural oddjobbers. The unemployed from both the ranks of the toiling masses and middle social strata, are driven to look for employment abroad. Thus, documented and undocumented overseas contract workers are now nearly ten percent of the total population. Under the "flexible labor policy", dictated by the imperialists, the regime escalates exploitation and oppression of the working people in order to further cheapen labor and thereby to attract foreign investments and overseas labor contracts. Such labor policy corresponds to the policy of preventing national industrialization and land reform.

The ruling system is thoroughly rotten. The people detest the oppressive and corrupt character of all branches of the government. They are also outraged by the fact that all the current key players in reactionary politics, in parties and coalitions, are all descendants and beneficiaries of the US-Marcos regime.

The Aquino regime was merely a passing device to do away with Marcos in person and at the same time to preserve the ruling system. Against the interests of the broad masses of the people, the post-Marcos regimes have reconciled the interests of the political descendants of Marcos and the anti-Marcos reactionaries. General Ramos represents most the continuity of the ruling system under the direction of US imperialism.

The repressive character of the state has sharpened particularly against the workers and peasants, even as the regime tries to conjure the illusion that it is benign and seeks national reconciliation. The objective of the psychological warfare in the US-instigated "low intensity conflict" strategy is to create the illusion of political stability and democratization, split the patriotic and progressive forces and isolate the revolutionary forces. Thus, the regime has cultivated and handled special agents to pose as Left and to attack the Left.

The political parties and coalitions of the big compradors and landlords unite against the people and the revolutionary movement. But they also compete against each other and tend to weaken and put their own political system in crisis and disarray. The electoral exercises among them do not mean one-sidedly the stabilization of the ruling system but also mean the exposure of their severe differences, which the revolutionary movement can take advantage of. The ever worsening socioeconomic crisis generates more bitter rivalry over economic loot and power. And in turn the political crisis aggravates the socioeconomic crisis. These conditions present opportunities for the revolutionary movement to use the armed struggle and the united front to put the ruling system in an

even more desperate and hopeless course.

The US-Ramos regime wants to perpetuate itself in power. If Ramos himself cannot stay in power beyond 1998, he is bent on picking his successor and maximizing the political role of military officers in the ruling system. The election and appointment of military and police officers to civilian positions and rising appropriations for the military and police forces are clear manifestations of the militarization of the state.

Since coming to the presidency, the US-Ramos ruling clique has apparently been able to contain the political factionalization within the military by providing extraordinary political and economic accommodations to erstwhile anti-Ramos factions. But more than ever, the military and police forces remain grossly factionalized, as competing bureaucratic cliques and as criminal syndicates.

The Moro people's struggle for self-determination does not cease with the flagrant capitulation of the Nur Misuari clique in the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) to the US-Ramos regime. The Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) is continuing the armed struggle and is winning over to its side many of the MNLF followers. Opportunities have arisen for the revolutionary movement led by the Party to build its own strength among the Moro people and to build an alliance with Moro forces determined to continue the struggle for the Moro people's right to national self-determination.

The revolutionary movement has not lost an ally with the Misuari clique's capitulation to the Manila government. Since the signing of the Tripoli Agreement in 1976, the Misuari clique in the MNLF had begun to betray the Moro people's revolutionary cause and had engaged continuously in truces with the Marcos, Aquino and Ramos regimes. By ceasing armed struggle since 1976, the MNLF gave away initiative to the MILF and other armed Moro organizations. But even after capitulation, the Nur Misuari clique remains problematic to the ruling system as the clique tries to retain or even enlarge an armed force to protect itself.

US imperialism and the local reactionaries have utterly failed in their attempt either to destroy the Party and the revolutionary movement from within or to discredit them and isolate them by using traitors and renegades and an array of anticommunist petty-bourgeois grouplets, that present themselves as Trotskyite, urban insurrectionists, popular democrats, social-democrats, Gorbachovites and so on.

These agents of psychological warfare in the LIC have proven to be no more effective than the paramilitary forces, fanatical religious cults and special operations teams (SOTs) previously fielded by the enemy in the countryside against the revolutionary movement. They have been thoroughly exposed as racketeers feeding on secret funds from the imperialists and the reactionary state and foreign funding agencies.

They fail to realize even the minimum objective of conjuring the illusion of a "big split" in the Left, separating the urban petty bourgeoisie from the revolutionary movement and spreading the notion that population control, sustainable development, democratization, environmentalism, genderism, ethnicism and civil society (to mention some of their jargon) under the rule of the bourgeoisie have made the anti-imperialist and the class struggle outdated and irrelevant.

As far as the question of revolution is concerned, the issue of solving the basic problems of the people, the life-and-death struggle between the armed revolution and armed counterrevolution occupies the center of the political stage. So-called mainstream and sidestream organizations within the ruling system cannot conjure the illusion of political stability and decline of human rights violations. The armed revolutionary movement led by the Party is determined to overthrow the entire ruling system through a protracted people's war.

The enemy itself unceasingly launches military and police campaigns and operations to grab the natural resources and social wealth from the people in the name of "development" and "social reform" and suppressing the revolutionary forces. The political, civil, economic, social and cultural rights of the people are violated and trampled upon. The depredations of the imperialists and local exploiters justify and incite the armed revolution.

As a result of the rectification movement, the revolutionary movement has seized the initiative, expanded and consolidated the mass base for waging the people's war. Under the absolute leadership of the CPP, the New People's Army is in a position to intensify guerrilla warfare on a nationwide scale on the basis of an ever expanding and deepening mass base. The united front for armed struggle has broadened.

The legal democratic mass movement has also surged forward. The nationwide and localized mass protest actions on national, class and sectoral issues are ever growing and prove the correctness of the rectification movement. In the past year, the most important protest actions included those against the most important protest actions included those against the antiterrorism bill, the expanded value-added tax and oil price increases. The

recent people's caravan from Manila to Subic and the nationwide mass actions in November to protest against Asia-Pacific Economic Conference (APEC) Leaders' Summit has demonstrated the strength and broad mass support of the national democratic movement.

The CPP has correctly characterized the NDFP peace negotiations with the GRP as a process subject to the line of national-democratic revolution and as one of the legal forms of struggle subordinate to the armed struggle and the legal mass movement.

A just and lasting peace is impossible without addressing the roots of the civil war, without solving the basic problems of the people. In the course of the peace negotiations with the GRP, the NDFP has demonstrated to the entire world the justness of the revolutionary cause and has set the principled standards for negotiating with the enemy.

The NDFP has submitted to the Federal Council of the Swiss Government and the International Committee of the Red Cross the Declaration of Undertaking to Apply the Geneva Conventions and Protocol I. This means the adherence of the revolutionary forces to international humanitarian law as a belligerent force in the civil war. The people's war conducted by the Party is a struggle for national liberation and democracy.

The NDFP has made a draft of the Comprehensive Agreement on Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law and is eager to accomplish a mutual agreement with the GRP. It also wishes to proceed to the discussion of social and economic reforms. But the GRP has such a reactionary position as to deny human rights violations even under the Marcos regime. It has also refused to enter into a mutual agreement on the indemnification of the victims in accordance with the favorable decision of the US court.

The GRP's repeated violations of the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG) have jeopardized the continuity of the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations and have sharpened the vigilance of the NDFP, especially the personnel involved in the peace negotiations. The revolutionary forces are prepared against any act of the GRP to collapse the negotiations. The ever-worsening crisis of the ruling system urges the broad masses of the people to intensify resistance and the revolutionary forces to carry the national-democratic revolution forward through protracted people's war.

Depressed and turbulent capitalist world

The crisis of the world capitalist system continues to worsen. The global centers of capitalism no less are stagnant. Beyond them are worse conditions of depression and social turbulence. Capitalism is destructive to productive forces on a world scale. Thus, the global disorder rages. Lenin's theory of uneven development and his description of the era as that of imperialism and proletarian revolution remain valid.

The rapid concentration of capital in the global centers of capitalism is unprecedented in the entire history of capitalism. It is accelerated by the capitalist adoption of high technology in social production and by the most exploitative and speculative forms of finance capital. The main aspect of capitalism today is not the global expansion of industrial capitalist development but the destruction of productive forces on a global scale, mainly affecting the third world and the former Soviet-bloc countries but also affecting even the industrial capitalist countries.

There is the sharp contradiction between the capitalist relations of production and the forces of production. The organic composition of capital (constant capital in the means of production) has risen so fast that the profit rates for entire national economies tend to fall. The monopolies try to counter the global and national falling rates of profit and maximize their profits by reducing the wage fund and causing chronic unemployment. Unemployment and pressing down of wages and living conditions constrict the market and further cause the profit rates to fall in a vicious cycle. The crisis of overproduction worsens. Large unsold inventories lead to bankruptcies and retrenched production.

The US has sought to revive its manufacturing capability, domestic consumption and export, has undervalued its currency and has promoted its exports at the expense of the other global centers of capitalism. Its objective is to overcome the accumulated foreign debt, the budgetary and trade deficits incurred in the course of waging the cold war against the Soviet Union and accommodating allies in the US consumption market.

The US is using its lead in high technology as the cutting edge of its drive to retain its supreme economic, political, military and cultural position in the world capitalist system. It is upsetting the balance of its relations with other imperialist countries. The imperialist countries are straining to contain their sharpening competition by uniting against the less developed countries and shifting to them the burden of the crisis.

The manufacture and sale of high-tech products became the most important factor for some limited growth in

the US economy in 1994 and 1995. In part, high-tech products are for retooling US industry and in another for personal use and consumption. The US is pushing the International Technology Agreement to reduce tariff rates to zero by the year 2000 and to sell to the "middle class" of the world, in other capitalist countries and some ten "emergent markets" electronic manufactures for office and personal use."

The US has pressed down wage levels domestically and in the NAFTA. It has taken advantage of its domestic and regional market and push its export drive towards the European Union, Japan and other countries where fiscal spending and consumption are assisted by multilateral official loans and speculative private capital. The export drive sharpens US competition with the other global centers of capitalism and aggravates the economic and social contradictions within national boundaries.

Among the global centers of capitalism, the European Union has the highest unemployment rate. It is driven to adopt austerity measures, further press down wage and living conditions and cut down social spending in the name of fulfilling requirements for monetary union. The economic and social conditions in Western Europe have so deteriorated that the proletariat and the rest of the people in many countries, especially Germany, France, Italy, Greece, Spain and Portugal, have risen up to wage general strikes and other forms of mass protest.

The former Soviet bloc countries are wide open for capital expansion. But in the main, the policy of all the imperialists is to dump their surplus products on them, develop some Central European countries and Russia itself as the distributing center of consumer products from the West, keep some industries in order to avail of cheap labor to some extent, make Russia further dependent on its raw material exports and let its nuclear and other weapons system deteriorate.

Even as Japan is still in the morass of bad bank debts and other consequences of the bursting of its bubble economy, it has come under pressure to engage heavily in public deficit-spending for infrastructure, promote domestic luxury consumption, reduce its trade surplus with the US and further open up to investments and US manufactured imports and military buildup subordinate to the US as main security partner. The Japanese proletariat and people have waged militant struggles against the worsened terms of the US-Japan security alliance, against the continuing US occupation of Okinawa and against the economic and other impositions of the US on Japan at the expense of the people.

Aside from trying to break the Japanese market wide open for US exports, the US is taking the initiative in trade and investments in East Asia and keeping Japan to a position of senior but secondary economic partner. They seek to allay their contradictions by mutually exploiting Southeast Asia and Northeast Asia. With Southeast Asia securely in their pocket through the neocolonial states, IMF, World Bank, WTO, the ASEAN and the APEC, the US and Japan are united and determined to turn China into their mutual neocolonial adjunct. This is supposed to be the big prize.

The US is confident of openly pushing China to further liberalize its trade and investment policies and dismantle or privatize the state enterprises. The confidence of the US stems from the fact that both the Chinese bureaucrat and private capitalists are deeply entrenched and are committed to big comprador relations with the world capitalist system, that the export-oriented manufacturing in China is dependent on the US consumer market and that the Chinese economy has become lopsided enough and drawn away from a self-reliant comprehensive socialist economy.

The US policy towards China continues to be one of "engagement" and "containment", encouraging economic liberalization to lead to political liberalization as in the former Soviet Union (the capitalist roaders themselves ultimately cast off the signboards of communist party rule and socialism) and containing China on such issues as military buildup, Taiwan, Tibet and the like. The anticommunists are still more conspicuous in demanding the proclamation of an undisguised bourgeois state than the proletarian revolutionaries are in opposing the Dengist road of capitalist restoration.

At any rate, the "tigers" of East Asia and their imitators, including China, are now faced with the recessive economies of the imperialist countries, the global overproduction in export-oriented manufacturing of garments, personal electronics, leather products, toys and the like by East Asia, South Asia, Central Europe and NAFTA, the pressure for liberalizing trade and investment policies and the US drive to export US and NAFTA consumer products.

The overproduction of raw materials since the '70s continue to devastate the economies of the overwhelming majority of third world countries. No foreign capital flow into these countries even for export-oriented

manufacturing. The oil-producing countries have rapidly declining economies and plunging levels of consumption. More than three-fourths of the flows of global capital are concentrated in the three global centers of capitalism. The rest flows to only some ten countries mainly in East Asia, secondarily in Latin America and tertiarily in the former Soviet-bloc countries, Africa has gotten only a trickle. The economies of Russia and other former Soviet bloc countries continue to deteriorate. Their industries have been depressed since the late 1970s when monopoly bureaucrat capitalism was still masquerading as socialism. Under the current undisguised rule of the private and bureaucrat capitalists, far more criminal than entrepreneurial, entire industrial systems have been either closed down or cannibalized.

Production decline in the former Soviet Union remains more than 50 percent from the level in 1991. The dominant mafia bourgeoisie headed by Yeltsin is preoccupied with the export of raw materials and the import of consumer products facilitated by the imperialist banks. The revisionists and neo-revisionists are still politically ahead of proletarian revolutionaries in opposing anticommunist ruling cliques and therefore serve to block the advance of the proletarian revolutionaries who are still in the process of understanding how the revisionists reversed the socialist line of Lenin and Stalin.

In all continents of the world today, there is grave and deep-going social unrest and disorder. The most barbaric kinds of counterrevolutionary violence have arisen from the long-running depredations of neocolonialism and finance capital, and the desperate rivalries of reactionary cliques mouthing the slogans of anticommunism, nationalism, ethnocentrism and religion. At the same time, there are in certain countries armed revolutionary movements for national liberation and democracy led by working class parties.

The objective conditions for making revolution against imperialism and the local exploiting classes are favorable. But some time is needed for the subjective forces of the revolution to arise and develop in strength from the ranks of the proletariat and other working people. The intensifying oppression and exploitation of the people drives them to resist the imperialists and local exploiters. But the people must also shake off the stultifying influence of revisionism, reformism and opportunism which have run for so long.

It is a matter of honor and just pride for the Communist Party of the Philippines to be among the revolutionary parties of the proletariat in the world which are at the forefront of the struggle for national liberation, democracy and socialism against imperialism and reaction by waging the new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war in the Philippines. At the same time, the CPP is aware of the tremendous odds and has a strong sense of humility and perseverance as it encourages the resurgence of the anti-imperialist and socialist movement on a global scale.

As surely as the imperialists and local reactionaries are intensifying the exploitation and oppression of the proletariat and people, the CPP is certain of the eventual resurgence of the anti-imperialist and socialist movement on an unprecedented global scale. Being the most oppressed and exploited, the peoples and nations of the third world countries and former Soviet bloc countries are the most predisposed to wage armed revolution. There is the crying need for the subjective forces of the revolution to arise and develop.

The few revolutionary parties of the proletariat leading armed revolutionary movements are in the third world. There are other parties which avow themselves to be Marxist-Leninist and are leading armed revolutionary movements for national liberation and democracy. There are also some ruling parties that still describe their states as socialist and are fighting for national independence against imperialism.

In countries where socialism previously existed but was subsequently betrayed by the revisionists and where revisionist regimes ultimately collapsed or are still ruling, there are genuine communists who continue to adhere to the revolutionary legacy of the great communists but which are still learning how to seize the ideological and political initiative from the blatant anticommunists and persistent revisionists.

The revisionist betrayal of socialism in China in 1976 has been a key point in the successful all-out economic, political and ideological offensive of imperialism against the anti-imperialist and socialist movement. Priorly, the US had started to be on the strategic decline and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution had appeared to consolidate socialism in China. It remains an interesting question whether there are still enough proletarian revolutionaries who can take advantage of the growing struggle between the phony communists (revisionists) and the blatant anticommunists.

In the industrial capitalist countries, parties that strive to be Marxist-Leninist and antirevisionist are still few, small and weak. Revisionist, unabashed social-democratic parties, bureaucratic trade unions and

petty-bourgeois-minded "civic initiatives" are still running ahead of proletarian revolutionaries in riding on the social discontent of the proletariat and the people, despite the widespread disintegration of the revisionist communist parties.

There have been dramatic upsurges of mass resistance by workers, women, youth, and other people in industrial capitalist countries because of chronic unemployment and social cutbacks. But the lack or weakness of genuine Marxist-Leninist parties is a major cause for the sporadic character of mass protest actions.

In the spirit of proletarian internationalism, the CPP is active in developing the closest bilateral and multilateral relations with the parties that adhere to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and also close relations with parties that avow themselves to be Marxist-Leninist and are open to exchange of ideas and experience and desirous of mutual learning, mutual understanding and mutual support.

At the same time, the CPP engages in broad relations of anti-imperialist solidarity with all parties, organizations and movements that fight imperialism and reaction. A broad anti-imperialist united front is necessary for Marxist-Leninist parties to draw up the broadest possible range of forces against the enemy. 267 There is a dialectical relationship between upholding the ideological line of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and pursuing the political line of anti-imperialist struggle. By its ideological line, the CPP is sure of its own revolutionary integrity and footing. By its political line, it can link itself with the broad masses of the people and engage in alliances.

Carry the Philippine revolution forward

In concluding, let us underscore certain major tasks for the Party to carry out in the forthcoming year.

1. Let us continue the living study of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism through the rectification movement and the periodic and timely criticism and self-criticism of errors and shortcomings. Let us continue to criticize and repudiate revisionism, empiricism and dogmatism. Let us advance in carrying out the formal Party study course at the primary, intermediate and advanced levels.

2. Let us carry the new-democratic revolution forward by striving for greater victories, in the revolutionary armed struggle, in mass work and mass movement in both urban and rural areas and in united front work. Let us intensify guerrilla warfare on a nationwide scale on the basis of an ever widening and ever deepening mass base.

3. Let us uphold the principle of democratic centralism. Let us recruit more candidate-members from among the advanced mass activists in the revolutionary mass movement. Let us assign more Party cadres and mass activists from the ranks of the proletariat and the educated youth to work with the New People's Army and the peasant masses. Let us hold high the banner of proletarian internationalism and participate in the broad anti-imperialist movement. The new-democratic revolution led by the proletariat in the Philippines is part of the world proletarian revolution and the broad anti-imperialist movement.

29th CPP Anniversary Statement, December 26, 1997

The Communist Party of the Philippines celebrates the 29th anniversary of its reestablishment under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It is leading the revolutionary mass movement that is surging forward amidst the gloom and turmoil of the domestic ruling system and the world capitalist system.

On this occasion, we honor our revolutionary martyrs and thank them most profoundly for their selfless dedication to the revolutionary cause. We congratulate all Party cadres and members for their resolute adherence to the basic revolutionary principles of the proletariat and the mass line and for all their militant work and achievements among the masses.

Impelled and propelled by the Second Great Rectification Movement, the Party has successfully led the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people. It has made significant advances and scored brilliant victories since last year in the fields of ideological, political and organizational work.

