



ANNIVERSARY STATEMENTS (1992-2017)

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

2018



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Published by

Central Committee
Communist Party of the Philippines

December 2018

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Unite to raise higher the fighting will and capabilities of the Party and the people, carry out the decisions of the Tenth CC plenum

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 longrunning 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.

I. 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 aforecited 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 policymaking 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 policymaking 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 Partywide 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 farreaching 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 pettybourgeoisie, 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 wellgrounded 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 pettybourgeois 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 unremoulded pettybourgeoisie 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 unremoulded pettybourgeoisie 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 pettybourgeoisie.

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.

B. In the Sphere of Politics

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 onwards.

"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 nonrecognition of the error because this was concealed by temporary military successes before the enemy could launch a fullscale 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 guerilla 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 (598) 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 up to 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.

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 (busburning 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 Northcentral 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 fulltime 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 remoulding) 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 pettybourgeois 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 pettybourgeois 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 up to 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 busburning 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 remoulded 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 pettybourgeois status and orientation on the basis mainly of their antifascist political stand, without adequate ideological check up and further education and remoulding. 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

antiproletarian and anti-Marxist pettybourgeois 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 pettybourgeois populists, liberals and social democrats, have promoted the phenomenon of NGO bureaucratism. 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 pettybourgeois 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 longrunning "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 sometime. 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 Partywide 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 practised the "freedom of criticism" denounced by the great Lenin as a violation of the principles of democratic centralism and as pettybourgeois ultrademocracy 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 policymaking power, nullify the rectification movement and the Tenth CC Plenum, oust the Central Committee and call for a new Plenum and new Congress?

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 longrunning 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 longrunning 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 longrunning 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 deepgoing 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 Ipitán 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 areas.

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 deepgoing 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.

Psywar Tactics of the US-Ramos Regime

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.

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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 longrunning 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 P300 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 P214 a day for a family of six but the legislated minimum wage (which employers to their own advantage generally violate) is P84.50 to 106.70 in the agricultural sector and P118 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 U.N. 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 antifeudal 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

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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 highpowered 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 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.

Relationship 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 pettybourgeois 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). Lines of public service (public utilities and basic services) continue to be

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 highspeed spending for the hightech 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 hightech 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 hightech media, with the collaboration of the unremoulded and coopted pettybourgeoisie, 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 pettybourgeoisie 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 pettybourgeoisie are suffering an economic hell worse than ever before.

The US Strategic Decline and the Drive to Reverse It

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 nonreciprocation 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 hightech 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 hightech weapons as well as reproduce those bought from the United States and over its high potential as an allround 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 hightech 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 multipolarization 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 U.N. peacekeeping 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 longrunning 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 longrunning 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, industrywide 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-R.P. 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 unchallengable 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.

Statement of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines on the Occasion of the Party's 24th Anniversary December 26, 1992, released by the Executive Committee

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

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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 Glorious Record of Revolutionary Struggle in the Last 25 Years

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 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-Mao Zedong Thought 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 sizeable 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 predated 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 pettybourgeoisie 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 Tumauni, 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 up to 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 allround 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-Mao Zedong Thought 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 pettybourgeois 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.

120 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 long- time intelligence and psy-war 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 up to 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 unremoulded 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 unremoulded petty- bourgeois elements can hold on to and generate varying degrees of antiproletarian ideas within the working class party.

In the 1968-80 period, the antiproletarian 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 c 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 manifestoes 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 Party 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 occasion of 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 unremoulded 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 unremoulded pettybourgeois 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-Mao Zedong Thought. 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 pettybourgeois, 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 pettybourgeois 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.

Political Situation and Tasks

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\$33billion. The annual debt service burden is at the level of US 4.6 billion. The domestic public debt is more than P/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 P/310 billion (US\$11 billion), the revenue of P/284 billion and the estimated deficit of P/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 P/118 but the daily cost of living for a family of six is P/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 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 antiproletarian forces. Such an arrangement may at first be dominated by the pettybourgeois 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 antsubversion 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 steered by theoretical and political education in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought 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-a-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 accountabilities 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 anticommunist 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-Mao Zedong Thought. 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 disinforming 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

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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-Mao Zedong Thought 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!**

Message of Armando Liwanag,
Chairman of the CPP Central Committee
on December 26, 1993

Carry the rectification movement through to the end and advance the revolutionary cause in an all-round way

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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-Mao Zedong Thought. 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, ultra- democracy and liquidationism. We have basically overcome the major deviations, errors, weaknesses and damage wrought for more than a decade by the unremoulded 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

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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 pseudo-progressive 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 pettybourgeois.

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 anticommunists, 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 '80s. The opportunist traitors have deliberately and maliciously used certain pettybourgeois-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 antsubversion 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 guerilla 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 guerilla fronts with a sound mass base can arise. In every guerilla front, 70 to 75 percent of the Red fighters are dispersed in squads, each of which can cover a guerilla 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 guerilla front can be a company; in a medium one, an oversized platoon or in a small one, a platoon. In due time, each guerilla 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 guerilla warfare, the guerilla 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 like wise 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 guerilla

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 guerilla 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 cooperations. 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 guerilla 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

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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 the 'ps 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 anti-people 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 busying 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 (socdems), 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 socio-economic 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 U.N. Security Council and other U.N. 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 Organizations 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

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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 anew 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 advance 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% 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 anti- communist 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 preemptive 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.

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

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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 per cent 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 per cent whose share has decreased. More than 76 per cent of the population live below the poverty line.

The foreign trade deficit reached the record level of US\$6.2 billion at year-end 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 P521 billion in 1992 to P663 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 pesos 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 9 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 P259 for the entire Philippines, P321 in the National Capital Region (NCR) and P252 in the provinces while nominal income levels are P119 for nonagricultural workers, P108 plantation workers and P97 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.

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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 multipolarization 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 multipolarization 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 Lambat 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 guerilla 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 guerilla 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 pettybourgeois 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 mass 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 per cent 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 per cent 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 per cent 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 per cent. Japan appears to be coming out of recession, with about 1 per cent 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 per cent, 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 per cent 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 per cent 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, nonpayment 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 per cent; in South and Central America 4.4 percent; and in the Czech Republic, Poland and Slovakia, 3 per cent, 4 per cent, 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 multilateral 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, China and Entocone, 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, neo-fascism, 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-Mao Zedong Thought 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 pettybourgeois 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-Mao Zedong Thought, 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 guerilla 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 guerilla 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.

Message of Armando Liwanag,
Chairman, Central Committee,
Communist Party of the Philippines,
on December 26, 1994

Celebrate 27 years of revolutionary struggle strive all-out to fulfill the tasks set for 1996

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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-Mao Zedong Thought.

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.

The living study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought 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 anticommunist 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 pettybourgeoisie 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 up to 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 pettybourgeoisie who wish to remould 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, union-busting, 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 pettybourgeois 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

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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, oddjobbers 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, regress 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 psy-war 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 countermove 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

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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 (U.N., 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 U.N.-- 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 Rumania, as "partners for peace." The Russian contingent is under the command of the NATO and in effect the United States.

On the occasion of 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 U.N. 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 socioeconomic 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 sometime 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 '50s and '60s to the increasingly more severe ones since the '70s, 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

allround development in our revolutionary struggle.

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Long live the Philippine revolution!

Long live the Filipino people!

By Armando Liwanag

Chairman, Central Committee

Communist Party of the Philippines (December 26, 1995)

Raise the armed revolution to a new and higher level

1996

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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-Mao Zedong Thought. 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

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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 pettybourgeoisie) 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

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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, tele- communications 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 nonmerchandise 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 pesos for a 15-year period, the regime intends to spend more than 30 billion pesos 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 acknowledgement 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 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 onesidedly 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

pettybourgeoisie 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 himself 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 anti- terrorism 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 '70s 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 neorevisionists 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 deepgoing social unrest and disorder. The most barbaric kinds of counterrevolutionary violence have arisen from the longrunning 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 pettybourgeois-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.

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.

4. 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.

This statement was issued by Comrade Armando Liwanag,
Chairman of the CPP Central Committee
on December 26, 1996

The revolution surges forward

1997

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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 30s to the end of the 70s, 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 pseudodevelopment in the former colonies.

But in the 70s 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 bannerhead 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, Japans 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 transferpricing in the intracompany 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 80s and 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 overexpansion 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 70s.

It tends to link up with the terrible conditions of de-industrialization and thirdworldization of the former Soviet-bloc countries. In the main, the Western imperialist countries, especially Germany, France

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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 aggressions 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 interimperialist 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 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 antidevelopment 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 pesos to

more than 40 pesos to the US dollar or by more than 50 per cent 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 frontrunning 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 Partys 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 Peoples 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 Communist Party of the Philippines

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 Partys 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 frontrunners. 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 Partys 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 Peoples 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 deepgoing 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 wellspring 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 psy-war 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 pettybourgeoisie. 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 dutybound 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

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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 30th 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.

Message by Armando Liwanag on the 29th Anniversary
of the Reestablishment of the Communist Party
of the Philippines (December 26, 1997)

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

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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 megacompetition 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 megacompetition 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 de-

industrialization. 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 of the 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 onwards, 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 '60s. 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 pesos to 550 billion pesos 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 superspeed 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 pesos.

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 '70s. 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.

314 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 superhead 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

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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

Philippines is no longer semifeudal but is far more industrial and urbanized than pre-revolutionary Russia and China and that in effect the big comprador-landlord Marcos regime had developed the country economically.

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 '80 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 retrogress.

On the other hand, the Right opportunists developed their base and influence in foreign-funded "NGOs" to spread the notion of retrogressing 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 remolding 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 up to 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 antifeudal movement during the entire '60s and up to 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

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 Communist Party of the Philippines

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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 disintegrating 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 pettybourgeoisie 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 anytime. 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 assured at the best price possible and welfare services shall be guaranteed.

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, feudalist, 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!

Issued by Armando Liwanag
Chairman, Central Committee of Communist Party
of the Philippines on December 26, 1998

Greet the 21st century and new millennium with the resolve to intensify the revolution

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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 monopolybourgeois 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 '70s 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 USruled 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 '70s, 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 valueadded semimanufactures for export. But these have become overproduced in the '90s.

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 selfdetermination 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 interimperialist 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.

The ever-rotting domestic ruling system

From decade to decade, the chronic crisis of the semicolonial and 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 '70s. 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-landlord 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 USEstrada 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 socio-economic 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 USEstrada 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 surrenderees 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 selfdetermination and democracy.

The struggle against the USEstrada regime is part of the longterm 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 unremoulded 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-funded 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 newdemocratic 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 workeractivists 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 workerpeasant 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 wellplanned 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 pettybourgeoisie. 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 selfdetermination 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 ultrademocrats, liberals and anarchists in relation to higher organs.

For the Party to lead the newdemocratic 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 candidatemembers. 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 antiimperialist 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 antiimperialist 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!

Message of Armando Liwanag,
Chairman, Central Committee, Communist Party of the
Philippines December 26, 1999

Mobilize the broad masses of the people to deliver the death blow to the Estrada regime

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As we celebrate the 32nd anniversary of the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, we resolve to mobilize the broad masses of the people in order to deliver the death blow to the US-Estrada regime, strengthen all revolutionary forces and intensify all forms of revolutionary struggle.

As a result of the successful Second Great Rectification Movement, we are in a position to carry out the short-term objective of overthrowing the regime and advance the long-term objective of overthrowing the entire ruling system of the big compradors and landlords and establishing the people's democratic system of the workers and peasants under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

We render today the highest tribute to Comrade Armando Teng, member of the Central Committee, Political Bureau and Executive Committee and secretary of the Southern Luzon Commission of the

Party, who recently died of illness, and to all our revolutionary martyrs and heroes. And we convey our warmest congratulations to all the Party cadres and members, the Red commanders and fighters of the New People's Army (NPA), the allies in the National Democratic Front (NDFP) and the broad masses of the people for all the victories scored in the past year.

We have made great advances in building the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally. In more than 100 guerrilla fronts nationwide, the NPA has strengthened its ranks, carried out land reform and mass work and scored brilliant victories in armed struggle. In both urban and rural areas, we have built mass organizations of various types and brought the mass movement to a new and higher level of development.

Since coming to power in 1998, the US-Estrada regime has aggravated the oppression and exploitation of the people by its subservience to foreign monopoly capitalism, exacerbation of feudal and semifeudal conditions and unbridled bureaucratic corruption. It has acted flagrantly as the enemy of the people even as it has demagogically decked itself out as pro-poor.

With overweening arrogance, Estrada scuttled the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations and vowed to destroy the revolutionary movement. Now charged with the most brazen crimes of corruption and plunder, he is desperately fighting for his political survival. The broad masses of the people, including our compatriots abroad, are incensed by his crimes and are clamoring for his removal from power. A broad united front has isolated him and his clique and is capable of ousting him.

The US-Estrada regime is in the throes of political death while the revolutionary mass movement is vigorously surging forward. The Party plays a crucial role in mobilizing the broad masses of the people and in delivering the death blow to the regime. The people are in the process of consigning one more reactionary regime to the garbage heap of history.

The culpability of the Estrada regime and the entire ruling system

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The Estrada regime is both the product and the aggravation of the chronic crisis of the rotten ruling system. It is a glaring proof of the decadent and moribund character of the system that someone like Estrada has become the president of the neocolonial republic. He blends the rapacity of the imperialists, the worst of the local reactionaries and criminal syndicates.

In the aftermath of the 1997 financial and economic crisis, Estrada was elected from a field of so many reactionary candidates by hypocritically touting himself as the champion of the poor and denouncing the crimes and failures of the US-Ramos regime. Since the beginning of his term, Estrada has shown contempt for the people, especially the impoverished toiling masses of workers and peasants.

He has flaunted the patronage and company of the Marcoses, the most notorious cronies of Marcos like Eduardo Cojuangco and Lucio Tan and criminal gangsters like Atong Ang. He has adopted the policy dictates of the IMF, World Bank and WTO in a sell-out of economic sovereignty and the national patrimony. In violation of Philippine national sovereignty and territorial integrity, he has rammed through the Senate the ratification of the Visiting Forces Agreement.

In less than half of his six-year term, he has been impeached by the House of Representatives and is now on the dock in the Senate trial for gross acts of bribery, graft and corruption, betrayal of public trust and culpable violation of the 1987 constitution. The people are outraged and are engaged in nationwide mass actions to oust him or compel his resignation. The consensus in the broad united front of organized forces is to remove him from power for immorality, corruption, incompetence and repressiveness.

It is correct to focus on the culpability of Estrada and his ruling clique and the necessity of overthrowing them. But we do not lose sight of the fact that the entire ruling system has become more exploitative and oppressive because of the "free market" policy dictates of the imperialist firms, banks and multilateral agencies such as the IMF, World Bank and WTO. These have accelerated and aggravated imperialist profit-taking, feudal and semifeudal accumulation of land and bureaucratic corruption. These have rapidly resulted in the fierce resistance of the people and the isolation of the Estrada regime.

The neocolonial ruling system has been bankrupted faster by the "neoliberal" policy bias than the "Keynesian" policy bias which peaked during the Marcos fascist regime through graft-ridden public works and unbridled foreign borrowing. The "neoliberal" policy bias has further deepened the semicolonial and semifeudal character of society through the plundering flows of finance capital, the liberalization of imports, the privatization of state assets and deregulation at the expense of the nation, labor and the environment.

The economy is more agrarian and semifeudal than ever before. It is more than ever dependent on the export of raw materials and low value-added semimanufactures and on foreign loans to finance the trade deficits and debt service. The promotion of import-dependent semimanufacturing and private construction and dependence on foreign commercial credit and portfolio investments have sapped the financial and economic system. Rather than the export of any product, the export of contract workers yields the most foreign exchange. This is gobbled up by the multinational banks and firms and exploiting classes.

The mantra of all the reactionaries is to "compete globally." But the Philippine economy has nothing to export but raw materials, semimanufactured reexports and contract workers. These are now squeezed by global oversupply and recessionary trend. Even the export of men and women is under growing pressure by economic

and legal restrictions abroad, due to the general stagnation and crisis of overproduction of the world capitalist system.

Because of its "neoliberal" policy bias and growing bankruptcy, the neocolonial ruling system does not even promise or pretend to undertake any major industrial project and land reform. The regime has been reduced to promoting gambling enterprises as its "flagship" projects. It leaves everything to the so-called free market and is reduced to the role of manipulating the interest rate, increasing the tax burden of the people and giving priority to the free flow of finance capital, to debt service and to military expenditures over social services.

The broad masses of the people are forcibly placed under austerity measures, while the exploiting classes indulge themselves in the most conspicuous forms of import-dependent consumerism, such as mansions, high-rise buildings, cars and high-tech consumer products. Regular employment is being wiped out both by the downsizing and closure of enterprises. At least 77 percent of the labor force is officially acknowledged as without regular employment. They are categorized as unemployed, underemployed, casuals and self-employed.

Due to the powerful resistance of the broad masses of the people, the US-Estrada regime has been unable to amend the 1987 constitution for purposes of deleting its provisions on conserving the national patrimony and restricting foreign investments. But it has used Congress to give the most extraordinary privileges to the imperialist banks and firms. Every type of business is wide open to the foreign monopolies. The regime and the oil monopolies collude in frequently hiking oil prices and in effect the prices of all basic goods and services.

Inflation is generated by the cost push of debt service, deficit spending, imports and corruption as well as by the scarcity of basic consumer goods as a result of the breakdown of local production. Under the slogan of free trade, big compradors take profits from the import and export of sugar, rice, corn and vegetable oil, with the

import side pressing down the income of peasants and farm workers and on local production.

In exchange for the servility of the regime, the imperialists have given Estrada and his cronies a wide latitude for bureaucratic corruption and repression. But the puppets have run afoul of the IMF by repeatedly exceeding the ceiling on deficit spending and the World Bank by excessive graft and corruption, now amounting to 44 percent of all government spending. Imperialism promotes corruption and cronyism among the puppets but when the puppet chieftain begins to stink too much and becomes more of a liability than an asset the imperialist masters are ready to adopt a new puppet chieftain.

The budgetary and trade deficits are mounting. At the same time, international credit is drying up. The reduction of interest rate during the first two years of the regime has been unsustainable. Local public borrowing is accelerated and inflation is consequently soaring. The crisis of the domestic ruling system is inextricably connected to the worsening crisis of overproduction in the world capitalist system. Every type of goods is now overproduced relative to the shrinking global market. This has been constricted due to the effect of the "neoliberal" policy of pressing down the wage and living conditions of the working people.

The crisis of overproduction is now hitting hard even the high-tech electronic goods for production and consumption. This type of goods assured the US of the lead in the world capitalist economy throughout the last decade and attracted foreign investments to the US. Now the bursting of the US "new economy" bubble (overvaluation of assets, jobkilling growth and high-tech hype) can cause the flight of European and Japanese capital from the US and an unprecedented financial and economic crisis on a global scale.

In the Philippines, the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the middle social strata suffer acutely the intolerable rigors of mass unemployment, the fall of real incomes, inflation, depreciation of the peso, the mounting tax burden and the breakdown of infrastructure

and social services. Even the upper class and upper-middle class are complaining of the rising costs of their import-dependent conspicuous consumption. Thus, they are scandalized by Estrada's frenzy of providing mansions and limousines to his many wives.

The economic crisis is at the base of the current political crisis. The contradictions among the reactionaries have become more bitter because the spoils available for division among them have been much reduced and the Estrada ruling clique has tended to monopolize the loot. The main beneficiaries of bureaucrat capitalism are Estrada himself, Eduardo Cojuangco, an assortment of Filipino-Chinese businessmen and Estrada's multiple families.

Estrada takes bribes in the course of the following: the issuance of permits and licenses, the disposition of state loans, supply contracts with the reactionary government, big cases of tax evasion, technical smuggling, stockmarket manipulation and the distribution of pork barrel funds which he monopolizes.

In the style of the Mafia lord, he takes the lion's share from the numbers game racket, kidnap-for-ransom operations and domestic sale and transit of prohibited drugs to the US and US military bases. The personal rapacity of Estrada is such that a key member of his criminal "midnight cabinet" has broken away from him and exposed his role as the criminal overlord.

The corruption of Estrada is so unbridled and blatant that most sections of the exploiting classes have condemned his moral turpitude and have joined the broad united front to remove him from power. Nearly all the business organizations, the Catholic and Protestant clergy and Islamic ulamas, civic and professional organizations, the yellow trade union organizations and most of the major bourgeois mass media are calling for Estrada's resignation. The Catholic bishops, clergy and laity are mobilizing to counter the support of El Shaddai (a "charismatic" group) and the Iglesia ni Cristo for Estrada.

Cardinal Sin, former presidents Aquino and Ramos, the LAKAS-

NUCD and United Opposition are vigorously demanding that vice-president Macapagal-Arroyo replace Estrada. Other significant groups of the anti-Estrada reactionaries are the Council of Philippine Affairs (COPA), headed by Jose Cojuangco, the People's Consultative Assembly (PCA), pushed by former president Ramos, Kangkong Brigade (consisting of governors and mayors in Southern Tagalog, Metro Manila and Central Luzon) and Kompil II, initiated by Jesuit-inspired "social-democrats" who are in fact upper-class Christian-democrats.

Lapian ng Masang Pilipino (LAMP), the pro-Estrada coalition, is in the process of disintegration. Key leaders of LAMP, headed by the speaker of the House of Representatives and the Senate president defected to the opposition and called for Estrada's resignation. Congressmen previously belonging to LAMP joined the opposition to impeach Estrada. LAMP-lining senators failed to stop the Senate trial.

Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino (LDP), the largest component of LAMP, is set to break away completely from LAMP upon the fall of Estrada. The most rabid followers of Estrada in LAMP are his own Partido ng Masang Pilipino and Eduardo Cojuangco's Nationalist People's Coalition. These are now being isolated by the mounting Estrada resign movement.

Estrada does not have any strong grip on the military and police forces as Marcos did. His most rabid armed followers are in the Presidential Anti-Organized Crime Task Force (PAOCTF). This is his GESTAPO under his chief hatchetman Gen. Panfilo Lacson. It is the most favored armed agency, with huge unaudited intelligence funds. It enjoys an unlimited license to kill and acts as the coordinator of criminal syndicates.

There is a bitter split between the Lacson clique in the PAOCTF and regular police and military forces. The issues involve PAOCTF monopoly of protection money, lion's share in intelligence funds, favoritism in promotions, undue interference by Lacson even in military promotions, corruption in supply contracts and delayed

payment of salaries to the rank and file outside PAOCTF.

The Federation of Retired Commissioned and Enlisted Soldiers (FORCES) and several underground groups of active military and police officers have arisen to call for the resignation of Estrada. They urge the active military and police officers to withdraw support from him and respect the people's right to assemble. A big number of military and police officers are increasingly manifesting their opposition to Estrada and Gen. Lacson and are in a position to neutralize them.

BAYAN has long had the lead over the anti-Estrada reactionaries in calling for Estrada's removal from power. It is the most formidable legal democratic coalition of the patriotic and progressive forces of the working class, peasantry and urban pettybourgeoisie taking the line of struggle for national liberation and democracy. It is the most conscious, most militant and most reliable force in the broad united front for the ouster of the Estrada ruling clique.

BAYAN encompasses sectoral alliances and organizations which are predominantly of the toiling masses, such as Kilusang Mayo Uno(workers), COURAGE (government employees), Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (peasants), PAMALAKAYA (fishermen) Kadamay (urban poor), GABRIELA (women) and Anakbayan (youth). It also encompasses urban pettybourgeois formations, such as the League of Filipino Students (LFS), Alliance of Concerned Teachers (ACT), CONTEND (university and college teachers), KARAPATAN (human rights), Promotion of Church People's Response (PCPR) and so many other professional and issue-based sectoral alliances and organizations.

BAYAN covers the Left and Middle forces that adhere to the national-democratic line. In the broad united front, it has also cooperated with the workers, peasants and middle social strata that are unorganized or who belong to organizations and institutions whose leadership is ideologically and politically either Middle or Right.

The broad united front consists of the Left, Middle and anti-Estrada Right. It is a loose alliance bound by the single purpose of removing Estrada from power. It has been easier for the Left and Middle to unite with the forces of the Right, that are frankly reactionary but are anti-Estrada, than with certain grouplets that misrepresent themselves as Left but try to deflect the concentrated fire on Estrada and sabotage the broad united front.

Sanlakas and other Trotskyite grouplets are acting under the instructions of the military psywar experts of the regime (specifically the Intelligence Services of the AFP) to push the "resign all" line to save Estrada. In the case of Akbayan, some of its leaders are diehards in the Estrada regime, while others have called for the impeachment or resignation of Estrada. Sanlakas and Akbayan have run counter to the broad united front and thus have isolated themselves from the mass movement. The renegades have found their political graveyard under the US-Estrada regime.

Such scoundrels as Horacio Morales and Edicio de la Torre, who are stalwarts of both Akbayan and Estrada's JEEP, are among the top psy-war agents of the Estrada regime. They are responsible for such lines as that Estrada deserves to get off the hook like the "subversives" during the Marcos regime through "technicalities" and that the regime should not fall because supposedly it is not repressive.

The US-Estrada regime is both corrupt and repressive. It has used the military, police, paramilitary forces and private armed gangs to enforce the antilabor policy, deprive the peasant masses and national minorities of their land and attack mass protest actions. It has intensified military campaigns of suppression against the revolutionary mass base and forces of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF).

In the preceding year, under "Oplan Makabayan" and related campaign plans, the regime launched massive military campaigns of suppression against the revolutionary forces nationwide, with emphasis on three to five regions at every given time. It has carried

out large attacks on the camps or areas of the MILF in a futile effort to whip up Christian chauvinism, paint itself as strong and divert public attention from the corruption scandals.

But the NPA has victoriously carried out brilliant guerrilla tactical offensives against the soft points of the enemy, while wisely evading militarily superior units of the enemy. The army of the MILF has also adopted the tactics of guerrilla warfare and is likewise dealing deadly blows on the enemy.

The soaring costs of military and police equipment and operations have conjoined with bureaucratic corruption and have resulted in an untenable level of deficit spending. The wanton military spending, the destruction of lives and property and the massive displacement of more than one million people have wrought havoc on the economy. Thus, the payment of salaries to low-level bureaucrats and the troops have been delayed by many months.

The military, police and paramilitary forces of the enemy are deeply demoralized by the corruption of the Estrada regime, the erosion of the value of their salaries, fatigue from incessant but futile counterrevolutionary operations, the revolutionaries' accelerating capture of arms from them, and heavy casualties inflicted on them by the tactical offensives of the New People's Army and the army of the MILF.

The toiling masses of workers and peasants, the middle social strata and most sections of the exploiting classes are for the removal of the Estrada ruling clique from power. Even the imperialist masters have signaled that the clique has outlived its usefulness. The Estrada ruling clique is doomed. It has no way of extricating itself from its isolation amidst the worsening crisis of the ruling system. The revolutionary forces and the masses led by the Party have before them great opportunities for growing in strength and scoring greater victories.

Urgent task of overthrowing the Estrada regime

The Party, the New People's Army and the revolutionary masses resolutely and militantly pursue the new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war in connection with the broad united front and the mass movement that have arisen for the specific short-term purpose of removing the Estrada ruling clique from power.

While the reactionaries are preoccupied with their split and struggle for political power and the broad united front to remove Estrada from power is advancing, the revolutionary forces of the people can accelerate their mass work in the countryside and in the cities and do solid mass organizing amidst the sweeping mass movement for the ouster of Estrada.

The broad united front is facilitating the work of the revolutionary forces in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the broad masses of the people in their millions. Both the legal democratic movement and the armed revolutionary movement benefit from the Party's united front policy.

While the broad mass movement is on the upsurge throughout the country and the enemy is compelled to secure himself with more troops in the urban areas, the New People's Army can take advantage of the reduction of enemy troops from the countryside and intensify armed tactical offensives.

Mustering a broad united front of forces against the narrowest target, which is the current ruling clique, does not mean changing the program of new-democratic revolution and the strategic line of protracted people's war. It means stepping up the tempo of mass protests and revolutionary resistance by which the revolutionary forces can gain strength and advance.

The Party strives to exercise leadership and maintain independence and initiative by pursuing the long-term program of new democratic

revolution even as it cooperates with a broad range of allies by carrying out with them the urgent task of removing the Estrada ruling clique from power. The upsurge of the legal mass movement complements the intensification of armed struggle as the main form of struggle.

Maintaining independence and initiative, the Party ceaselessly propagates the line of new-democratic revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, widens and deepens the revolutionary mass base, intensifies the people's war within capabilities and encourages the patriotic and progressive forces in the legal mass movement to rally quickly the people in their millions.

The revolutionary forces have a clear understanding of the immediate and long-term objectives of the mass movement. There is no confusion among them about the modes of action to be taken in the urban and rural areas. The "Left" and Right opportunists who in the 1980s held high positions and spread confusion within the Party have long deserted to the side of the enemy.

The "Left" opportunists had the illusion that they could actually bring down the entire ruling system with the Marcos ruling clique through urban insurrection or rural militarism cum urban insurrection. Now, they are open psy-war and intelligence agents of the enemy like Romulo Kintanar, Arturo Tabara and Benjamin de Vera. Filemon Lagman and other Trotskyites still pretend to be more "Left" than the Left by demanding the immediate resignation of all reactionary officials in a futile attempt to split the broad united front and deflect the concentrated fire on the Estrada ruling clique.

The long-running Right opportunists of the past, like Horacio Morales and Edicio de la Torre, shamelessly wallow in bureaucratic corruption with their "populist" idol Estrada and are among the most active psy-war agents of the regime in fighting the broad united front and the broad mass movement. Morales is the most notorious for collaborating with Estrada and Eduardo Cojuangco in robbing the coconut farmers of the coconut levy funds and in

misrepresenting as land reform the latter's corporate landgrabbing.

The revolutionary forces and people under the leadership of the Party have a clear grasp of the current balance of forces between the armed revolution and the armed counterrevolution. They have no opportunist illusion whatsoever that the movement to oust Estrada provides them the chance to either seize power from the reactionaries or share power with them as an immediate result of realizing the short-term objective of ousting Estrada.

They are aware that they cannot as yet overthrow the entire ruling system but they can take advantage of the crisis of the ruling system and the split among the reactionaries, overthrow and punish the current ruling clique, strengthen themselves in the process and thus take a step forward in the new-democratic revolution.

In pursuing the united front policy at every given period, the Party concentrates the broadest range of forces against the worst reactionary in power as the narrowest target. It is in fighting and defeating one enemy after another that the Party and the masses can grow in strength and advance until the time comes that they can overthrow the entire ruling system.

To overthrow the entire ruling system, it is necessary to break the backbone of the enemy armed forces in the countryside and smash the bureaucratic and military apparatuses of the reactionary state. To overthrow the Estrada ruling clique in particular, it is even possible for the legal broad united front and the legal mass movement to do so, as in the case of Marcos in 1986.

It is "Left" opportunism to have the illusion that the long-term objective of overthrowing the ruling system can be accomplished in the course of realizing the short-term objective of overthrowing the Estrada ruling clique. On the other hand, it is Right opportunism to forget about the long-term objective of overthrowing the ruling system and to lose the independence and initiative of the Party in the broad united front.

We must exert all efforts to maintain and further strengthen the broad united front for ousting the Estrada ruling clique or compelling it to resign. But while they promote the broad united front, the legal patriotic and progressive forces must condemn the basic ills of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system and put forward the national and democratic demands of the people.

As the broad united front stands today, especially in the legal arena, it isolates the Estrada regime and has a high potential of overthrowing it through peaceful, massive and militant mass actions nationwide until these culminate in a siege on the presidential palace by at least one million people until Estrada resigns. The key forces for realizing such a gigantic mobilization include BAYAN, the Estrada Resign Movement, the Catholic Church, the United Opposition, COPA, PCA, the Kangkong Brigade and Kompil II.

The climactic event of at least one million people laying siege on the presidential palace and paralyzing the operations of the system must be comparable in magnitude to the 1986 mass uprising that brought down the Marcos fascist regime and must surpass the recent phony prayer rally staged by the El Shaddai and the INC to support the Estrada regime.

In maintaining and strengthening the broad united front, we must consciously apply the revolutionary class line consisting of the following:

1. The working class must have the leadership through the Communist Party of the Philippines. The underground party must exercise leadership by using correct methods and style, especially in the urban areas.
2. The basic alliance of the working class and peasantry must be strengthened. The mass movement must strengthen the trade union movement in the urban areas and the armed revolution in the countryside.
3. The alliance of progressive forces must put into full play the

forces of the urban pettybourgeoisie. The mass movement must bring about further political education, organization and mobilization of the urban pettybourgeoisie in concert with the toiling masses.

4. The alliance of positive forces must put into play the forces of the middle bourgeoisie. The middle bourgeois are not numerous but they must be encouraged to support the mass movement.

5. The temporary alliance with the anti-Estrada reactionaries must be promoted, even as such allies are unstable and unreliable. Such alliance arises from the contradictions among the reactionaries. It accelerates the isolation of the enemy and yields considerable direct and indirect support for the mass movement.

6. Succeeding in all the foregoing five points, we can isolate to the utmost the Estrada ruling clique as the enemy and overthrow it. In the process, the revolutionary forces and the people gain in strength and advance.

In the broad united front to overthrow the Estrada regime, the Left includes the basic mass organizations, the sectoral and multisectoral alliances that truly stand for the rights, interests and aspirations of the working class, peasantry and urban pettybourgeoisie. These are the basic forces of the national democratic movement.

The Middle includes those forces of the pettybourgeoisie in general and the middle bourgeoisie who seek reforms within the ruling system for their "middle class" sake and in the name of the people. They are critical of the evils of the big comprador-landlord social system but still fall short of the revolutionary stand to overthrow the ruling system and establish the people's democratic system.

The anti-Estrada Right includes the forces that represent the reactionary classes of big compradors and landlords, regard Estrada as an intolerable liability to the ruling system and wish to replace him in order to strengthen the ruling system. Such forces can remain in the broad united front for as long as their contradictions

with the Estrada ruling clique are not resolved through the ouster of the latter.

The scheme of Estrada for staying in power includes the following:

1. Red-baiting, intimidation and intrigue for the purpose of splitting the broad united front and the mass movement and using the power and resources of his office against the mass movement,
2. Exercising control over at least eight senators through past favors, renewed bribes and pork barrel fund releases and harping on the claim that the Senate trial is the sole "constitutional process" for dealing with the charges against him,
3. Cheating in the May 14, 2001 elections after getting an acquittal from the Senate trial or after disabling it from making any judgment before the 2001 electoral campaign period.

There is a general consensus in the broad united front that Estrada can and should be removed from power through nationwide mass actions that result in the encirclement of the presidential palace until Estrada resigns. But there are certain special groups within the anti-Estrada Right who have strong illusions that Estrada can be removed from power without the masses encircling the palace or that he can be convicted by the Senate.

Factors for the conviction of Estrada by the required two-thirds Senate majority include: the impact of mounting mass actions, the strength of evidence and advice of US operatives to the senators to junk him. At the same time, factors for nonconviction and even acquittal include the protraction of the trial until it is overtaken by the electoral campaign period, bribes from Estrada and Eduardo Cojuangco, a Bush reversal of what is apparently the current US position and Estrada's false promise to the senators that he would resign after acquittal or after the elections if his senatorial candidates would lose.

The evidence already presented in the Senate trial against Estrada is overwhelming and incontrovertible. It is more than enough to

convict him for bribery and graft and corruption. Most damning against him are the testimonies of Governor Chavit Singson, bank vice-president Clarissa Ocampo and other witnesses and related bank documents. It is conclusively proven that Estrada uses the alias, Jose Velarde, to accumulate and deploy his loot in bank transactions.

But still there is no certainty that Estrada will be convicted. If he cannot be acquitted by his rabid followers in the Senate before the beginning of the electoral campaign period, his counsel can protract the trial until it is overtaken by the aforesaid period. The slackening of the anti-Estrada mass actions will certainly pave the way for Estrada's stay in power and allow him to wreak vengeance on various forces in the broad united front, especially after the 2001 elections.

To ensure the removal of Estrada from power, within the first quarter of 2001, the mass movement in accordance with the broad united front against him must stay on course and intensify. There must be a gigantic mass action to serve notice to the Senate that acquittal of Estrada or evasion of decision before the beginning of the electoral campaign period will rouse far greater and more militant mass actions than ever before against the regime and its dwindling supporters.

If the Senate fails to convict Estrada, mass actions comparable to those that felled the Marcos regime must be undertaken. Let us not forget that Marcos fell despite his claim to victory in the 1986 presidential snap election. It is probable though that Estrada would threaten to use force in a desperate bid to hold the broad united front at bay and split it, while he fixes the results of the 2001 elections to "vindicate" himself.

The Left must maintain its own independence and initiative, take advantage of the crisis of the ruling system, win over the Middle in mass actions and keep the cooperation of the anti-Estrada Right. The forces of the national-democratic movement have correctly made common agreements with other forces and have assured them

that mass actions will continue to be peaceful and increase in magnitude and militancy.

The Party has announced repeatedly that in accordance with its own line it does not deploy units of the New People's Army to join the legal mass actions in the urban areas because the proper role of the NPA is to intensify armed tactical offensives in the countryside. Active and retired military and police officers have also called for the resignation of Estrada and have declared that they would respect the right of the people to assemble and express themselves. It is therefore possible, as in the dying days of the Marcos fascist regime, to prevent the Estrada ruling clique from using the military and police forces against the rising masses.

It is even possible for a chain of delegations of foreign creditors and the active generals to tell Estrada to resign. In recent memory, Suharto meekly yielded his power in such a manner. The Estrada ruling clique expects the newly elected US president to save it. It forgets that since the Republican administration of Reagan, puppets have generally been disposed of through the application of a credit squeeze and an ultimate notice of removal relayed by a local military delegation.

While possibilities for the peaceful removal of Estrada exist, the possibility remains for the Estrada loyalists in the military and police, headed by Gen. Panfilo Lacson, to terrorize key forces or elements of the broad united front, disrupt or assault the mass actions or even go so far as to stage a coup under one pretext or another, especially against vice-president Macapagal-Arroyo.

In this regard, FORCES and underground groups of active military and police personnel are justified in undertaking countermeasures against the Estrada diehards. Without having to stage a coup d'etat to install a military or military-civilian junta, they can countersurveil, isolate and arrest the Estrada loyalists for criminal acts.

If the Estrada regime should unleash violence against the unarmed

masses exercising their democratic right to assemble, the Party, the NPA and NDFP are prepared to absorb those forced to go underground, to intensify the people's war and to undertake certain tactical offensives that would clearly prove the inability of the Estrada clique to govern.

More repressive acts of Estrada to keep himself in power would not only incite the people to wage larger and more intense mass actions but would also justify the people's army to undertake punitive actions against the worst elements of the ruling clique, especially the plunderers and human rights violators, wherever they are in the Philippines.

If somehow the Estrada ruling clique remains in power beyond the first quarter of 2001, the political and economic crisis of the ruling system will worsen and the revolutionary resistance will mount. The bursting of the US "new economy" bubble is already impacting on the Philippine economy. Already crippled by the exposure of his crimes, Estrada will certainly fail to govern the country.

It will be self-defeating for the imperialists and the local reactionaries to keep him in power any longer and forsake their old tactic of replacing a worn-out puppet with a relatively fresh one to cover up their own culpability. It will even be more favorable for the revolutionary movement if they decide to keep him in power indefinitely than if they replaced him soon.

Prospects after the ouster of Estrada

If the Estrada ruling clique falls, vice-president Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo would assume the puppet presidency by virtue of the 1987 constitution of the reactionary state. She would thus become the new chief political representative of the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

Aware of the gravity of the crisis of the ruling system, she is likely to seek support from some council of some sort and of some breadth if only to consolidate her rule. She has made preparations for the purpose by forming the United Opposition, retaining her foothold in the Lakas-NUCD, encouraging the Council of Philippine Affairs, the People's Consultative Assembly and Kompil II and consulting with the leaders of the churches, business and military as well as with BAYAN and Bayan Muna.

Between now and the fall of Estrada, if he were to fall soon, there is not enough time to make any radical change in the balance of forces between the armed counterrevolution and the armed revolution or to create and strengthen any governing council that can truly serve the national and democratic interests of the people.

The promises that Macapagal-Arroyo makes to the legal Left in the course of the movement to remove Estrada from power will recede in importance to her as she follows the dictates of the imperialists and serves the interests of the local reactionaries. She will tend to base her rule on the support of LAKAS-NUCD and the United Opposition.

While consolidating her position, she will try to create an atmosphere of support by paying lip service to land reform, development and a social safety net while she submits to the neocolonial and "neoliberal" impositions of the imperialists, the IMF, World Bank and WTO. Acting under good advice, she might release all political prisoners, promise justice and indemnification for the victims of human rights violations, revive the agreements in the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations and resume said negotiations.

The crisis of the ruling system is so grave that the new regime is under compulsion to yield further to the dictates of the imperialists and at the same time to avoid the wrath of the people by some token measures and deceptive tactics, without which her isolation will come fast. The same crisis of the ruling system encourages the legal democratic forces to press for reforms beneficial to the people, while the Party and the revolutionary masses continue the struggle for

national liberation and democracy through protracted people's war.

The continued aggravation of the basic problems of the people by the new regime and the worsening of the social and economic crisis of the ruling system will generate graver political crisis. As fast as that regime bares its antipeople, antinational and antidemocratic character, the revolutionary resistance of the people will intensify and a broad united front against it will certainly arise.

The imperialist banks, firms and multilateral lending agencies (IMF, World Bank, WTO, etc.) will further make impositions that put their puppet in an untenable position. The worsening crisis of the world capitalist system will result in the worsening crisis of the domestic ruling system and will render futile any attempt of the new regime to appease, deceive or intimidate the people.

In the wake of the bursting of the "new economy" bubble in the US, the recessionary trend in the entire world capitalist system will deepen. It will mean less demand in the imperialist countries for the raw material and semimanufactured exports from the Philippines and less ability of the puppet regime to service the foreign debt. The new ruling clique would only sink deeper in crisis and rouse the people's wrath by following the dictates of the imperialists and mouthing the slogan of "free market."

When the puppet regime is once more discredited and isolated as a result of the worsening crisis and people's resistance, the imperialists pretend to have no responsibility for the crisis and even try to take the initiative in denouncing the regime, usually for bureaucratic corruption. But in fighting one regime after another, the people raise the level of their revolutionary consciousness, militancy and strength against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is ideologically, politically and organizationally prepared to confront the new ruling clique as this assumes the role of being the enemy of the people. The strength accumulated by the revolutionary forces and the people in the

course of fighting the entire ruling system and overthrowing the US-Estrada regime will be available against the new ruling clique. The crisis of the moribund ruling system will not end but will worsen. It will continue to favor the advance of the new-democratic revolution.

Issued by Armando Liwanag,
Chairman Central Committee, Communist Party of the
Philippines on December 26, 2000

Hail the rising revolutionary forces and the upsurge of the mass movement

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With utmost joy, we celebrate the abundant harvest of victories that we have reaped as we mark the 33rd anniversary of the reestablishment of our Party under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism on December 26, 2001. We hail the rising revolutionary forces and the upsurge of the mass movement.

As chairman of the Central Committee, I wish to express warmest congratulations to all Party organs and units, all Party cadres and members and to all the people for all the struggles and successes in carrying forward the new-democratic revolution against US imperialism and the exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

We owe our victories to the correct principles and line of the Party in the ideological, political and organizational fields and to our ceaseless efforts to carry these out resolutely and vigorously. We have worked hard and feared neither sacrifice nor death in the struggle against the enemy.

We have made significant advances in building the Party as the advanced detachment of the working class, the New People's Army as the main instrument for seizing political power and the united front as the means for rallying the broadest range of people to the revolutionary cause.

The rising revolutionary forces and mass movement

Ten years ago, the incorrigible opportunists and renegades had formed factions within the Party and sought to destroy the Party from within. The urban insurrectionists and militarists had joined up with the longrunning reformists and had come under various influences such as Gorbachovism, Trotskyism and imperialist neoliberalism. They had tried in vain to cover up their gross errors as well as crimes in the 1980s until 1991 and they opposed the Second Great Rectification Movement.

Since then, the renegades have thoroughly discredited themselves. Their grouplets have either disintegrated or have further dwindled. They have come out as special agents of the enemy against the vigorously growing revolutionary forces and mass movement. The worst of the renegades openly became political hirelings and bootlickers of the Ramos and Estrada regimes.

Thanks to the Second Great Rectification Movement, we have reaffirmed the ideological line of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism against modern revisionism, empiricism and dogmatism, the political line of new democratic revolution through protracted people's war against "Left" and Right opportunism and the organizational line of democratic centralism against ultrademocracy and bureaucratism.

We have continuously educated and trained thousands of

proletarian revolutionary fighters on the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Our Party cadres and members have learned to apply the scientific theory of the working class on the concrete conditions of the Philippine revolution through collective studies and mass struggles.

We have aroused, organized and mobilized millions of the Filipino people by pursuing the general line of new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war. We have developed the armed struggle as the main form of revolutionary struggle and we have also developed the other forms of struggle in the legal arena.

Under the absolute leadership of the Party, the New People's Army is operating in more than 100 guerrilla fronts. Our Party cadres and members, Red fighters and mass activists are continuously expanding and consolidating these guerrilla fronts. In every guerrilla front, we maintain the correct proportion between the center of gravity and the other more dispersed units of the New People's Army.

The people's army is growing in strength by waging extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on an ever widening and deepening mass base. We are accumulating arms by seizing them in basic offensive operations (ambushes, raids and arrests) against the military, police and paramilitary forces of the enemy. We also launch special operations to punish the worst elements among the enemy forces and render justice to their victims.

In combat, we fight the enemy fiercely but after the din and smoke of battle we treat our prisoners leniently and give immediate medical attention to the wounded. We follow the Geneva Conventions and its protocols and the GRP-NDFP Comprehensive Agreement on Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL).

The mass base is built by forming the democratic organs of political power, the mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, youth, children and cultural activists and the working committees to assist the overall committee of self-government and by carrying out the

campaigns for mass education, land reform, higher production, self-defense and militia training, health and sanitation and so on.