Since 1992, the rectification movement has strengthened the Party in an all-round way and has equipped it to take advantage of the increasingly favorable conditions for waging revolution. The crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system is rapidly worsening. The broad masses of the people are roused to wage armed revolution by the increasingly intolerable exploitation and oppression that they suffer.

Global disaster wrought by monopoly capitalism

In nearly five decades, from the 1930s to the end of the 1970s, the Keynesian, social-democratic or fascist policy of state intervention served as a weapon for monopoly capitalism to counter economic crisis, make social pretenses, wage global and local wars, engage in the arms race and superpower economic competition in the Cold War and push pseudo-development in the former colonies.

But in the 1970s monopoly capitalism was faced with the intractable problem of stagflation. It proceeded in the 80s to cover up rather than solve the problem by making a policy shift to monetarism and laissez faire capitalism, under the banner head of Reaganism and Thatcherism. This policy is otherwise called neoliberalism because monopoly capitalism reverts to using the outdated logic and language of free competition capitalism. It uses such slogans as liberalization, deregulation and privatization in order to use the resources of states and giant corporations to extract ever higher profits from the proletariat and the oppressed peoples and nations.

The essence of the policy is to accelerate the concentration of capital in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie and the delivery of public funds to private corporations and cut down the incomes of the people by pushing down employment and wage levels and reducing social spending by governments in order to maximize profits and combat inflation.

The problem with the anti-inflationary bias of the neoliberal policy in the industrial capitalist countries is that it contracts the domestic market exactly when productivity is being boosted by the use of higher technology. In the 90s, the fundamental contradiction between the heightened social character of the means of production and the private monopoly character of appropriation has intensified.

The general tendency is to concentrate capital, in the form of constant capital, in the three global centers of capitalism. More than 70 percent of the global flow of direct investments are concentrated in the United States, Japan and the European Union even as the overall growth rates of the countries in the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) have fluctuated and stagnated between one and three percent and national profit rates have tended to fall from 1987 to 1997.

Despite its huge public debt and trade deficit, the United States is relatively the strongest and maintains its advantage by using its lead in technology, its hegemonic politico-military power and the direct investments it attracts from the two other global centers of capitalism. Its monopolies have been downsizing regular employment but generate part-time jobs to be able to claim a high rate of employment.

Since the bursting of its economic bubble in 1990, Japan's economy has stagnated under strong US competition in the Asia-Pacific region, has gone into colossal public deficit spending in a futile attempt to revive itself and has aggravated the problem of bad debts to Japanese and South Korean firms. The European Union has also stagnated, with a high level of unemployment at 12 percent.

Under the slogan of globalization, another phrase for the neoliberal myth of the free market, the three global centers of capitalism promote the so-called emergent markets, which are the targets of speculative capital and dumping of surplus goods. Less than 30 percent of total global direct investments from the imperialist countries have gone to the emergent markets, which are mainly in East Asia. Here far higher profits have been drawn from a small amount of productive investments and from a great deal of speculative investments, until the coming of the current Asian disaster to dispel the illusion of the long-touted Asian miracle.

The disaster has been caused by the global overproduction of the types of goods produced by the neocolonial client states of East Asia, over-importation and overvaluation of supplies both for production and for consumption and the unregulated excessive flow of speculative capital from

private finance companies and transfer-pricing in the intra-company transactions of multinational firms. East Asia is now crushed by overproduction, bad debts and bankruptcies.

With the global overproduction of such types of products as cars, consumer electronics, ships and steel, the old tiger Korea has been losing in the competition with the imperialist countries. In the case of the Southeast Asian emergent markets and China, their lower value-added consumer manufactures (garments, semiconductors, shoes, toys and the like) have gone into a global overproduction, together with similar products from South Asia and some countries in Latin America (especially Mexico) and Central Europe.

South Korea and the Southeast Asian countries have suffered large trade deficits annually. But the heavy inflow of speculative capital from the imperialist countries to finance the importation of components for export-oriented manufacturing, upper class consumerism, debt service, privatization of state assets, telecommunications and other public utility projects and real estate development has sustained the illusion of economic prosperity for a while in the so-called Asian miracle.

The chronic current accounts deficits and heavy inflow of speculative capital have long foretold the currency and stock market meltdowns, which started in Thailand last July, spread to the rest of Southeast Asia and then to Northeast Asia and ultimately shook the capital markets of the imperialist countries. All these have been preceded by the overproduction of the lower value-added exports of Southeast Asia and China and that of the higher valued-added export products of the old tigers (South Korea and Taiwan) and the imperialist countries.

South Korea, Thailand and Indonesia are being bailed out by the IMF to the tune of over US\$100 billion. In exchange for the heavy debt burden, they are required to go into austerity, open themselves up further to the imperialist vultures and try to produce the same products at lower real wages or else close shop. Despite the bailout, the emergent markets continue to sink. The current financial crisis is far worse than that in Latin America in the 1980s and in Mexico in 1994-95. The IMF is extremely worried by its dwindling resources and by the prospect of financial turmoil in any of the big countries like China, Brazil and India.

The imperialists scold their puppets in the client states for making unsound economic policies, including corruption and wastefulness or over-expansion of production or overconsumption. But in the first place, the puppets have followed their imperialist masters dutifully in pushing the policies of liberalization, deregulation and privatization and trampling down upon the rights of the workers and pushing down their wage and living conditions within the framework of the IMF, World Bank, WTO, OECD, ADB, APEC and other overlapping regional trade agreements.

The Asian disaster exposes the destructive character of monopoly capitalism, especially under the auspices of the neoliberal policy. It means the destruction of the productive forces in the most-favored client-states. It recoils upon the imperialist countries by contracting their global market and field of investment. It tends to join up with the worst conditions in the overwhelming majority of the countries, still dependent on raw-material production for export, overburdened with foreign debt and subjected to prolonged conditions of depression and civil strife as a consequence of the crisis of overproduction of raw materials since the 1970s.

It tends to link up with the terrible conditions of de-industrialization and third-worldization of the former Soviet-bloc countries. In the main, the Western imperialist countries, especially Germany, France and Britain, are dumping on them surplus commodities and surplus capital for trading and speculation. Secondly, some productive capital is deployed lopsidedly only in a few selected enterprises to avail of cheap labor and fetch quick profits. Ultimately, the continuous deterioration of the Russian and East European economies result in the further contraction of the market for Western goods. Both the third world and the former Soviet-bloc countries are being crushed by a debt burden of more than US\$2.0 trillion.

The trend towards the contraction of the world market adversely affects the domestic economies of the global centers of capitalism. The bursting of the bubble in East Asia has an immediate and long term impact on the growth and profitability rates in the United States, Japan and European Union because these have invested heavily in the emergent markets. Thus, the capital markets have been repeatedly shaken and continue to be shaken.

There is a global trend towards the bursting of bubbles, deflation and depression. First, the immediate consequences of overproduction become conspicuous. Then follow the general slowdown of production and the steady deflation of the overvalued assets and output. At the moment, world output is overvalued by thirty times and is prone to deflation under conditions of market contraction. For example, even the high technology stocks which have been the spearhead of capital expansion in the US stock market in the 90s, have become volatile because of overproduction and market contraction.

The neoliberal policy has so far run for only 17 years and yet it has pushed the crisis of the world capitalist system to an unprecedented level of virulence since the end of World War II. All basic contradictions are becoming acute. These include the contradictions between the imperialists and the oppressed peoples and nations, among the imperialist powers themselves and between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in imperialist countries.

In the overwhelming majority of countries where the peoples and nations are oppressed by imperialism, the conditions are fertile for the emergence and development of armed revolutionary movements for national liberation and democracy. There are a few such countries where these movements persevere under the leadership of the proletariat. These movements keep up the torch of armed revolution until their counterparts in many more countries arise in the future.

While some states, such as Cuba and North Korea, continue to stand up for national independence and avow socialism and a few others oppose imperialist intervention and aggression, so many others are neocolonial client-states docile to the imperialist powers. But in time to come, the deterioration of social and economic conditions is bound to lead to the emergence and development of more revolutionary movements. When the subjective forces of the revolution grow strong, a broader united front against imperialism and its worst local agents can take advantage of the sharpening struggle for power among the reactionaries. There are still strong anti-imperialist currents in certain countries like China, India and Russia because of persistent national industries and longstanding and current political issues that put them at odds with the Western powers.

On the surface currently, the imperialist powers are all united under the hegemony of one superpower in pushing globalization and free trade, in enlarging a security alliance like NATO or strengthening a security alliance based on the US-Japan Security Treaty and in pursuing a policy of engagement with China and partnership with Russia. But the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system is in the process of unsettling the balance of relations among the traditional imperialist powers.

The economic competition and crisis can sharpen to the point that in certain imperialist countries the forces of nationalism, protectionism and fascism gain the upperhand and make the state more aggressive. Disputes over economic territory in the third world and former Soviet-bloc countries can arise among the imperialist powers. The US drive to be the principal imperialist power in every global region, the current US aggression and interventions in the Balkans and the Middle East and the expansion of the NATO and the new US-Japan security guidelines in the Asia-Pacific region can ignite wars in the future.

The contradiction between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the proletariat in imperialist countries is still under control by the former. That is because the monopoly bourgeoisie can still shift the burden of exploitation to the third world and the former Soviet-bloc countries and the subjective forces of the proletarian revolution are still small and weak. However, general strikes and mass protest actions are starting to become widespread.

The workers revolutionary movements under the leadership of Marxist-Leninist parties can emerge and develop only in connection with the worsening crisis of monopoly capitalism, the growing inter-imperialist contradictions and the resurgence of revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations in the third world and the former Soviet-bloc countries.

The current economic crisis and turmoil in the world capitalist system is setting the stage for the next great round in the epochal struggle between the forces of socialism and democracy and those of imperialism and reaction. We are in transition from a world capitalist system under a single superpower to one in which several imperialist powers are violently at odds with each other and the proletariat and oppressed peoples and nations can once again take the initiative of fighting for national liberation, democracy and socialism. We can look forward to great

struggles and great victories of the proletarian revolution in the 21st century.

Explosive domestic conditions

The economic and political crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal system in the Philippines is rapidly worsening at a rate and in a 277 manner comparable to the first half of the 80s. The objective conditions are exceedingly explosive. The claims of the US-Ramos regime to economic prosperity and political stability have been completely proven false. The regime is coming to a dismal end.

Philippines 2000, the medium-term development plan of the regime, is supposed to make the Philippines an economic tiger, a newly-industrialized country by the year 2000. But unlike the economic plans of South Korea and Taiwan in becoming tigers in the past, the Ramos plan has not pushed a single basic industrial project, has considered land reform unnecessary and has become bound by the ant-development policies of liberalization, deregulation and privatization that are completely servile to the multinational firms and banks.

There has never really been any objective of making the Philippines a newly-industrialized country. The real objective has been to open up the country as emergent market, for the dumping of surplus products and surplus capital, especially speculative capital from abroad, and to further subject the country to the dictates of the imperialist powers and the IMF, World Bank, APEC, WTO and other imperialist multilateral agencies.

The illusion of economic prosperity has been conjured for a while by a rapid rise of local and foreign public debt, a heavy inflow of foreign speculative capital since 1993 and the capture and double counting of the foreign exchange earnings of overseas contract workers. The reactionary government has claimed bogus high rates of growth in GNP and GDP and an incredible diminution of the proportion of the population under the poverty line by conveniently ignoring the actual rapid concentration of assets and incomes in the hands of the multinational firms and local exploiting classes.

Despite the rapid accumulation of wealth by a few and the depressed incomes of the broad masses of the people, the actual rate of inflation has been high because of the ever rising cost of the imported content of basic goods and services. Wage levels have been pressed down and an extended value-added tax has been imposed on the people. The foreign monopolies, finance companies, the exporters and importers, the operators of export-oriented manufacturing, the megamall magnates and real estate speculators have been benefited by the free flow and convertibility of foreign exchange.

The state has served as an agency for collecting taxes from the people and redistributing these to the foreign monopolies, big compradors and high bureaucrats. State assets in corporations and prime land have been privatized at bargain prices and the proceeds have been used up merely for budgetary expenditures. The main items in these expenditures have included servicing the colossal local and foreign public debt, modernizing the military and police, congressional pork barrel and the acquisition of office computers and cars.

Philippine imports are consumption-driven. Imported luxuries for the upper class and upper-middle class are conspicuous. These include cars, consumer electronics and residential palaces in exclusive subdivisions. Even imported fuel goes in the main to consumption rather than to production. The importation of construction equipment and structural steel goes in the main into office and residential towers and golf courses and secondarily to warehouses and sweatshops for export-oriented manufacturing.

The gross income from the export of import-dependent and low value-added manufactures (semiconductors, garments, shoes, toys and the like) has surpassed that of the raw-material exports. But the net export income from export-oriented manufacturing is far smaller or even negative because 80 percent of the gross income covers the cost of the imported components, which are always overvalued for the purpose of transfer-pricing.

Now, export-oriented manufacturing is hit hard by the global crisis of overproduction. Export income from garments has plunged abruptly since 1994 and that from semiconductors has been declining since 1996. Under the neoliberal scheme of trade liberalization, the agricultural and mineral exports of the Philippines are further squeezed by the long-running crisis of the overproduction of raw materials. Even the production of basic food products has been undermined by trade liberalization. Sugar, rice, corn and other food products are being imported in increasing quantities.

The absence of land reform and the lack of incentives and support for local food production have been aggravated by the legal conversion of agricultural land into residential, commercial and industrial estates and by rampant landgrabbing by real estate, plantation, mining, logging and other land-based companies. Landgrabbing has been attended by brutal operations carried out by the reactionary military, police, paramilitary and private security

forces against the urban and rural poor, the peasants and ethnic communities.

The rotten fundamentals of the Philippine semifeudal economy have always made the country prey to such normal bloodsucking operations as capital repatriation and profit remittances and loansharking by multinational firms and banks and lately to such recent dramatic events as the attacks on the currency and the capital flight. The multinational firms and banks have complete freedom to raid the local financial system and to gobble up any new infusion of funds from private and official lenders abroad.

An economy that is basically agrarian, consumption-driven and stricken with mounting trade deficits, takes foreign loans and portfolio investments heavily, pegs the peso to the dollar and allows the free flow of foreign exchange has no way but to reach the edge of the precipice soon enough and plunge into a new depth of degradation.

Since July 11 this year, the peso has been devalued from ₱26 to more than ₱40 to the US dollar or by more than 50 percent and continues to go down. The Philippines has hardly enough dollar reserves for a two-month worth of imports. It has more difficulties attracting foreign funds as loans or as direct investments. It now suffers from capital flight and a low international credit rating. It is forced to go into austerity and aggravate the exploitation of the people.

It takes more pesos now to pay for the foreign debt of US\$44.8 billion. This does not include the exceedingly large amount of US\$22 billion in short-term loans borrowed by private companies from foreign finance companies in the last two years. Ultimately, these private foreign loans will be passed on to the state. The IMF always requires a client state to take responsibility for the bad debts owed to monopoly capitalist sharks.

Capital flight of portfolio investments in stocks and bonds has been the quickest. The sweatshop enterprises of the multinational firms and their big comprador agents are also reducing production or are folding up. This is occurring even as the imperialists push the notion that export-oriented manufacturing thrives on devaluation and lower wages. Local entrepreneurs are in a worse situation. They are being rendered bankrupt by the rising interest rates and the rising cost of supplies from abroad.

Unemployment is rising. The percentage of the population living below the poverty line has certainly increased overnight. The precipitous devaluation of the peso has drastically cut the income of the broad masses of the people. The prices of basic goods and services are skyrocketing.

The price increases are so abrupt and are generating widespread social unrest. The basic class contradictions in Philippine society are flaring up. Already in 1997, especially in the second half, mass protest actions have surged in the national capital region and on a nationwide scale and the tactical offensives of the armed revolution have also increased. Strikes and protest marches and rallies conducted by the workers, peasants, urban poor, students and other youth have been on the rise.

The socioeconomic crisis of the ruling system is rapidly worsening and likewise the political crisis. The rivalries and conflicts of the political factions of the exploiting classes are becoming intense. Like the ruling reactionary politicians, the civil bureaucracy and the military and police personnel are becoming more brutal and corrupt than ever before.

The forthcoming elections are farcical inasmuch as they are monopolized by the traditional politicians of the exploiting classes. They neither reflect the will nor satisfy the basic demands of the people. They are no more than a fleeting circus and thus cannot dispel the peoples discontent. Neither do they resolve the rivalries of the reactionary factions but exacerbate them. The pie for bureaucratic looting is shrinking and will generate more bitter struggles among the reactionary politicians.

All the front-running contenders for the presidency in these elections are direct political descendants of the Marcos fascist dictatorship. They are all tried and tested in the work of oppressing and exploiting the people in order to serve the monopoly capitalists and the local exploiting classes. Everyone of them is subservient to the IMF, World Bank and WTO, the imperialist powers and the multinational firms and banks. None of them dares speak up to assert national sovereignty and advocate national industrialization and land reform.

All major opposition presidential candidates and parties publicly claim to be popular and enjoy the benefit of the protest vote against the ruling party and its candidates. But in fact, they privately concede that they do not have as much machinery and money as the ruling party and, worst of all, they are not in a position to counter the ruling party from cheating them in the vote count.

Whoever succeeds Ramos will be incapable of solving the all-round crisis of the ruling system. The economic

depression that has already started is generating more widespread and more intense social unrest and popular resistance. Whoever sits in power at any level of the reactionary government will have to reckon with the rising outrage of the people and the growing strength of the revolutionary movement.

The revolutionary forces cannot participate in the reactionary elections because they uphold their revolutionary principles and the enemy bans them. But to the extent possible and in certain ways, they can handle the reactionary elections and the results in accordance with the Party's policy of the united front. The current electoral system of the exploiting classes is so rotten that nationwide and in most places the application of the united front involves taking advantage of the contradictions among the reactionary politicians and parties. There are only a few progressive candidates.

Following their political superiors, military, police and paramilitary forces have oppressed the people and launched campaigns of suppression against the revolutionary forces. Many military and police officers, involve themselves in the worst of criminal syndicates, including those that engage in murder for hire, robbery, prostitution, gambling and kidnapping of Chinese businessmen and members of their families for ransom. The most ambitious of the military and police officers involve themselves in political factions and jockey for high elective and appointive positions and business privileges.

As the economic and political crisis of the ruling system worsens, the military, police and paramilitary forces will be made to launch bigger and more frequent campaigns of suppression against the people and the revolutionary forces. Their officers will become even more involved in criminal activities and political conspiracies, up to threatening and launching coups. However, patriotic and progressive sentiments can also be expected to grow among the honest and better elements within the reactionary military and police.

The US-Ramos regime has not at all pacified the Moro people. The Moro peoples armed struggle for self-determination is continuing. The Moro Islamic Liberation Front is continuing the armed struggle. The Moro people are disgusted with the capitulation of the Moro National Liberation Front and with the false promises of the Manila government. They are agitated by the oppressive and exploitative policies of this government and its agencies in the Moro areas. The objective conditions are excellent for the Communist Party of the Philippines to lead the Filipino people in carrying out the new democratic revolution through protracted peoples war. Consequent to the rectification movement, the mass base has been widened and deepened for extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare.

At the same time, the legal democratic mass movement has consolidated and expanded its forces. 1997 has been a banner year for mass protest campaigns. Big mass campaigns have been waged, such as those against the charter change scheme of the Ramos regime, poverty, deterioration of wage conditions, landgrabbing, lack of genuine land reform, the repeated oil price hikes, human rights violations, and so on. The legal progressive forces put forward the basic demands of the people along the general line of national liberation and democracy against the imperialists and their local lackeys.

The largest mass campaign was held in Manila and other cities all over the country against charter change. On September 21, the broad united front against the Ramos regime was able to mobilize more than one million people on a nationwide scale and 600,000 people to rally at the Rizal Park. The legal progressive forces predominated in the provinces. They participated with the largest nonreligious contingent and were able to attract a large section of the Rizal Park rallyists to march further on towards the presidential palace in a spectacular torch parade.

The tactical offensives launched by the New People's Army in several regions, especially in Southern Tagalog, have been inspiring to the broad masses of the people. They have caught the attention of the bourgeois press and have exposed the falsity of the long-running claims of the enemy in his psywar campaign that the NPA has broken up and disappeared.

The NPA has demonstrated the ability to capture enemy officers and men in the course of raids and ambushes. The prisoners of war have been treated well under the longstanding policy of lenient treatment of enemy captives and under the NDFP Declaration of Adherence to the Geneva Conventions and Protocol I. The people have admired the release of prisoners of war on humanitarian grounds and as a goodwill measure.

In contrast, the enemy continues to unleash atrocities against the people in campaigns of suppression in the service of the multinational firms and the local exploiting classes. Millions of people continue to be displaced to make way for speculative real estate projects, so-called industrial zones, plantations, mining, logging and capitalist tree farming and so on. Massacres, selective murder, illegal detention and torture are rampant. Political

prisoners are made to languish in prison under false charges and sentences.

Local government authorities impose private levies on the catch of subsistence fishermen and small and medium fishing entrepreneurs along the seacoast and in inland waters and keep them out of fishing grounds to favor the big fishing companies. Fish pens of the fishing magnates dominate the lakes, big rivers and bays. Foreign factory ships freely poach in Philippine waters.

Not finding employment in our own country to sustain their families, millions of our compatriots have been driven to seek livelihood as migrant workers in different parts of the world. They comprise some 15 percent of the Philippine labor force. Migrant workers suffer exploitative terms of work, long separation from their families and a deliberate lack of protection from the Manila government whose policy is to cheapen labor export and grab the foreign exchange earnings. The Filipino migrant workers have started to organize themselves worldwide to fight for their rights and welfare in their host countries and to link themselves with the national democratic movement in the motherland.

The National Democratic Front is fighting for a just and lasting peace along the line of the national-democratic revolution. It is pursuing the peace negotiations along the same line. Neither a just and lasting peace nor an indefinite ceasefire or truce is possible so long as the people are not satisfied with comprehensive agreements on human rights and international humanitarian law, social and economic reforms and political and constitutional reforms.

Whoever succeeds Ramos as president will be obliged to continue the peace negotiations with the NDFP so long as the revolutionary forces grow in strength amidst the worsening crisis of the ruling system. Any successor will face an armed revolutionary movement that is ever more resolute and vigorous amidst the greatly worsened social conditions. The revolutionary forces and the people will continue the struggle to realize their basic demands for national and social liberation.

Growing strength of the Party

Since 1992, the Second Great Rectification Movement has revitalized and further strengthened the Party in the fields of ideology, politics and organization. The rectification of major errors and weaknesses has made possible the expansion and consolidation of the Party. Since last year, the Party has scored significant achievements in the fulfillment of its fighting tasks.

The Party is in a better position than ever to take advantage of the current virulent crisis of the ruling system. The objective conditions are exceedingly favorable for carrying forward the new-democratic revolution. There is no force other than the Party that can lead the Filipino people towards national liberation and democracy against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

All Party cadres and members uphold the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the guide to the revolutionary movement and combat the various subjectivist trends of modern revisionism, empiricism and dogmatism. They extend the ideological struggle to the debunking of the anticommunist and reformist ideas being circulated by the imperialist and neocolonial states, the multinational firms, bourgeois universities and the imperialist-funded NGOs.

The Party cadres and members have raised the level of their ideological consciousness to a new and higher level. They reaffirm and apply the basic revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism on the history and current circumstances of the Philippines and on their concrete revolutionary practice. The rectification movement has been conducted as the living study of the revolutionary theory of the proletariat.

Major errors at the level of the Central Committee and of nationwide scope as well as those errors specific to staff organs and territorial organs and organizations have been criticized and repudiated. Under the guidance of the central rectification documents, the regional Party committees have accomplished their summings-up. Under the direction of the Central Committee, a number of them have reviewed and improved these.

The method of criticism and self-criticism is being used to uphold the Party line, make timely correction of errors and weaknesses, improve the style of work and produce better and faster results. Criticism and self-criticism is based on facts and the analysis of these facts and is aimed at the fulfillment of the urgent tasks.

There is daily enthusiasm for the reading and study of the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao, basic Party documents, the rectification documents, Rebolusyon as the theoretical organ and current issuances of the Central Committee. The Party's leading organs at every level make sure that Party cadres explain and put theoretical matters and complex issues within the grasp of the mass of Party members and in turn learn from them in

the course of discussions.

Party members and candidate-members have taken the basic Party course, using the new textbook. Many of them have repeatedly taken the course. At any rate, even after the formal course, Party units review what they have studied. The basic Party course is required of all candidate-members. The most advanced mass activists are also encouraged to read and study materials in advance. A significant number of Party cadres and members have taken the intermediate and advanced Party courses. Trade union, peasant, women and youth cadres at the national level as well as regional and provincial cadres in the Cordillera, Southern Tagalog and northern Mindanao have been among the front runners. There is now a drive to increase the number of comrades taking these courses in every region. The study materials are made available for reading and study in Party units in advance of the formal courses. The General Secretariat and the National Education Department have fielded instructors to conduct study courses of the Party. Regional Party organs are directed to develop their educational departments and instructors bureaus. Instructors can undertake a mobile school system. Special efforts by cadres, especially instructors, are required to simplify and make the subjects and the study materials comprehensible and interesting to the mass of Party members and candidate-members who have difficulties in reading comprehension and in grasping abstract terms. Regional Party committees are vigorously undertaking the translation of Marxist-Leninist texts and the issuances of the Party's central organs into their respective regional languages and are disseminating these. The ideological consolidation of the Party has ensured a highly conscious and resolute Marxist-Leninist core of the revolutionary mass movement. Most Party organs and units have carried out ideological consolidation and have continued at the same time to expand Party membership and mass work. However, a few units have turned consolidation into a method of contraction and this needs to be rectified. The rectification movement involves a dialectical relationship between central leadership and lower organs and knowing the facts at various levels and in various spheres of work and carrying out the rectification movement at each level or in each sphere of work. It is necessary to express ones opinions within the appropriate venue in order to enrich, firm up and make the decision-making process orderly and prompt. Any debate on any issue must be resolved within the framework of democratic centralism. However, there are still a few elements who go astray.

The decisive importance of ideological correctness and unity is proven by the revitalization and strengthening of the Party through the rectification movement. Without a revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement. Going astray from the ideological, political and organizational line of the Party, the incorrigible opportunists and renegades who have opposed the rectification movement have gone on a continuous process of degeneration and disintegration. But the loyal Party cadres and members have proceeded to make the Party ever more united and stronger than before.

The need for a new-democratic revolution through a protracted peoples war is more than ever clear and urgent. The crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society has been further deepened and aggravated under the neoliberal policy of the world capitalist system. The current socioeconomic disaster has wiped out the gloss of big-comprador modernization and thoroughly exposed the agrarian and backward character of the Philippine economy.

Under the leadership of the Party, the New People's Army is growing in strength and advancing. It is heroically waging extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of a widening and deepening mass base. The center of gravity is a guerrilla platoon within a guerrilla front that carries a total force of around a company. Some 75 to 80 percent of this force is dispersed into squads or armed propaganda teams for mass work.

The typical strike force for raids and ambushes is a platoon, that is either undersized or oversized, depending on the circumstances. In the past year, the NPA has valiantly responded to the call of the Party for launching tactical offensives according to capabilities. On a nationwide scale, the guerrilla platoons have carried out tactical offensives and have seized hundreds of firearms. In this year, the guerrilla platoons of the NPA in the Southern Tagalog region have been the most outstanding in launching successful raids and ambushes, and have been exemplary to other regions in terms of planning and implementation.

The tactical offensives have shattered the false claims of the enemy that the NPA has fragmented and vanished. Successes of the offensives are the result of the successes in the building of a wide and deep-going mass base and the politico-military training of the Red fighters. The mass base allows accurate intelligence and timely reconnaissance and the safe advance and retreat of our strike force. The politico-military training hones the fighting spirit and skills of NPA units. Meticulous planning and flexibility have been involved in our tactical offensives.

The mass base is most important for sustaining tactical offensives and frustrating enemy retaliation. It arises from painstaking mass work, arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses according to their basic demands in the new-democratic revolution. So far, we have been able to launch offensives without straining and overextending ourselves. It is important to correlate the rate of the offensives with the progress of mass work and land reform.

In certain areas, where rifles and long arms have been put on stock, the growing mass base has made possible the formation of new rifle units and the recruitment of more Red fighters. The Party leading organs are shaking off the inertia of conservatism induced by prolonged mass work without tactical offensives. But attention is paid to the correct balance between mass work and tactical offensives.

Putting revolutionary politics in command, Party cadres and members and the Red commanders and fighters need to undertake study and train in guerrilla warfare. Tactical offensives must be launched according to capability. At the same time, the inertia of conservatism needs to be broken. Many of the old areas previously lost due to major errors of line have been recovered and new areas have also been developed. The expansion and consolidation of the mass base have been due to the rectification movement. The Party and the NPA take the mass line. They learn from the masses and impart to them what is in their interest to fight for. Thus they develop ever closer links with the masses and advance with them in the struggle.

Social investigation, basic mass education, solid mass organizing and mass campaigns are being conducted among the farm workers and nonagricultural workers, the peasant masses, the youth, women, cultural activists and children. Their mass organizations are the solid foundation of the organs of political power and are the well-spring of local Party branches and units of the NPA and the peoples militia.

Mass campaigns and the work of the organs of democratic political power in the countryside embrace grievance meetings against the enemy, basic mass education, mass organizing, land reform, production, training in self-defense, health and sanitation, resolution of differences among the people and cultural work.

Land reform is still the most important mass campaign in the countryside, especially because the regime has opposed it, the landlord class is re-accumulating land and the multinational firms and their big comprador corporate agents are grabbing the land under various laws. The hunger for land among the peasant masses has become far more acute than ever before. The solution of the land problem is still the main content of the democratic revolution.

In view of the rapid economic decline of the ruling system due to the neoliberal policy of denationalization, liberalization, deregulation and privatization, the outcry for national independence and democracy, for economic sovereignty and genuine land reform, will become louder and stronger in the years to come and will certainly generate powerful storms of revolutionary resistance.

The legal democratic mass movement is growing in strength and advancing. The progressive mass organizations of workers, peasants, urban and rural poor, women, students and youth in general, teachers and other professionals and religious people are strengthening themselves resolutely and militantly. So are the sectoral, multisectoral and issue-based alliances.

Great mass struggles have been waged in the national capital region and on a nationwide scale against the puppetry of the reactionary government and against the rapidly deteriorating economic and social conditions under the policy of liberalization, the poverty and misery of the people, the regimes attack on the peasants and ethnic minorities on the question of land, the oft-repeated oil price increases, the oppressive and exploitative conditions in schools and Ramos scheme to change the 1987 constitution of the reactionary state in a futile bid to extend his term beyond 1998.

The growing strength of the legal progressive forces inspires a broad united front against the US-Ramos regime. It is in sharp contrast with the continuous degeneration of the incorrigible opportunists and renegades who have been carried away by the big anticommunist ideological and political offensive of 1989 to 1991 and who have shamelessly joined the psywar campaign of the regime against the revolutionary movement. The renegade grouplets have repeatedly fragmented and their ringleaders have thoroughly exposed themselves as counterrevolutionaries.

The legal progressive forces have been more active and productive in issuing written propaganda than the underground revolutionary forces. Until now, the central new organ *Ang Bayan* is not coming out regularly. More effort and attention need to be expended to ensure the regularity and frequency of *Ang Bayan* to serve as the steady articulator of the Party on current events. Recognizing the crucial importance of written propaganda, an increasing

number of regional Party committees are putting out regional publications.

These publications, plus the system of reporting within the Party, should be helpful to the regular publication of *Ang Bayan*.

The Party has increased and reinvigorated its organizational strength since the rectification movement went into full swing. It has consolidated the previous stock of Party cadres and members and recruited the most advanced revolutionary mass activists as candidate-members. There is now a significant proportion of fresh recruits far outnumbering the handful of incorrigible opportunists and renegades who have been removed from the Party and those that they have misled to leave the Party or become inactive.

Since last year, Party branches in factories, transport lines, offices and in the urban and rural communities have increased. The Party groups at the core of the mass organizations of workers, peasants, women and youth are vigorously upholding the overall leadership of the Party and conscientiously recruiting, educating and assigning tasks to the candidate-members so that they become full Party members within the period prescribed by the Constitution.

In consonance with the proletarian nature of the Party, there is a strong drive to recruit Party members from the working class at an accelerated rate in order to increase their proportion, without reducing the effort to recruit members from the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie. The most advanced trade unionists are quick at grasping Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the general line of new-democratic revolution.

Party membership has increased in most regions. Party members and candidate-members have been deployed in increasing numbers from the urban areas to the rural areas. Priority has been given to the deployment of those from the ranks of workers and educated youth to serve in the peoples army and serve the people in the guerrilla fronts and new areas of guerrilla zone preparation.

The Party remains closely linked with the toiling masses of workers and peasants. The Party cadres and members are tempered in the course of mass struggles. Trial work for Party candidate-members consists of well-defined tasks in study and mass work. The Party full members take on even more work and responsibility after passing the period of candidature.

The Party upholds the principle of democratic centralism. Centralized leadership guides democracy and is based on it. There is a dialectical relationship between the two even as centralism is the key term. The essence of centralism is uniting under Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and concentrating the will and strength of the Party by arriving at decisions. Inner Party democracy is the process of presenting the facts from as many sources as possible and analyzing these for the purpose of moving towards a decision.

There is discipline even as there is freedom of opinion, debate, and criticism and self-criticism. When a decision is taken, everyone must follow in the implementation of the decision arrived at even as one has the right to make reservation on the decision. The higher leading organs prevails over the lower organs. The Central Committee prevails over the entire organization.

Anyone who has any information or opinion about any important issue is required to present it to the pertinent organ so that it can be considered in the process of decision-making. When a serious opinion is presented, whether it is accepted or not, it enriches and strengthens the process of decision making. There is always a pertinent organ at every given time. To skip the pertinent organ or to wait for another organ at another time is to evade the issue and lose precious time.

The Central Committee is duty bound to guide any regional Party committee and make sure that it exists and operates. Otherwise, the regional Party organization becomes fragmented and is liquidated. When ultrademocracy or factional currents run, the responsible leading organ is required to consolidate the organization rather than allow itself to be paralyzed by anarchy.

Advance to the 30th anniversary with greater victories

The long heroic fighting record of the Party in serving as the advanced detachment of the proletariat in the Philippine revolution constitutes a great victory. It is of epic proportions. The revolutionary struggle of the Filipino proletariat and people under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines has surpassed the old democratic revolution in theory and practice, in social content, in perseverance, in scale and intensity.

In the wake of the revisionist betrayal of socialism and amidst the current crisis and turmoil in the world capitalist system, the CPP is in the forefront by leading the Philippine revolution forward and contributing to the cause of the world proletarian revolution for socialism and communism. The Party enjoys a high prestige in the

international communist movement because of its revolutionary struggle, especially the peoples war, and because it exchanges ideas and experiences with other communist and workers parties in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and in the interest of fulfilling the historic mission of the working class.

In the year ahead, we must raise the revolutionary struggle to a new and higher level and reap victories in an all-round way to make a joyous and brilliant celebration of the 30 th anniversary of the Party.

We must pursue the rectification movement. We must carry out our ideological, political and organizational tasks more resolutely and more militantly than ever before. Based on the current strength, we must plan to increase our strength.

1. We must raise high the ideological banner of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. All Party cadres, members and candidate-members must raise the level of their ideological consciousness by studying theory and applying it on the concrete conditions and in our revolutionary practice.

We must combat subjectivism, be it in the form of revisionism, empiricism and dogmatism. We must be vigilant against the penetration of petty-bourgeois ideology into the Party. We must take seriously the study meetings of our organs and units and the formal study courses at the primary, intermediate and advanced levels.

2. We must pursue resolutely and militantly the general line of new democratic revolution through protracted peoples war. The Party must wield correctly and skillfully the two powerful weapons of revolutionary armed struggle and united front. We must combat Left and Right opportunist errors. We must intensify armed struggle as the main form of struggle, integrate it with genuine land reform and mass base building. We must develop the united front for the armed struggle and coordinate the revolutionary struggles in both urban and rural areas.

3. We must uphold the principle of democratic centralism and build the organizational strength of the Party nationwide and go deeply among the toiling masses of workers and peasants. We must draw Party members in increasing numbers from the ranks of the most advanced activists of the revolutionary mass movement in urban and rural areas.

We must raise the proportion of Party members from among the working class. At the same time, we must continue recruiting from the ranks of the peasantry and urban petty-bourgeoisie. We must deploy more Party cadres and members from the urban to the rural areas.

As the crisis of the world capitalist system and the Philippine ruling system worsens, we are confident that the Party will win ever greater victories in leading the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the people. There is no way out of the oppression and exploitation by the imperialists and the local exploiting classes but the new democratic revolution through protracted peoples war. Upon the basic completion of the current stage of the Philippine revolution, we shall carry out the socialist revolution until the ultimate goal of communism is reached.

Hail the 30th Anniversary of the Communist Party of the Philippines

December 26, 1998

Introduction

With boundless joy, we hail and celebrate the 30th anniversary of the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines, as the advanced detachment of the working class, under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, on December 26, 1968.

Since then, the Filipino people under the leadership of the Party have won brilliant victories in the new-democratic revolution against the ruling system of the comprador big bourgeoisie and landlord class, which are in the service of US imperialism.

Our victories have been won through revolutionary struggle, hard work and sacrifices. For these we salute and honor our revolutionary martyrs, the Party cadres and members, the Red commanders and fighters, the personnel of the organs of political power, the militants in the mass organizations, all allies in the united front and the broad masses of the people.

Thirty years ago, the Party was reestablished with only a few scores of full and candidate-members concentrated in two regions of the country. Now, it has some tens of thousands of Party members who are deeply rooted among the workers and peasants on a nationwide scale. It is present in more than 60 provinces, hundreds of towns and cities and thousands of villages. It has grown in strength and advanced through fierce revolutionary struggle.

There were only a few hundreds of advanced mass activists in trade unions, in peasant associations and in the youth movement in 1968. Now, they run into several tens of thousands and they support the Party cadres and members in leading a wide array of aboveground and underground mass organizations whose total membership run into hundreds of thousands.

When the Party established the New People's Army on March 29, 1969, this had only some 60 Red fighters, armed with only nine automatic rifles and 26 inferior weapons. The rural mass base consisted of some 80,000 peasants in one district of one province.

Now, the NPA has thousands of Red fighters equivalent to several regiments. It operates in some 60 guerrilla fronts covering substantial portions of fifteen regions of the country. It is armed with firearms seized from the enemy. It is augmented by tens of thousands of men and women in the militia and self-defense units. Its mass base runs into several millions of people, mainly in the rural areas.

The domestic semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system and the world capitalist system are now in the throes of an unprecedented crisis. Because of the rectification movement, the Party is in a strong position to take advantage of this crisis. It is working hard to further arouse, organize and mobilize the broad masses of the people for the revolutionary cause, for their own national and social liberation from oppression and exploitation. In the last 30 years, the Party has been able to demonstrate to the entire world that it is possible and necessary to wage protracted people's war in a semicolonial and semifeudal country that is an important foothold of US imperialism in Asia. We are confident that people's war can arise in more countries in the face of the grave economic and social crisis that has impoverished and depressed most countries of the world. The Communist Party of the Philippines is ever determined to uphold, defend and advance Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and wage the new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war as a matter of proletarian internationalist duty. We are ever hopeful that by carrying out armed revolution in the Philippines, we can help bring about the resurgence of the anti-imperialist and socialist movement. We are certain that the world proletariat and oppressed peoples will intensify all forms of revolutionary struggle.