We have carried out the united front policy in order to reach and mobilize the greatest possible number of masses. We continue to build the national united front against US imperialism and the local reactionaries as well as the antifeudal united front for ensuring peasant support and realizing the democratic content of the revolution.

In the past year, we achieved a dramatic victory in the overthrow of the US-Estrada ruling clique by employing the tactics of the broad united front. In this connection, we have clearly put forward the line that the Party and the masses can overthrow any ruling clique through legal struggle along the line of the broad united front and that we can thereby accumulate strength and experience until we can overthrow the entire ruling system of big compradors and landlords.

To overthrow the entire ruling system, we need to build the people's army, strive to disintegrate the reactionary army and smash both the military and bureaucratic machinery of the counterrevolutionary state. We cannot achieve political and social revolution without overthrowing the reactionary state.

In engaging peace negotiations with the National Democratic Front (NDFP), the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) has the minimum aim of confusing and demoralizing the ranks of revolutionaries and the masses and the maximum aim of obtaining the capitulation and pacification of the revolutionary forces.

But the NDFP has successfully frustrated the counterrevolutionary aims of the GRP. It has made clear to the revolutionary forces and the people that there can be no just and lasting peace without addressing the root causes of the civil war and that the negotiations are merely one of the legal forms of struggle and are less important than the legal mass struggles on the basic issues.

In the meantime, the NDFP has gained points for the international recognition of the people's democratic government. It has successfully required the GRP to co-sign the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL). Under this agreement, the revolutionary forces can go after violators of human rights and international humanitarian law and can take the GRP to account for violations.

The NDFP is ready to disengage from peace negotiations with the GRP if the latter is unwilling to form with the former the Joint Monitoring Committee for ensuring the implementation of the CARHRIHL and to come to a mutually satisfactory comprehensive agreement on social and economic reforms before tackling the question of political and constitutional reforms. The NDFP will certainly rebuff any scheme of the GRP to gloss over the root causes of the civil war and maneuver the NDFP into a position of capitulation.

The revolutionary forces and the people have a long and rich experience in people's war. They have grown in strength and advanced no matter how much assistance US imperialism has given to the local reactionaries. They cannot be coerced by any threat of US intervention or aggression under the pretext of antiterrorism. They are prepared to engage the enemy in whatever kind of war it wishes to launch.

Even as it has properly concentrated on its revolutionary homework, the Party has always tried to do the best within its capability to perform duties under the principle of proletarian internationalism as well as the principle of broad anti-imperialist solidarity in the international united front.

The Party has made significant contributions in Marxist-Leninist conferences and seminars in defining the Marxist-Leninist position against imperialism, modern revisionism and fascism in order to raise the level of understanding and cooperation among communist and workers' parties.

It has also made significant contributions in defining the anti-imperialist position against neoliberal globalization and wars of aggression and in this regard supported broad anti-imperialist formations and actions on an international scale. It has encouraged Filipino organizations in the homefront and abroad to participate in anti-imperialist campaigns on any social concern.

Favorable global conditions for revolution

Ten years ago, the imperialists and their camp followers gloated over the turmoil in China, the fall of the revisionist regimes in Eastern Europe and the disintegration of the Soviet Union in the 1989-1991 period. They proclaimed that history could not proceed any farther than capitalism and liberal democracy and celebrated the position of the US as sole superpower at the head of "free market" globalization and as the No. 1 policeman in a "new world order."

Since then, the worsening economic crisis of the world capitalist system and the US-led wars of aggression have served as exceedingly favorable conditions for the resurgence of the anti-imperialist and socialist movements. The shift of economic policy stress from Keynesianism to neoliberalism has merely served to aggravate and deepen the economic stagnation and crisis of imperialism and whip up the aggressive character of imperialism, despite the end of the Cold War upon the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

Neoliberal or "free market" globalization has accelerated the crisis of overproduction in all types of goods and the process of accumulating and concentrating capital in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie in the United States, Japan and European Union. This has resulted in the devastation of the economies of the third world and former Soviet-bloc countries.

The crisis of overproduction has now extended from raw materials, semimanufactures and basic industrial goods to high-tech electronic goods. Thus, the US no less is now reeling from the overproduction of high-tech goods and the bursting of the high-tech financial bubble. It is in danger of getting into a protracted decline similar to that of Japan, which has run for more than a decade.

The crisis of overproduction is at the base of the financial crisis besetting the various types of economies of the world. The third world and former Soviet-bloc countries overproduce the raw materials, semimanufactures and some basic industrial products, thereby get less income from their exports and suffer bigger deficits and increasing debt burden.

However, the crisis in the economic hinterland of imperialism recoils upon the centers of imperialism. The world capitalist economy has in fact been depressed since the 1980s if we take into full account the depressed economic conditions in the third world and the Soviet-bloc countries. Ultimately, the global centers of capitalism are hit hard by deficits, market contraction and inability of debtor countries to pay their debts.

From decade to decade, the US has promoted high-tech military production and consumerism and like the third world has covered its trade deficits with borrowed funds in the form of holdings of US securities in stocks and bonds bought by Japan and Europe. But now lowered interest rates and fallen profits make the US vulnerable to the adverse effects of a runaway sale of US securities held by Japanese and European investors.

The Bush scheme to increase military production in order to stimulate the US economy bodes ill for the people of the world. This is setting the stage for increased US wars of aggression and other forms of military adventure. In the last ten years, the US has launched three wars of aggression: in Iraq, the Balkans and Afghanistan.

The Bush regime is using the September 11 attacks on the twin

towers of the World Trade Center and Pentagon as the pretext for making a so-called global assault on terrorism. It is whipping up a hysteria to push military production, wars of aggression and curtailment of democratic rights in both the US and abroad.

It is ironic that the biggest terrorist power in the history of mankind, US imperialism, is masquerading as the champion against terrorism. It is already taking actions to repress its own people, encourage puppet regimes abroad to rule by open terror and push wars of aggression against the people waging revolution, nations fighting for liberation and countries asserting national independence.

For the time being, it appears that the US can act unilaterally or lead military alliances to wage wars of aggression. But after every successful aggression, the US takes the lion's share in the spoils of war and offends some of its imperialist allies and puppets by some measure. In due time, there will be a falling out between the US and some of its imperialist allies.

At the moment, the simultaneous bankruptcy of neoliberal globalization and the aggressiveness of US imperialism serve to incite the broad masses of the people throughout the world to wage revolutionary resistance. There is widespread popular hatred for such US-controlled formations as the Group of 8, OECD, IMF, World Bank, WTO, NATO and the US-Japan security alliance.

In the imperialist countries, the people are rising up in mass protests against neoliberal globalization, unemployment, racism, fascism, wars of aggression and other antipeople phenomena. Elsewhere in the world, the people are engaged in various forms of protest and resistance. In various continents, there are seeds for the spread of armed revolution.

In due course, four major contradictions will intensify in the current decade. They are those contradictions between the imperialist powers and the oppressed peoples and nations, those between the imperialist powers and countries assertive of their national sovereignty, those among the imperialist powers and those between

the monopoly bourgeoisie and proletariat in imperialist countries.

The intensification of any of these contradictions will tend to inflame the other contradictions. Under these circumstances, it is decisive for the subjective forces of the revolution in various countries to strengthen themselves, step up their mass work and carry out mass struggles for national liberation, democracy and socialism against imperialism and all reaction.

Vulnerability of the ruling system and every ruling clique

Ten years ago, all the reactionary politicians of the big compradors and landlords echoed the imperialists in trumpeting the supposed victory of monopoly capitalism over demands for national liberation and socialism. They wished for the bounties of "free market" globalization, with the Asia-Pacific region as the growth area for an indefinite period of time.

Since then, the semicolonial and semifeudal conditions of the Philippines have aggravated and deepened. The violation of national sovereignty and bargaining away of national patrimony have only led to further underdevelopment of the country, impoverishment of the people, grave social discontent, bitter contradictions among the reactionaries and intensified armed revolutionary resistance of the Filipino people and Bangsamoro. The entire ruling system (as well as every ruling clique of the reactionaries) is vulnerable to the crisis of the world capitalist system.

Under the Ramos regime, the country went fast into import-dependent low value-added semimanufactures (electronic components, garments, shoes, toys and the like) and into private construction propped up by large amounts of private credit convertible into public debt. The crisis of overproduction in

semimanufactures and private construction with excessive foreign credit devastated the Southeast Asian economies in 1997.

The Estrada regime sank in the socioeconomic crisis that had earlier become severe under the Ramos regime and could not get out of it precisely because it was also extremely servile to the US. It pushed the Senate ratification of the Visiting Forces Agreement and the elimination of national restraints on foreign investments.

Nothing came from the US and other imperialists to lift the economy from crisis. Instead the IMF pressed the Estrada regime to collect more taxes and cut down deficit-spending in a shrinking economy. To satisfy its bureaucrat-capitalist appetite for corruption, the regime was reduced to collecting bribes from operators of the numbers game (jueteng) and drug traders and devising scams for raiding the GSIS and SSS pension funds of state and private employees.

Estrada could be easily removed from office because of his obvious stupidity, gross arrogance and flagrant corruption. But no matter how cute or polished may be the ways of Estrada's successor, Mrs. Macapagal-Arroyo, she is already emerging as the patroness of corruption.

The Macapagal-Arroyo regime is put in a corner by its own devotion to "free market" globalization, which has cut down official foreign credit and favored the marauding activities of the multinational firms and private banks. As a consequence of the economic ruin caused by liberalization, privatization and deregulation, the ground for mutual accommodation among the reactionary politicians in committing corruption has become so limited that acts of corruption can easily be exposed.

The economy is in shambles and yet the ruling clique is being required by the IMF to collect more taxes, cut back on any kind of social spending and give priority to debt service and funding the military and police. Under these circumstances, the current ruling clique like its predecessor can easily become isolated and discredited.

The global crisis of overproduction has hit the types of product exported by the Philippines, raw materials and semimanufactures. The country is importing a lot of manufactures and even food products. Thus, the foreign trade deficit is ceaselessly increasing and the foreign debt burden is mounting. The global slump is also reducing the demand for overseas contract workers and consequently their wage remittances to the Philippines.

The budget of the reactionary government is becoming more conspicuously wasteful and absurd. Its budgetary deficit is widening every year due to the mounting debt service (46 percent of the budget), the huge allocation for the military, police and intelligence funds (exceeding 14 percent) and the corruption in pork barrel appropriations and supply contracts entered into by all government offices.

The Macapagal-Arroyo regime does not alleviate but aggravates the suffering of the broad masses of the people. Mass unemployment, wage freeze and erosion of incomes, rising prices of basic commodities, increasing tax burden and deterioration of social services and the infrastructure are making the lives of the people, especially the toiling masses and lower middle class, more and more miserable and intolerable.

The regime has ridiculed the pleas of the workers and government employees for wage and salary adjustments and the demand of the landless peasants for genuine and thoroughgoing land reform. The base for removing Macapagal-Arroyo from power or frustrating her 2004 electoral plans is developing.

The regime is increasingly becoming the target of public outrage as a result of its puppetry to imperialist interests, incompetence and corruption. The loose ruling coalition is becoming more unwieldy and unstable as the major and minor allies of the president expect her to become further discredited and unable to run for the presidency in 2004 and they speculate in advance on realignments before 2004.

The regime is vulnerable to the intensification of contradictions among the reactionary political parties and factions. The legal progressive forces can play once more a vital role in arraying a broad united front against the ruling clique.

The military and police continue to be afflicted by corruption. Officers combine and compete with each other in stealing public money through supply contracts and in running criminal syndicates engaged in kidnapping for ransom, drug trading, smuggling of goods in and out of the country and so on.

Mrs. Macapagal-Arroyo projects an image of obsequiousness to the military by repeatedly flattering them, yielding to demands for more funds and placing the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations in the hands of defense secretary Gen. Angelo Reyes whom the US is secretly grooming as her successor. Such debilitated image of Macapagal-Arroyo is conspicuous even as she sometimes poses as a tough commander-in-chief by issuing bellicose statements and by aping Bush in pushing the so-called anti-terrorist line.

She is practically in the clutches of General Angelo Reyes and similar militarists who pushed Estrada into an all-out war policy against the Filipino people and the Bangsamoro. They have placed her in the position of condoning and encouraging violations of human rights and international humanitarian law and yielding to the militarists what should be her initiative in the GRP peace negotiations with the NDFP.

A broad legal united front can rise up to isolate and remove the current ruling clique or at least weaken and disable it from winning in the 2004 reactionary elections. At the same time, it is possible to coordinate the armed resistance of the Filipino people and the Bangsamoro in a broad united front in order to further weaken the very foundation of the reactionary state.

It is the duty of the Communist Party of the Philippines to lead and build the New People's Army for the ultimate revolutionary goal of overthrowing the reactionary state and likewise to develop various

forms of united front for mobilizing the broadest range of forces and the greatest number of people against the enemy in order to carry forward the new democratic revolution.

Strengthen and sharpen the weapons of the Philippine revolution

The crisis conditions in the Philippines and the world do not translate automatically into revolutionary advances. It is the task of the revolutionary forces to resolutely, militantly and effectively carry the Philippine revolution forward. The Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and the National Democratic Front must strengthen and sharpen themselves as weapons to fight and defeat the enemy.

We must strengthen and sharpen the Party as the vanguard force of the proletariat and the people through the study and conscious application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. We must continue to learn from the Second Great Rectification Movement. We must avoid the pitfalls of subjectivism, be this in the form of empiricism or dogmatism and act firmly against imperialism, revisionism and reaction.

We must always make concrete analysis of Philippine conditions and our revolutionary practice. The assessment and evaluation of our work, learning lessons from both positive and negative experience, clarification of the tasks, criticism and self-criticism give us all the chance to improve our work and raise the level of our revolutionary consciousness. At the same time, we must seriously read and study Marxist-Leninist materials in our respective organs and units as well as in formal study courses.

We must adopt and carry out a plan to recruit more Party members from the mass movement of workers, peasants, women, youth and

professionals. Thus, the Party can maintain and enhance its close links with the masses. We must attract to the Party the most advanced activists and attend promptly to their Marxist-Leninist education and trial work as candidate members of the Party.

We must carry out the new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war and avoid the pitfalls of "Left" opportunism and Right opportunism. We must strengthen and sharpen the New People's Army as the main instrument for realizing the basic alliance of the proletariat and peasantry and for fighting and defeating the counterrevolutionary state.

We must continue to employ the people's army for integrating the revolutionary armed struggle, land reform and mass base-building. The Party must exercise leadership over the commands of the people's army. It must build party units within units of the people's army.

We must strengthen and sharpen the united front as a weapon for augmenting and amplifying the strength of the revolutionary forces and for rallying the broadest range of forces against the narrowest target. We must continue to build a comprehensive echelon of alliances in the national united front: the basic alliance of workers and peasants, the alliance of such progressive forces as the toiling masses and the urban pettybourgeoisie, the alliance of such patriotic forces as the progressive forces and the middle bourgeoisie.

In building the basic worker-peasant alliance, it is absolutely necessary that the Party strengthen and sharpen the antifeudal united front. This is the only way for getting the biggest direct mass support for the protracted people's war in the countryside for the revolutionary cause of national liberation and democracy.

Whenever feasible and necessary, we build even the unstable and temporary alliance with reactionary forces against the current enemy. The objective is to isolate the enemy completely and overthrow him. We have demonstrated at the national level how to develop the unstable and temporary alliance with reactionary allies in the movement to overthrow Marcos and Estrada.

We are confident that in the next ten years we shall be able to make great strides in the new-democratic revolution and that the anti-imperialist and socialist movements in the world shall surge forward in an unprecedented way amidst the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system and the great disorder due to wars of aggression and campaigns of repression.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the revolutionary proletariat, the Filipino people are now carrying out the national democratic revolution of the new type. Upon the basic completion of this stage of the Philippine revolution, they shall proceed to carry out the socialist revolution until imperialism is defeated on a global scale and the threshold of communism is finally reached. Such is the bright future of the Philippine revolution and the Filipino people.

In the spirit of proletarian internationalism, the Party must continue to develop close relations with Marxist-Leninist parties in order to promote conditions for rebuilding the international communist movement. The Party must also continue to encourage the development of the international united front, characterized by broad anti-imperialist solidarity.

Message by Armando Liwanag,
Chairman, Central Committee, on the 33rd anniversary
of the reestablishment of the Communist Party
of the Philippines

Celebrate the 34th Anniversary of the Party Strive to Win Ever Greater Victories!

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On behalf of the Central Committee, I convey warmest greetings of comradeship to all cadres, members and candidate-members of the Communist Party of the Philippines on the occasion of the 34th anniversary of the Party's reestablishment under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

I also extend sincerest greetings of revolutionary unity to all the Red commanders and fighters of the New People's Army, all the revolutionary mass activists, all functionaries in the organs of political power and the broad masses of the people.

Let us celebrate the accumulated and recent victories of the Party and the revolutionary masses. Let us honor our martyrs and heroes. Let us renew our resolve to serve the people and carry forward the Philippine revolution.

Let us strive to win ever greater victories in the new-democratic revolution against US imperialism and the local reactionary classes. Let us sum up our experience, evaluate our strengths and

weaknesses and carry out the tasks of the Party as a whole and those of the organs and units to which we belong. Let us raise our revolutionary struggle to a new and higher level.

The daily worsening conditions of crisis are favorable for advancing the Philippine revolution and the world proletarian revolution. Oppression and exploitation drive the broad masses of the people to fight for their rights and interests. The revolutionary parties of the proletariat are called upon to lead the people in revolutionary struggles for national liberation, democracy and socialism.

Imperialist crisis and war of terrorism

Since the collapse of the revisionist regimes and the disintegration of the Soviet Union in the 1989-91 period, the US imperialists have carried out a three-pronged offensive, consisting of an ideological offensive proclaiming the end of the socialist cause, an economic offensive using the slogan of "free market" globalization and a politico-military offensive by which the sole superpower seeks to impose Pax America in a new world order. All three prongs have roused the resistance of the proletariat and the people.

The Party has made a major contribution in standing up for socialism against imperialism and modern revisionism through publications and conferences of communist parties. Other parties have listened to our party because they respect the correct Marxist-Leninist line that we take on issues and follow in our work.

The Party has also made a major contribution in removing from the face of monopoly capitalism the veil of "free market" globalization and exposing beyond doubt the ugly reality of an imperialism that is decadent and moribund, convulsed by a deep-seated crisis and given to the worst forms of terrorism, such as wars of aggression and repressive regimes.

The Party has exchanged views and experiences with other parties on the various forms of revolutionary struggle and has encouraged other parties to develop the forms of revolutionary struggle suited to their concrete circumstances. It has taken a special interest in encouraging the preparation and development of people's war, particularly in semifeudal and semicolonial countries.

It is of great importance that since the 1989-91 period, when imperialism gloated over the disintegration of the revisionist regimes and the Soviet Union, the Party has persevered in leading the new-democratic revolution in the Philippines and upholding the historic mission of the proletariat in building socialism.

Now, our Party is among the parties most prepared for and most confident in taking advantage of the rapidly worsening crisis of the entire world capitalist system and leading the revolutionary struggle of the people. The crisis of overproduction and financial collapses are unprecedented. All three centers of global capitalism, the US, Japan and Euroland, are conspicuously crisis-stricken.

The lesser capitalist countries that have some basic industries are more seriously stricken. But the most gravely stricken are the overwhelming majority of countries. These include the semicolonial and semifeudal countries of the third world and the countries that have long retrogressed under revisionist rule and continue to deteriorate even more rapidly under undisguised capitalism.

The rapid extraction of profits from the working class and peoples of the world and the accelerated concentration and centralization of such profits in a few imperialist countries under the slogan of "free market" globalization have served to decrease the income and purchasing power of the working people and to contract the global and national markets.

Since the 1989-91 period, Japan, Germany and the former Soviet-bloc countries have been conspicuously caught in the vise of economic stagnation and prolonged periods of recession. But in most of the 1990s, the US still appeared to be the irrepressible

engine of growth that was expected to ultimately pull up the other centers of capitalism and the rest of the world capitalist system.

The US attracted and drew funds from abroad and whipped up an investment boom in US bonds and stocks. It stimulated overproduction in high-tech goods and services. It boasted of a "new economy" supposedly of high growth and high consumption but with no inflation, until the crisis of overproduction hit high-tech goods and services. Since March 2000, the boom has become a protracted bust, reminiscent of the Great Depression.

The solution being offered by the Bush regime to the US and global capitalist crisis is the delivery of more funds to the monopoly firms, especially to those in the military-industrial complex, and the stepping up of war production, under the stimulus of tax exemptions, research and development subsidies and federal government purchase contracts.

Upon the utter failure of "free market" globalization, the Bush regime seeks to find a way out in militarist Keynesianism, pump-priming the economy by stepping up war production and military expenditures. Along this line, the regime is whipping up a hysteria of "war on terrorism", using the September 11 attacks as the license for waging wars of aggression and pushing fascist policies and laws on a global scale.

Within the US itself, the Bush administration is generating jingoism and fascism through the Patriot Act and other so-called anti-terrorist laws. Farther afield, it is spreading the terms of repression among its imperialist allies and puppets in order to facilitate the wars of aggression in which the US merely bombs the civilian population and fixed structures to compel submission of a target state.

In the wake of the September 11 attacks, the US has used the pretext of going after the Al Qaeda to conquer Afghanistan through a war of aggression. The conquest has enabled the US to acquire control over the sources of oil in the Caspian Sea and Central Asia and over a planned supply route to the Indian Ocean via Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Driven by the same greed for oil, the US has also used the pretext of going after the Abu Sayyaf bandit gang in Basilan island in order to open a "second front" of the so-called war on terrorism in Asia. The real objective of the US imperialists is to strengthen their strategic position in the Philippines and tighten their control over oil and other natural resources in Southeast Asia. It has found the Al Qaeda scare a more convenient pretext than the old China scare.

The world is again on the verge of witnessing a new round of full-scale US war of aggression against Iraq. The objective for the US imperialists is to take direct control over the oil resources of Iraq and to further tighten their control over the Middle East and further humiliate the Palestinian and Arab peoples.

The US imperialists wish to recolonize peoples but also wish to avoid US casualties. Thus they resort to bombing or threatening to bomb civilian communities and infrastructures. This is generating the people's outrage and inciting broader and fiercer popular resistance than ever before.

The oppressed peoples of the world are invoking the right of national liberation and democracy and are resisting the impositions of US hegemony and the intensification of plunder, repression and war. A number of states in the third world are also asserting their national independence, especially because the US has classified them as "rogue" states, as "axis of evil" or as potential rivals.

The US and its imperialist allies are still united in oppressing and exploiting the people in the third world and in retrogressive countries. But Japan and Western Europe are increasingly becoming wary over US unilateral actions to threaten and wage wars and to monopolize oil and other natural resources and to seize markets, fields of investment and strategic points of control.

Within the imperialist countries, there is mass discontent among the workers and pettybourgeoisie who now suffer mass unemployment, reduced wages and erosion of social benefits. Popular resistance is developing against imperialist war and fascism, chauvinism and

racism. The monopoly bourgeoisie is trying to obscure its responsibility for the crisis by seeking to split the proletariat and shifting the blame to immigrants and foreign countries. Communist parties in imperialist countries are being challenged to convert imperialist wars into civil wars.