Unprecedented global crisis and disorder

Not so long ago, when the Soviet Union and the revisionist regimes disintegrated and gave way to undisguised capitalism, the imperialists, the local reactionaries and renegades were beside themselves with glee in proclaiming the permanence of the world capitalist system, the futility of armed revolution and socialism and the availability of civil society through reformism under the imperialist and client states.

The imperialists have recycled the antiquated language of laissez-faire capitalism to fan the rapacity of

monopoly capitalism. Now, the world capitalist system is in a crisis unprecedented since the Great Depression. Modern imperialism again proves itself as the highest and final stage of the development of capitalism: parasitic, destructive and moribund.

At the root of the crisis of monopoly capitalism is the acceleration of profit-taking from the proletariat and the people, the rapid concentration and centralization of productive and finance capital in the hands of the monopoly capitalists, the pushing down of wage and living conditions to counter the falling rate of profit and the shrinkage of the world market in the crisis of overproduction.

The rising social character of production through the adoption of higher technology, concentrated in the imperialist countries, is in greater contradiction with the monopoly capitalist mode of appropriating the values created by the working people. And yet the monopoly bourgeoisie uses the rationale and slogans of laissez-faire capitalism and "free market" globalization to tighten the outmoded capitalist relations of production.

Abandoning the social pretenses of Keynesian economic policy and adopting "neoliberal" economic policy since the beginning of the '80s, the monopoly bourgeoisie has regarded its capital as the creative factor in expanding production and has blamed as the cause of stagnation and inflation the supposedly rising wage levels and governmental social spending.

Thus, all over the world, the monopoly bourgeoisie has used the imperialist and client states and such multilateral agencies as the IMF, World Bank and WTO (previously GATT) to push down wage and living conditions and cut back on social spending and to accelerate the enlargement of private monopoly capital through privatization, deregulation and trade and investment liberalization.

The imperialists, their bureaucratic agents and propagandists decry social welfare but acclaim the delivery of tax cuts and public assets and funds to the private monopoly firms. They decry social spending but acclaim huge military spending. They decry state intervention in the economy if an anti-imperialist or socialist state musters public resources for industrial development but acclaim the delivery of subsidies, contracts and bailouts to the private monopoly capitalists by the state. In conjunction with the accelerated concentration of productive and finance capital in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie, there are such conspicuous phenomena as the following: the unprecedented overvaluation or inflation of private assets through the workings of finance capital, the rising level of chronic mass unemployment, the plunging of incomes and the barbaric suppression of the rights of the working people and the chronic overproduction of all types of goods relative to the shrinking market.

"Globalization" is a term used by the imperialists to obscure the precise scientific term, imperialism, as defined by Lenin. It is a complete misnomer, a revival of Kautsky's ultra-imperialism, when it is used to suggest that the monopoly bourgeoisie is spreading productive capital on a widening scale to promote economic development, employment and the growth of the industrial proletariat in underdeveloped countries.

Prior to the massive flight of capital from the so-called emerging markets, more than 80 percent of the global flow of direct investments were concentrated on the US, Western Europe and Japan. More than one-third of the less than 20 percent, flowing to some ten "emerging markets", went to China, particularly to the eastern coast enclaves. The three global centers of capitalism and China accounted for more than 90 percent of the global flow of direct investments.

The United States is the strongest global center of capitalism and attracts investments from Japan and the European Union because of relatively higher rates of profit and interest. The US has used its lead in high technology and its financial power as well as its political power to undertake an export drive and tighten control over oil and other strategic resources.

But fundamental weaknesses of the US economy persist and worsen, such as its accumulated trade deficits and ever-rising federal debt and the drastic reduction of regular tenured employment in favor of temporary and part-time jobs, especially in the service sector. To the extent that the US has succeeded in its export drive, it has been at the expense of its allies among the imperialist and client countries.

However, the economic and financial collapses in the "emerging markets" adversely affect the US economy. The spread of the crisis from East Asia to Russia and further on to Latin America, especially Brazil, is cutting down US exports, increasing cheap imports to the US, bringing down profit rates, causing bad loans and bankruptcies, and intensifying competition with its imperialist allies.

Japan has been hardest hit by the capitalist crisis of overproduction and by the mega-competition with its imperialist allies. Its domestic economy has been in a state of stagnation since the bursting of the bubble in the early

' 90s. Its growth rate has gone negative since three years ago. Its crisis has been so severe that Keynesian pump-priming through public works since the early ' 90s has proven futile.

Its problems of unemployment and reduced domestic consumption are growing. The contradiction between its own domestic economy and its overseas plants in the US and East Asia continue to grow. Domestically, Japan has not recovered from its problem of bad loans. This is aggravated by bad loans to the "emerging markets" in East Asia. It is compelled to hold on to a huge amount of US bonds in order to keep down the value of the yen and promote its exports in a shrinking global market.

The European Union is also hard hit by the capitalist crisis of overproduction and by mega-competition with its imperialist allies. It has a chronically high rate of unemployment, fluctuating between 11 and 12 percent. The EU countries have caused the contraction of their domestic markets by cutting back on social spending dictated by the dominant "neoliberal" policy and the determination to stay within the limit on public deficit-spending in preparation for the launch of the Euro.

The exports of the European Union meet stiffer competition from those of the US and Japan in East Asia and elsewhere. The European Union has naturally the closest access to Russia and Eastern Europe as a market. But these new areas of unbridled capitalism are a shrinking kind of market and a sinkhole of bad loans because of the ceaseless breakdown of industry and agriculture and the unrestrained thievery of the criminal new bourgeoisie.

Under the "neoliberal" policy regime, the national rates of growth and profits have fallen in all OECD countries. In fact, there is now a global depression. The adoption of higher technology for profit-taking by the monopoly firms has led to massive downsizing and chronic mass unemployment, shrinkage of the market and the crisis of overproduction, falling rates of profit and bankruptcies. Corporate mergers have become more frequent for the purpose of massacring jobs, claiming costs for restructuring, research and development and increasing profits.

The crisis in the real economy is so severe that the entire monopoly bourgeoisie can no longer claim rising production through the overvaluation of assets and services through credit expansion. Finance capitalism itself is conspicuously the problem weighing down on the real economy. In the last two years, there have been several waves of steep declines in the stock market and collapses of financial institutions in imperialist countries in the wake of currency and stock market meltdowns in the "emerging markets." State intervention and public funds have been used to bail out banks and hedge funds.

In view of the rising rate of exploitation and work stress among the employed, the chronic mass unemployment, wage reductions and cutback on social benefits and social services, such manifestations of the class struggle as strikes in key industries, general strikes and popular protests in the imperialist countries are increasing. But the general level of resistance by the proletariat and the people is still contained in the imperialist countries in the absence of strong Marxist-Leninist parties.

In the United States, there is increasing disaffection with the political system as proven by strikes and protests against mass layoffs and against state bailout for monopoly firms, by low voter turnout during elections and by outbursts of anarchy. But the duopoly of the Democrats and the Republicans and the influence of the labor aristocracy over the long-reduced ranks of the trade union movement still prevail.

In the European Union, the proletariat and the people have put up a definitely higher level of resistance than their counterparts in the United States. There have been huge strikes, general strikes and popular protests. But the conservative, social-democratic, revisionist and bourgeois-environmentalist parties compete and coalesce to carry out "neoliberal" reforms. The labor aristocracy nurtured by the old breed of conservatives and social-democrats is still well entrenched. However, more and more workers are conducting strikes, bypassing the labor aristocracy. At the same time, fascist and racist formations are rearing their ugly head.

In Japan, the proletariat and people are on the verge of bursting out in unprecedented workers' strikes and popular protests. Job losses and income reduction are forcing them to dig deep into their much vaunted personal savings. The increase of homelessness are visible on the streets. The Liberal Democratic Party and other bourgeois parties and the big reactionary labor federations run by the labor aristocrats are increasingly losing the confidence of the workers.

The hype about "globalization" has obfuscated the gross fact that the overwhelming majority of the countries in the world have been subjected to further underdevelopment, impoverishment and crushing debt burdens. The imperialists have been able to band together against the oppressed peoples and impose their policies on client states in order to exploit cheap labor, press down the prices of raw materials and extract superprofits from the

export of surplus goods and surplus capital. But objectively, they also reduce the global market eventually.

First, the majority of countries that have suffered the overproduction of raw materials since the late '70s have never recovered from their crisis and depression. Second, countries that previously acquired some basic industries due to socialism (Russia, Eastern Europe and China) or due to bourgeois nationalism (India, Brazil, Egypt and the like) have been increasingly subjected to compradorization and deindustrialization. And, third, the few "emerging markets" (with such varying export specialties as semimanufactures of China and Southeast Asia, higher value-added manufactures of South Korea, Taiwan and Brazil and the oil and gas of Russia) are plunged into a state of economic and financial collapse.

The wide-scale devastation of national economies allows the imperialists to take over national resources and lines of businesses and negate the national sovereignty of so many countries. But the imperialists select for takeover only the most profitable assets and have no intention whatsoever of lifting the underdeveloped or less developed countries to a level of comprehensive and balanced development. The imperialists themselves say that it will take a long while before the "emerging markets" cease to sink.

The main contradiction today is between the imperialists and the oppressed peoples. The imperialists are shifting the burden of crisis to the oppressed peoples, are engaged in a drive to extract bigger superprofits and are ceaselessly engaged in acts of intervention, instigating regional and local wars and launching wars of aggression.

Counterrevolutionary violence is rampant today. The imperialists headed by the United States supply weapons to reactionary states and push them to oppress the people. They also instigate wars among reactionary factions in many countries and intervene in the name of peace, humanitarianism or weapons inspection in order to gain positions of strength and make arrangements in their favor.

By launching another war of aggression against Iraq, applying economic sanctions and ceaselessly bullying it, US imperialism has tightened control over the Middle East and its oil resources. By instigating local wars in Bosnia and other parts of the former Yugoslavia, as in Kosovo now, it has secured the most advantageous positions in the Balkans and Mediterranean. It blockades and pressures Cuba and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. It provides military cover to the Taiwan reactionaries and instigates tensions in Southeast Asia over the Spratly islands.

War is inherent to imperialism. The US and other Western imperialists lay the ground for a global war by provocatively enlarging the NATO and expanding it to the borders of Russia. The US has also pressed upon Japan to become an active partner in acts of intimidation and aggression against the people of Asia and to assume heavier military burdens under the new US-Japan security guidelines in order to foil Taiwan's return to China and the reunification of Korea. In so many countries of the world today, there is political turmoil as a result of the dire social and economic conditions under the world capitalist system. In the countries long depressed by the crisis of overproduction in raw materials, there are revolutionary wars of the people against despotism and against national oppression and there are many more internecine conflicts between reactionary factions that use the slogans of ethnocentrism and religion to incite massacres of huge proportions, especially in Africa.

Most important of all are the new-democratic revolutions through protracted people's wars against the imperialists and the local reactionaries. These include the armed revolutions led by Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties in India, Nepal, Peru, Philippines and Turkey. These answer the central question of revolution, which is the seizure of political power as a precondition to social revolution.

The destruction of productive forces in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the former Soviet bloc countries wrought by the imperialists and their local stooges has resulted in widespread political turmoil and a new world disorder. If the revolutionary forces and the people in semicolonial and semifeudal countries fight self-reliantly for their national and social liberation, the imperialists and the local reactionaries will ultimately face a wide-scale conflagration that they cannot stop and that can engulf them.

Right now, the contradictions among the imperialists are intensifying but the US-led alliance is still holding insofar as this can shift the burden of crisis to the oppressed nations and peoples. At any rate, in the event that economic competition among the imperialists lead to a bellicose redivision of the world, the proletariat and the oppressed peoples must wage revolutionary war to stop the imperialist war or, if the latter cannot be stopped, to turn it into a revolutionary war.

The Communist Party of the Philippines views the grave crisis of the world capitalist system as providing favorable conditions for waging the new-democratic revolution. It is resolutely leading the revolution in the

interest of the Filipino people as well as in support of other peoples abroad in order to advance the world proletarian socialist revolution.

In the spirit of proletarian internationalism, the Party has developed close bilateral and multilateral relations with communist and workers' parties in order to raise common understanding, cooperation and mutual benefit. It has taken initiatives and participated in bilateral meetings, conferences and seminars in order to exchange ideas and experiences and clarify and invigorate the revolutionary struggle against imperialism, revisionism and reaction and for socialism and the ultimate goal of communism.

Worsening chronic crisis of the ruling system

The chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system has worsened from one level to another since the US grant of nominal independence to the puppet republic of the comprador big bourgeoisie and landlord class in 1946. Thus, the objective conditions for waging protracted people's war to achieve national liberation and democracy have increasingly become favorable.

The correctness of this line is proven beyond doubt by the fact that in the last 30 years the Communist Party of the Philippines and other revolutionary forces have not only preserved themselves but have gained in strength and advanced through revolutionary struggle. Without a people's war, the Party would have been destroyed totally by the Marcos fascist dictatorship. By waging people's war, the Party grew in strength and prepared the ground for the overthrow of the dictatorship.

The Philippine economy has remained predominantly agrarian and semifeudal. The imperialists and the local reactionaries have prevented the establishment of basic industries and the carrying out of any genuine and thoroughgoing land reform. Thus, the cities have remained under the sway of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the countryside under that of the landlord class.

From time to time, there are embellishments on the persistent colonial exchange of raw materials and finished products from abroad. But nothing fundamental has changed in the colonial pattern of domestic production and foreign trade. The inflow of foreign funds for public works, some type of floating industry and high consumption of the exploiting classes have always ended in a financial crisis, more serious than the previous one. This has always resulted in the aggravation and further deepening of the chronic economic crisis.

From 1946 onward, there was loud talk of the puppet regime about building "new and necessary" industries but there was nothing more than the revival of raw-material production and some amount of agriculture-based manufacturing using imported equipment. The result was the financial crisis of 1949 to 1951 as a result of huge annual trade deficits and the depletion of US war damage payments.

Import and foreign exchange controls were adopted and were supposed to favor what would be described as import-substitution industries in the '50s and '60s. These were mere repackaging and re-assembly enterprises for the domestic consumer market and were dependent on imported components. The result was the financial crisis of 1959 to 1961. This gave way to the foreign exchange decontrol policy upon the dictation of US imperialism. The IMF and World Bank came in on top of the US bilateral approach to impose economic and social policies under the guise of multilateralism.

The economic and financial crisis became worse from year to year in the 1960s. But this was laid over by foreign credit for infrastructure building and setting up of more mills for coconut, sugar and copper ore. Despite increasing raw-material exports, the trade deficits mounted due to the faster increase of manufactured imports. The financial crisis of 1969 to 1971 ensued. By then, the land frontier, previously available for resettlement of surplus population, became exhausted.

The reestablishment of the Party and the people's army was timely. The ruling system was increasingly unable to rule in the old way. The economic and social crisis limited the opportunities of the reactionaries to divide among themselves the spoils of power. The political competition among them grew increasingly violent.

The Marcos ruling clique took advantage of the worsening crisis by imposing fascist dictatorship on the people and his political opponents. From 1972 to 1986, the fascist regime increased foreign borrowing from the level of US\$2 billion to US\$26 billion to engage in infrastructure-building, put up the big-comprador crony firms, enlarge the armed forces and finance the high consumption of the exploiting classes. The result was the financial crisis of 1979 onwards, occurring in connection with the global crisis of raw material overproduction and the global debt crisis.

The economic and financial crisis shook the ground on which the fascist regime stood, sharpened the contradictions among the reactionaries and further stimulated the growth of the armed revolutionary movement. It ultimately resulted in the political crisis that caused the downfall of the fascist regime in 1986. The US-Aquino regime increased the foreign debt level to some US\$29 billion and resorted to heavy domestic public borrowing, which increased from the 1986 level of some ₱200 billion to ₱550 billion in 1992. The economic and financial crisis of the big comprador-landlord regime reached a new bottom in the 1990-1992 period.

The Ramos regime vigorously pursued its predecessors' policy of following the dictates of the imperialists and multilateral agencies (IMF, World Bank and WTO), in opposing national industrialization and land reform and in

carrying out trade and investment liberalization, privatization of public assets and deregulation against the working people and against public interest. Philippines 2000 was never a plan to make a "newly-industrializing" country but to make the Philippines an "emerging market."

The regime promoted in an unprecedentedly big way the labor intensive, import-dependent, low value-added so-called export oriented manufacturing (garments, semiconductors, shoes, toys and the like), a highly speculative real estate boom, expansion of telecommunications and the export of cheap labor. It attracted highly speculative portfolio investments and encouraged private credit transactions within the multinational firms and between these and the big comprador firms. To cover the mounting trade deficits and foreign debt service, the regime went into further foreign borrowing at super

speed up to the level of US\$50 billion (more than 24 billion in six years) and local public borrowing up to the level of ₱788 billion.

The export-oriented manufacturing fetches a low net export income of 10 percent relative to the 90 percent cost of imported components and, worse, has been squeezed by global overproduction. Office and residential towers and golf courses have been built to milk the banks. Taking advantage of the free flow of foreign capital, the highly speculative foreign investments have been the first to take flight upon sight of the rapidly dwindling foreign exchange holdings of the country and the incapacity to service the foreign debt on time. Like the rest of Southeast Asia, the Philippine semifeudal economy has gone into an unprecedented financial and economic crisis.

The most optimistic predictions of the imperialist and puppet prognosticators are that the current economic and financial crisis in the Philippines and Southeast Asia will run on for the next two or three years. But the crisis of overproduction in export-oriented manufacturing can become as permanent as the crisis of overproduction in raw materials since the 1970s. China, Southeast Asia and copycats in export-oriented manufacturing in other parts of the world will tend to perpetuate the crisis of overproduction in this type of production.

In the meantime, the crisis becomes worse and is a part of the downward spiral in the crisis of the world capitalist system. It generates the conditions for Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties to arise and strengthen themselves and to wage protracted people's war along the general line of new-democratic revolution in Southeast Asia and in so many other semicolonial and semifeudal countries of the world.

As a consequence of the current economic and financial crisis, it becomes easier for the imperialists to take over the entire economy, all the natural resources and every kind of business activity in the Philippines. But even as there is a bargain sale of assets in so many financially bankrupt countries, the current global crisis of overproduction in all types of goods dissuades and prevents the imperialists from bringing in productive capital for the comprehensive and balanced development of the underdeveloped countries.

The newly-installed Estrada regime has publicly admitted that the entire economy and the reactionary government are bankrupt. But it is foolhardy in further pursuing the policies of investment and trade liberalization, deregulation and privatization and keeping the economy at being an exporter of raw materials, low value-added semimanufactures and contract workers, importer of finished products and ceaseless beggar of foreign loans.

The Estrada regime is trampling upon the national sovereignty of the Philippines and selling out national patrimony. It is removing all national restrictions on foreign investments and giving to the multinational corporations 100 percent ownership of land and natural resources, banks, telecommunications, mass media and retail trade. But the multinational corporations come in only to take over the most profitable assets and to prevent the comprehensive and balanced development of a self-reliant economy.

The foreign monopoly capitalists are assured of "national treatment" and unlimited ownership of assets, tax reductions and exemptions, currency convertibility, unrestricted movement of capital and superprofit remittances, foreign debt repayment, wage reduction and anti-union laws, exploitation of women and children and the plunder and pollution of the environment. The privatization of remaining public assets is being accelerated.

The multinational enterprises and the big compradors are taking over at give-away prices profitable state assets in major financial, trading and productive enterprises, in public utilities and in social services. As during the Ramos regime, the nonrecurrent revenues from privatization are dissipated in budgetary spending.

The tax burden imposed on the toiling masses and the middle social strata is being increased, especially in the form of personal income and indirect taxes. At the same time, the imperialists and the local exploiting classes practice all forms of evading payment of taxes. The comprador-bourgeois regime extends tax amnesty to the biggest tax evader, as in the notorious case of Estrada's big crony Lucio Tan. Tax collection will certainly fall far below

the corrupt and unproductive spending of the reactionary government. The regime is set to cover the budgetary deficit by increasing the local public debt.

The foreign trade deficit will continue to grow. However, it can be lessened by the decrease of imports for export-oriented manufacturing due to the global crisis of overproduction. The mass layoffs in the sweatshops have aggravated general unemployment. The chain reaction runs up to the reduction in the number of those who could previously afford to buy cars and apartments on installment. The whole economy is reduced to its semifeudal fundamentals, dependence on raw-material production for export and export of cheap labor.

Mass unemployment is already grave due to the bankruptcies and production cutbacks. Those who remain employed are required to accept wage freeze or even lower nominal wages and longer working hours. Under the policy of labor flexibility, job security and hard won benefits are thrown out of the window. Temporary and part time workers are replacing regular workers. Unions are thereby being busted and being prevented from arising.

The incomes of the toiling masses and the middle social strata are drastically reduced by the peso devaluation and by the soaring prices of basic commodities and social services. The inflation in the prices of food products is due to the fall of agricultural production and scarcity. The inflation in the prices of basic imported goods is due to higher costs of importation and higher interest rates. There is economic depression but the deflationary trend applies only on high-grade consumer products for the exploiting classes.

Social unrest is widespread in both urban and rural areas because of the drastic fall in production, peso devaluation, inflation and the rapidly increasing mass unemployment and loss of income. There is a systematic campaign to emasculate, terrorize and destroy the trade unions and other mass organizations. But the workers conduct strikes and other forms of concerted actions, the peasants participate in both the armed revolutionary movement and the legal democratic movement and the broad masses of the people engage in mass protests and other forms of resistance.

The Estrada regime dreams of cutting down interest rates to stimulate production. But there is a big difference between the imperialists and semicolonial countries with regard to cutting down the interest rates. To cut these down would only stimulate the big multinational firms and banks and the big compradors and high bureaucrats to exchange their devalued pesos and to bring foreign exchange out of the country.

Like previous regimes, the Estrada regime hopes to survive and maintain operations by begging for foreign funds. It has pleaded for more bailout funds from the IMF and World Bank and for a portion of the public works stimulus package for Southeast Asia from Japan. It has sought to float bonds in foreign financial markets. But it is under pressure from the imperialists to give priority to selling off public assets.

In a period of unprecedented economic and social crisis since World War II, the Estrada regime brings back to power and privilege the most hated reactionaries in Philippine society, the Marcos family and the worst of the Marcos cronies, like Eduardo Cojuangco and Lucio Tan. The president acts as the coordinator of these big crooks against the interests of the Filipino people and he expects to get his own cut from the ill-gotten assets that are now being recovered by them from sequestration.

Because of the current crisis, there is a constriction of the ground for amicable accommodation among the reactionaries. There is once more a relative diminution of the spoils for division among them. There is now the glaring tendency of the ruling clique to monopolize the loot. Thus, most of the reactionaries out of power are either publicly wishing the death of the president from his ill-health or floating the possibility of a coup d' etat or assassination.

Within the Estrada ruling clique, there is also a growing conflict between the Marcos family and the biggest Marcos cronies. Estrada has tried to please the Marcoses by fixing the prosecution in their favor and getting them acquitted of criminal charges by the courts. But at the same time, he allows the Marcos cronies to claim and liquidate as their own assets the ill-gotten wealth assigned to them as dummies by the late fascist dictator.

The Marcoses are now freely bringing out into the open their secret deeds of trust and certificates of stock ownership in about 200 contested blue chip corporations, which include big crony corporations and multinational enterprises. This open conflict of the Marcoses and the Marcos cronies is exposing a significant part of the plunder perpetrated by the Marcoses and their cronies under the Marcos fascist regime. At the same time, it completely exposes the demagoguery of Estrada's claim that he is pro-poor.

Once more the semicolonial system is in grave political crisis. It arises from the rottenness of the joint class dictatorship of the big compradors and landlords. There is now a revulsion at the ruling clique from the

reactionaries out of power. And right within the ruling clique there is now a scandalous struggle over the spoils of power.

The Estrada regime's hold over the fractious reactionary armed forces and the police is tenuous. Dissatisfaction is growing over favoritism in promotions and fund allocations, over distribution of contracts for foreign and local supplies and over the disposition of the savings and pension funds of military personnel and over the fact that someone like Gen. Panfilo Lacson, who is widely denounced as a criminal in uniform, is the actual super head of the national police and grabs a large amount of intelligence funds for self-enrichment in collusion with no less than the president. The military and police forces continue to be riven by factions, reflecting the reactionary political factions and masterminding different and often violently conflicting criminal syndicates which run all sorts of criminal operations, like smuggling through customs, drugs, prostitution, gambling, kidnap-for-ransom and robbery.

The Estrada regime tries to rally the military and the police forces by calling on them to fight the revolutionary forces of the Filipino people and those of the Moro people (in particular the Moro Islamic Liberation Front) as well as the criminal syndicates, actually masterminded by military and police officers. But contempt for the Estrada regime is widespread among military officers who resent helicopter promotions for his favorites and among police officers who also resent the flagrant expansion of the criminal empires of General Panfilo Lacson and Charlie "Atong" Ang, another notorious crony of Estrada.

The regime tries to ingratiate itself further with the US imperialists by pushing for the ratification of the Visiting Forces Agreement. This agreement reinforces a previous secret executive agreement made in 1992 on "access and cross-servicing" and seeks to allow the US military forces in any size to use any part of the Philippines and any Philippine source of supply and facility at any time and for any duration, with full immunity from the criminal jurisdiction of Philippine courts. At the same time, the US has built runways in South Cotabato for its military planes and is preparing to build a naval base in Sarangani Bay, a location convenient for US intervention in the whole of Southeast Asia.

The scheme of the US and the Estrada regime to turn the entire Philippines into a US military base has outraged the broad masses of the people and even the Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines. Thus, there is now a broad united front of patriotic and progressive forces against the scheme. This united front is increasingly directed at the entire system of US military control over the Philippines, which includes the US-RP Mutual Defense Pact (allowing US military intervention at any time) and the US-RP Military Assistance Agreement (enabling the US to control the reactionary armed forces).

The Estrada regime is pushing for a new constitutional convention in order to replace the 1987 constitution with a worse kind of constitution. It wishes to obtain something far worse than the extension of the presidential tenure that Ramos had sought but failed to obtain in 1997. It is most interested in removing from the 1987 constitution what little national restrictions there are on foreign investments, the prohibition of foreign military bases and nuclear weapons and certain limitations on the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, on the proclamation of martial law and on arrests, searches and seizures.

Under the pretext of putting the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations on "indefinite recess", the Estrada regime has in effect terminated these. It has told the NDFP that these can continue only if the NDFP accept the absurd precondition that the revolutionary forces capitulate and criminalize themselves by submitting to the GRP constitutional, legal and judicial system.

The NDFP upholds its revolutionary integrity and principles. It has forthrightly told the GRP that its precondition violates The Hague Joint Declaration and all previous bilateral agreements and that the GRP is looking for a way to get out of its obligations under the GRP-NDFP Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL) and to avoid the discussion of the basic economic and social problems of the people.

The GRP Negotiating Panel has gone to the extent of declaring that Estrada has made a mistake in approving the aforesaid agreement and making the absurd demand that the NDFP correct the mistake by signing a document of capitulation and self-incrimination. The real intention of the GRP in its absurdity is to terminate the peace negotiations.

The Philippine reactionary government has utterly failed the test of the peace negotiations. It would rather end these than comply with its immediate obligations, such as the indemnification of the victims of human rights

violations under the Marcos regime, the release of political prisoners, the repeal of repressive laws, the end of policies and practices that result in mass eviction and forced mass evacuations and the appointment of its representatives and nomination of observers to the joint monitoring committee.

The Estrada regime is hell-bent on escalating counterrevolutionary violence against the revolutionary forces and the people while it hires and uses renegades for psychological warfare. Campaigns of suppression by military, police and paramilitary forces are being intensified. Violations of human rights and international humanitarian laws are on the rise nationwide. The people and the revolutionary forces have no choice but to intensify their resistance.

The objective conditions are growing ever more favorable for people's war. The grave socioeconomic and political crisis of the ruling system continues to worsen. Having strengthened themselves through the rectification movement and having consolidated and expanded their mass base, the Party and other subjective forces of the revolution are in a position to take advantage of the situation and raise the revolutionary struggle to a new and higher level.

Revitalized forces of the revolution

The Second Great Rectification Movement has won resounding victories in ideology, politics and organization. The Communist Party of the Philippines is thereby revitalized and further strengthened as the advanced detachment of the proletariat leading the Philippine revolution forward. It has raised its revolutionary consciousness, organized strength and militancy to a new and higher level.

As a consequence, the New People's Army, the National Democratic Front, the organs of democratic political power and the mass organizations under the leadership of the Party have likewise raised the level of revolutionary unity, fighting will and capabilities for carrying out the new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war.

The Second Great Rectification Movement is mainly and essentially a movement of education within the Party in order to reaffirm the basic principles of the revolutionary proletariat, to sum up experience and take stock of the situation, identify and rectify major errors and shortcomings, promote criticism and self-criticism in current work and set forth the constructive and fighting tasks for advancing the revolution.

The Party Central Committee had to launch the rectification movement in 1992 to defend the very life of the Party and the entire revolutionary movement because fundamental and major errors of subjectivism and opportunism, which had accumulated and had run since the late '70s, gave rise to revisionism, liquidationism and outright treason and criminality of a few well-placed and long-running incorrigible subjectivists and opportunists who tried to wreck the Party and the revolutionary movement.

Through the rectification movement, the Party has frustrated and defeated the handful of renegades and incorrigibles. Their own open degeneration and the blatant use of them by the enemy for psychological warfare have verified the correctness and accuracy of the rectification movement in targeting them for criticism, repudiation and condemnation. The all-round struggle against them has turned them into teachers by negative example and has educated the entire party on what is correct and what is wrong on a comprehensive range of issues in the sharp two-line struggle between the proletarian revolutionaries and bourgeois renegades.

The rectification movement has upheld Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the ideological line of the Party and has repudiated such forms of bourgeois subjectivism as revisionism, empiricism and dogmatism. The basic principles of the revolutionary proletariat, which are reaffirmed, are drawn from the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao. Party cadres and members have become more conscious of the three stages of Marxism, Leninism and Maoism in the development of the revolutionary theory and practice of the international proletariat.

The Party propagates the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist stand, viewpoint and method among its cadres and members and trains them in these in comprehending the current circumstances of the world and the Philippines and in taking the course of action that needs to be taken in the context of the world proletarian revolution, the two-stage Philippine revolution and the specific fields of work.

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is the scientific guide to the revolutionary practice of the Party in striving to arouse, organize and mobilize the people to make revolution. The Party integrates Marxist-Leninist-Maoist theory with the concrete conditions of the Philippines and on the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution. Thus, the Party established through class analysis the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society and has set the general political line of new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war.

Through the rectification movement, the Party has thoroughly defeated with facts and arguments the subjectivist line that the Party has criticized and repudiated the "Left" opportunism and the Right opportunism which in common used this subjectivist line in order to attack the strategic line of protracted people's war. The "Left" opportunists sought to make the NPA a purely military force and urban insurrection as the lead factor for a quick military victory. The Right opportunists sought to make the urban-based legal struggle the main or sole factor in political struggle and the united front as a framework for liquidating the vanguard role of the Party and the proletariat.

The Party has once more uprooted modern revisionism. This directly penetrated the Party when the "Left" opportunists started to push for the reconsideration of the Soviet Union as socialist and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as Marxist-Leninist since the early '80s in the vain hope of securing Soviet military and financial assistance. Even as they were impulsive, the "Left" opportunists threw away the principle of self-reliance by spreading the notion that the absence of Soviet and military assistance would cause the revolution to stagnate or regress.

On the other hand, the Right opportunists developed their base and influence in foreign-funded "NGOs" to spread the notion of regressing to the old democratic revolution led by the liberal bourgeoisie, attracting more people by kowtowing to the bourgeoisie and carrying the sedan chair for it and achieving democracy by overthrowing the despotic regime through the antifascist movement and thereafter pursuing reformism in the post-Marcos period.

By the time that the rectification movement was launched in 1992, the Right opportunists had absorbed the "Left" opportunists who had swung to the Right. They were claiming the disastrous errors and crimes of the "Left" opportunists as those of Marxism-Leninism and were echoing slogans from the imperialist ideological offensive and such related anticommunist currents as those of Gorbachovism, Trotskyism, populism, liberalism and social democracy.

The rectification movement has roundly defeated the cabal of incorrigible subjectivists and opportunists, who launched a cacophony of pro-imperialist and anticommunist calumnies but who uniformly called themselves anti-Stalin as they attacked the Party. They lumped together our antirevisionist Party and the anti-Stalin revisionist regimes as equally "Stalinist" to harp on the line that Marxism-Leninism, the vanguard party of the proletariat and socialism do not stand a chance against imperialism. They exposed themselves as renegades and agents of enemy psychological warfare, coordinated, financed and given full play in the bourgeois mass media by the psywar and intelligence operatives of the US and Philippine reactionary government in the "low-intensity conflict" scheme.

The Second Great Rectification Movement has completely thwarted the attempt of the enemy to destroy the Party and revolutionary movement from within. This vicious but futile attempt to sow ideological and political confusion has served to immunize and reinvigorate the Party. Through the rectification movement the Party has reasserted its stand for socialism against modern revisionism and has actively fought against the imperialist ideological and political offensive which presents the fall of the revisionist regimes as proof of the futility of socialism and which boasts of the irresistibility of "free market" globalization.

The Party has produced a rich accumulation of documents on basic and major issues involving the ideological, political and organizational line in order to defeat the erroneous ideas of the renegades and traitors as well as those of their superiors—the imperialists and local reactionaries, and in order to raise the knowledge and practice of the Party cadres and members.

The rectification documents issued by the Central Committee, the articles written by responsible cadres and the summings-up made by territorial and staff organs and units are a rich store of historical and current knowledge that serve as a basis for defining the tasks and moving forward in the revolutionary struggle. All these documents constitute living knowledge inasmuch as they reflect the concrete conditions of the revolutionary struggle and the revolutionary position and direction taken by the Party.

The rectification movement has been conclusively won against the biggest degenerates and renegades since the reestablishment of the Party. But we must remain vigilant and militant against all remnants of their mode of thinking and practice as well as against backsliding. For instance, recently a handful of renegades, previously pretending to support the rectification movement but surreptitiously opposing it, have exposed themselves as the latest tools of enemy propaganda. We are confident without being complacent that the Party is capable of staying healthy and strong and of repelling any kind of attack that arises.

The petty-bourgeoisie is the social base of subjectivism and opportunism. There is always a certain amount of these arising spontaneously or deliberately within the Party because many Party members are of petty-bourgeois origin and bring in with them their petty-bourgeois tails. There is also the continuous impact of petty-bourgeois influence from the outside as well as from deliberate efforts of the imperialists and local reactionaries to use petty-bourgeois lines of enticement against the line of the Party and the revolutionary movement.

The Party is carrying the rectification movement through to the end and is resolutely carrying out ideological work, involving the study of the rectification documents and the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist classics, concrete social investigation, evaluation and summing up of work and comradely criticism and self-criticism. Ideological and political education in theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is the most important factor in the remodeling of Party members in preventing degeneration and in using the two-line struggle or the struggle of ideas for attaining a higher level of unity.

To propagate the basic founding principles of the Party and the teachings of the great communists and to reinforce the rectification movement, formal Party study courses at the primary, intermediate and advanced levels are being carried out. The rectification movement is promoting these courses in view of the fact that the lack or dearth of Marxist-Leninist courses in the past gave way to the growth of eclecticism, revisionism, empiricism and dogmatism.

The new basic Party course has been taken by all Party organs and units and is given to all Party candidate-members as part of their candidature. The regional Party committees have taken initiative in running the intermediate Party course. Central and regional leading and staff organs are taking the initiative to study the advanced Party course. All Party units and members are encouraged to read and study materials in advance of taking the formal courses.

Instructors are being trained and are gaining experience in giving the courses at various levels. Instructors in pilot classes are also developing study guides for further developing the courses. Simplified versions of the Party study courses and study materials have been issued for the benefit of Party candidate-members and full members who come from the toiling masses and who have a low level of literacy. They learn far more from simple and concrete discussions related to their life experience and to the current struggle and from comrades who use simple language to explain basic concepts from the books.

Study materials are being reproduced and distributed on a wider scale than before. Outlines for concrete social investigation at all levels are being improved, refined and propagated. Marxist-Leninist classics and documents are being translated in as many as five major Philippine languages. Master copies are provided by the central and regional publishing houses and are copied at lower levels.

To carry out the new-democratic revolution, the Party leads the New People's Army as the principal instrument for overthrowing the ruling system of big compradors and landlords, for making possible the formation of the revolutionary organs of political power and for the eventual establishment of the People's Democratic Republic of the Philippines on a nationwide scale. The NPA is the main organization for carrying out revolutionary armed struggle as the principal form of struggle, for forging the worker-peasant alliance and realizing land reform as the main content of the democratic revolution.

Revolutionary politics is in command of the NPA. This army is under the absolute leadership of the Party. The Party organization is also within every command and unit of the NPA. The people's army combines revolutionary armed struggle with land reform and mass-base building. The Red commanders and fighters rely on and trust the masses. They arouse, organize and mobilize the masses for revolutionary struggle and for immediate social benefit. Their links with the masses are intimate. The best sons and daughters of the masses are in the people's army. The masses cherish the people's army because it is their own army, fighting for their rights and interests. Thus, they are full of enthusiasm as the inexhaustible source of strength of the people's army.

Within the context of the new-democratic revolution, under the leadership of the proletariat, the Party and the people's army follow the revolutionary class line of relying mainly on the poor peasants and farm workers, winning over the middle peasants, neutralizing the rich peasants, taking advantage of the contradictions between the enlightened gentry and despotic gentry and destroying the power of the latter.

In the course of the rectification movement, the people's army has been reoriented and retrained. It is highly conscious of and deeply committed to serving the people. It has criticized and repudiated the purely military viewpoint and the various currents of "Left" opportunism, especially the premature and militarist line of "strategic

counteroffensive" and "Red Area-White Area" line of militarism cum urban insurrectionism.

The strategic line of the NPA is protracted people's war, the line of encircling the cities from the countryside. The NPA accumulates strength in the countryside until it gains sufficient strength to seize the cities in a strategic offensive that develops from the prior stages of strategic defensive and strategic stalemate.

At this given time, the NPA is still in the stage of the strategic defensive. But it can launch tactical offensives that it is capable of winning in order to change the balance of forces step by step. The current specific line is to wage extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base.

Were it not for the grievous "Left" opportunist errors, which sought to prematurely "enlarge" and "regularize" units of the people's army and thus separated them from the masses, the people's war would have become far more developed on a sound basis than now, at least within the strategic defensive.

As part of the process of rectification, the NPA has been reorganized and redeployed. The typical guerrilla front continues to have a platoon-size center of gravity and several squads dispersed and divisible into armed propaganda teams for mass work on a relatively wide scale, as conditions permit. In certain tactical offensives and certain enforcement operations, the NPA can muster a platoon, an oversized platoon or a company.