Depression and repression

For so long as it wishes to keep the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system in our country, the US-directed Macapagal-Arroyo regime has no way out of the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system. The economy is sinking into a prolonged state of depression. And the regime has become ever more repressive in its attempt to silence the people.

The lack of basic industries has become even more pronounced. The only industries there are, that are import-dependent, have all gone into a state of depression. Office and residential towers have become largely vacant since the end of the private construction boom in 1997 when the Southeast Asian financial crisis struck as a result of overborrowing for the production of export-oriented semimanufactures and for real estate speculation.

The raw materials and low value-added semimanufactures that the Philippine economy brings to the world market are globally in oversupply relative to the depressed market. Even as the economy is mainly agrarian, agricultural production has decreased as a result of import liberalization and the high cost of imported agro-chemicals, milling equipment, transport and oil.

Foreign loans needed for covering trade deficits are in short supply. In the meantime, the amount required for debt service keeps on increasing. Like Estrada in the recent past, Macapagal-Arroyo keeps on begging Japan for infrastructure loans in order to be able to show

some semblance of economic activity. But such loans in fact further burden the economy as they come with ever-heavier conditionalities and as they are prime target of bureaucratic corruption.

The bankruptcy of the Philippine economy is manifested by the plunging value of the peso in relation to the US dollar, the widening trade and budgetary deficits and the rapid growth of foreign and domestic public debts.

The Macapagal-Arroyo regime is aggravating the exploitation of the toiling masses and the middle social strata. It encourages mass layoffs, rising prices of basic goods and services, sharp reduction of real incomes, the erosion of social benefits and overcharging done by the private owners of public utilities. It considers these as measures necessary for the owners of capital to solve their problems and stabilize the "free market" economy.

The big monopoly capitalist owners of the privatized public utilities in energy and water have amassed huge profits and the consumers are demanding that these utility companies reimburse to them the overcharges. Their services have gone from bad to worse and yet they are demanding the increase of rates to be paid by the consumers. After pretending to threaten the companies with nationalization, the Arroyo regime now collaborates with them on how they can keep their assets and further gouge the consumers.

The grave economic crisis is resulting in seething social discontent. The regime continue to inflame the toiling masses by its disdain for the workers' demand for across the board wage adjustment and the peasants' demand for land reform. Other social sectors are also aggrieved by the disregard for their demands. Discontent is breaking out in the form of sectoral and multisectoral strikes and other mass protests by workers, peasants, fishermen, women, youth, teachers, health workers and other sectors.

The economic crisis has resulted in a severe political crisis. Several factions within the ruling system as well as within the ruling coalition are in bitter rivalry. The national pie available for

bureaucratic looting has become so small that the tendency of the ruling clique to monopolize the loot provokes whistle blowing even within the ruling coalition.

Cases of corruption at various levels of the reactionary government have become more rampant and more conspicuous than ever before. Most shocking to the people are the cases of corruption being brought against the presidential couple and those closest to them.

Within the ruling coalition, there is grumbling and a growing view that Ms. Macapagal-Arroyo will have difficulty keeping her office before the 2004 elections or making a creditable run for the presidency in 2004. Vice-president Guingona is open to replacing her before 2004. The De Venecia faction is publicly proposing the adoption of a parliamentary system through constitutional amendment as the gracious way out for Ms Macapagal-Arroyo.

The opposition parties and organizations are now intensifying their campaign to expose anomalies of the regime and to discredit the regime totally. Certain forces that participated in the overthrow of Estrada are making themselves available for a broad united front and a broad mass movement to remove Macapagal-Arroyo from office in 2003.

Even if she is not removed from office by popular uprising, she would become debilitated and isolated before the 2004 elections. Many believe that she has already disqualified herself from public campaigning in 2004 as a result of the extremely brutal military offensives that her regime has launched against the people.

Out of desperation, the regime is following the most brutal dictates of the US and is parroting the Bush slogans of "war on terrorism" and "preemptive strikes." In abject puppetry, the regime has collaborated with the US to violate Philippine national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

It has acceded to the US-RP Mutual Logistical Support Agreement, which comes on top of the US-RP Military Assistance Agreement,

the Mutual Defense Pact and the Visiting Forces Agreement. US military forces can enter Philippine territory as they please and occupy any part of it for any length of time under such pretexts as fighting terrorism, training exercises, civic action and what else.

The Bush administration has collaborated with the Arroyo regime in using the so-called anti-terrorist campaign against the CIA-created Abu Sayyaf bandit gang to bring US combat forces into the Philippines and show off US high-tech military equipment. But it has only succeeded in exposing its inability to destroy even such a small gang using the rough and well-foliaged terrain of its native island. The imperialist and puppet troops can only fare worse against the nationwide revolutionary movement led by our Party.

Within the ruling circle of Arroyo, cabinet members in charge of national defense, national security advice and peace negotiations have directed the regime towards repressiveness and bellicosity. They have paralyzed the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations and asked the US to put the CPP, NPA and the NDFP chief political consultant in the US list of terrorists, thereby violating the GRP-NDFP Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees and other joint agreements between the GRP and the NDFP.

They are pushing Macapagal-Arroyo to go berserk on her all-out war policy. They imagine that they can compel the NDFP to capitulate by escalating military and police campaigns of suppression against the workers and peasants and by putting under duress the NDFP negotiators, consultants, staffers and supporters abroad. They are behind the scheme of kidnapping, torturing and murdering local leaders and members of Bayan Muna.

In the meantime, the reactionary armed forces and national police remain fractious as a result of the factional strife among military and police officers who have aligned themselves with various political leaders or who run competing criminal syndicates engaged in smuggling, drugs, gambling, prostitution and the like.

The puppetry and corruption of the ruling reactionary politicians

and the military and police officers outrage the people. As more public funds are allocated to the military and police, the people rise in protest against the diversion of funds from public education, health, low-cost housing and the like, especially in the regions outside Metro Manila.

The violations of the economic, social, cultural, civil and political rights of the people are intensifying. The demand of the workers for better wages and living conditions is brutally suppressed. Likewise the peasant demand for land is met with increased military and political campaigns to suppress the land reform being undertaken by the organized masses and the revolutionary forces and to further dispossess the poor peasants and national minorities of their land and communal resources.

The puppetry, incompetence, corruption and brutality of the regime incite the broad masses of the people to rise up. The growing contradictions among the reactionaries indicate to the people that the entire ruling system can be overthrown because it is rotten to the core.

Rising revolutionary mass movement

Since the beginning, our Party has integrated Marxism-Leninism-Maoism with the concrete conditions of the Philippines and has thereby correctly set forth the general line of new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war. This line corresponds to the semicolonial and semifeudal character of the ruling system.

We score great political victories when we pursue the general line set by the Party. Otherwise, we incur serious errors and suffer serious setbacks that only a movement of self-criticism and rectification, like the Second Great Rectification Movement, can solve.

We have criticized and repudiated the erroneous line that the Philippines has ceased to be semifeudal—a false and treacherous assumption as it credits Marcos with having carried out industrial development and land reform. We have thereby rooted out the "Left" opportunist line that urban armed insurrection is the main form of armed struggle as well as the Right opportunist line that legal struggle is the main form of struggle.

We have also criticized and repudiated the erroneous line that the struggle for national liberation has become passe on the erroneous and treasonous assumption that under "free market" globalization the question of national sovereignty is rendered irrelevant by the supposed development of a prosperous borderless global economy.

Through the Second Great Rectification Movement, we have overcome not only the "Left" opportunist errors but also the destructive effects of the bloody crimes perpetrated by the worst of the "Left" opportunists who whipped up anti-informer hysteria to rationalize the failure of their erroneous line as the handiwork of "deep penetration agents."

We have overcome not only the Right opportunist errors but also the schemes of the Right opportunists to liquidate the Party, capitulate to the enemy and drum up reformism and revisionism. The counterrevolutionaries would have wrecked the Party and the entire revolutionary movement had it not been for the rectification movement launched by the Central Committee in 1992.

In the course of our ideological and political struggle against the traitors who were using a confused babble of blatant bourgeois liberalism, Gorbachovite revisionism and Trotskyite petty-bourgeois revolutionism, our Party has strengthened itself ideologically and become recognized as an outstanding defender of the socialist cause and an exemplary leader and fighter for the cause of national liberation and democracy.

The claims of the enemy that we have lost the struggle because there are no more big socialist countries to finance our revolutionary

efforts are simply ludicrous. We regard as absurd the shallow misrepresentation of the revisionist regimes as socialist and as sources of inspiration or financial support. As a revolutionary party of the proletariat such as ours, we have long upheld Marxism-Leninism against modern revisionism and have followed the principle of self-reliance in our revolutionary struggle.

We have reasserted in our country the strategic line of protracted people's war, which involves encircling the cities from the countryside and accumulating strength until we gain the capability to overthrow the enemy forces in the cities. We have built the New People's Army as the main organization of the people for waging the armed revolution, carrying out the antifeudal struggle and building mass organizations and the organs of democratic power.

Right now, the NPA has a sum total of at least three divisions or nine brigades or 27 battalions of full-time Red fighters with high-powered rifles. These are augmented by tens of thousands in the people's militias and further on by hundreds of thousands in self-defense units of the mass organizations.

Our Red fighters are deployed in 128 guerrilla fronts, which include significant portions of 800 municipalities and 70 provinces. Every guerrilla front has a center of gravity consisting of a platoon or an over-sized platoon within the radius of a few barrios. Relatively more dispersed squads are deployed for mass work and are further divisible into armed propaganda teams. We are resolutely and militantly consolidating and expanding these guerrilla fronts.

We have given stress to the antifeudal struggle because this is the way to fulfill the democratic demand for land among the peasant masses. We reduce land rent, eliminate usury, raise the wages of farm workers (taking into account whether the buyers of labor power are other peasants or are landlords), raise farm-gate prices for the peasants' produce and promote agricultural and sideline occupations. We carry out minimum land reform as we look forward to the maximum land reform program.

We have built organs of political power, from appointed ones to elected ones. At their base, we have built mass organizations of peasants, workers, fishermen, women, youth and cultural activists. Aside from land reform, we have been able to carry out mass movements in production, mass education, self-defense, health and sanitation, cultural work, settling disputes and so forth.

The mass movements that we carry out in the countryside, especially land reform, liberate and empower the peasants who have long been oppressed and exploited. They have encouraged mass activists to come forward in the rural areas and have also attracted cadres and activists from the urban-based mass movement to learn from the peasants and exchange experiences.

The rural-based mass movements and urban-based ones interact with each other and strengthen each other. All revolutionaries are conscious that in case of a fascist crackdown in urban areas, as in the time of Marcos, mass activists can seek refuge by shifting from the urban areas to the countryside and can serve the mass revolutionary mass movement there.

We have developed the mass base and skills for wielding the national united front as a weapon of the armed revolution under the leadership of the working class. The basic alliance of the working class and peasantry constitutes the mass base for both the antifeudal struggle for democracy and the anti-imperialist struggle for national liberation.

By strengthening the basic alliance of the toiling masses, we are in a better position at every step to build the alliance of the progressive forces (which includes the urban petty-bourgeoisie), the alliance of the patriotic forces (which includes the middle bourgeoisie) and the broad united front (which includes sections of the reactionary classes) for the purpose of isolating, weakening and defeating the enemy.

We have twice employed the broad united front to overthrow a ruling clique in the Philippines, the first in the antifascist movement

against Marcos and the second in the anticorruption movement against Estrada. We can avail of the broad united front to overthrow the Macapagal-Arroyo ruling clique before 2004 or make it lose the 2004 presidential elections.

It may suffice for a broad united front to use legal means for overthrowing a ruling clique. But it cannot overthrow an entire ruling system. For that, it is necessary for the armed struggle to become the principal form of struggle and to actually destroy the bureaucratic and military machinery of the joint class dictatorship of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class.

It is absolutely necessary to wage people's war and win victory by force of arms. It is only thus that we can destroy the domestic ruling system and thwart the US imperialist scheme to preserve such system through military intervention or a full-scale war of aggression.

Strive to win ever greater victories

The Party can maintain its high level of theoretical knowledge and revolutionary consciousness as the advanced detachment of the proletariat only by continuing to build itself along the ideological line of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. All Party members must be made conscious of the integration of this revolutionary theory of the proletariat with concrete Philippine conditions and with the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution.

They must understand how the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method are applied in the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution, in the documents of the First and Second Great Rectification Movements, in the documents issued by the Central Committee and in the summing up of experience and learning of lessons issued by various organs and units of the Party.

All Party members must undergo the primary Party course within the first year of their Party membership. With such education, they gain sufficient understanding of their commitment and work and the capability to read and study further within their units and on their free time.

Subsequently, they can take the intermediate course, which has the objective of enabling them to draw lessons from their experience in the light of successful revolutionary struggles in the Philippines and abroad. Then they can proceed to the advance course, which has the objective of deepening their knowledge of philosophy, political economy, social revolution, revolutionary strategy and tactics and the history of the international communist movement.

The Party has accumulated political strength through armed struggle and united front work. Thus it has gained all-round capability to lead the armed revolutionary movement in advancing at an accelerated rate. The Central Committee issues the guidelines for the regional Party committees and the Party committees and NPA commands at the guerrilla front level to take stock of the balance of forces, study the vulnerabilities of the enemy, sharpen intelligence work and plan tactical offensives within their capability.

Let us undertake tactical offensives at a rate that does not prejudice attention to mass work. At any given time, the existing mass base and armed strength allow tactical offensives for seizing more weapons from the enemy, either by arrest operations, raids or ambushes. The success of our tactical offensives must be measured mainly in terms of favorable political effect and capturing weapons.

The people and the NPA must intensify the people's war to fight the all-out war policy of the US-Arroyo regime and the escalating US military intervention under the pretext of anti-terrorism. The daily worsening crisis of the world capitalist system is driving the US imperialists to launch wars of aggression and promote state terrorism. In turn these generate greater popular resistance and revolutionary struggles that are lethal to imperialism and all reaction.

The basic alliance of workers and peasants provides the great mass base for both the antifeudal struggle and the struggle for national liberation. All types of alliances, the progressive, patriotic and the broad but unstable, must be utilized to extend the strength and influence of the revolutionary forces.

In confronting the Macapagal-Arroyo regime, we have again an opportunity to further develop the broad united front, with the objective of overthrowing the regime or making it fail in the 2004 presidential elections. The current volatile crisis situation in the Philippines provides us with the favorable conditions for advancing both the armed struggle and developing the united front.

The Party is guided by the organizational principle of democratic centralism. We must be united and firm in carrying out decisions after a democratic discussion of issues. Such decisions are upheld until they are superseded by new decisions on the basis of new facts and developments arising from revolutionary practice.

We must continue to build a nationwide party with intimate links to the workers and the peasants. We must recruit Party members from the ranks of the toiling masses and the educated youth. We must build a Party strong enough to lead the Filipino people in the new-democratic revolution to victory.

Following the current stage of the Philippine revolution, we shall carry out the socialist revolution and construction and continue to contribute to the global defeat of imperialism and the attainment of the ultimate goal of communism.

Issued by Armando Liwanag,
Chairman, Central Committee Communist Party of the
Philippines on December 26, 2002

Boldly Advance the Philippine Revolution Amidst Worsening Global and National Crisis

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2003

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines, I have the honor to convey to all comrades, friends and the broad masses of the people most militant greetings of revolutionary solidarity on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the reestablishment of the Party under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and on the basis of Philippine history and current circumstances.

We joyously celebrate today the great victories that our Party has accumulated over a long period of time as well as from the fresh victories won under the Three Year Plan of 1999-2002 and in the past year under the Three Year Plan of 2003-2005. We stand on a strong basis in order to boldly advance the Philippine revolution amidst the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system of big compradors and landlords.

The victories that we have won are fully paid for by hard work, struggle and sacrifices. In this regard, we praise all Party cadres and members, Red commanders and fighters, the mass activists and the

entire people for all their revolutionary efforts. We express our highest praise to the revolutionary martyrs and heroes. The Party has proven itself as the advanced detachment of the revolutionary proletariat in the Philippines and as the force leading the Philippine revolution by upholding Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, by carrying out the general line of new democratic revolution through protracted people's war and by expanding and consolidating the Party organization under the principle of democratic centralism.

The Party takes pride in successfully waging people's war for thirty-five years in a country of strategic importance to US imperialism. The Party and the Filipino people have together withstood and prevailed over tremendous odds posed by imperialism and reaction, including the 14 years of the Marcos fascist dictatorship and continuous US military intervention of various forms in post-Marcos regimes.

We have demonstrated that protracted people's war can be successfully waged in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country in chronic crisis. Our revolutionary movement is now in the forefront of national liberation movements in the world and we fervently desire that more peoples wage armed revolution. We are determined to complete the new democratic revolution no matter how long it takes to complete and proceed to the socialist revolution.

When the revisionist-ruled countries were in turmoil and the revisionist rulers were casting away their communist and socialist signboards and frenziedly privatizing public assets, the imperialists, the local reactionaries and the revisionist and Trotskyite renegades were all peddling the lie that the Party and mass movement had lost their sources of ideological inspiration and material support.

To the dismay of all counterrevolutionaries, the Party undertook the Second Great Rectification Movement and reiterated its anti-revisionist position, criticized and repudiated the revisionist renegades and incorrigible opportunists and proceeded to criticize and repudiate the "new world order", "free market" globalization and various anti-communist fallacies couched in pettybourgeois language.

By upholding Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, leading the further advance of the Philippine revolution and expressing its position on global issues, our Party has contributed significantly to the efforts of the international communist movement and the broad anti-imperialist movement to counter the multifaceted offensive of the imperialists and has gained the recognition, respect, mutual support and cooperation of communist and workers' parties and the proletariat and people on a global scale.

Growing Strength of the Party

With utmost enthusiasm, we are carrying out the Three-Year Plan for 2003-2005 to further strengthen the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally, raise the level of the people's war and advance in an all-round way. We have based ourselves on the victories achieved in the course of the Second Great Rectification Movement and the Three-Year Plan of 1999-2002.

We continue to be inspired by the First Great Rectification Movement launched in 1967 and the Second Great Rectification Movement launched in 1992. Both rectification movements have strengthened and re-strengthened the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally. The First Great Rectification Movement criticized and rectified major errors since 1930 and led to the reestablishment of the Party in 1968. The Second Great Rectification Movement criticized and rectified major errors since 1980 and led to the revitalization of the Party in more than a decade until now.

All Party organs, units and individual members are in constant process of study and learning the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Thus they have inculcated themselves with the proletarian revolutionary stand, viewpoint and method. They are equipped to criticize and repudiate subjectivism, be this in the form of revisionism, empiricism and dogmatism.

They can integrate the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete conditions and concrete practice of the Philippine revolution. The Second Great Rectification Movement has been decisive in educating them. The summings up undertaken in connection with it by the leading organs and staff organs of the Party at various levels and by Party units working in various types of territory, various types of functions and various types of mass organizations constitute rich study material.

More than ever all Party cadres and members are required to conduct and learn from social investigations related to their mass work, to assess and evaluate their work and engage in criticism and self-criticism in order to raise the level of their knowledge and improve their work and work style. The organs and units of the Party conduct study meetings related to current work, long standing issues and selected readings.

The formal courses at the basic, intermediate and advanced levels are being conducted constantly. The basic course is meant to ensure that every Party member gets basic education in Marxism-Leninism and the Philippine revolution. The intermediate course is meant to provide cadres with intimate knowledge of the current revolution and to make comparative studies. The advanced course is meant to acquaint the Party cadres with the classic literature of Marxism-Leninism in philosophy, political economy and strategy and tactics and to require them to analyze major problems in the Philippines and the world.

The Party has issued important documents with theoretical and practical significance for the education of Party members. These involve the critique of modern revisionism and the collapse of revisionist-ruled states, the essentials of monopoly capitalism, "free market" globalization, "neoconservative" aggressiveness and various types of pettybourgeois anticommunism, including neo-Kautskyism and Trotskyism. The Party has gained recognition from communist parties and progressive organizations abroad for its theoretical and political analyses.

The Party is resolutely and militantly pursuing the general political line of new democratic revolution through a protracted people's war against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords. All Party cadres and members are united in waging the democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat in response to the immediate semi-colonial and semi-feudal conditions and in long-term anticipation of the socialist revolution.

The myth spread by the reactionaries and incorrigible opportunists that the Philippines is no longer semi-feudal but has been highly industrialized and urbanized, since the period of the big comprador Marcos fascist regime, is totally discredited in the face of the backward agrarian conditions exposed by the worsening and deepening crisis. The myth that issues of national sovereignty and national patrimony have become passe is likewise totally discredited as the broad masses of the people confront the plunderous character of "free market" globalization and the horrors of imperialist terrorism and wars of aggression.

The Second Great Rectification Movement has made the Party ever more competent in studying the pettybourgeois social basis for the Right and "Left" opportunist errors and tendencies and learning to combat and root these out effectively. Our victory over opportunism, reformism, revisionism and liquidationism within the Party has accelerated the growth of the Party and the revolutionary mass movement. The incorrigible opportunists and revisionist renegades have further degenerated and thoroughly exposed themselves as special enemy agents.

The Party has consistently linked the working class with the peasantry by relying mainly on the poor peasants and farm workers, by winning over the middle peasants, neutralizing the rich peasants and taking advantage of the contradictions between the enlightened and evil gentry in order to isolate and destroy the power of the latter. This is the revolutionary class line of the Party in carrying out the anti-feudal democratic revolution, in waging the

protracted people's war, in carrying out land reform and in building organs of political power and mass organizations in the countryside.

The Party consistently adheres to the strategic line of waging people's war over a protracted period of time by encircling the cities from the countryside and accumulating strength until it becomes possible to seize the cities. Under the leadership of the Party, the New People's Army is accumulating armed strength by launching tactical offensives within the current stage of the strategic defensive. It is waging extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and ever deepening mass base. It has by and large developed the early phase of the strategic defensive and is now in the process of developing the middle phase.

It has thousands of Red fighters who have automatic rifles and other high-powered weapons. They have received politico-military training and are well-tested in battles and in mass work. They have increased at an annual rate of 10 to 15 percent from 1999 to 2001 in stride with the increase of high-powered rifles at the annual rate of 11 to 16 percent during the same period.

However, the Red fighters still outnumber the firearms at the rate of 3:2. There is therefore the urgent need to seize more weapons by launching tactical offensives. The NPA operates in 128 guerrilla fronts, encompassing millions of people. They are in more than 8000 barrios or nearly 20 percent of all barrios. They are in substantial portions of 700 to 800 municipalities and cities (about 50 percent of the total) and in more than 90 percent of the provinces. Under the direction of the Party, the people's army has deliberately slowed down the increase in the number of guerrilla fronts (relative to the high rate of increase in the latter half of the 1990s) in order to expand and consolidate each guerrilla front.

The enemy has failed to accomplish the objectives of its all-out war policy and its concentration of military forces on 12 selected guerrilla fronts since 2001. The armed revolutionary movement is ever growing and cannot be suppressed. The enemy can concentrate military forces on 12 guerrilla fronts and commit all sorts of

atrocities against the people. But in more than 110 guerrilla fronts as well as in new areas, the NPA can further build its strength, conduct revolutionary work and launch tactical offensives.