The way to ensure a wide area of maneuver for shifting, concentrating or dispersing guerrilla-style, for launching offensives against the enemy and for countering and frustrating enemy offensives, is to consolidate and expand the mass base. Thus, for a number of years in the course of the rectification movement, the NPA has concentrated on mass work. It has had to arrest and reverse the big contraction of the mass base and to recover the areas lost due to "Left" opportunist errors. The mass base has been consolidated and expanded to a significant extent in the guerrilla fronts.

The current level of strength and the nationwide scale of 60 guerrilla fronts at strategic points allow the NPA to launch frequent successful tactical offensives for seizing arms and other resources from the enemy and making him ceaselessly bleed in many parts of his body. Tactical offensives have increased significantly from year to year. But the number of offensives is still much below actual capabilities. We still need to stir ourselves from some amount of inertia and conservatism arising from the focus on mass work for several years. In response to the call of the Party Central Committee for the launching of tactical offensives within capabilities, the people's army is putting units on political-military training and building up intelligence for the purpose. Ordnance, medical and communications personnel are also being trained.

Our mass work involves social investigation, propaganda and agitation, organizing the organs of political power (at first provisional appointive ones and then regular elective ones) and the mass organizations of peasants, workers (if any), fishermen, women, youth, cultural activists and children and mobilizing them in campaigns for their own benefit. These campaigns include land reform, production, public education, local self-defense, health, settlement of local disputes, and culture.

The land reform campaign is the key one because it responds to the main problem of the peasant masses and is the main content of the democratic revolution. At the moment, what is realizable in most areas is the minimum land reform program. The tasks are to reduce land rent and interest rates, raise wages of farm workers hired by landlords and rich peasants, require merchants to pay fair prices at the farm gate and raise production in agriculture and sideline occupations.

In other areas, the masses have been aroused, organized and mobilized to fight the foreign companies, bureaucrat capitalists and landlords and prevent them from grabbing the land from the peasant masses. Fierce struggles are currently being waged against foreign companies engaged in mining, logging, plantation, ranching and real estate "development." The peasants, including ethnic minorities and settlers, are either keeping or taking back their land.

Our successful mass work has enabled the NPA to increase its tactical offensives. The NPA has seized a significant number of firearms from the enemy and captured some military and police officers. In certain dramatic cases, it has compelled the enemy to plead for the release of prisoners of war under the auspices of peace negotiations between the NDFP and the reactionary government.

The Party and the people's army have adhered to the long-running policy of lenient treatment accorded to prisoners of war and the principle of due process in the investigation, prosecution and trial of accused war criminals. The NPA has complied with international humanitarian law in accordance with the NDFP Unilateral Declaration of Undertaking to Apply the Geneva Conventions and Protocol I and the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for

Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law, recently approved by both the NDFP and the reactionary government. The revolutionary movement is gaining international recognition for its status of belligerency under international law.

The revolutionary armed struggle is self-reliant in terms of acquiring weapons and providing for the needs of the NPA. The peasant masses are the main source of support to provide the basic needs of the Red fighters. The NPA and the mass organizations also engage in a significant amount of production for the NPA and families of Red fighters.

The people's democratic government, explicitly or implicitly using the people's army as its enforcement agency, can collect taxes (especially to raise cash) from the enlightened gentry and business enterprises. The element of class coercion surfaces when entities of the exploiting classes refuse to follow the law of the people's government and refuse to pay their tax obligations. However, persuasive rather than coercive measures are applied on the middle-bourgeois entities in accordance with united front policy.

Tax collection is a function of the people's government. It raises the resources to serve the collective needs of the people and the people's army. The reactionary government and some "NGOs" that survive on crumbs-begging from foreign funding agencies are engaged in cheap psywar when they heap calumny on revolutionary taxation, calling it a form of extortion or sellout to the exploiters. The Party wields the united front as a weapon complementary to the armed struggle. This united front is principally for armed struggle. It seeks to unite the broadest range of forces and mobilize the people in their millions against the enemy at every given time.

In building the united front, the Party adheres to the revolutionary class line. The united front must be led by the proletariat, founded on the basic alliance of the workers and peasants, supported by the urban petty-bourgeoisie, further supported by the middle bourgeoisie and must take advantage of the splits among the reactionaries in order to isolate and destroy the enemy.

The Party constantly builds an echelon of alliances: the basic worker-peasant alliance, the alliance of progressive forces which includes the urban petty-bourgeoisie, the alliance of all patriotic forces which includes the middle-bourgeoisie, and whatever alliance is possible with sections of the reactionaries that are against the enemy on general or specific issues.

The worker-peasant alliance is realized, with the Party leading and building the New People's Army and coordinating and strengthening the workers' and peasants' movements. Under the leadership of the Party, the National Democratic Front of the Philippines has remained an underground united front of the basic progressive forces. At the same time, it is always ready to make further alliances with other forces.

The alliance with the middle bourgeoisie has continued to be informal until this day. But it does exist and is effective insofar as the representatives and groups of middle bourgeois take an anti-imperialist position and middle-bourgeois enterprises fulfill their obligations to the people's government because they prefer to avoid prohibition or losses in areas where the people's army is capable of enforcing the law of the people's government.

Alliances with some reactionaries are also informal and are the most unstable because of their class character. They arise at both national and local levels and take the form of secret political cooperation against worse reactionaries. Some reactionaries have also proven cooperation by complying with certain commitments to the people's government. They are often encouraged to oppose the enemy and deliver what is needed to further the armed struggle.

So far, the largest and most outstanding informal alliance with the reactionaries came about in the common struggle to overthrow the Marcos fascist dictatorship. Every time bourgeois elections are held, reactionaries at the national and local levels compete to have temporary alliance with the Party. They are required to respect and comply with the laws and policies of the people's government.

The Party has always supported the Moro people's struggle for self-determination against national oppression. An outstanding recent case of developing a formal alliance is that between the NDFP and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front. Informal, friendly and cooperative relations in previous times are now developing into a formal NDFP-MILF alliance by written agreement and with liaison offices. Each party in the alliance maintains its own independence and initiative. Both parties are committed to cooperating for their mutual benefit and for coordinating their forces against the common enemy.

The Party, the armed struggle and the united front are all instruments of the people and perform distinctive and interrelated functions. The new-democratic revolution fails if anyone of these instruments is neglected or

given up. The Right opportunists were utterly wrong when they pushed the notion that the united front is for cutting down or doing away with the vanguard role of the party of the proletariat or that it is a framework for subordinating the proletariat to the bourgeoisie.

The proletarian revolutionary cadres who reestablished the Party developed the legal anti-imperialist and anti-feudal movement during the entire 1960s and until the First Quarter Storm and mass upsurge in the entire 1970-72 period. Since its reestablishment, the progressive mass organizations have always rallied to the revolutionary leadership of the Party even under the worst conditions of suppression by the Marcos fascist dictatorship and the post-Marcos regimes.

The Party always encourages the development of the urban-based legal democratic movement by developing underground Party groups within the mass organizations. Upon the development of people's war, urban-based mass activists are also confident that they can go to the guerrilla fronts in the countryside whenever they can no longer work in the cities. Because the economic crisis is rapidly worsening, workers being laid off or being persecuted for exercising their right to strike, are encouraged to join the people's army. An increasing number of workers as well as educated youth are volunteering for social investigation and mass work in the countryside.

The legal democratic mass movement is rapidly growing in strength and surging forward vigorously. This is the political result of the rectification movement and the daily worsening crisis of the ruling system. The trade unions and the legal organizations of peasants, urban poor, women, youth in general, students, teachers, government employees, lawyers, health workers, scientists and technologists, writers and artists, economists, other professionals and progressive religious are working hard to consolidate and expand their ranks.

They continue to build sectoral and multisectoral alliances. They express their views and undertake protest actions along the national democratic line on long-running basic issues and on burning issues of the day against the imperialists and the local reactionaries, now chiefly represented by the US-Estrada ruling clique.

The mass organizations and movements pursuing the national democratic line are conspicuously a major political force. To say the least, their total direct mass following runs into hundreds of thousands nationwide. Their influence reaches millions of people.

They also enjoy high international prestige and make outstanding contributions in international conferences and other forms of anti-imperialist solidarity work.

The Party coordinates all forms of political struggle. It is in a position to do so because it is an underground organization with intimate links with the masses in both urban and rural areas. It has also succeeded in developing underground groups in reactionary institutions and organizations. Political work principally and technical means secondarily have enabled the Party to coordinate the legal democratic movement and the armed movement of the people.

The Party upholds the principle of democratic centralism as its organizational line. This means centralized leadership based on democracy and in turn democracy under the guidance of central leadership. The essence of centralism is adherence to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the determination to carry out the new democratic revolution and consequently to fulfill the historic mission of the working class to build socialism until the ultimate goal of communism is reached. In other words, democratic centralism is not simply a process that is devoid of a definite content and purpose.

As a process of decision-making, democratic centralism involves the subordination of the minority to the majority, the lower organ to the higher organ, the individual to the entire Party organization and the entire Party membership to the Central Committee. Through inner-Party democracy, the facts and opinions of Party cadres and members are presented and concentrated through a continuous process of dialectical interaction between lower and higher levels of the Party organization.

Bureaucratism and ultrademocracy or liberalism are anathema to democratic centralism. The incorrigible opportunists and renegades practiced bureaucratism and commandism where they were in authority and ultrademocracy where they contended with higher organs. They violated not only the organizational process of decision-making but, worst of all, they whipped up counterrevolutionary lines against Marxism-Leninism and the Party and tried to wreck the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally.

Once a decision has been taken on any issue in accordance with democratic centralism, there is unity of will and action. Anyone can reserve his or her opinion but must follow the decision. Without the necessary discipline after the process of democratic decision-making, the Party cannot engage in a life-and-death revolutionary struggle

against the enemy.

The Party has nationwide scope and is deeply rooted among the masses of workers and peasants. It is imbued with the spirit of service to the people and always promotes the style of simple living, hard work and self-sacrifice.

The Party cadres and members conduct criticism and self-criticism in order to correct errors and shortcomings and to improve the work and produce better results. Criticism and self-criticism is done on a timely and regular basis within the Party and, whenever necessary, before the masses, in order to redress any offense or harm done to them.

Party candidate members are drawn from the ranks of the most conscious and most militant mass activists in the rural and urban areas. Thus, intimate links between the Party and the masses are always maintained and strengthened.

As a proletarian revolutionary party, our Party is determined to recruit a high proportion of members from the working class. In accordance with the progress of people's war, it also follows that a significant number of Party members are of peasant origin who are transformed into proletarian revolutionaries in the course of the revolutionary struggle and education under the leadership of the Party in the peasant movement and in the people's army.

The proportion of our Party members of petty-bourgeois origin is still high. To reduce this proportion, we do not discourage applicants counterrevolutionary lines against Marxism-Leninism and the Party and tried to wreck the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally.

Once a decision has been taken on any issue in accordance with democratic centralism, there is unity of will and action. Anyone can reserve his or her opinion but must follow the decision. Without the necessary discipline after the process of democratic decision-making, the Party cannot engage in a life-and-death revolutionary struggle against the enemy.

The Party has nationwide scope and is deeply rooted among the masses of workers and peasants. It is imbued with the spirit of service to the people and always promotes the style of simple living, hard work and self-sacrifice.

The Party cadres and members conduct criticism and self-criticism in order to correct errors and shortcomings and to improve the work and produce better results. Criticism and self-criticism is done on a timely and regular basis within the Party and, whenever necessary, before the masses, in order to redress any offense or harm done to them.

Party candidate members are drawn from the ranks of the most conscious and most militant mass activists in the rural and urban areas. Thus, intimate links between the Party and the masses are always maintained and strengthened.

As a proletarian revolutionary party, our Party is determined to recruit a high proportion of members from the working class. In accordance with the progress of people's war, it also follows that a significant number of Party members are of peasant origin who are transformed into proletarian revolutionaries in the course of the revolutionary struggle and education under the leadership of the Party in the peasant movement and in the people's army.

The proportion of our Party members of petty-bourgeois origin is still high. To reduce this proportion, we do not discourage applicants for membership from among the urban petty-bourgeoisie but accelerate Party recruitment from the ranks of the toiling masses.

There is a growing need for Party cadres and members from the ranks of the toiling masses as well as the educated youth. We need hundreds of thousands of Party cadres and members to win the revolution and gain political power. Our ever-ready source of Party members is the far greater number of advanced mass activists. They are close to our Party and most of them are willing to join it.

Our Party Constitution lays down the basic requirements and the duration of trial work for Party candidate-members. But for various reasons, including conceit and neglect on the part of Party organs and full members, delays occur in the recruitment of Party candidate-members from the ranks of the advanced mass activists and the subsequent advancement of the Party candidate-members to full members.

On the basis of the existing number of Party members and advanced mass activists, an organizational plan for expanding our Party membership can be drawn up at every level. To arrive at the national organizational plan, the lower leading organs must submit their organizational plans to the Party Central Committee. Subsequently, reports have to be made on the realization of the plan.

The specific line for enlarging our Party is to boldly expand it, without letting in a single undesirable. In carrying out this line, our leading organs and units must take the responsibility and burden of cross-checking and verifying the personal record, class consciousness and personal circumstances of every applicant for membership, applying the requirements and rules concerning candidature and checking up the fulfillment of these.

Organizational building of the Party is of crucial importance. The proletarian vanguard and core of the revolutionary mass movement must grow fast enough in order to be able to measure up to and fulfill the gargantuan tasks of the new-democratic revolution and ensure its socialist direction.

Long-term fighting tasks of the Party

On the 30th anniversary of the Communist Party of the Philippines, it is necessary and appropriate to reiterate and reaffirm its long-term fighting tasks. These are the ten points of the general Program for a People's Democratic Revolution, defined and promulgated at the very foundation of the Party.

All Filipino communists must work and struggle to realize this long-term program and must be ready to sacrifice their lives if necessary in the struggle to bring about a new Philippines that is completely independent, democratic, united, just and prosperous.

We have won great victories through our revolutionary struggle. But we have a long way to go to complete the new-democratic revolution. We must resolve to fight for another 30 years or for as long as it takes to reach complete victory.

Within the same period that we celebrate the 30th anniversaries of the Party and the NPA, we also celebrate the centennial of the Filipino people's revolutionary armed resistance against the US war of aggression, which started on February 4, 1899. In this connection, we declare our readiness to wage people's war for another hundred years until US imperialist domination is ended, in the same spirit that the people in our archipelago waged armed resistance for more than three centuries until Spanish colonial rule was ended.

1. Overthrow the ruling system of big compradors and landlords! The overriding interest of the Filipino people now is to fight for national and social liberation. This can be achieved only by overthrowing the ruling system of big compradors and landlords, which are in the service of the US and other imperialists. The Filipino people must struggle against every reactionary regime that arises and thereby gain revolutionary strength until they can completely smash the bureaucratic and military machinery of the reactionary state.

Armed revolution must be waged to defeat the armed counterrevolution and the united front must bring together all positive forces and take advantage of the splits among the reactionaries in order to isolate and destroy the enemy at every given time. The Filipino people and their revolutionary forces must eliminate the power and influence of the US imperialists and the local exploiting classes.

The Party must persevere in the strategic line of protracted people's war. It must continue to build the people's army and accumulate strength in the countryside before it can seize the cities. Simultaneously, it can fight, discredit, isolate and breach the monopoly of political power by the reactionaries in the cities. In this regard, the armed revolutionary movement and the legal democratic mass movement complement and help each other in integrating and destroying the power of the enemy.

2. Establish the people's democratic state based on the worker peasant alliance!

The ultimate goal of the people's democratic revolution is the establishment of the people's democratic state. This is under the leadership of the working class, founded on the basic alliance of the working class and peasantry and includes such other democratic classes as the urban petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie. The Party as the ruling party, in representation of the working class, shall form the coalition government of all democratic classes and forces.

In the course of protracted people's war, the working class and peasantry under the proletarian revolutionary leadership and with the assistance of the New People's Army, establish organs of political power to form the armed independent regime or people's revolutionary government. The people thereby learn to govern themselves, defend and advance national independence and democratic rights. The people's revolutionary government is the preparatory government of the People's Democratic Republic of the Philippines.

The National Democratic Front, as the most important formal united front organization, serves to promote the united front for armed struggle, encourages the combination of all patriotic and progressive forces in order to isolate and destroy the enemy and paves the way for the establishment of organs of political power, the people's consultative assembly and the democratic coalition government of the broadest possible character.

3. Forge national unity and fight for democratic rights! The Party commits itself to forging the firmest and broadest possible national unity. This is based on national sovereignty and independence from US imperialism and its stooges, the liberation of the working class and peasantry and the promotion of the democratic rights and interests of all working people.

All patriotic and progressive classes, groups and individuals shall enjoy civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights. Consequent to the national liberation of the entire people from imperialism and the toiling masses from class oppression and exploitation, individual freedom and public participation shall be promoted to the utmost, with guarantees of such democratic rights as freedom of person, domicile, thought, religious belief, speech and assembly and other rights in a democratic bill of rights in the constitution of the people's democratic state.

There shall be no national, sexual, ethnic, racial or religious discrimination. The state, cooperative and private sectors shall be harmonized in an economic plan to provide every citizen a decent livelihood. Individual initiative and enterprise on the part of fishermen, handicraftsmen, intellectuals, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie shall be respected, encouraged and assisted. Overseas Filipinos, especially migrant workers shall be encouraged to contribute their talents, experience and skills to the all-round development of their motherland.

4. Uphold the principle of democratic centralism! The Party shall uphold the principle of democratic centralism under the new state. The national government shall have central authority over the lower levels of government, and shall base its policies and decisions on the needs, demands and aspirations of the broad masses of the people and the lower levels of government. There shall be democratic deliberations and decision-making at every level of government; and there shall be consultations between higher and lower levels of government and between every level of government and the people. This is centralized leadership based on democracy and democracy guided by centralized authority.

At every level of the government (barrio, municipality, city, district, provincial and regional), there shall be elected representative bodies where decisions are taken democratically in response to the needs and demands of the people in their respective jurisdictions. A lower representative body shall be subordinate to the people's revolutionary congress which represents nationally the sovereign Filipino people. In the election of officials or in voting on any question, the rule of the majority shall be followed.

The people shall have the right and the means to express to the Party and the government their varied interests and views at any time. They shall supervise the Party, the government and its officials, criticize their errors and shortcomings and have the power of recall over government officials and effect the removal of Party officials who violate the rights and interests of the nation and the people.

5. Build and cherish the New People's Army! There can be no people's democratic state without a people's army whose main and most essential function is to defend and secure it. In the first place, the people's democratic state cannot be established without the people's army defeating and destroying the reactionary state. The people's army, composed mainly of fighters from the peasantry, must be under the leadership of the working class through the Party. Thus, at the core of the people's democratic power is the power of the proletariat, which is necessary for the subsequent socialist revolution.

The most pressing task of the people's army now is to defeat and destroy the US-created and US-supported reactionary Armed Forces of the Philippines and all other kinds of armed power in the hands of the exploiting classes and the reactionary state at all levels. The forces of the people's army are augmented by the militia, self-defense units and armed city partisans. The echelon of forces is developed in the course of people's war.

The people's army is a fighting, propaganda and productive force closely linked with the toiling masses of the people. Under the leadership of the Party, this army constantly strengthens itself through mass work, politico-military training and the armed struggle. The Party and the people must cherish the New People's Army and see to it that the people's fighters are well-provisioned and the needs and welfare of their immediate families are well attended to.