The Party gives the highest priority to realizing the revolutionary policy of land reform in order to fulfil the peasant demand for land, which is the main content of the democratic revolution. In addition to the land reform campaign, the Party undertakes campaigns to organize and educate the masses, raise production, improve conditions of health and sanitation, train the people in self-defense, reduce or eliminate illiteracy, promote cultural activities, settle differences among the people and so on.

The Party systematically builds the mass base of the revolution. This involves the local organs of political power and the mass organizations. The local organs of political power constitute the people's democratic government. They are the revolutionary government of the workers and peasants engaged in a civil war with the reactionary government of big compradors and landlords. They are supported by the mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, youth and others and by the broad masses of the people. The membership of these mass organizations runs into hundreds of thousands and has increased at the average annual rate of 19.4 percent from 1999 to 2001.

The people are the inexhaustible source of strength of the Party and the people's army. Their best sons and daughters join the revolutionary forces. They readily contribute resources when they draw benefits from land reform, wage increases, higher production, better prices for their products, mass education, health care, cultural activities, internal security and defense. The taxation policy of the people's democratic government is aimed at raising resources for the social benefit of the people.

The Party coordinates the revolutionary forces and people in the urban and rural areas. For this coordination to be carried out, Party organs and units use legal and illegal methods of work. Party groups exist and multiply in legal institutions and organizations, including

reactionary ones. The Party always works hard to enable the armed revolutionary movement and the legal mass movement to advance in their respective ways against the ramparts of reaction.

The Party has successfully carried out its united front policy. To augment the basic worker-peasant alliance, it has developed other forms of alliances. These are the alliance of progressive forces which include the toiling masses and the urban pettybourgeoisie, the alliance of the patriotic forces which include the aforementioned and the middle bourgeoisie and the temporary and unstable alliance with certain sections of the reactionaries for the purpose of isolating and defeating the enemy.

The united front policy and tactics of the Party are meant to complement and support the revolutionary armed struggle and rouse the people in their millions beyond the existing number of people in the organized revolutionary forces to join the various forms of struggle and rise up in mass actions. The broader an alliance is the more effective it is in isolating and weakening the enemy. So far, the Party has succeeded in using the broadest type of alliance in order to isolate and overthrow the Marcos fascist regime in 1986 and the corrupt Estrada regime in 2001. The strength and experience gained from overthrowing particular ruling cliques can lead someday to the overthrow of the rotting ruling system.

The democratic mass movement of workers, peasants, fisherfolk, urban poor, tribal people, women, youth, professionals, religious, entrepreneurs and others is conducting the most important forms of legal struggle. The mass movement conducts timely propaganda offensives and mass actions on the longrunning as well as burning mutlisectoral and sectoral issues. Other kinds of legal struggle are the defense of human rights even in the reactionary courts, the peace negotiations between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) and the impending reactionary elections.

From a revolutionary viewpoint, the Party regards the legal forms of struggle as a way of exposing the rottenness of the ruling system,

broadcasting the general line of new democratic revolution, reducing to some extent the oppression and exploitation and, if such reduction were not possible, encouraging the people to think and act in the revolutionary way. The patriotic and progressive mass organizations are the most resolute and militant in conducting the struggle for national independence and democracy.

The Party has grown in strength organizationally from year to year because it adheres strictly to the principle of democratic centralism and combats both bureaucratism and anarchy. The centralized leadership is based on democracy and in turn democracy is guided by the centralized leadership. All leading organs, units and individual members are thriving in a well-balanced Party life of discipline and freedom.

The Party has a nationwide membership in the tens of thousands. It has increased this by recruiting the most advanced elements from the armed revolutionary movement and the legal democratic mass movement. Thus, it has made closer and deeper more than ever before its close links with the toiling masses of workers and peasants. It is highly conscious of increasing the number of workers and peasants in order to strengthen its revolutionary basis and character.

The Party builds its organizational strength by building branches in localities and work places and electing the leading organs upwards from the branch level. At the same time, it builds Party groups within the various types of mass organizations and institutions. Being the main organization of the Party, the New People's Army has a high proportion of Party members. Furthermore, the Red commanders, the political officers and Red fighters live and work together daily.

The most difficult and dangerous tasks are in the countryside, especially in the guerrilla fronts. The Party systematically encourages Party cadres and members who are workers and educated youth to join the revolutionary struggle in the countryside. They have the political and technical competence to raise higher the

level of work and struggle. Mass activists who desire to become Party members are also encouraged and required to go to the countryside to learn from the struggle there and render service to the people.

The Party is conscious of its duty to attract the women to join its ranks. It has become stronger by increasing the proportion of women in the Party membership and in the organs of leadership. The increasing role of women within the Party has an inspiring effect to women as well as men in general and makes available to the Party and the revolutionary movement important abilities and dimensions of effectiveness that would otherwise be lost.

With membership being bigger and of higher quality than before, the Party is capable of performing a wider range of tasks and in a more competent way than ever before. Upon the increase of its organizational strength, the party is in a position to lead the proletariat and people more effectively in boldly advancing the Philippine revolution amidst the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system of big compradors and landlords.

Worsening National Crisis

The socio-economic crisis of the ruling system is daily worsening. By every major indicator, it is clear that the Philippine semi-feudal economy is sinking. The complete submission of the Macapagal-Arroyo regime to the US policy of "free market" globalization has rendered the Philippine economy ever more bankrupt and depressed. The regime has put aside the people's demand for economic sovereignty, conservation of the national patrimony, land reform and national industrialization and has ruined the economy at an unprecedentedly rapid rate.

Agricultural production and the limited manufacturing for local consumption are pushed down by the higher costs of imported

equipment, fuel and ingredients and by the dumping of surplus goods from abroad. At the same time, the production of raw materials (agricultural and mineral) and low-value added semi-manufacturing for export have been pushed down by global overproduction of these types of goods and by the fall in the prices of these goods far below the costs of import-dependent production.

The importation of goods for domestic consumption of the ordinary people and of luxury goods for the high bureaucrats and exploiting classes and the maintenance of the bureaucratic and military operations of the reactionary government are financed by an intolerable rising level of taxation, local public borrowing (to cover the growing budgetary deficit) and foreign debt (to cover mainly the ever growing trade deficits).

Even the finance officials of the reactionary government admit to a financial crisis. Total debt has reached the level of 5.162 trillion pesos, which is greater than the economy's total output. This includes the liabilities of the bureaucracy and the financial institutions and corporations. Debt service alone is 357 billion pesos or 46 percent of the total budget. The national government debt accounts for about US\$58 billion or about 60 percent of the total public debt.

The reactionary government has a grotesque budget. It sets a high ceiling for deficit spending and always overshoots this in practice. It requires higher tax collection from a devastated economy and continues to spend huge amounts of tax money for debt service, the military and police, intelligence funds, foreign travels, computers, cars for high bureaucrats and so on.

Funds for education, health, housing and other social services continue to dwindle. Corruption competes with the depressed condition of the economy as a cause for decreased state revenues. The budget deficit last year was 217 billion pesos. To cover the budgetary deficit, the Macapagal-Arroyo regime has resorted to borrowing from the local and foreign capital markets and has depended mainly on private US lending at onerous terms.

The Philippine economy has been falling abruptly since the 1997 financial crisis, as a result of the global overproduction of low-value added semi-manufacturing and the busting of the private construction boom. Since then, the unemployment rate has soared up to the level of more than 50 per cent, if we do not follow the silly official definitions of unemployment, underemployment and self-employment in official statistics. Most of the short-term contractual and part-time jobs in the sweatshops connected to the multinational firms as well as the casual jobs in government have disappeared. This fact comes on top of the reduction of regular full-time jobs under the so-called flexible labor policy.

Unemployment and falling incomes have hit hard not only the toiling masses of workers and peasants but also the middle social strata. More than 85 percent of the people have fallen below the poverty line. The broad masses of the people are being assailed by the rapid rise of direct and indirect taxes, prices of basic commodities and fees for the fast deteriorating social services and infrastructure. Charges for water, electricity, transport and other public utilities have rapidly risen.

More than 60 percent of women and children suffer from serious malnutrition. Disease and vulnerability to ill health are widespread. Health care from the reactionary government is close to nil in both rural and urban areas. More and more children cannot go to school because of the dire conditions of their parents and the absence of school facilities. Token housing projects are financed by the reactionary state only in the biggest of cities.

The oversupply of energy resulting from the graft-ridden proliferation of private power producers and the operationalization of the Malampaya gas pipeline has not reduced the service charges but has pushed the electricity firms to overcharge the consumers. The privatization of the water and sewerage system in the national capital region has resulted in unbridled overcharging in tandem with the deterioration of services.

Despite the bankrupt and depressed condition of the Philippine economy, the reactionary government boasts of a rising economic growth rate and an unemployment rate incredibly lower than in some advanced capitalist countries. Activities financed by public debt, the exaggeration of the proportion of the service sector in the economy and the remittances of overseas contract workers conjure an illusion of rising economic growth. A tricky definition of what constitutes employment also gives the illusion of an unemployment rate far lower than the reality.

The political crisis of the ruling system is making it difficult for the ruling classes of big compradors and landlords to rule in the old way. The contradictions among the reactionary coalitions, parties, factions and personalities are becoming more bitter and violent. The grave economic crisis limits the amount of bureaucratic loot available for the mutual accommodation and satisfaction of the ruling and rival factions of politicians representing the exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords. Even within the ruling coalition headed by the Macapagal-Arroyo clique, there is constant bickering among the factions. Thus, the shape and content of the coalition has kept on changing.

After the wanton abuse of both local and foreign public borrowing and massive dissipation of resources by the Ramos regime, the succeeding regimes of Estrada and Macapagal-Arroyo have been easily exposed for corruption by the opposition. The ruling cliques have conspicuously gotten large cuts from public contracts and loans from state financial agencies and have exercised private control over gambling and other lucrative criminal activities.

The contradictions among reactionary politicians are reflected in those among military and police officers. Every reactionary politician or party finds it necessary to be well connected to definite military and police factions. Likewise military and police officers find it necessary to be well connected to definite factions of reactionary politicians. There is mutual protection between factions of the bureaucratic and armed apparatuses of the state.

The worst and strongest factions of military and police officers use their personnel to control and operate criminal syndicates engaged in prohibited drugs, gambling, prostitution, kidnapping for ransom, smuggling, murder for hire, robbery, car theft, and so on. The strongest of the factions are active factors of reactionary politics at the national level. They pool campaign funds for presidential candidates of their choice. A former national police officer, who is a crime lord, is now presenting himself as a presidential candidate.

Corruption and criminality among high military officials, including the former defense secretary Gen. Angelo Reyes and the former chief intelligence officer Brig. Gen. Victor Corpus, have become so rampant that more than 300 junior army and naval officers conducted a public protest action on July 26, 2003 and exposed among other crimes the overpricing of supplies for the troops and the terror bombings that have killed numerous civilians in Mindanao for the purpose of justifying state terrorism and US military intervention under the pretext of the "war on terrorism."

The US has manipulated the puppet and corrupt character of the Macapagal-Arroyo regime in order to dictate economic policy under the slogan of "free market" globalization and to inject into crucial points of the bureaucracy pro-US agents under the cover of the so-called Accelerating Growth, Investment and Liberalization with Equity (AGILE) to push policies and laws beneficial to the US and US multinational firms. It has also used the slogan of "war on terrorism" in order to whip up state terrorism against the people and to push the military intervention of US troops and what amounts to a return of the US military bases through the Mutual Logistical Support Agreement.

Following the US baton, Macapagal-Arroyo has misrepresented the revolutionary movement as terrorist and has cheered the "terrorist" listing of the Party, the NPA and the NDFP chief political consultant by the US, Dutch, European Council and some other governments. In this regard, she has emboldened and condoned the most brutal campaigns of suppression against the people and the revolutionary forces, especially in the countryside.

She has also frozen the peace negotiations between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP). She has gone so far as to accuse the militant trade unions and other mass organizations of "terrorism" for defending national and democratic rights and demanding social and economic reforms to alleviate the people's suffering,

The broad masses of the people consider Macapagal-Arroyo a liar for declaring on December 30, 2002 that she would not run for president and then reneging on her word after a few months. The widespread expectation is that she cannot win in the presidential elections, unless she engages in vote-buying and manipulating the newly-adopted computer technology for the vote count. Thus, her political rivals are preparing to rouse the people to make gigantic mass protests and to call for military intervention by their collaborators within the reactionary armed forces.

Whoever would come out second to her, former Sen. Raul Roco or movie star Fernando Poe, Jr, a broad united front can easily arise to hold her accountable for stealing the election. Eduardo Cojuangco of coco levy notoriety, former president Joseph Estrada and the Marcoses would try to benefit somehow from the political turmoil and its outcome. Anticipating her "victory" in the elections and fearing the violent reaction of her rivals, Macapagal-Arroyo is already offering to amnesty and reconcile with the biggest plunderers such as Cojuangco, Estrada and the Marcoses.

She is also offering a constitutional convention as the way to a parliamentary form of government and to her becoming a French-style president. At the same time, she expects to benefit and please the US with a new constitution that eliminates the provisions on the rights specified under the Miranda doctrine, on economic sovereignty and protection of the national patrimony and on the prohibition of foreign military bases, foreign troops and nuclear, biological and chemical weapons of mass destruction.

She might still lose the elections despite all the material resources and dirty tricks at her command. But there is no guarantee whatsoever

that the winner would be fundamentally different from her. All the major reactionary presidential candidates can run because they get campaign funds and facilities from the exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords and because they pledge servility to US imperialist interests.

There are some progressive parties and candidates vying for positions at levels lower than the presidency and the senate. These can take advantage of the popular disgust at the most powerful reactionary parties and politicians and the contradictions among the reactionary parties and candidates. They can win a noteworthy number of seats unless the imperialists and the local reactionaries exert special efforts to cut off their chances.

In connection with the forthcoming reactionary elections, both the progressive and the reactionary political parties and candidates approach the Party and other revolutionary forces because of their mass base.

As a matter of revolutionary principles, the Party does not believe that electoral struggle is the most effective way for the national and social liberation of the people. But the Party considers the approaches of political parties and candidates within the framework of the united front.

After following the direction of the US and rabid military puppets, headed by General Angelo Reyes, in declaring an all-out war policy against the revolutionary forces and paralyzing the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations since June 2001, Macapagal-Arroyo has in recent months indicated publicly that she desires the resumption of said negotiations. It remains to be seen whether these would really resume. It is probable that she is merely going through the motion of showing interest in peace negotiations in order to soften her bellicose image.

The NDFP has consistently manifested its serious interest in the resumption of the peace negotiations because it wants the formation of the Joint Monitoring Committee to invigorate the implementation

of the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law and to accelerate the work towards the drafting of the Comprehensive Agreement on Social and Economic Reforms.

The ever worsening economic and political crisis of the ruling system entails the sharpening of the oppression and exploitation of the broad masses of the people. The ruling reactionaries always try to pass the burden of the crisis to them and to repress them when they put up resistance. The violation of economic, social and cultural rights of the people always come in tandem with the violation of civil and political rights.

Under US direction and under the impetus of "free market" globalization and the "war on terrorism", the Macapagal-Arroyo regime has engaged in wanton violations of human rights. But the people cannot be cowed, especially because there are revolutionary forces as well as legal democratic forces determined to arouse, organize and mobilize them.

The broad masses of the people have increasingly risen up to uphold, defend and advance their national and democratic interests against the foreign and feudal domination and the rising trend of fascism. The trade union movement is vigorously defending trade union and other democratic rights and demanding across-the-board wage increase and denouncing the rising prices of fuel, food and other basic necessities. It is standing up to the vicious acts of the state and of employers to lay off workers, reduce wages, undermine unions and break up strikes.

The peasant movement is demanding genuine land reform and denouncing and opposing all the tricks being used to withdraw even the previous tokens of land reform and to promote the further consolidation of the land in the hands of a few corporations and landlord families. The peasant masses and the ethnic minorities suffer the main brunt of the brutal military campaigns of encirclement and suppression as well as the equally cruel drives of the corporations and landlord families to grab the land.

The oppressed people in the rural areas wage all forms of struggle in order to assert and defend their rights. The women, the youth, the professionals, the cultural activists, religious, patriotic entrepreneurs and other sectors of society have engaged in mass actions to take up their sectoral concerns. They have also joined up with the workers and peasants in order to underscore their common multisectoral interests and to heighten their effectiveness in solidarity. They engage in localized and nationwide mass actions.

The overseas Filipinos, mostly migrant workers, are ten percent of the population bringing in precious foreign currency to the coffers of the state. They are patriotic and wish to work in their own country and be with their families. But there are no job opportunities amidst the rampant unemployment. They are outraged that the reactionary state refuses to protect them abroad and yet imposes on them so many exactions. Thus, they wage militant protests abroad and their families likewise in the country.

The legal mass movements are important. They can expose the evils of the ruling system and can sometimes cause some reforms and amelioration of conditions. But they cannot change the fundamental character of the oppressive and exploitative ruling system. Only the armed revolution can overthrow the ruling system and replace it with a new system that is independent of imperialism, free from the exploiting classes, democratic, just, prosperous and progressive.

Worsening Global Crisis

The world capitalist system is stricken with the worst crisis of overproduction and financial crisis since the end of World War II. The global crisis has been worsening since four years ago. The countries most devastated by the crisis are the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the retrogressive countries in the former Soviet bloc. All the global centers of capitalism, the US, the

European Union and Japan, are all afflicted with internal crisis and the abruptly shrunken global market.

The US was benefited by its established economic, political and military power, its lead in high technology and its standing as the largest consumer market and as the ultimate destination of the biggest flows of capital from the other global centers of capitalism, the oil-exporting countries and from the rest of the world in the 1990s. It gave free rein to monopoly capitalist rapacity masquerading as "free market" globalization. High US interest rates, the booming stock market, the high-tech bubble and the blazing consumer market attracted foreign funds.

There was the illusion of a "new economy" of never ending growth without inflation and at full employment even as regular fulltime jobs were being massacred and replaced by part-time jobs. The financial overhang became too thick and heavy through excessive foreign borrowing by the US, through corporate raids on the banking system and pension funds, through speculative corporate mergers and overcompensation of the corporate executives, and through the overvaluation of assets under the spell of the high-tech bubble.

Since March 2000, the US economy has taken a deep plunge. The financial collapse has involved the stock market crash and an epidemic of bad loans causing the bankruptcies of investment houses and industrial firms. It was bound to happen as the real economy was afflicted by overproduction of high-tech, industrial and agricultural goods, huge trade deficit due to overlarge importation of consumer goods and a high foreign debt due to the foreign investments. In the free fall of the US stockmarket, US\$8 trillion has been wiped out. Industrial production has continued to decline, with brief spells of growth in some quarters of the year. The US has an outstanding public debt of more than US\$6.94 trillion and a net foreign debt of more than US\$3.0 trillion.

Under the neoliberal policy auspices of "free market" globalization, the world capitalist system has come to a point at which the crisis of overproduction and financial collapses in both the underdeveloped

and overdeveloped countries interact with each other and recoil upon each other to cause a contraction of the global market to the detriment of all. The fundamental problem of imperialism is that the monopoly bourgeoisie maximize profits by cutting down employment and incomes of the real producers and ultimately ruining the market for products in the real economy.

Under the Bush regime, the US has been afflicted by an ever worsening economic crisis and has become more aggressive than ever before. It seeks a way out of the economic crisis by giving tax cuts to the monopoly bourgeoisie and its firms (amounting to US\$2.65 trillion over a ten-year period) and putting more capital in their hands, encouraging them to engage in production for war, assuring them with military purchase contracts, whipping up a hysteria for a so-called war on terrorism and launching wars of aggression. While making more funds available for war production, repression in the name of homeland security and wars of aggression, the US continues to cut back on social spending.

The US wars of aggression against Afghanistan and Iraq in quick succession appear resoundingly successful and lucrative. The US has acquired large chunks of new economic territory in terms of sources of cheap labor and raw material (especially oil), fields of investment, spheres of influence and positions of strength. The US imperialists are quite happy to use as much as US\$400 billion to replenish and further upgrade its arsenal, mostly weapons of mass destruction. The new contracts that the US government has made with the military industrial complex account for the so-called US economic growth for the second and third quarters of 2003.

But that growth has meant only the growth of output and profits for the military industrial complex. It has not generated any significant amount of employment, especially in manufacturing. It has not caused a lasting substantial reduction of the unemployment rate of 6 percent and on the 3 million US workers, disemployed under the watch of the Bush administration. Jobless growth cannot result in sustained recovery for the sick US economy.

Under conditions of worsening crisis in the world capitalist system, the contradictions among the imperialist powers are becoming conspicuous. The European Union and Japan have overproduced their own industrial and agricultural products and have demanded that the US eliminate direct and indirect subsidies to its producers and keep the American market open. They, together with other steel-exporting countries, have vigorously opposed the high tariff walls put up by the US against steel imports. The Bush regime has been compelled to yield to the ruling of the World Trade Organization that the US bring down said tariff walls.

But it is around the issue of Iraq that we have seen some sharp contradictions between the US and some of its major imperialist allies. To this day, France, Germany and Russia together with China resent the fact that the US has waged a war against Iraq and occupied it. They have the best of reasons for opposing the US war of aggression against Iraq and because the latter did not commit a prior act of aggression against the US and continued to comply with the decision of the UN Security Council for the UN inspection teams to look for weapons of mass destruction.

At the same time, France, Germany, Russia and China, the four permanent members of the UN Security Council, had lucrative contracts with Iraq. Since its occupation of Iraq, the US has nullified the contracts of the Iraqi government with companies belonging to these countries and yet demands that they reduce or reschedule Iraq's repayment of their loans. The US has pointedly excluded them from prime contracts for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of what the US had destroyed and damaged on a large scale long before and during its second war of aggression against Iraq. The US is engaged in a program of privatizing and monopolizing the privatization of the oil production, oil resources and other assets of Iraq.

The Bush regime has used the September 11 attacks as the pretext to aggress against Afghanistan and establish a chain of US military bases and outposts in Central Asia and in the Caspian Sea region in

order to control the oil resources in these regions and prevent the flow of oil to Europe and China independent of US-controlled pipelines to the US and British oil companies. Likewise, the US has conquered and occupied Iraq in order to acquire directly its vast oil resources, maintain US military bases for controlling the entire Middle East and keep the US dollar as the currency of oil transactions.

While the US has been busy penetrating Central Asia under the pretext of a "war on terrorism", Russia and China have on one hand apparently welcomed the intrusions but have on the other hand developed further military cooperation under the Shanghai Cooperative Organization Treaty among Russia, China, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Tadjikistan. The US is obviously trying to outflank both Russia and China but the latter two are also trying to improve their position and prevent the US from stabbing them in the back.

The sole superpower and the other traditional imperialist powers are now busy trying to take advantage of the prostrate condition of the third world and former Soviet bloc countries. They try to unite against the oppressed peoples and nations here by using the UN Security Council, the IMF, World Bank, WTO, NATO and other military alliances. But they also compete for the upperhand because it is in the nature of imperialist powers to strive to increase their share of economic territory in the world. They are liable to collide in the backward and retrogressive countries. In this connection, the states asserting national independence and the oppressed peoples and nations can play off the imperialist powers against each other in order to prevent, delay or frustrate their aggression.

The growing armed resistance of the various Afghan and Iraqi forces currently troubles the US more than its contradictions with other imperialist powers. The resurgent Taleban and other mujahedeen forces in Afghanistan are increasingly launching offensives against the US and its NATO allies. A broad range of forces in Iraq, including bourgeois nationalists, communists, Sunni, Shia, Christians, Arabs, Kurds, Turkmen and other ethnic communities,

are fighting the US occupation forces and the puppet Iraqi Governing Council.

The table is now turned against the US forces, which is now at the receiving end of guerrilla offensives. The so-called neoconservatives in the Bush regime had calculated that they could unleash blitzkrieg wars of aggression with impunity in order to disintegrate governments that resist US dictates. But they had also overlooked the necessity for US military and other personnel to stay on the ground in order to secure the spoils of war. For a long time, the US will try to keep the large spoils that it has grabbed and will be locked in combat with the anti-imperialist forces and people.

The struggle of the people of Iraq and Afghanistan for their own national liberation and to deal lethal blows on US imperialism is of crucial importance to the people of the world. Without it, the US will know no bounds for unleashing wars of aggression under the doctrine of preemptive war and for promoting fascism in the US and on a global scale under the pretext of a permanent "war on terrorism."

The exports of the countries of Asia, Latin America and Africa and the retrogressive countries of the former Soviet bloc are mostly raw material products, some semi-manufactures and still fewer manufactured products. All of these have been overproduced and the overproduction has led to production cutbacks, bankruptcies and mass layoffs. The trade deficits of these countries have become too wide and have resulted in a mounting debt burden of more than US\$3 trillion from which there is no foreseeable relief within the world capitalist system.

China's integration into the world capitalist system and its overproduction of low-value added consumer manufactures and semi-manufactures for the imperialist countries and neighboring countries have reduced the so-called tigers in Southeast Asia into sickly kittens. But China itself is vulnerable to the fact that quite a number of countries persist in overproducing similar goods for the imperialist countries, whose consumer market has contracted.

The US expects that China's entry into the WTO would result in further dismantling the state-owned industries previously built under socialism and in accelerating the compradorization of the Chinese economy. While indeed the comprador big bourgeoisie has the upper hand over the national bourgeoisie, the US is actually so protectionist and unfair in a monopolistic way on trade issues that China, India, Brazil and 17 other underdeveloped countries have joined up against the US position in the WTO.

Certain governments in the third world have asserted national independence against the grossest hostile acts, impositions and threats from the imperialists. The firmest among them are those that strongly affirm national independence and socialism. There are also those that appeal to the people from a bourgeois nationalist position in order to oppose the worst schemes of the US. A lasting product of the revolutionary movements led by the proletariat is the decolonization of so many countries since the end of World War II. It is foolhardy for the US to proceed from neocolonialism to recolonization.

The oppressed peoples and nations are the largest and most reliable source of resistance against imperialism and for national independence and democracy. They wage the strongest resistance because they suffer the most intolerable forms of oppression and exploitation. Their contradiction with imperialism is today the main contradiction. In most cases today, this contradiction is veiled by the servility of the puppet governments to imperialism.

In the absence of effective revolutionary parties of the proletariat in a number of countries, the oppressed peoples and nations are liable to be subjected to the one-sided violence of the ruling reactionaries or divided between violent reactionary movements. But when the revolutionary parties exist, peoples and nations can rise up along the patriotic and progressive line against the imperialists and the local reactionaries. They can develop democratic mass movements and armed revolutionary mass movements.

It is in the third world countries today where there are parties and

mass movements waging armed revolutions. These are in the Philippines, Nepal, India, Peru, Turkey, Colombia, Iraq, Afghanistan, Eelam and elsewhere. The armed revolution can spread on a wide scale like a prairie fire at the rate that the global crisis is worsening and the US is rampaging. The spread of armed revolution, especially protracted people's wars in the agrarian countries, is of great importance because it can cut off the tentacles of imperialism and it can prepare the proletariat in the imperialist countries to someday go for the jugular of the monopoly bourgeoisie.

In the major imperialist countries and lesser capitalist countries, there are widespread strikes of workers and protest actions by people in general against the economic, social and political conditions. When US imperialism raved to launch a war of aggression against Iraq, the people rose up so many times in hundreds of thousands and millions in major capitals of the imperialist countries, including the US, United Kingdom, Spain and Italy. At the peak, in the middle of February 2003, thirty million people rose up within the two days all over the world.

When the US rammed through the war of aggression and the US bourgeois mass media and reactionary parties and institutions blabbered about supporting the invading troops, the antiwar movement subsided because both the organized and spontaneous forces in it did not yet have enough strength to prevail over the hypocritical forces that swung to supporting the war of aggression. The weakness of the antiwar and anti-imperialist movement can still be traced to the revisionist betrayal of socialism and the subsequent imperialist ideological, political and economic offensive to wreak vengeance on the proletariat and the people of the world.

However, the extreme exploitation and oppression under the slogans of "free market" globalization and "war on terrorism" are already inciting the people of the world to fight back and to unite in order to fight US imperialism and stop it from further exploiting and oppressing them and from bringing about another world war. It is only a matter of time before we see the sustained resurgence of the

broad anti-imperialist movement for national liberation, democracy and socialism.

We anticipate that the US will become more conspicuous and aggressive. If it is not sufficiently tied down by the armed resistance of the people in the areas where it has rained destruction and disintegrated governments with the use of high-tech weaponry, as in the Balkans, Central Asia and Middle East, it will proceed to make provocation and unleash wars of aggression in East Asia and elsewhere.

We must promote in our region the solidarity of all actual and potential anti-imperialist forces and encourage them to wage anti-imperialist mass struggles. It is a certainty that the US will impose further its hegemony on a region that it covets as a rich source of natural resources and cheap labor, as a huge market and field of investments. Thus, it is always scheming and maneuvering to subordinate China, destroy the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and stifle the people's war in the Philippines.

While we seek to promote anti-imperialist solidarity in our region, we must encourage the same in all continents and countries. We can hope to defeat US imperialism, the No.1 enemy of the people of the world, only if the people of the world unite and intensify their revolutionary struggles on an ever-widening scale. We are confident that the broad anti-imperialist movement and the world proletarian revolution will soon surge forward amidst the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system.

Fulfill the new Three-Year Plan

The daily worsening crisis of the domestic ruling system of big compradors and landlords and that of the world capitalist system generate exceedingly favorable conditions for the advance of the

national democratic revolution of the Filipino people under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines. We are confident that we can fulfill the current three-year plan laid down by our Party Central Committee.

We must realize the following main objectives of the plan:

1. Strengthen the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally. Propagate Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Pursue the new-democratic revolution. Carry out a Party recruitment drive with the target of several hundreds of thousands of members.
2. Uphold the leadership of the Party over the New People's Army and the armed revolution. Draw the people in their millions to the armed revolution through united front policy and tactics. Expand and strengthen relations and cooperation with all possible allies.
3. Extend the guerrilla fronts to the majority of municipalities, especially those in the strategic parts of the archipelago. Build comprehensively the requisites for the middle phase of the strategic defensive through further expansion and heightened attention to wave-upon-wave consolidation in every municipality.
4. Further expand and intensify the anti-imperialist, antifeudal, antifascist struggle. Isolate and bring down the US-Macapagal Arroyo regime. Fight the escalating US military intervention and state terrorism.

Ideological Strengthening

The Party must continue to propagate the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method and the basic principles upheld by the Second Great Rectification Movement. We must learn well the lessons from our historical experience and from our current struggle in the Philippines. We must assess and evaluate our current work, identify our strengths and weaknesses and conduct criticism and self-criticism in order to raise our level of revolutionary

consciousness and improve our work and style of work.

At the same time, let us promote the reading and study of the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao and carry out the primary, intermediate and advanced courses of study. We must use the primary course to ensure that all Party members understand the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the intermediate course to ensure that all our Party cadres (especially at the middle level) know how to analyze and solve problems with the guidance of our scientific outlook and method. We must use the advanced course in order to develop a few thousands of cadres who have or shall have responsible positions at the central and intermediate levels of the Party.

Party cadres assigned to conduct politico-military training and Party study courses within the people's army must seriously study military theory and learn to clarify and solve problems of strategy and tactics. Cadres assigned to educational work in class or sectoral organizations and institutions, as well as on certain important issues, must seriously study the pertinent theory and learn to clarify and solve the problems at issue.

As communists, we are both patriots and internationalists. We must know the going situation both in the Philippines and in the whole world. The Party must link up with communist and workers' parties abroad in order to exchange experience and ideas with them in bilateral relations as well as in multilateral gatherings. Thus, we raise the level of mutual understanding and foster practical cooperation among parties as well as among the mass formations.

We must grasp the major ideological and political issues in the worldwide struggle of the proletariat and people against imperialism and all reaction. Thus, regardless of our current function, we understand that what we do for the Philippine revolution is a contribution to the broad anti-imperialist movement and proletarian-socialist revolution on a global scale.

Political Strengthening

As the advanced detachment of the working class, the Party must lead the national democratic revolution through protracted people's war. We must wield and develop both the revolutionary armed struggle and the united front as the weapons for overthrowing the enemy and carrying forward the people's struggle for national liberation and democracy.

In this regard, we must motivate ourselves with the revolutionary spirit of serving the people. We must arouse, organize and mobilize the masses. We must constantly learn from the people what are their conditions, their demands and capabilities for their own benefit and for the advance of the revolutionary struggle.

The Party must continue to integrate revolutionary armed struggle, genuine land reform and mass base building in order to fulfil the main content of the democratic revolution and accumulate in the countryside the strength necessary for seizing the cities on a nationwide scale in the future.

We must build guerrilla fronts in the majority of municipalities and increase the number by 20 percent. We must attain company strength in every guerrilla front, with one platoon as center of gravity. We must aim at having a platoon as center of gravity in every municipality. We must augment the strength of the people's army by building the people's militia in the barrios and the self-defense units of the mass organizations.

Each region must have at least six guerrilla fronts. We must expand existing guerrilla fronts or increase their number in order to link them up or reduce the gaps between them and develop cooperation and coordination. The center of gravity for a region may be a platoon, an oversized platoon or company, depending on the degree of overall development and terrain in the region. The emergence of our regional strike forces on a widescale will mark a new level of development in our people's war.

We must recruit more workers and educated youth for service in the people's army and combine them well with the Red fighters of peasant origin. We must train at least 25 percent of our Red fighters to become officers at various levels. We must strengthen the system of command and revitalize the national and regional operational commands.

The people's army must allot ample time for building the mass base that is wide and deep enough to support and give us sufficient space for effective maneuvers (like dispersal, concentration and shifting) and to enable us to launch and win tactical offensives as often as possible. We must increase our organized mass base by 30 to 40 percent every year in the next three years. We must organize the people in hundreds of thousands in every region.

We must resolutely intensify the people's war and launch tactical offensives as frequently as we can win them. This is the only way for us to accumulate armed strength and advance towards the overthrow of the ruling system and the empowerment of the workers and peasants. This is the only way for us to effectively counter US military intervention and aggression.

We must carry out the land reform campaign and other mass campaigns according to conditions obtaining in the localities. We must vigorously build the organs of political power and strengthen them with the support of the mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, cultural activists, children and other sectors. In the countryside, we must follow the anti-feudal class line within the framework of the united front for national liberation and democracy.

We must build the united front by developing several forms of alliance in addition to the basic worker-peasant alliance. We must develop the alliance of progressive forces by bringing together the toiling masses and the urban pettybourgeoisie. In turn, we must develop the alliance of patriotic forces by bringing together the alliance of progressive forces and the middle bourgeoisie. Wherever and whenever possible at the national and local levels, we must build temporary and unstable alliances with reactionary entities

opposing the current common enemy.

The Party must carry out the united front policy and tactics in order to reach out to the millions of people who have not yet been organized into the revolutionary forces and in order to augment the current strength of the existing revolutionary forces. We must employ the united front in order to advance the armed revolutionary movement as well as the legal democratic mass movement in both urban and rural areas.

The Party calls on all democratic forces in the Philippines to link up with their counterparts abroad in order to promote mutual solidarity and support and build the broad anti-imperialist movement. The democratic forces in the Philippines have played an outstanding role in fighting against "free market" globalization, imperialist wars of aggression and other issues. They must continue to do so.

Organizational Strengthening

We must consistently follow the principle of democratic centralism. Centralized leadership is based on democracy and democracy is guided by centralized leadership. We shun both bureaucratism and anarchy. We must maintain the balance between discipline and freedom, between unity of will and full play of initiatives to fight the enemy and win victory.

The organizational plan for enlarging the Party must be based on the existing membership and estimated capabilities. Reasonable estimates must be made of how the current membership can be multiplied. We need hundreds of thousands of Party members to lead the work in completing the struggle for the national democratic revolution. Without any significant increase in Party membership, we cannot make any significant advance in the revolution and we cannot perform a wide variety of necessary tasks.

The Party must review and analyze the class origins and class status of the Party cadres and members in order to ensure that the

majority comes mainly from the working class and the peasantry. The Party must also review and analyze the geographic distribution of the Party cadres and members and their ratio in relation to the population. We must promote the well-proportioned development of the Party organization. We must strengthen the weak parts of the Party organization and further strengthen those that are already strong.

The Party must promptly recruit Party candidate-members from the ranks of the most conscious and most militant elements of the armed revolutionary movement and legal mass movement. The Party organs and units concerned must see to it that the Party candidate-members get the basic Party education and the reasonable kind and amount of trial work within the period set by the Party constitution. The Party candidate-members must be admitted promptly as full Party members after complying with the requirements.

The Party must continue to develop Party cadres and members as well as Party organs and units in the trade union movement, in the New People's Army, in the peasant movement, in the movements of the urban pettybourgeoisie and in the issue-based movements. The consequence should be for the Party members of worker and peasant origin or status to be the overwhelming majority of the Party membership.

To keep on raising the effectiveness of Party leadership in the countryside, Party cadres and members who are workers and educated youth must be deployed for permanent assignment in the countryside. Party candidate-members and mass activists may also be temporarily deployed from the cities to the countryside in order to learn and perform certain functions.

Party cadres and members should do revolutionary work not only in the progressive mass organizations and institutions but also do so in reactionary ones, without exposing themselves and by working in good style with patience and persuasiveness on issues. Time and again we have proven our capability of building Party groups and

developing patriotic and progressive sections within reactionary organizations and institutions. We have also succeeded in the progressive transformation of certain organizations and institutions previously led by reactionaries.

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We are optimistic that by fulfilling our current three-year plan we shall become stronger and win greater victories from year to year in advancing the new-democratic revolution against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes. We are certain that the fulfilment of the plan will prepare us for greater struggles and greater victories and bring us closer to the complete victory of the new-democratic revolution against US imperialism and the local reactionaries.

Issued by Armando Liwanag,
Chairman, Central Committee Communist Party
of the Philippines on December 26, 2003

Avail of the Worsening Crisis and Intensify the Guerilla Offensives to Advance the New Democratic Revolution

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2004

We are happy to celebrate the 36th anniversary of the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines and all the accumulated victories of the Party and the Filipino people in the new democratic revolution under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

We congratulate all our Party cadres and members for all the victories won in the ideological, political and organizational fields. We are resolved to carry these victories forward, rectify errors and shortcomings and raise the people's revolutionary struggle to a new and higher level.

Our victories are won through hard work, fierce struggle and selfless sacrifice. As always, we pay our highest respects to our revolutionary martyrs and heroes who have made the supreme sacrifice in the service of the people.

We can further win victories in the struggle to complete the national democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat and pave the way for the socialist revolution.

Today we can take advantage of the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system of big compradors and landlords. We can strengthen the revolutionary forces and people in an all-round way. We can intensify the offensives against the enemy.

Crisis of the US and World Capitalist System

The crisis of the world capitalist system arises from the fundamental contradictions of monopoly capital and labor, among the imperialist powers and between the imperialist powers and the oppressed peoples and nations. In the era of modern imperialism, the contradiction between the social character of production and the private character of appropriation inexorably becomes more pronounced. The adoption of higher technology and increased rapacity of the monopoly bourgeoisie under the slogan of "free market" globalization have served to deepen and aggravate the crisis of the world capitalist system.

The concentration and centralization of capital in a few imperialist countries has been accelerated unprecedentedly. The world's richest 20 percent own 85 percent of the world's income or 150 times the wealth of the world's poorest 20 percent. The world's three wealthiest persons, all based in the US, have combined assets greater than the gross domestic product (GDP) of the 48 poorest countries with a total population of 600 million.

The US itself has attracted and borrowed an extremely huge amount of capital in the last more than two decades. US federal government debt today stands at almost US\$7.601 trillion according to US Bureau of Treasury statistics. This debt grows by some US\$2.56 billion per day, at which rate, the US\$8.18 trillion debt limit approved by the US Senate last month would be reached in a little

over 226 days or on November 17, 2005. State and local government indebtedness is an estimated US\$1.6 trillion.

Some US debt watchers add to the federal and the state and local government debts some US\$28.1 trillion private business and household debt. Household expenditures exceeded income for the first time in 1999. They have increased since then. The US foreign trade deficit was US\$579 billion in 2003, up 52 percent from US\$380 billion in 2000.

There has been an unprecedented avalanche of "mergers" since 1995 as giant corporations exploit the crisis to gobble up the assets of the weaker and more vulnerable ones. There are now only two companies manufacturing big commercial planes, only three giant oil companies out of the "seven sisters" of the 1970s, and eleven from the former forty independent car manufacturers worldwide. Up to 85 percent of global capital investments went into these mergers, i.e., in non-productive, highly speculative maneuvers and competition among the giant monopolies, while only 15 percent have gone to setting up new factories or industries and into research and development.

The so-called "internationalization of capital" is a monstrous lie. Capital investments are by and large retained in the imperialist countries and no lasting significant transfer of productive capital is made to the third world countries as the drumbeaters of "globalization" proclaim. The essential meaning and main thrust of "free market" globalization is to prevent or destroy national industrial development outside of the imperialist countries. In fact, the net capital transfer from developing countries to the developed capitalist countries amounting to US\$111 billion in 1998 nearly doubled to US\$193 billion in 2002.

The percentage of total foreign direct investments (FDI) that went to developing countries was only 32.6 percent in 1990-94. This dropped to a meager 15.9 percent in 2000 and rose to 23 percent (US\$158 billion) in 2002 and 30 percent (US\$172 billion) in 2003. However, nearly a third of these—US\$53 billion in 2002 and

US\$54 billion in 2003—went to China. If China is excluded, the percentage of world FDI to the rest of the developing countries would only be 15.5 percent for 2002 and 21 percent in 2003.

The majority of countries of the world are in a state of depression. Third world countries are sinking deeper and more rapidly in quagmires of debt. Like the Philippines, they have paid several times their original debt and yet still have to pay several more times that amount. Third world debt was US\$277 billion in 1971, US\$1.3 trillion in 1983, and US\$2 trillion in 1995. Despite having paid a total of US\$4.5 trillion over the past 20 years, third world countries still have an external debt of at least US\$2.5 trillion.

The result is further economic and social devastation of the third world countries and the retrogressive countries of the former Soviet bloc, whose exports are mainly raw materials, semi-manufactures and some industrial products. According to the ILO, 2.8 billion people are employed worldwide. But of these, 1.4 billion workers live on less than US\$2 a day, and 550 million on less than US\$1 a day. The understated official number of unemployed has increased, especially among the youth. Millions die yearly from malnutrition and the lack of potable water.

The centers of global capitalism, the US, European Union and Japan, have been struck hard by their own crisis of overproduction and financial meltdowns and by the depression in the underdeveloped countries. Their economies slowed down overall from 3.8 percent in 2000 to 0.8 percent in 2001, rebounded slightly to 1.7 percent and 2.8 percent in 2002-2004, but expected to decline again in 2005-2006. The US economy in particular slowed down from 3.8 percent in 2000 to 0.3 percent in 2001, then recovered in mid-2002 due to massive consumer and military spending fueled by heavy borrowing.

The Bush regime seeks to stimulate the US economy by stepping up war production and unleashing wars of aggression in order to continually consume and replenish its armament inventory as well as develop new high tech weapons. It is whipping up war hysteria,

repression and the trend of fascism in the US and on a global scale by taking advantage of the 9/11 attacks and declaring a permanent and preemptive "war on terrorism."

The US\$435 billion defense budget plus US\$100 billion of military expenses hidden in non-military items add up to nearly half of the 2005 US federal budget. Twenty-eight percent or US\$536 billion is for current military expenses, including US\$150 billion for procurement, research and development, while an additional 14-18 percent is for past military expenses in the form of interest payments on national debt. On top of these, Bush asked Congress for a supplemental fund of US\$50 billion for operations in Iraq and Afghanistan.

By one estimate, based on congressional appropriations, US aggression in Iraq will cost US\$152 billion by the end of 2004. The invasion of Iraq alone cost US\$26 billion and its continuing occupation US\$3.9 billion per month. At least US\$5 billion dollars worth of contracts have been awarded to Halliburton, Bechtel, DynCorp and other corporations with close connections to the Bush regime. In the brutal scheme to weaken Iraq and seize its oil resources, the US has systematically destroyed the economic and social infrastructure and delivered the "reconstruction" projects to US corporations.

The heavy military spending has resulted in a slight, artificial and unsustainable economic rebound in mid-2002. In its greed for monopoly superprofits, the US is oblivious that its budgetary and trade deficits and mounting public debt are pulling the US economy into a new round of stagnation and decline.

Aside from trying to revive its economy through war production, the US is seizing sources and supply routes of oil and gas and is expanding its economic territory in general through military intervention and wars of aggression, in the Middle East, Central Asia, Balkans, South Asia, East Asia and elsewhere. It seeks to tighten its stranglehold over the Middle East under the pretense of spreading democracy. It has occupied Iraq and emboldened the

Sharon regime to slaughter the Palestinian people in Gaza and the West Bank.

Right now, the US is in a quagmire in Iraq and Afghanistan. Close to 1500 US soldiers have been killed in Iraq and Afghanistan. Close to 26 thousand soldiers have been wounded in Iraq but the Pentagon minimizes the number and puts it at nearly ten thousand. An official count of 136 was killed in the recent failed campaign to crush Iraqi resistance in Fallujah and other cities. The Iraqi resistance fighters are blowing up oil pipelines and facilities in order to make aggression unprofitable for the US. Coupled with a declining economy, the growing setbacks of the US in Iraq are encouraging the American people to oppose the Bush regime's policy of military intervention and aggression in the Middle East, Central Asia and elsewhere.

Following his fraudulent reelection, Bush has proclaimed that he will spend his political capital to pursue a policy of unbridled aggression and plunder. The proletariat and people of the world have to confront the US course of exacerbating the crisis of the world capitalist system, whipping up war hysteria and state terrorism on a global scale and unleashing US military intervention and wars of aggression.