6. Solve the land problem! The main content of the people's democratic revolution is the struggle of the peasant masses to solve the land problem. The revolution must satisfy the basic demand of the poor peasants and farm workers for land. The agrarian revolution is the necessary requirement for the vigorous and successful conduct of the armed struggle and the creation and consolidation of revolutionary base areas.

The current minimum program of land reform is merely a preparation for the maximum program, which is the

complete solution of the land problem. Land shall be distributed free to the landless tillers. Land rent, exploitation of hired labor, usury, price, manipulation and other feudal and semifeudal evils shall be wiped out. Mutual aid teams and labor exchange systems shall be promoted as the preliminary step towards higher forms of agricultural cooperation. Through agricultural cooperation in stages of development, the socialist direction shall be taken and production shall be raised and well-planned, the sale of produce shall be

The Party shall ensure that the people's democratic government extend all possible and necessary support to raise agricultural production through capital construction, mechanization, technical assistance, financial assistance and so on. The expanded and higher purchasing power of the peasantry shall stimulate and increase industrial production. The basis of the national economy shall be agriculture because it fulfills the food and raw material requirements of expanding industrialization. In turn, the peasantry shall immediately become the main market for the products of industry.

As the collectivization and mechanization of agriculture shall proceed, the machine and tractor stations shall serve as the command posts of the proletariat. Plantations and estates already efficiently operated on a mechanized basis before the revolution shall be converted into state farms where the workers shall establish proletarian power. Portions of export cropland in excess of the efficient level shall be subject to land reform and planted to other crops needed for domestic production and consumption.

7. Carry out national industrialization! The private ownership of the means of production and distribution by the foreign monopoly capitalists and the local exploiting classes shall be abolished. Basic industries shall be established and developed to produce basic metals, basic chemicals and capital goods. High technology shall be adopted and developed to serve the needs of the people.

National industrialization shall be the leading factor of the economy. While heavy industry shall be established, light industry shall be immediately undertaken to bridge heavy industry and agriculture. In the transition period, when socialist and bourgeois-democratic economic measures overlap, there shall be three sectors in the national economy: the state sector, the cooperative sector and the private sector.

All major financial institutions, major sources of raw materials and energy, all heavy and basic industries, major lines of domestic and foreign trade and all nationalized enterprises shall be run by the state sector. The peasants, fishermen, handicraftsmen and other petty producers shall be encouraged and provided with incentives to organize themselves into cooperatives to increase their productivity and assure themselves of a ready market. For a certain period and to a certain extent, the private sector, including patriotic entrepreneurs and merchants, shall be encouraged to contribute positively to the economic construction.

The state and cooperative sectors of the economy shall be built up as factors of socialism. The private sector in industry shall be regulated so that it does not monopolize or harm the people's livelihood or subvert the socialist sector of the economy. Public ownership of the means of production shall become dominant and state economic planning will ensure the development of a comprehensive and well-balanced socialist economy.

8. Promote a national, scientific and mass culture! The working class through the Party assumes leadership in the field of culture and education in line with its leading revolutionary role. A people's democratic cultural revolution is necessary to rid the nation of the stultifying dominance of imperialist and feudal culture and education, including fascist mentality, bourgeois decadent behavior and superstition. The cultural revolution must advance and promote a national, scientific and mass culture.

In the course of the protracted people's war, the Party wages mass campaigns to transform the backward villages into cultural bastions of the Philippine revolution. Cultural cadres and cultural battalions arise in the countryside. Illiteracy and superstition are steadily wiped out through education. The program of people's democratic revolution is propagated.

The Party, the people's democratic government and all democratic forces shall see to it that the educational system and the mass media serve the national, scientific and democratic interests of the people. Education at all levels shall be free to everyone, depending on ability and without any discrimination due to lower economic class origin, ethnicity, race, religion, creed, or gender. The courses of study and study materials in the social sciences, philosophy, law, arts and letters and so forth shall be cleansed of pro-imperialist, feudalism, fascist and other pernicious biases and misinformation.

9. Respect the right to self-determination of the national minorities! All national minorities in the Philippines are entitled to the right of national self-determination, including regional autonomy and the right to secede. They

have the right to decide their own destiny; free themselves from national oppression, exploitation, chauvinism, racism and discrimination; achieve democracy; and pursue social progress in an all-round way.

The Party and the people's democratic government shall always uphold the national and democratic rights of the national minorities. The national minorities shall be encouraged to take their rightful role and place in the people's democratic state and shall receive special considerations because of the extreme oppression and exploitation that they have suffered for so long in the hands of Spanish colonialism, US imperialism and the local reactionary classes.

The Party leads the struggle against national oppression. The revolutionary forces must grow in strength among the national minorities and foster unity, cooperation and coordination. A new type of leadership, a revolutionary one, must be encouraged to rise from the national minorities so as to supplant the traditional leadership that has not only failed to fight for their rights but has also participated in their exploitation. Cadres of the Party and the revolution must be developed from among the national minorities.

10. Adopt an active, independent and peace-loving foreign policy! The Party through the various revolutionary and progressive formations strives to develop the broadest possible international relations of anti-imperialist solidarity, mutual support and cooperation with all forces—be they parties, movements, institutions or governments—abroad. The largest and widest possible moral and material support from abroad is greatly needed for winning total victory in the people's democratic revolution against the imperialists and local reactionaries.

Upon its establishment, the People's Democratic Republic of the Philippines under the leadership of the Party shall abrogate all unequal treaties, agreements and arrangements with US and Japanese and other imperialists and shall proclaim an active, independent and peace-loving foreign policy based on the national sovereignty of the Filipino people and consonant with the principle of peaceful coexistence with all countries irrespective of ideology and social system. The People's Democratic Republic of the Philippines shall maintain normal diplomatic and trade relations with other countries.

The overriding principle of Philippine foreign relations shall be proletarian internationalism. The PDRP shall be an instrument for building socialism, shall have the closest relations with other socialist countries and shall support in every appropriate and possible way the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and people of the world.

To realize the foregoing ten points of the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution, the Party needs to set forth from time to time the specific demands and specific tasks in accordance with the concrete conditions. In carrying out the revolution, it must always take stock of the available forces and the desire of the people for revolutionary change and arrive at ways by which the level of the revolutionary struggle can be raised and advanced.

The general line of new-democratic revolution is clear. So is the socialist perspective. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism enables the CPP to foresee that building socialism shall take a whole historical epoch. The Party is confident that Mao's theory and practice of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship shall guide it in consolidating socialism, combating revisionism and preventing capitalist restoration until the people of the whole world shall have defeated imperialism and made possible the realization of the ultimate goal of communism.

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Onward with the new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war!

Long live the New People's Army!

Victory to the Filipino people!

Long live the world proletarian-socialist revolution!

Greet the 21st Century and New Millennium with the Resolve to Intensify the Revolution

December 26, 1999

As we celebrate the 31st anniversary of the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, we greet the 21st century and the new millennium with resolve to intensify the people's democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat.

We are determined to complete the revolutionary struggle for national independence and democracy that started more than a century ago. Our revolutionary forefathers heroically fought and won against Spanish colonialism which had ruled the country for more than three centuries. They proceeded to fight the aggression of US imperialism. Carrying forward the revolutionary legacy, we shall continue to fight US imperialism and its puppets even for another century.

On the broad scale of history, the new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war, which we are now carrying out, is a short period. But we are ready to pursue it for as long as necessary to win complete victory. We are confident that within the first few decades of the 21st century, we shall be able to establish the people's democratic republic and proceed to the socialist revolution.

Our revolutionary struggle is part of the world proletarian revolution. We are benefited by the historical experience and current struggles of the proletariat and oppressed peoples of the world. And we resolve to continue contributing the best we can to the resurgence and advance of the world proletarian revolution against imperialism and all reaction. In the decade that is about to pass, the imperialists and all reactionaries have gloated over the fall of the revisionist regimes and misrepresented it as the end of the socialist cause. But from year to year, the crisis of the world capitalist system and the new world disorder have worsened.

The people have no way out other than through armed revolution. Indeed, the revisionist betrayal of socialism has allowed the imperialists and all reactionaries to intensify the oppression and exploitation of the people under the slogan of "free market" globalization. But in turn, the people's suffering generates revolutionary resistance. We are certain that in the forthcoming century the proletariat and oppressed peoples shall win far greater victories than in the century that is about to pass.

Certain victory of socialism over monopoly capitalism

As Marx and Engels have taught us, the contradiction between the social character of the forces of production and the private character of appropriation under capitalism is irreconcilable. Lenin has further taught us that such contradiction sharpens and becomes more violent in the era of imperialism. Thus, the outgoing century has been characterized by grave economic crises and wars and has become the most violent in the history of mankind.

The adoption of ever higher technology in the imperialist countries intensifies the contradiction between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the proletariat. By increasing the constant capital for equipment and raw materials, the monopoly bourgeoisie cuts down the variable capital for wages in order to maximize profits and counter the tendency of profit rates to fall upon the increase in production.

The result is the chronic and ever-worsening crisis of overproduction relative to the shrinking of the market. The crisis deepens as the monopoly bourgeoisie cuts down the cost of labor by laying off workers, presses down wage conditions and further concentrates productive and finance capital.

The average growth rate of all imperialist countries is stagnant and fluctuating downward. The growth rate of the US is above the average because it has the lead in high technology, attracts foreign investments in US securities from Japan and the European Union and draws the most advantage from the exploitation of the underdeveloped countries. The biggest bubble of finance capital in the entire history of capitalism is puffed up in the United States by the overvaluation of monopoly assets.

The two other global centers of capitalism are afflicted by higher levels of unemployment. As a consequence, the workers' strike movement is more vigorous in the European Union than in the US. However, in Japan, the monopoly bourgeois state has gone into heavy public deficit-spending to counter the decade-long recession and hold back an outbreak of the workers' strike movement.

US imperialism is the main promoter of the neoliberal myth of free market in order to scapegoat the working class and social spending by government as the cause of stagnation and inflation and to dictate trade and investment liberalization, privatization and deregulation on all other countries. In fact, state monopoly capitalism and protectionism are growing in various forms and ways to serve private monopoly firms in all imperialist countries.

The monopoly bourgeoisie has used state power to cheapen labor and to appropriate public resources. The result is the rapid inflation of assets in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie in the imperialist countries. The concentration and centralization of capital in the imperialist countries, chiefly in the US, is proceeding at an unprecedentedly rapid rate, reducing all other countries to the status of loan beggars and consigning them to plunging levels of poverty and misery.

The recent Seattle meeting of the WTO went into shambles as the imperialist powers themselves accused each other of being in fact protectionist and likewise the client states accused the imperialists of being protectionist against them. Right in the belly of the beast, US imperialism, the American workers and people of various nationalities encircled the WTO and denounced the imperialists. Their protests were suppressed by brutal police action. But the battle in Seattle has signaled a new wave of mass protests, which is likely to strike again at the forthcoming IMF-World Bank meeting.

At the base of the global economic and financial crises in the '90s is the fact that all types of goods and services are now overproduced relative to the shrinking global market. Under these circumstances, the competition among imperialist countries is sharpening. The few South Korea-type economies, touted since the 1970s as newly industrialized countries, are being crushed under the weight of the industrial surpluses of their imperialist masters. Thus, the workers' strike movement has sprung up dramatically in such places.

The countries, previously betrayed by revisionist regimes and now complete adjuncts of the US-ruled capitalist system, have become dumping grounds of surplus products and speculative investments from the West and are plunging from one level of economic and social degradation to another. In varying degrees, they have become neocolonies of the imperialists, are ruled by the comprador big bourgeoisie and are descending to the general condition of the third world.

Russia today is an imperialist power relative to the oppressed nationalities within its borders and in its environs. But economically, it does not have much to offer to the world capitalist market beyond oil, which is in global oversupply. Like Russia, some East European countries offer steel, which is also in global oversupply. China is the biggest sweatshop for the production of low value-added consumer goods and finds itself hemmed in by its own overproduction and that of a few underdeveloped countries engaged in the same line of production.

Although Russia and China have become subordinated to the world capitalist system, the US and other imperialist countries remain wary of assertions of national sovereignty by these countries, their possession of nuclear weapons and the possible resurgence of revolutionary forces. The US and other imperialist powers covet these countries as neocolonies and wish to prevent them from becoming industrial competitors.

The strategic line of the US-led imperialist alliance is to encircle Russia and China with the NATO and the pro-US European military forces and the US-Japan security partnership and to further weaken their economies through the local comprador big bourgeoisie in order to render useless their nuclear and other weapon systems.

The end of the cold war between the US and the defunct Soviet Union has not meant the end of tensions due to imperialist acts of intervention and aggression. The US and other imperialist powers have been encouraged by the internal weaknesses of China and Russia to intervene in their internal affairs and commit or threaten acts of aggression within their borders and in their vicinity.

By becoming adjuncts of the world capitalist system and continuously deteriorating economically and socially, both Russia and China have become polarized internally and become hotbeds of social conflict. The new big bourgeoisie is extremely intolerable to the people as it ceaselessly robs them and inflicts terrible suffering on them.

The great legacy of Lenin and Stalin is still alive in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. There is a proliferation of parties inspired by such legacy even as phony communists and social democrats are still prominently competing with the blatant anticommunists. The proletariat and people are beginning to stir. The revolutionary forces are gradually developing.

The imperialists expect that in the first or second decade of the next century the rulers of China would peacefully cast off the signboards of socialism and the communist party as in Russia. But workers' strikes and peasant

uprisings have broken out although sporadically. It is only a matter of time before a genuine communist party arises under the inspiration of the great legacy of Mao.

The overwhelming majority of the countries of the world are semicolonial and semifeudal. Whatever industries some of them established in the past are being destroyed under the terms of neocolonialism and neoliberalism, as dictated by the imperialist countries bilaterally or through such multilateral agencies as the IMF, World Bank and WTO.

The imperialist countries require the client countries to accord national treatment to foreign investors, press down wage levels, privatize state assets, deregulate and open up their economies to the dumping of surplus goods and to the flow of speculative investments.

Since the late 1970s, the client countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America have suffered from the global overproduction of raw materials, the ever-deteriorating terms of trade and the ever-rising levels of foreign debt. A few of them, like those in Southeast Asia, have gone into the production of low value added semimanufactures for export. But these have become overproduced in the 1990s.

Together with the former revisionist-ruled countries, the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are now in the landscape of social and political turbulence. There is widespread counterrevolutionary violence instigated by imperialist powers and arising from the rivalries of reactionary cliques spouting the slogans of chauvinism, ethnocentrism and religion.

The US and other imperialist powers have taken the initiative to wage wars of aggression, such as those against Yugoslavia and Iraq, and have used high-tech weapons and economic sanctions that are far more deadly and indiscriminate against the people than the weapons in the hands of rival reactionary groups that launch civil wars and coups against each other, often attended by massacres.

Amidst the widespread counterrevolutionary violence, however, there are countries where Marxist-Leninist parties are leading protracted people's war along the line of the new-democratic revolution. There are other revolutionary movements fighting for national self-determination or merely against authoritarianism. There are also states, like those of North Korea and Cuba, which are standing up for their national independence and the socialist aspirations of their peoples.

In our region of Southeast Asia, the depressed economic and social conditions due to the financial crisis of 1997 have caused unprecedented social unrest. As a consequence, the Indonesian people have overthrown the long-running US puppet dictator Suharto and the East Timorese people have won their national independence. Like the Filipino people, the other peoples of Southeast Asia are disgusted with the ruling systems of big compradors and landlords and wish to make revolution.

All basic contradictions in the world capitalist system are sharpening. The main contradiction is the one between the imperialist countries and the oppressed peoples. So far and for a long while to come, it is this contradiction which is directly generating the conditions for the revolutionary parties of the proletariat to wage armed revolution.

The contradictions among the imperialist powers are intensifying on economic, political and military issues. But so far, the US-led imperialist alliance is holding insofar as they are united in oppressing and exploiting the people of the world and trying to contain and engage Russia and China, which they fear as imperialist rivals if uncontrolled and not further weakened.

The outbreak of war in the contradiction among the imperialists can result from the continuous worsening of the crisis of overproduction in the world capitalist system, the rise to power of fascist forces in any imperialist country (including Russia) and the realignment of imperialist powers in exploiting the oppressed peoples. Only the revolutionary people led by the proletariat can stop fascism and war or turn the imperialist war into a revolutionary civil war.

In the imperialist countries, where the contradiction between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the proletariat is intensifying in varying degrees, the monopoly bourgeoisie always tries to shift the burden of crisis to the client countries. But it never ceases to extract surplus value from the proletariat in the imperialist countries. The rate of exploitation and the rate of unemployment have increased in imperialist countries.

The polarization between the proletariat and the rest of the people upholding the banner of socialism on one side and the monopoly bourgeoisie and its fascist forces on the other side will proceed faster as the struggle of the oppressed people and the inter-imperialist contradictions further intensify.

Even as imperialism has benefited from the revisionist betrayal of socialism in the Soviet Union since 1956 and in China since 1976, the material conditions that have emerged cannot be contained and controlled by monopoly capitalism. Thus, in so short a time, imperialism has been thrown into an unprecedented economic and social crisis.

Such forces of production as the higher technology and the more educated and highly skilled proletariat are appropriate to socialist relations of production and not to capitalist relations of production which are dominated and driven by the motive of private profit. In fact, such forces of production are again and again straining against the capitalist relations of production, trying to break these fetters.

The technology now available for production can wipe out poverty in a world where more than four-fifths of humanity live below the poverty line and one-half live on less than two dollars a day. But greater production means overproduction relative to the market in the capitalist system. For the monopoly bourgeoisie to maximize profits, it increases the rate of exploitation on those workers who remain on the job and keeps the overwhelming majority of the world's work force in a condition of unemployment and underemployment.

Desperate in offering new products for accelerated profit-taking and capital expansion, the monopoly bourgeoisie has commercialized communications technology previously reserved for its military forces. This same technology is now available for the revolutionaries for conducting revolutionary propaganda and other work and for economic planning and socialist democracy in the future.

Imperialism tries to pass itself off as a new thing with the alias, globalization. But this signifies something old, a retrogression to the "laissez faire" rapacity of capitalism as it raced towards monopoly capitalism or imperialism from 1870 and onwards to the first inter-imperialist war in 1914.

"Free market" globalization since 1980 has brought to the current decade the most irrational destruction of productive forces and the most avaricious concentration of capital and thus an unprecedented crisis and disorder in the world capitalist system.

As the 20th century draws to a close, the stage is set for the great battles in the epochal struggle between the proletariat and the monopoly bourgeoisie. The current grave crisis and great disorder in the world capitalist system are the prelude to great upheavals and social revolution in the 21st century.

From decade to decade, the chronic crisis of the semicolonial and 353 semifeudal system has deepened and aggravated. The endless series of IMF-directed structural adjustment and stabilization programs and the shift of emphasis in official pretense, from World Bank-directed "development" under the Marcos regime to the GATT and WTO-directed "free market" under the post-Marcos regimes have made the ruling system more rotten than ever before.

During the prolonged period of Marcos fascist dictatorship, infrastructure projects, raw-material production, construction of tourist facilities and even sheer bureaucratic and military waste of resources were passed off as economic development. Budgetary and trade deficits widened and public borrowing mounted until the US-instigated fascist regime became untenable.

In the post-Marcos regimes, all top-level puppet politicians are under orders by imperialism not even to pretend that they are for industrial development. The controlling term for them is "free market", while they are leashed to the production of raw materials plus low value-added semimanufactures for export. They are required to liberalize trade and investments in favor of foreign monopoly capitalism, privatize state assets and deregulate against labor standards, environmental protection and other social concerns.

The low value-added semimanufactures (semiconductors, garments, toys, shoes and the like) account for around half of gross export receipts. But their import content run as high as 90 percent. These types of goods are now under deteriorating terms of trade due to global overproduction, like raw materials since the late 1970s. It is actually the export of contract workers that fetches more foreign exchange earnings than any export product.