The main contradiction between the imperialist powers and the oppressed peoples and nations is intensifying. The worsening of the global economic crisis has driven the imperialists and their puppets to engage in worse forms of oppression and exploitation. Thus, wars of national liberation are intensifying in Iraq, Palestine, Afghanistan, Turkey, Nepal, India, Philippines, Colombia, Peru and elsewhere. They offer the hope of cutting off the tentacles of imperialism and inspire peoples of the world to resist until imperialism is defeated on a global scale.

The US has always been resentful of the wave of decolonization after World War II, especially because the socialist countries actively encouraged and supported this. It has always opposed the principles of the Bandung Conference of Afro-Asian Countries and the Non-Aligned Movement. It has used neocolonialism in order to negate and undercut the nominal independence of countries that have become

semicolonies and dependencies, from being full colonies. Being now the sole superpower, it seeks to entrench further the phenomenon of neocolonialism and is exerting efforts to recolonize certain countries in Africa.

With US imperialism launching wars of aggression against several countries from 1991 to the present, we should not underestimate the contradiction between the imperialist powers (chiefly the US) and the countries and governments that invoke and assert national independence against excessive imperialist impositions and/or in response to the demands of the people. The US continues to wage wars of aggression against Iraq and Afghanistan and engage in military intervention, as in the Philippines, Colombia and Haiti. It threatens a number of countries, including the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, China, Cuba, Venezuela, Iran, Syria, Congo and Zimbabwe.

The contradictions between US imperialism and other imperialist powers are surfacing. Some of such contradictions have become conspicuous with the US violating the UN Charter, the Geneva Conventions and international law in general to wage the war of aggression against Iraq for the purpose of monopolizing the oil wealth and rescinding contracts between the Iraqi government and French, German and Russian contractors. Inter-imperialist contradictions continue to simmer over questions of investments, trade, finance and security.

The worsening crisis in the imperialist countries is making the class struggle between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the proletariat more and more acute. Mass unemployment and lower incomes are assailing both the proletariat and pettybourgeois intelligentsia. Chauvinism, racism and religious prejudice are also being used against the migrant workers to deflect attention from the capitalist roots of the crisis. Repressive laws are being passed and discriminatory measures taken against migrants and refugees under the guise of counter-terrorism.

In response to the worsening of the crisis of the world capitalist

system and the intensification of oppression and exploitation, the proletariat and people of the world have stepped up various forms of struggle, including mass protest actions, strikes and armed struggles. The Marxist-Leninist parties are striving to reinvigorate the revolutionary movement in their own countries and lay a strong basis for rebuilding the international communist movement. People's organizations are rallying to build international solidarity and undertake coordinated mass actions against US imperialism and other imperialist powers.

Crisis of the Domestic Ruling System

The Philippines is a neocolonial appendage of US imperialism. Under the current Arroyo puppet regime, which is rabidly committed to the perpetuation of the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society, the Philippines has absolutely no way out of its own systemic and chronic crisis and out of the current crisis of the world capitalist system.

The puppet regime has grave difficulties borrowing enough funds from the imperialist creditors to cover the budgetary and trade deficits and the outstanding debt service. Thus, it has been forced to admit the existence of a fiscal crisis. In fact, the crisis is not limited to one of minding the widening gap between government spending and revenues. It is a fullblown, comprehensive and deepgoing economic and financial crisis of the ruling system.

The huge revenue losses and increased expenditures that apparently cause the gargantuan budget deficits are due to the aggravation of the chronic crisis of semifeudal economy brought about by the neoliberal policy of "free market" globalization. Under this policy, production for domestic consumption has shrunk due to the rising costs of imported inputs and due to dumping of goods by foreign and big comprador firms. The prices of all the raw materials and

low-valued added semi-manufactures produced for export by the country are pressed down by global oversupply, resulting in the aggravation of the chronic foreign trade deficit.

Under import liberalization, the trade deficit accumulated since 1995 is US\$52.2 billion. Income losses due to tariff cuts amount to PhP 100 billion annually for the past ten years and another PhP 105 billion annually due to the privatization of income-generating government corporations. One conservative estimate puts yearly losses from corruption in government at 20 percent of the budget (the equivalent of PhP 160 billion last year).

Foreign exchange remittances of overseas contract workers at around US\$7 billion annually improve the current account and balance of payments position. But the big compradors and foreign monopolies siphoned these off along consumption channels. Foreign investments are made to appear on paper as a source of much needed capital, but at most only 40 percent of these are direct investments, the rest being non-productive portfolio investments that are eventually repatriated together with profits. Last year, FDI amounted to only US\$1.4 billion or 38 percent of all foreign investments.

With foreign and domestic loans as the only resort to pay for the budget and current account deficits, foreign debt has soared to unprecedented heights of nearly US\$60 billion and local public debt to nearly PhP 2 trillion. Debt payments in turn have increased to more than PhP 542 billion in 2004, amounting to 80.4 percent of government revenues. The projected interest payments or debt service for 2005 is PhP 301 billion or 33.2 percent of the budget.

The Arroyo regime claims that it can solve the crisis by raising an initial PhP 83.4 billion through a slew of indirect and regressive taxes and by cutting social services and local government allocations. Raising the tax burden in a bankrupt and depressed economy is perverse, if not insane. This has enraged the toiling masses and the middle social strata that have long suffered the high rate of unemployment, widespread poverty and deteriorating social services under conditions of the depressed economy.

The regime has underestimated public opposition and protest to the proposed tax increases and social services cuts, coming in the wake of exposes of electoral fraud and vote-buying, using government resources. The moment certain stopgap measures such as tax legislation were ensured and foreign creditors appeared to be sufficiently assured to grant loans, albeit on more lopsided terms, Arroyo quickly announced that the fiscal crisis was over.

The broad masses of the people are outraged that a huge proportion of the budget of the reactionary government goes to debt service and the coercive apparatuses of the state (military and police) and that the imperialist creditors impose increasingly onerous terms and further entrap the Philippines in the vicious cycle of chronic deficits, import-dependent consumerism of the big bureaucrats and exploiting classes and the sellout of the national patrimony.

The broad masses of the people are indignant over the fact that the Arroyo regime committed massive fraud and terrorism to "win" the 2004 presidential election. The Arroyo clique callously raided the national coffers and connived with its allies in the reactionary Congress to seal its dubious victory. Unlike in previous presidential contests, the closest rivals of Arroyo and their supporters have not conceded defeat and have persisted in questioning the regime's legitimacy.

Their contradiction is evident in Congress, local executive offices and in the intensifying fractiousness of the military and police. The recent passing away of foremost rival Fernando Poe, Jr. became an occasion for millions of his followers to vent their indignation at the Arroyo regime and for the political opposition to close ranks in seeking the ouster of Arroyo from the presidency.

The regime is more servile than ever to the US imperialists with regard to the policy of "free market" globalization and the so-called war on terror. The recent reversal of the reactionary Supreme Court of its decision against the Mining Act of 1995 is a grotesque reminder both of the pervasiveness and tightness of imperialist control over the reactionary state.

The Arroyo ruling clique is pushing the worst forms of puppetry and corruption not only in the executive and legislative branches of government but also in the judicial branch up to the level of the Supreme Court. It used money from a US\$50 million slush fund of US, British and Dutch oil monopoly firms to bribe a majority of the justices of the Supreme Court into reversing in the current month the decision earlier taken by the court in January 2004 declaring the mining act as unconstitutional, violative of the provision of the 1987 constitution prohibiting companies with foreign ownership beyond the maximum limit of 40 per cent from exploration, development and utilization of the natural resources of the Philippines.

We can expect more destructive floods and drought as the foreign monopolies and their big comprador agents in mining, logging and modern plantations wipe out the remaining sparse forest cover of the Philippines. Agricultural production for domestic consumption is being further decreased in favor of the foreign monopolies and big compradors plundering the natural resources. Foreign creditors have been using the foreign debt to own and control the natural resources of the country, privatize public assets and acquire controlling equity in private corporations. At the same time, the landlords are expanding their landholdings and aggravating domestic feudalism.

The ruling system of big compradors and landlords is rotten to the core in socioeconomic, political, cultural and moral terms. The slogan of strong republic is empty and ludicrous. It is a futile attempt to cover up the chronic crisis of the system and the instability, weakness and isolation of the regime. However, it gives the go-signal to the military, police and paramilitary minions of the regime to unleash more brutal attacks against the toiling masses of workers and peasants.

In trying to strengthen its power base and to combat the development of a broad united front against it, the regime is instigating military and police officers to carry out massacres in certain provinces selected by US and Filipino military planners, attack peaceful worker strikes and mass protest actions. The long-

running series of murders of progressive mass leaders and activists in Mindoro, Mindanao, Bicol, Quezon and elsewhere, of journalists and other media persons, and the massacre of striking workers in Hacienda Luisita is blood on the hands of the Arroyo regime.

Beholden and hostage to the military and police and their US imperialist handlers, the Arroyo regime allows the officers all the way to the top brass to engage in unbridled corruption both in the handling of government funds for the military and police and in operating criminal syndicates and rackets. State prosecutors are not serious about investigating the gross malversation of public funds by General Carlos Garcia and his military superiors. The charge of perjury brought against Garcia is grossly inappropriate for the amassing of hundreds of millions of dollars evidently taken from defense funds.

International watchdog agencies and organizations have confirmed our observation that the PNP and AFP are among the most corrupt in the world. Entire command hierarchies are into protection rackets and criminal syndicates involved in illegal logging, smuggling, drugs, gambling, kidnapping, carnapping and the like. More than its predecessors, the Arroyo regime has rewarded retired generals, to whom it feels beholden with high civilian office, allowing them to further amass wealth through graft and corruption. The deadly rivalry of factions of military and police in corruption and criminal activities renders the coercive apparatuses of the state inherently rotten and weak.

The US and the Arroyo regime are conscious of the fact that the latter is discredited, weak and isolated. Thus, they have agreed to keep in reserve the holding of a constitutional convention as a scheme to preempt a people's uprising whose objective is to overthrow the current ruling clique with the offer of a shift from presidential to a parliamentary form of government.

The US and the worst of its puppets are scheming to amend the 1987 constitution for the purpose of putting in provisions to erode the civil and political rights of the Filipino people, remove the

remaining national restrictions on foreign investments and eliminate the prohibitions on foreign military bases and foreign combat troops and the entry, transit and stationing of nuclear, biological, chemical and other weapons of mass destruction.

The Arroyo regime finds itself in ever deeper isolation as it seeks to claw its way out of the pit of its own making. It yields to the excessive demands of the foreign monopolies and offers concessions to its political rivals in an attempt to neutralize them and divide the opposition, even as it arrogantly suggests that the CPP-NPA-NDF capitulate to it by agreeing to an indefinite ceasefire. But the anti-Arroyo opposition, having earlier spurned the regime's overtures, now smells blood and would more likely view any offer as a further sign of weakness and desperation.

The regime is culpable for having asked the US, the European Council and other governments to designate and list as "terrorists" the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), the New People's Army (NPA) and the chief political consultant of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) in order to pressure the NDFP into capitulation in the peace negotiations with the Government of Republic of the Philippines (GRP), or failing this, to paralyze and eventually terminate these negotiations.

The Arroyo puppet regime is extremely dependent on the power of US imperialism. It takes the position that the only way for the Philippine economy to recover is to follow the lead of the US. And if such economic recovery is not possible, it expects US military intervention of troops and high tech weaponry to suppress the new democratic revolution of the Filipino people. It does not realize that the course of events it desires can lead to its overthrow.

The US and the Arroyo regime are collaborating to escalate US military intervention under the pretext of waging a "war on terror." There is a rotation and buildup of US military troops under the specific pretexts of joint military exercises, civic action, relief operations and so on. US troops are being deployed in the areas under the control of the people's revolutionary government and the NPA.

Thus, the GRP has refused to go along with the NDFP in upholding valid and binding GRP-NDFP agreements in order to oppose the so-called terrorist listing made by the US and other foreign governments. It refuses to concur with the NDFP in reaffirming the principle of national sovereignty in The Hague Joint Declaration against foreign interference, the safety and immunity guarantees for duly-authorized persons in the peace negotiations in the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees and the basic rights and the Hernandez political offense doctrine in the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law.

The regime is hell-bent on paralyzing the peace negotiations and subsequently scuttling them if it cannot get the impossible, which is the capitulation of the revolutionary forces through the NDFP. It is preconditioning the resumption of formal talks with the futile demand for the capitulation of the NDFP under the guise of indefinite ceasefire ahead of the comprehensive agreements on social and economic reforms and on political and constitutional reforms.

In line with the so-called terrorist listing by the US and other foreign governments for blackmail purposes, the regime has further threatened the Europe-based panelists and consultants of the NDFP with possible CIA assassinations and kidnapping under the pretexts of anti-terrorism and extradition. In line with stepping up state terrorism and unleashing human rights violations against the people, it refuses to release political prisoners who are detained on false charges of common crimes in violation of the Hernandez political offense doctrine. It has continuously maneuvered to prevent the indemnification of the victims of human rights violations who won their human rights case against the Marcos estate in the US court system.

The incorrigible rabid puppetry of the regime and the scheme of the US to ultimately scuttle the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations are so clear. The Filipino people and all revolutionary forces need to stand up and fight against the escalating vicious campaigns of psywar and

violent suppression. We must be resolute and courageous in intensifying the revolutionary armed struggle and the other forms of struggle.

The Growing Forces of the Philippine Revolution

The Communist Party of the Philippines has brilliantly performed its leading role in the Philippine revolution. It is the advanced detachment of the proletariat under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It directs the conduct of the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war and illuminates the way to the stage of socialist revolution and construction as transition to communism.

Our Party is the leading force of the Filipino people. It is at the head and core of the revolutionary mass movement, the people's army, the organs of political power and the mass organizations of the workers, peasants, urban poor, fishermen, women, youth, professionals and other sectors of society.

We have grown in strength and advanced through revolutionary struggle. We have learned well from our experience both positive and negative lessons. We have benefited tremendously from the Second Great Rectification Movement by reaffirming basic revolutionary principles and rectifying errors and shortcomings. We continue to deepen and widen our revolutionary consciousness and to improve our work and the style of work through timely and periodic assessments and evaluations, criticism and self-criticism as well as study meetings on current issues.

The successful ideological work of our Party involves propagating materialist dialectics and strengthening our Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method in dealing with problems of theory and

practice. In addition to work and study meetings by Party organs and units, our Party undertakes primary, intermediate and advanced courses of study in order to guarantee the development and advance of the consciousness of all our Party cadres and members from one level to another.

We have succeeded in combating and defeating subjectivism of the revisionist, empiricist and dogmatic type, systematically purveyed by the local reactionary forces and institutions and renegades. We have also succeeded in countering and frustrating long running and current counterrevolutionary ideas spewed out by the international forces of imperialism and revisionism, even as the local renegades expose their own opportunism by linking up with and depending on the support of Trotskyites, neo-Kautskyites and other international pseudo-Marxists.

On an international scale, our Party has been outstanding in combating the ideological offensives unleashed by the imperialists to sow and spread despair among the proletariat and people. Such offensives harp on the "fall of socialism" and the "end of history", with capitalism and liberal democracy as the ultimate peak and on the irresistibility of "free market" globalization. The imperialists have tried to capitalize on the seeming triumph of imperialism consequent to revisionist betrayal of socialism and neocolonialism.

The Party has effectively countered various ideological trends couched in pettybourgeois neoliberal and neoconservative language. Imperialist ideologues and propagandists spew these out and in turn such special agents of monopoly capitalism as the revisionists, social democrats, Trotskyite and other anticommunist pettybourgeois spread these. In well-funded "nongovernmental organizations" and "forums, these agents endlessly propose reforms for improving the world capitalist system.

The outstanding achievements of our Party in ideological work are buttressed by victories in political work in the Philippines amidst the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system. The crisis makes obvious the urgency of the need for

people's war and social revolution and provides the fertile conditions for the growth of the revolutionary forces.

We have continuously proven that the US imperialists and their puppets cannot destroy the revolutionary movement in the Philippines for as long as we pursue the general line of new democratic revolution through protracted people's war. The 14-year Marcos fascist dictatorship and the post-Marcos regimes pretending to be democratic have all failed. The revolutionary movement was undermined and jeopardized in periods when the Right and "Left" opportunist lines ran against the general line. But the Second Great Rectification Movement has stopped these on their track.

By carrying out revolutionary armed struggle and the united front in both legal and armed struggles, our Party has aroused, organized and mobilized the people in their millions. From the resolute and militant mass struggles, activists in great numbers have come forward and advanced further to become Party cadres and members. Thus, our ranks nationwide are constantly replenished and increased by members and candidate members with close links to the toiling masses of workers and peasants.

Our Party members are in tens of thousands. They have a conscious iron discipline. They are united by the general political line and by the mass line of our Party. They take initiative and find their own bearings in various fields of social activity and struggle. They are capable of accomplishing the general and specific tasks of the revolution.

Our Party integrates the revolutionary armed struggle with the revolutionary land reform and the building of the revolutionary mass base. The New People's Army grows in strength and advances through systematic recruitment of fighters from among the mass activists, through politico-military training and through tactical offensives for seizing arms from the enemy.

We have undertaken land reform as the main campaign to fulfill the main content of the democratic revolution and thus gain the active

participation and support of the peasant masses. We vigorously carry out the minimum land reform program and lay the basis for the maximum program. We continuously build the mass base. This includes the organs of political power and the mass organizations of various types.

The revolutionary armed struggle is the main form of struggle because it answers the central question of the revolution, which is the seizure of political power. Our NPA commanders and fighters run into thousands. They operate in 128 guerrilla front and in substantial portions of nearly 70 of 74 provinces, more than 800 of the 1500 municipalities and more than 10,000 of the 45,000 barangays nationwide.

As our guerrilla fronts consolidate and expand, greater numbers of the masses are organized, participate in and benefit from revolutionary land reform and other struggles under the banner of the new democratic revolution. Guerrilla fronts are being expanded and connected in order to provide our guerrilla forces with wider areas for maneuver and greater flexibility.

The NPA is building the regional centers of gravity, using the guerrilla fronts as the wide base in every region. These centers of gravity provide security for central and regional cadres and are the base for directing mass campaigns of various types on a regional scale and p launching tactical offensives bigger than before (the size of one, two or three platoons) by combining regional and guerrilla front units.

The NPA has now the critical mass to intensify tactical offensives and increase its seizure of arms at an unprecedented rate. It has raised its capability of arresting for investigation and, if the evidence warrants, for trial the most rabid puppets of US imperialism, the most corrupt officials, the most cruel human rights violators, the worst exploiters and crime lords in prohibited drugs and other nefarious activities.

The united front policy and tactics are being employed to arouse,

organize and mobilize the millions of people for the rural-based revolutionary armed struggle as well as for the urban-based legal democratic mass movement. The Party leads various types of alliances, such as the basic worker-peasant alliance, the progressive alliance of the working people and urban pettybourgeois, the patriotic alliance of progressive forces and middle bourgeois and the broad alliance of the people and certain reactionary forces against the enemy.

The basic worker-peasant alliance is the most reliable foundation of the revolutionary united front. It ensures the class leadership of the proletariat and at the same time the support of the largest exploited class in Philippine society. To make the democratic revolution deepgoing and invincible, the working class has to undertake an anti-feudal united front. This is realized by relying mainly on the poor peasants and the farms workers, winning over the middle peasants, neutralizing the rich peasants and taking advantage of the splits among the reactionaries in order to isolate and destroy the power of the evil gentry.

In times of crisis such as the present, the urban pettybourgeoisie becomes more eager than before to join up with the toiling masses in a progressive alliance that is anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-fascist. Increasing numbers of the middle bourgeoisie willingly join up with the progressive forces in a patriotic anti-imperialist alliance. Further on, sections of the reactionaries rally to join a broad alliance to seek the overthrow of the clique targeted as the enemy, because it is the most reactionary and most servile to imperialism.

At the moment, a broad united front or alliance is gaining ground against the Arroyo regime. It is discrediting, weakening and isolating this regime for its puppetry, corruption, cruelty and mendacity. It is only a matter of time that the regime commits an outrage that would ignite a mass uprising similar to the one that overthrew Marcos in 1986 and Estrada in 2001.

The revolutionary forces of the people can grow in strength as the broad united front gather the force of a typhoon capable of

overthrowing the regime. When the overthrow occurs, the balance of forces might not yet permit the revolutionary forces to take power into their hands. But they shall have become stronger than ever before and the ruling system of big compradors and landlords shall have become weaker than ever before.

The Party has gained so much revolutionary strength, rich experience and high prestige that other communist parties and revolutionary forces look towards it for exchange of ideas, views and experiences and for principled unity and practical cooperation. Thus, the Party has assumed a significant role in efforts to rebuild the international communist movement. It is also among those at the forefront in building a broad international united front against US imperialism.

We are deeply pleased with our achievements in international work. These include the formation of patriotic and progressive organizations among our compatriots abroad and international cooperation and mutual support at the level of parties as well as at the level of mass organizations.

We are of the firm position that our most important proletarian internationalist duty is to lead the Philippine revolution to victory and thereafter make more contributions to the world proletarian revolution and the broad anti-imperialist movement of the people of the world.

Avail of the Crisis and Intensify Guerrilla Offensives

The Communist Party of the Philippines must take advantage of the crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system to advance the revolution. It must vigorously condemn the viciously oppressive and exploitative character of the US imperialists and

their local puppets. It must arouse, organize and mobilize the people to wage the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war.

Through expansion and consolidation, the CPP must strengthen itself as well as all the other revolutionary forces of the Filipino people. The New People's Army, the National Democratic Front of the Philippines, the organs of political power and the mass organizations must be strengthened. All the revolutionary forces are tested and tempered in the crucible of revolutionary struggle.

The CPP must continue to pay attention to ideological work, especially to summings-up of experience, formal courses of Party education and improving on the work through criticism and self-criticism. It is necessary for us to guard against subjectivist trends of thought, such as revisionism, empiricism and dogmatism and against "Left" and Right opportunist tendencies as new situations arise, fraught with difficulties as well as opportunities.

The momentum and enthusiasm for study and conscious practice generated by the Second Great Rectification Movement must be maintained and fostered. The lessons learned from carrying out rectification in all spheres of work are valuable for advancing the struggle to new and higher levels of achievement. We must be encouraged to advance further as our victories are widely recognized, while the local reactionaries and renegades as well as the imperialists and their paid ideologues and publicists are in disrepute amidst the worsening global crisis of capitalism.

The Party must lead the New People's Army in waging intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare within the stage of the strategic defensive. We must provide an ever deepening and widening mass base for our guerrilla warfare by building mass organizations and organs of political power. Land reform and other campaigns for the benefit of the people must invigorate these. The integration of revolutionary struggle, land reform and mass-base building are necessary for winning the new democratic revolution.

The CPP must direct the NPA to intensify the armed tactical offensives against the enemy. The NPA must carry out only those ambushes, raids and arrest operations that it is sure of winning as a result of accurate information, precise planning, surprise and complete initiative, superior strength and quick withdrawal. It must attack the most vulnerable enemy units, installations and lines of supply. It must arrest, try and bring to justice the most hated oppressors and exploiters.

The CPP and NPA must take all opportunities to break the enemy's will to fight both through the process of annihilation in battles and through the process of disintegration by doing painstaking political work within the enemy's ranks and among those taken as prisoners of war. We must take full advantage of the factionalism and demoralization sweeping through the AFP and PNP in the wake of the expose of the Garcia scam that effectively validated the corruption charges made by the Oakwood group against the top brass.