Public works and private construction of residential and office towers have been used to pump-prime the economy. This has not stimulated any kind of lasting domestic production but only the importation of construction equipment, structural steel and luxury goods for the exploiting classes. This has merely aggravated the perennial trade deficits and the rapid increase of the local and foreign public debt as well as promoted in the neoliberal way the shadiest credit transactions and contracts between the foreign lenders and suppliers on the one hand and the bureaucrat capitalists and cronies on the other hand.

The Philippines remains a backward agrarian country and yet it has become a net food importer of rice, corn,

sugar and meat. This is the effect of trade liberalization which allows the dumping of agricultural surpluses from other countries to the detriment of domestic agricultural production. Food security is also ruined by the rapid reclassification of agricultural land as commercial and industrial land for real estate speculation, by the alienation of public land, mineral, forest and water resources under various pretexts and by the escalating campaigns of military suppression in the countryside.

Just as they are banned by their imperialist masters from promising industrial development, the ruling politicians are banned from promising land reform. Even the few pieces of rice and corn land, previously covered by a tokenistic land reform program of the reactionary government, are now being reclassified as commercial or industrial land and are being repossessed by the landlords or bought from the state by real estate speculators.

The entire economy and the reactionary government are dependent on foreign credit. But the foreign credit that is now available is merely for stabilizing banks and for a limited number of public works.

The US-Estrada regime has grave difficulties in raising revenues in the form of tax from a depressed economy, tariff from liberalized trade and proceeds from sale of dwindling corporate assets of the state. A large chunk of the budget is gobbled up by debt service and military and police spending. Consequently, there is a scramble for limited funds among the office of the president, national departments, Congress and local officials.

The US-Estrada ruling clique is running a government that is bankrupt. It has imposed an unannounced austerity program at the expense of the people. It is under orders from its imperialist masters as well as its big comprador-land-lord patrons to carry out the most treasonous and stupid policies.

The ruling clique declares that the Philippines can compete globally only by auctioning off the national patrimony. Thus, it is campaigning for the rewrite of the 1987 constitution in order to allow unrestricted foreign ownership of land and all types of businesses, including the exploitation of natural resources, public utilities, banks, retail trade, schools, mass media and advertising.

The rewrite to make the reactionary constitution far worse than it is now is also meant to adjust it to the Visiting Forces Agreement which surrenders national sovereignty and territorial integrity to US imperialism, remove the formal guarantees of civil and political rights and prolong the terms of office of the ruling clique.

There is practically a return to colonial times and likewise to the ways of the US-Marcos fascist dictatorship in terms of puppetry, corruption, deceptiveness and brutality. The ruling clique consists of direct political descendants and the most notorious cronies of the late unlamented fascist dictator.

The US-Estrada regime berates the people for marking the declaration of martial law on September 21 and condemning the human rights violations under the US-Marcos regime and admonishes them to forget about these. At the same time, it collaborates with the Marcos family in evading the enforcement of the US court decision to compensate the victims of human rights violations. This family and the most notorious Marcos cronies are keeping their concealed ill-gotten assets and taking out from sequestration those ill-gotten assets that are still under litigation.

The US-Estrada regime is escalating military and police campaigns of suppression and perpetrates human rights violations with impunity without having to declare martial law. In fact, entire communities in both rural and urban areas are being subjected to zoning and search operations as well as forced mass eviction and evacuation. An increasing number of people are victims of warrantless arrests, illegal detention, torture, extrajudicial killings, including massacres.

The rising level of oppression is directly connected with the rising level of exploitation by the imperialists and a narrow ruling clique. Brute force is used to compel people to leave the land which Estrada and his cronies covet for acquisition and likewise intimidate the people in general. The regime cynically describes as land reform the most vicious corporate tricks of landgrabbing and praises the big comprador-landlord Eduardo Cojuangco as the godfather of land reform.

Together with the big comprador Lucio Tan, Estrada insults the workers by claiming they are "pampered". The US-Estrada regime freely uses the military and police forces to threaten and attack workers, especially during strikes. Here is a regime that is not satisfied with the detrimental effects of the so-called free market economic policy and the labor flexibility policy. It goes further with its propensity to fling insults and use physical force against the workers.

The reasons are clear why the US-Estrada regime has terminated the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations. It considers the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law as an

obstacle to a policy of brutality against the people. It is terribly afraid of negotiations on basic social, economic, political and constitutional reforms because it is hell-bent on rewriting the 1987 constitution for the benefit of the imperialists and the local exploiting classes.

It is necessary for the broad masses of the people to rise up and fight for their national and democratic rights and interests. As far as the armed revolutionary movement is concerned, it is ever more necessary to intensify the basic tactical offensives for wiping out enemy units and seizing their weapons as well as to launch special tactical offensives to punish the most notorious traitors, human rights violators and plunderers and to serve notice that foreign oppressors and exploiters are not welcome in the country.

It is no longer sufficient to denounce as farces the periodic elections, staged by the reactionaries, and to implement a policy of revolutionary dual tactics towards reactionary candidates. It is necessary to actively prevent the most notorious malefactors from running as candidates and to take punitive action against them. Assaults on their armed convoys can serve to dispel the illusion of democracy conjured by the electoral farce of the enemy.

It is absurd that on the basis of mere suspicion the enemy can do as he pleases to harm and kill revolutionaries and that revolutionaries should abstain from arresting, trying and punishing those who have committed the most dastardly crimes against the people. Moreover, the ruling system would become even more wobbly when it becomes unable to conjure the illusion of democracy.

At whatever rate the armed revolutionary movement can carry out the just punitive actions, the socioeconomic and political crisis of the ruling system is accelerating. The all-round bankruptcy of the reactionary state limits the amount of spoils available for amicable mutual accommodation among the rival political factions of the exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

The bureaucratic corruption of those in power becomes more easily exposed by those who are out of power. The contradictions among the reactionaries have become more bitter and tend to be more violent. Reports are already rife that the US-Estrada regime would not last until the end of its term, either because there would be a coup, an assassination or a declaration of incompetence against Estrada.

An increasing number of the members of Congress are rankling that Estrada has accused them of thievery through the traditional pork barrel. But he has turned the congressional pork barrel into a presidential pork barrel and has made Congress a beggar. In the style of Marcos, he and his son grab the lion's share of the graft in public works and goes around vaingloriously ladling out public funds.

In obedience to the dictates of the IMF and World Bank, the Estrada regime is laying off a great number of civil employees of the reactionary government. These lowly paid employees are now engaged in a protest movement to retain their jobs. Officials and employees at the provincial and municipal levels of the reactionary government have also expressed their outrage at the arbitrary reduction of internal revenue allocations for them.

In contrast to the civil bureaucracy, the military and police forces get a far higher proportion of budgetary allocations, especially in the name of military modernization. Many of their officers are running criminal syndicates engaged in robbery, kidnapping for ransom, smuggling and prostitution. No less than Estrada himself and his criminal associates are engaged in criminal operations, of which the most lucrative is technical smuggling. This also accounts for lessened tariff collection.

By following and carrying out the neocolonial and neoliberal dictates of its imperialist masters, the puppet regime of Estrada oppresses and exploits the Filipino people and inflicts intolerable suffering on them. They are therefore resisting the regime with increasing resoluteness and militancy.

The US-Estrada regime is already isolated as a result of its own blatant antinational and antidemocratic policies and acts. A broad alliance of the toiling masses, the middle social strata, respectable institutions and anti-Estrada reactionaries is now further isolating the regime.

This broad alliance has conducted nationwide mass protest actions against the return of the Marcoses and Marcos cronies to power with Estrada, against the corruption of old and new cronies, the plan to rewrite the 1987 constitution and the suppression of press freedom. The leaders of the broad alliance have repeatedly warned Estrada that they can arouse and mobilize the people to remove him from power, as in the case of Marcos, for violating the most fundamental rights of the people. The broad alliance can be further developed to oust Estrada or compel him to resign.

While always ready to cooperate and coordinate with other forces, the progressive mass organizations and alliances of the workers, peasants, women, youth and other sectors have repeatedly launched nationwide mass

protest actions. The issues include wages and workers' rights, agrarian reform and food security, women's rights, student rights, the Visiting Forces Agreement, the repeated oil price hikes, human rights violations, and so on.

The people recognize that legal protest movements are important and necessary for exposing the antinational and antidemocratic character of the ruling system and the current ruling clique. They also recognize that the armed revolutionary movement is the most important and most necessary weapon for overthrowing the ruling system of big compradors and landlords and establishing the people's democratic system on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance.

The people condemn the US-Estrada regime's termination of the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations and ridicule the so-called localized negotiations under the auspices of a GRP-controlled "national peace forum" as nothing but a futile psywar scheme to solicit surrenderers and fragment the revolutionary movement and as a complement to the escalating military and police campaigns of suppression, under Oplan Makabayan, against the revolutionary forces and the people.

The people welcome the alliance of the National Democratic Front and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front against the US-Estrada regime. This alliance involves mutual respect and mutual support against the common enemy. All the revolutionary organizations within the NDFP, including the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army support the Moro people's struggle for self-determination and democracy.

The struggle against the US-Estrada regime is part of the long-term struggle against the ruling system. The Party can go into any alliance to isolate and destroy the current regime. At the same time, it maintains its independence and initiative and develops its own revolutionary strength in the process of fighting every regime that the ruling system can still put forward until its final overthrow.

Intensify the revolution

The Communist Party of the Philippines is well prepared to lead the Filipino proletariat and people in accomplishing the new-democratic and socialist stages of the Philippine revolution. It has a correct ideological, political and organizational line. It has been tempered by decades of revolutionary struggle, has learned lessons from its experience and from abroad and has clear fighting tasks. It has won significant victories and accumulated strength.

The Second Great Rectification Movement has reaffirmed the basic revolutionary principles put forward by the First Great Rectification Movement and by the congress of reestablishment of the Party in 1968. It has successfully reinvigorated and strengthened the Party in an all-round way, for the protracted people's war along the line of new-democratic revolution.

The Party upholds Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as its theoretical guide and ideological line and integrates it with the practice of the Philippine revolution. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is the telescope and microscope of the revolution. It guides us in comprehending the history and current circumstances of the Philippine revolution and world proletarian revolution and provides us with the foresight, up to the stage of consolidating socialism, combating revisionism and preventing the restoration of capitalism and staying firmly on the road to communism.

By grasping the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method of the revolutionary proletariat, the Party has understood well the history and current circumstances of the Philippines. It has summed up its revolutionary experience in a comprehensive and profound way and has learned lessons from both positive and negative experiences.

Periodically and on a timely basis, it sums up and analyzes experience and engages in criticism and self-criticism in the course of current work in order to improve work and the style of work and further clarify the revolutionary tasks and methods of carrying them out. Thus the revolutionary struggle of the people is advancing from victory to victory.

The Party has repudiated and combated subjectivism that took the form of empiricism and dogmatism and ultimately led to revisionism, liquidationism and reformism. The unremolded petty-bourgeois elements who systematically generated subjectivism have openly exposed themselves as traitors and degenerates serving the ruling system and the imperialists. The worst of them are shamelessly either in the service of the US-Estrada regime, imperialist-fund- agencies or Trotskyite, racketeering and bourgeois-liberal grouplets.

The Party has frustrated the imperialist ideological offensive, which proclaimed capitalism and liberal democracy as the end of history and misrepresented the fall of the revisionist regimes as proof of the futility of socialism. The Party has reaffirmed its foundational criticism and repudiation of modern revisionism and is vindicated by the

full unmasking of the revisionist renegades as the agents of capitalist restoration.

The level of ideological consciousness of all Party cadres and members has risen as a result of ideological struggle in the Second Great Rectification Movement and of the application and verification of correct ideas in the course of revolutionary practice. Formal study courses at primary, intermediate and advanced levels, study meetings in leading organs and units, social investigation, summing up of work and criticism and self-criticism are continuously being undertaken.

The theoretical organ of the Party and Marxist-Leninist classics in books and pamphlets are widely distributed in the Party. For the benefit of comrades with less formal education, simplified texts and illustrated study materials have been designed. Master copies of educational materials are available in computer disks for reproduction. A website is maintained on the internet and appropriate materials have been posted on it.

The Party steadfastly carries out the general political line of new democratic revolution through a protracted people's war in correspondence with the semicolonial and semifeudal conditions of the Philippines. This revolution is a preparation for socialism, which is realizable only after the overthrow of the ruling system dominated by foreign monopoly capitalism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

As the revolutionary party of the proletariat, the Party vigorously conducts underground work among the workers and rapidly promotes both the current general line and Marxist-Leninist education among the workers. It guides and encourages the trade union movement and all the political struggles of the working class. It builds the Party organization among the workers in an underground way. Thus, it can play its leading role effectively and be at the core of the entire workers' movement.

In view of the fact that there are so many workers being thrown out of their jobs, the Party should be able to dispatch more proletarian revolutionary cadres and worker activists to serve in the New People's Army, link up with peasant masses and do mass work among them. Thus, the leadership of the Party and the working class and the worker-peasant alliance are further strengthened.

It is fine for the armed revolutionary movement that the reactionary government has abandoned its pretenses for land reform. The solution of the land problem is the main content of the democratic revolution. It concerns the peasant masses, the biggest and most oppressed and exploited class in the Philippines. It can be realized only by integrating revolutionary armed struggle, land reform and mass-base building.

In the process, the peasantry is the main force of the revolution. It is the class that directly sustains in a big way the armed revolution nationwide. It has enabled the Party to build the New People's Army and wage a protracted people's war by which political and military strength can be accumulated until conditions are ripe for a successful seizure of the cities.

The New People's Army is mainly a peasant army under the absolute leadership of the Party. It operates in more than 80 guerrilla fronts nationwide. It is still in the stage of strategic defensive. After a significant period of expanding and consolidating its mass base, it is launching tactical offensives against enemy weak points with increasing frequency and on an expanding scale. It is determined to wage extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base.

It has recently demonstrated its fighting capabilities with well-planned and well-executed tactical offensives, including raids, ambushes and arrest operations, on the basis of accurate intelligence and prompt reconnaissance. These are attainable because of Party leadership, wholehearted mass support and competent and courageous NPA units. Among the outstanding achievements of the people are raids and ambushes which have resulted in the capture of weapons and arrest operations which have resulted in the capture of enemy officers, including a general.

The people's army has been instrumental in the building of the organs of political power, the revolutionary mass organizations and Party branches in the countryside. Mass campaigns are being carried out with regard to mass education, land reform, production, public health and hygiene, self-defense, settlement of disputes and cultural development. The villages are being turned into economic, political, military and cultural bastions of the revolution.

Towards the solution of the land problem, the minimum land reform program of rent reduction, regulation of interest rates, raising farm wages, improving farm-gate prices and promoting production is being carried out. At the same time, despotic landlords and landgrabbers are being thwarted. There are exemplary cases of land confiscation from despotic landlords. And lands that have been grabbed by landgrabbers are returned to the rightful owners. The ultimate goal for the benefit of all landless tillers is the free and equitable distribution of land to them

in the maximum land reform program.

The National Democratic Front is the alliance of such progressive forces as those of the toiling masses and urban petty bourgeoisie. As a whole, it is open to formal and informal alliances with other entities, including the forces and elements of the middle bourgeoisie, reactionaries against the common enemy and movements for national self-determination among the minorities in the country. The recently forged alliance of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front is of great significance and consequence in the armed struggle against the common enemy.

The legal mass movement has surged vigorously this year. The workers' trade unions and mass organizations of peasants, fishermen, urban poor, women, youth, religious believers, teachers, health workers, lawyers and other professionals have made protests on multisectoral and sectoral issues. The multisectoral and sectoral legal alliances of progressive forces have demonstrated their increasing ability to conduct nationwide and local mass actions, independent of the anti-Estrada reactionary forces as well as in combination with them in order to isolate the US-Estrada regime.

The Estrada regime is hell-bent on using the coercive apparatuses of the state in order to suppress the armed revolutionary movement as well as the legal democratic movement for the purpose of throwing the country wide open for exploitation by the imperialists and the narrow ruling clique of big compradors and landlords. The people must therefore be resolute, vigilant and militant in opposing them.

The people's war must be intensified. There must be the basic tactical offensives that are aimed at increasing the armed strength of the revolutionary movement. There must also be special tactical offensives aimed at punishing the most notorious traitors, violators of human rights and plunderers and demonstrating that the oppressors and exploiters are not secure from punishment wherever they are.

The Party follows the organizational principle of democratic centralism by promoting the line of centralized leadership on the basis of democracy and democracy under the guidance of centralized leadership and by opposing bureaucratism and liberalism. It has strengthened itself by taking deep roots among the toiling masses and recruiting Party members from the ranks of advanced mass activists.

The number of Party members has increased since the start of the Second Great Rectification Movement. More importantly, their quality is high because of their education in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the intensification of mass work. A significant number of cadres and activists from the ranks of the workers and educated youth have been dispatched to the countryside to serve the people's army and peasant masses.

Party branches are built in factories, transport lines, urban poor communities, in schools, offices, reactionary institutions and in haciendas and in the barrios. The proportion of Party members from the ranks of workers is increasing rapidly. So is the proportion of those from the peasantry.

The Party is healthy and growing because it has removed from its ranks revisionists, liquidationists and the incorrigible opportunists of the "Left" and Right variety as well as the centrists. These opportunists lorded over organs and units by acting as bureaucrat centralists towards those within their organizational scope and as ultra-democrats, liberals and anarchists in relation to higher organs.

For the Party to lead the new democratic revolution to complete victory, we need far more members than the current few tens of thousands that we have. We need at least hundreds of thousands. To move towards this direction, we must from one period to another have an organizational-educational plan by which we can systematically recruit Party candidate-members from the ranks of the advanced mass activists.

The call is to recruit Party members boldly but not to allow a single undesirable in. All honest and hardworking mass activists who are willing to accept the Party Constitution and Program can be recruited as Party candidate members. Within the period prescribed by the Party Constitution, candidate-members should be elevated to full members after taking the Party primary course and fulfilling trial work.

In the spirit of proletarian internationalism and broad anti-imperialist solidarity, the Communist Party of the Philippines leads and carries out the Philippine revolution. Workers and oppressed peoples must unite in order to overthrow imperialism and all reaction and achieve national and social liberation.

History has proven that socialism can be established and built in one country after another. But to attain the ultimate goal of communism, the revolutionary proletariat and people must first defeat imperialism on a global scale. Before this global victory, the ruling proletariat and the people in socialist countries must also combat revisionism, prevent the restoration of capitalism and further consolidate socialism.

The era of imperialism and proletarian revolution continues. It takes an entire historical epoch to bring about the global defeat of imperialism and conversely the global victory of socialism.

All genuine communists, from generation to generation, are ready to wage revolutionary struggle for any length of time in order to achieve the victory of socialism in a series of countries until the ultimate goal of communism is reached.

It is certain that in the early decades of the forthcoming century there will be a conflagration of people's wars and broad anti-imperialist movements on an unprecedented global scale. The socialist and anti-imperialist movements are bound to resurge. There shall be great battles in the epochal struggle between the proletariat and the people of the world on one side and imperialism and reaction on the other side. To repeat for emphasis, there shall be far greater revolutionary victories in the 21st century than in the outgoing century.

All genuine communists are optimistic that when the proletariat and people again build socialist societies in the forthcoming century, they shall apply well the lessons they can learn from the actual restoration of capitalism by revisionists and from the proven teachings of Comrade Mao on the need for a series of cultural revolutions under proletarian dictatorship in order to combat revisionism, prevent the restoration of capitalism and consolidate socialism until the global defeat of imperialism leads to the realization of communism.

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Down with imperialism, revisionism and all reaction!

Long live proletarian internationalism!