The responsible organs of the CPP must constantly study and arrange the personnel and methods for developing links with the rank and file as well as junior and middle-level officers of the military and police. An increasing number of these complain and protest against being issued inferior boots, helmets, weaponry and fighting under harsh combat conditions while commanders and their logistics and finance officers pocket the logistics and personnel funds and build mansions to retire in. Now they are seething with even greater disgust and deep-seated contempt for their high commands as corruption at the highest levels is exposed on a scale much wider than they had ever suspected or known.

We have strategic contempt for the hightech weaponry of US imperialism. It is not weapons but the well-mobilized people who decide the outcome of war. High-tech weapons are effective for destroying fixed structures, threatening governments without popular support into submission and for carrying out blitzkrieg invasion.

But from the time that the US imperialists occupy a country and try to collect the spoils of war, the broad masses of the people can successfully carry out guerrilla warfare against US personnel who become vulnerable due to their fixed positions and long supply lines. Ultimately, the imperialists are forced to withdraw when casualties run high and expected profits do not materialize. This was proven in Vietnam and is again being proven in Iraq. And also as in Vietnam, no amount of elections conducted by the US can pass off the puppets as patriots or democrats.

The high-tech weaponry of the US is ineffective against the people's guerrilla warfare that is exceedingly fluid and offers no fixed targets for the enemy to hit. The Red fighters achieve tactical superiority and initiative and annihilate the enemy by taking him by surprise at close quarters and at the time and place of our choice. At this moment, it is the puppet government and its military, police and paramilitary forces that offer themselves, their fixed structures and supply lines as targets of tactical offensives.

The NPA is prepared to fight the US interventionist troops and the puppet troops that they are training to kill Filipinos. It is further prepared by politico-training to go as far as to fight against a full-scale US war of aggression. It is now trying to develop the ability to make and use the weapons that the Iraqi resistance is now using. The Red commanders and fighters can learn much from all the successful protracted wars of national liberation against US aggression.

The cruise missiles, high altitude bombers and so many kinds of US weapons of mass destruction become ineffective when the US aggressor troops and related personnel are already on the ground trying to collect the spoils of war. The people and the people's army can put them at the receiving end of rifle fire, hand grenades, rocket-propelled grenades, improvised explosive devices, mortars and other close range weapons.

The CPP must develop the broad united front for further isolating, weakening and eventually overthrowing the Arroyo puppet regime. Such a united front can be developed on the basis of the worker-

peasant alliance, the alliance of the progressive forces and the alliance of the patriotic forces, which must continually be strengthened through the various forms of mass struggle.

The broad masses of people have acquired political education and experience in past struggles to overthrow the Marcos and Estrada puppet regimes. With the proper calls and forms, methods and pace of struggle, they will again be able to mobilize the people in their tens and hundreds of thousands, and then in their millions to oust the Arroyo regime.

The legal democratic movement and the armed revolutionary movement must remain steadfast in the struggle to oust the puppet Arroyo regime. They must engage the broad masses of the unorganized, arouse them and raise their political consciousness, organize and mobilize them in various campaigns and actions. The important thing is to accumulate strength from one campaign to another by raising the level of consciousness and organizing greater numbers of people, especially the basic masses of working people.

The revolutionary forces must employ all forms of struggle in ousting the Arroyo regime and accumulating strength thereby. The armed struggle in the countryside weakens and disperses the regime's armed forces for coercion and suppression. At the same time, the urban-based legal democratic mass movement compels the regime to bring in troops to the cities and reduce the number of armed forces in the countryside when the ruling clique begins to fear its removal from power. The enemy eventually loses the war by failing to solve the dilemma of concentrating troops in the national capital region and dispersing them in the wide countryside.

Legal democratic struggles serve to expose and isolate the Arroyo regime by encouraging the building of a broad united front and rallying the masses in great numbers. Outdoor and indoor mass rallies must be undertaken. Progressive members of Congress can also contribute their share. Even the peace negotiations can provide a forum and a platform for ventilating issues, programs and courses of action to both the organized and the unorganized masses. But we

must be ever vigilant to the treachery and cruelty of the US and puppet regime.

In the course of the struggle to oust the Arroyo regime, the revolutionary forces must continue to expose and denounce the shameless puppetry of the Arroyo regime and its dependence on US imperialism and the total bankruptcy of the ruling system. At the same time, we must stress to the people that ousting the Arroyo regime will not suffice to overthrow the ruling classes and the semifeudal and semicolonial system.

We must take advantage of the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system and the growing isolation of imperialism, especially US imperialism, by intensifying the revolutionary armed struggle and other forms of struggle. Thus, we shall be able to contribute further to the building of a broad front of anti-imperialist solidarity and the international communist movement and foster mutual support and cooperation among revolutionary parties and people's organizations all over the world.

US imperialism itself will continue to escalate military intervention in the Philippines, lord over the local ruling system, exploit and oppress the Filipino people after the ouster of Arroyo. But it will have to contend with a growing armed revolution that it has tried and failed to defeat over the decades despite its military and economic superiority.

The revolutionary forces and people led by the CPP have won great victories and have grown in strength against tremendous odds since 1968. The time will surely come when they can overpower and overthrow the entire ruling system, thereby basically complete the new democratic revolution and begin the stage of socialist revolution.

Issued by Armando Liwanag, Chairman, Central
Committee Communist Party of the Philippines on
December 26, 2004

Continue to intensify nationwide tactical offensives and further strengthen all revolutionary forces

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2005

Let us celebrate with utmost joy the 37th anniversary of the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Let us rejoice at the victories of our Party in leading the Filipino people's struggle for national liberation and democracy against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords

Let us congratulate all our Party cadres and members, all our Red commanders and fighters of the New People's Army (NPA), all activists in the various mass organizations, all allied forces in the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP), all personnel in the organs of political power and the broad masses of the people for persevering and winning brilliant victories in the ongoing new democratic revolution against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

Let us pay our highest respects to our revolutionary martyrs and honor them for their dedicated service to the people, their high

sense of self-sacrifice and all their contributions in advancing the revolutionary struggle. They inspire us to win ever-greater victories. Let us continue to intensify the nationwide tactical offensives and further strengthen all revolutionary forces.

The Second Great Rectification Movement has lasting consequences in strengthening the Party. We have rectified the revisionist, empiricist and dogmatic subjectivist errors in ideology, "Left" and Right opportunist errors in politics and the errors of bureaucratism and ultra-democracy in organization. We have firmly upheld the ideological line of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. We have advanced along the general line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war. We have firmed up our grasp of the principle of democratic centralism and followed it in building the Party organization.

We are in a position to take advantage of the crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system and to lead the Filipino people in the struggle for national liberation and democracy against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords. We are now in the midst of a growing mass movement to overthrow the US-supported Arroyo regime. The legal democratic mass movement is advancing. So is the revolutionary armed struggle, which is the principal form of struggle for the ultimate overthrow of the ruling system.

The crisis of overproduction in the world capitalist system has devastated the forces of production in the imperialist countries and far more those in the underdeveloped countries. It has impelled the imperialist states to become ever more plunderous, repressive and aggressive. The people of the world are therefore pressed and challenged to rise up in resistance.

The crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system has so deepened and aggravated that the contradictions among the reactionaries have increasingly become more violent. The reactionaries are unable to rule in the old way as those in power and those out of power threaten each other with armed force. The broad

masses of the people and the revolutionary forces are intensifying all forms of struggle for basic reforms and revolutionary change.

Relentless Worsening of the Global Capitalist Crisis

The crisis of the world capitalist system continues to worsen. The economies of the US and other industrial capitalist countries remain stagnant. They have not recovered from the economic decline since 2000. Their growth rates have merely fluctuated, with occasional spikes accounted for by factors other than a sustained rise in the level of industrial production. The majority of countries, which are dependent on raw-material exports, deficit-ridden and debt-burdened have been the most devastated by the global capitalist crisis. The Southeast Asian countries have not recovered from the 1997 economic and financial crisis resulting from the glut in semimanufactured reexports and private construction.

Three billion people or half of humankind live on US\$2 a day. The overwhelming majority of the people of the world live in abject poverty, despite the fact that with the available technology and with only one per cent of the world gross domestic product, global poverty can be eradicated. But the world capitalist system requires that the monopoly bourgeoisie must exact their superprofits from any going level of production and circulation of goods as well as from the manipulation of finance capital. Thus, the foreign debt of the underdeveloped countries has continuously increased beyond the level of US\$3 trillion.

Higher technology is supposed to enhance the social character of production. But the private character of appropriating the fruits of labor has sharpened more than ever under the neoliberal economic policy of imperialism. Under this policy, monopoly capitalism is misrepresented as "free enterprise" and "free market" and the

monopoly capitalists reap superprofits and accumulate capital by brazenly using the state to deliver to them productive and financial resources and state contracts and to cut down the incomes and social benefits of the proletariat and other working people.

The crisis of overproduction has therefore worsened from one period to another. Inventories of unsold goods build up as the market contracts due to the dwindling purchasing power of the working people. Since the late 1970's, the majority of the countries dependent on raw-material exports have been hit by the chronic global crisis of overproduction in agricultural and mineral raw materials. The surplus agricultural production in the industrial capitalist countries does not only shrink the global market for the agricultural exports of the underdeveloped countries but also invades the latter's domestic markets and ruins their agriculture through dumping. The more efficient technology for mineral extraction has also resulted in less employment in mines and in excess supply of minerals in the world market.

The ever worsening stagnation, depression and deterioration of the economies of the underdeveloped countries (now expanded as a result of the retrogression of the former Soviet bloc countries) and the erosion of wages and social benefits for the proletariat in the industrial capitalist countries have combined to contract the global market for industrial producer and consumer goods. The winners in the monopoly capitalist competition keep on increasing the organic composition of capital (by increasing the fixed capital for enhancing productivity and reducing the variable capital for wages).

The economic imbalances and the falling rate of profit in their home countries have driven the multinational firms further to penetrate overseas markets. Thus, they have put up there more assembly plants for cars, home appliances and some basic industrial products and for the marginal but labor-intensive processing of semi-conductors, garments, shoes, toys and the like in the sweatshops of China, India, Southeast Asia and elsewhere. The monopoly bourgeoisie is responsible for stagnating and degrading their own

economies and thereafter seeking to maximize profits by putting up plants abroad. But it blames the underdeveloped client countries for the loss of jobs in the imperialist countries and drums up chauvinism and racism against the migrant workers who generally take the bottom jobs.

The imperialist powers have used finance capital in the form of direct investments and loans to allow the majority of countries to cover their budgetary and trade deficits, keep most of them as raw-material exporters and a few as reexporters of low-valued semi-manufactures and reduce all of them to the status of debt peons, burdened by ever mounting foreign debt. Most of the superprofits that the imperialist powers draw from the underdeveloped countries are in the form of debt service payments and commercial profits rather than in the form of returns on investments in industrial production.

Working in cahoots with their US and West European imperialist masters, the comprador big bourgeois governments in East Europe and the former Soviet republics in Central Asia have continued to degrade their countries economically, politically, culturally and morally. These countries have become semicolonial and semifeudal in character. The East European governments are glad to be absorbed by the European Union. But, their countries are mere dumping grounds for surplus goods from the US and Western Europe. The kind of foreign direct and indirect investments that they get is merely for facilitating imperialist-big comprador operations and improving the infrastructure for these.

Under the auspices of "free market" globalization, the plunder, underdevelopment and poverty of the majority of countries have been aggravated. The concentration and centralization of both productive and finance capital in the global centers of capitalism (the US, Japan and the European Union) have been accelerated. Since the 1980s, the US has drawn in the most capital from abroad, especially from its imperialist allies and the oil-producing countries, and has thus become the biggest debtor in the world. At present, the

US foreign debt is US\$8.5 trillion. This has been used to generate financial speculation in stock, securities and corporate mergers, overvalue corporate assets and finance the growing trade deficit caused by the heavy importation of consumer goods (especially from Japan, South Korea, Taiwan and China).

Before the year 2000, when the US stockmarket started to collapse in March and industrial production took a sharp fall in October, the US under the Clinton regime boasted of having built a "new economy" that was inflation-free despite full employment and a high level of consumption, supposedly because of its lead role in high tech production. The US economy was being touted as the "main engine" of the global economic growth and as "the market of last resort" in view of the stagnancy of Japan and Germany. Beneath the gloss from 1995 to 2000, the US economy was lopsidedly overproducing consumer electronics and a few other items and at the same time undermining its capacity to produce and sell a wider range of consumer manufactures by using borrowed funds for importing these.

The abrupt slide of the US economy in 2000 had been presaged by the Southeast Asian financial crisis of 1997. The semi-manufacture exports of Southeast Asia were squeezed by China's export of similar goods. The private construction boom, which was financed by foreign loans from commercial banks, fizzled out because of a huge overcapacity. The speculative portfolio investments in the region flew back to the imperialist countries. The local currencies took a dive in relation to the US dollar. The Southeast Asian crisis was followed by the crisis in South Korea, Brazil, Russia, Argentina and other so-called emerging markets.

Since then, the shrinking global market for consumer electronics, home appliances, cars, structural steel, planes and so on has cramped the economic growth of the US and other imperialist countries. The few underdeveloped countries producing semi-manufactures for export have been far more devastated. But the most devastated are the majority of underdeveloped countries

dependent on the export of raw materials. These suffer from the ever widening budgetary and trade deficits, mounting debt burden and are forced to raise taxes even under conditions of economic depression and make further cutbacks on expenditures for even the most basic social services.

The US under the Bush regime has taken advantage of the September 11, 2001 attacks to whip up war hysteria under the guise of a "war on terrorism" and to launch wars of aggression against Afghanistan and then Iraq in order to use up existing military stock and replenish this through stepped up war production. This is described as military Keynesianism aimed at stimulating the stagnant US economy. It is considered as the necessary complement to the continuing policy of "free market" globalization. In this regard, the US has raised the level of its annual military spending to US\$455 billion.

The Bush regime does not limit itself to the immediate objective of reviving the US economy through war production. It is trying to push a comprehensive plan, the Project for a New American Century, designed by the so-called neoconservatives in furtherance of Pax Americana in the 21st century. It seeks to use the "full spectrum" of US power, especially high-tech military weaponry, to take preemptive actions against enemies and rivals, including potential ones, expand economic territory (sources of raw materials, markets, fields of investment and sphere of influence) and spread the "free market" and impose "democracy."

The US has been rapidly overreaching itself since the disintegration of the revisionist-ruled regimes and the collapse of the Soviet Union in the period of 1989-91. It has overplayed its hand as the sole superpower. It has unleashed two wars of aggression against Iraq (not to mention the unilateral US air war cum economic sanctions between these wars) with the intent of taking over its abundant oil resources and establishing bases there for tightening US control over the entire Middle East. It has instigated the break up of Yugoslavia to impose its hegemony over the Balkans, outflank Russia and gain

bases in Eastern Europe and along the Mediterranean. It has gained bases and more access to the oil resources in the Caspian Sea and Central Asia in the course of aggression in the Balkans, Afghanistan and Iraq.

But it is very obvious that the US has overextended itself and is showing all-round weaknesses as it is bogged down in a quagmire in Iraq. The Iraqi people are waging armed resistance, having killed more than 2,200 US troops and wounded more than 20,000 US troops and making the US spend more than US\$220 billion in less than three years. The killing of more than 250,000 Iraqis by the US has only served to stiffen the resistance of the Iraqi people. This resistance is exposing the weaknesses and vulnerabilities of US imperialist power.

The US is bound to further damn itself by staying on in Iraq with its plan to keep a huge fortress of an embassy in Baghdad and an array of 14 military bases. It is obsessed with the oil prize in Iraq and the entire Middle East. Through control of Iraq, it also wishes to perpetuate the US-Zionist dominance against the Palestinian and Arab peoples. But it is being tied down by the armed revolutionary struggle of the Iraqi people and is being forced to pay less attention to its domestic social problems and to the requirements of maintaining hegemony in so many other countries.

In pursuit of their own interests, France, Germany, Russia and China had serious differences with the US regarding the second war of aggression against Iraq. Subsequently, these differences became muffled as the US invaded and occupied Iraq. However, the issue of Iraq continues to disturb the relations among the imperialist allies because of the flagrant drive of the US to monopolize the spoils of war. At any rate, the imperialist allies try to harmonize their interests at the expense of Iraq and the Iraqi people. By overfocusing itself on Iraq, the US is becoming less effective in other areas of the world, including East Asia and Latin America. Even in the vicinity of Iraq, Syria and Iran are showing some defiance.

The people of the world are encouraged to fight for national and

social liberation, as are countries and governments to assert national independence. The people of the world hate the US today as the No. 1 imperialist and terrorist power for engaging in unbridled plunder and wars of aggression. They condemn the US and the UK governments for invading and occupying Iraq on false pretenses (regarding weapons of mass destruction and links to Al Qaida). They abhor US imperialism for using the 9-11 attacks to engage in its own imperialist terrorism, expand the monopoly interests of its own multinational firms and banks and to whip up state terrorism on a global scale.

Under the pretext of a permanent "war on terror", the US has promulgated the USA PATRIOT Act to curtail the civil liberties of the American people and has whipped up jingoism, racism and religious bigotry, especially against the Arab people and Islamic believers. It has pushed other countries to generate "anti-terrorist" hysteria, to build the legal infrastructure for fascism, to misrepresent national liberation movements and anti-imperialist leaders and activists as "terrorists" and to allow the US military forces and intelligence agencies to kidnap people, torture them in secret prisons and to accommodate more spy stations and military bases on their territories.

The American people are outraged by the Bush policy of further reducing regular jobs, wage levels, social benefits and social services and delivering resources to the military-industrial complex and to the war machinery. They are indignant over the fact that young men and women from the working class are being sent to war, that huge state resources are channeled to war production, wars of aggression and so many intelligence agencies in the making of a US police state under the cover of homeland security; but that practically no or little money is made available for promptly fixing such infrastructures as the dikes of New Orleans and keeping the poor people safe from the hurricane Katrina.

The US uses the Group of 8, the OECD, the IMF, World Bank, WTO, the UN Security Council and multilateral and bilateral

military alliances to expand and reinforce its hegemony in various parts of the world and at the same time maintain its alliance with other imperialist powers against the people of the world. But the imperialist powers are bound to align and realign themselves against each other when the crisis of the world capitalist system becomes far more serious than it is now, the US is weakened by its own unilateralist arrogance and imperial overreach, the various imperialist powers and the so many countries and governments take divergent positions and courses of action, and the revolutionary forces take the initiative to strengthen themselves and advance.

The economic competition and political rivalry among the imperialist powers are likely to intensify because in the first place the US seeks to monopolize the spoils of war. This has been exposed by the contradictions among the US, UK, France and Germany on the question of launching the war of aggression against Iraq in 2003. The super-greed of the US signals other imperialist powers to look after their own interests and to maneuver against US voracity. The ground for friendly accommodation among the imperialist powers is bound to diminish with the ever worsening crisis of the world capitalist system and as the revolutionary struggles of the people increase in number and intensity and as more countries become assertive of their national independence.

At the moment, contradictions are increasing between the US and other imperialist powers over economic, financial, trade, political and military issues. These are manifested in bilateral and multilateral discussions. So far, the differences are settled at the expense of the underdeveloped client states. But at the same time some countries are assertive of the right to national independence and development, as they react to the excessive impositions of the imperialists, they recognize their own importance in the world capitalist system or they are moved to act in defense of national self-interest. In this context, we see China, India, Pakistan, Brazil and smaller underdeveloped countries banding together against the exploitative and oppressive impositions of the US and other imperialist powers.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Cuba, Venezuela and Zimbabwe are among the staunchest in defending their national independence and social aspirations. China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan have been submissive to but are wary over US penetration of Central Asia. Thus, they have banded together in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. China and Russia do collaborate with the US and other imperialist powers on as many issues as possible but they also try to look after their national interest. They are such large countries with a significant amount of industry and nuclear weapons that they cannot be easily imposed upon. In fact, they can even maneuver and play off the more powerful and richer countries against each other.

The US touts China as a great success in capitalist development and eyes it as a prospective rival in the world, especially in East Asia. But China describes itself modestly as a developing or underdeveloped country relative to its huge population. It has privatized its state-owned industrial enterprises and the agricultural communes. The economy has been redirected by foreign investments. It has a huge foreign debt (US\$233.3B) even as it has a large holding of US securities. It is much vaunted for its huge exports, more than 70 percent of, which are low-value, added semi-manufactures for consumers in imperialist countries. But 60 to 80 per cent of the value of the exports belong to China-based foreign companies. Ten per cent of the Chinese population is living it up but ninety per cent are impoverished. Workers thrown out of state enterprises and peasants are among the most impoverished and discontented. Thus, more than 74,000 clashes between the masses and the authorities have occurred since last year.

At any rate, China has been assertive of its own national interest with regard to Taiwan and other issues. On several instances it has stood in opposition to the US. It has helped the US in the convening of conferences to negotiate with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea regarding nuclear weapons. But so far the DPRK on its own has been able to stand up firmly against US nuclear blackmail, threats of aggression and impositions. The ASEAN countries have

also found it necessary to develop economic and trade relations with China by way of countervailing US dominance in East Asia.

The broad masses of the people are rising up to resist US imperialism as their No. 1 enemy as well as other imperialist powers and puppet states that are the closest allies of the US on a global or regional scale. They are building mass organizations on the basis of class, interclass, sectoral or multisectoral interests as well as on the basis of issues such as national and social liberation, economic development, human rights, opposition to war, racial equality, gender equality, protection of the environment, and the like.

They are engaged in movements on national, regional and global scales. The International League of Peoples' Struggle is today the broadest progressive mass movement, paying attention to eighteen major concerns. It contrasts sharply in its anti-imperialist character and objectives with reformist and "civil society" formations, including the imperialist-funded World Social Forum, dedicated to reformism and improving the imperialist system. Philippine democratic mass organizations are outstanding in developing bilateral and multilateral relations with people's organizations in other countries.

On the starting ground of anti-imperialist solidarity, the Party develops relations of equality, mutual respect and cooperation with as many communist and workers' parties as possible. On its own account as a united front formation and in representation of the people's democratic government, the National Democratic Front of the Philippines is developing friendly relations and cooperation with governments abroad, their agencies, nongovernmental institutions and organizations, national liberation movements and other revolutionary movements.

The Party is active in relating to and cooperating with Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties and progressive mass organizations. These are developing in various countries of the world to fight for national liberation, democracy, socialism and world peace against imperialism and all reaction. They are striving to promote the

strategic line of protracted people's war as the way to fight and ultimately defeat the imperialists.

Armed revolutionary movements of the people for national and social liberation are growing in strength and advancing in Iraq, Afghanistan, Colombia, India, Nepal, Philippines, Turkey and other countries. They are bound to increase as the global economic crisis worsens and the US gets bogged down deeper in one or several countries and is compelled to loosen its control over the world.

Rotten Regime in a Rotten Ruling System

The semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system in the Philippines is in a chronic crisis. The semicolonial aspect refers to the indirect rule of US imperialism through puppet officials, from the national level downwards. The semifeudal aspect refers to the domestic class dominance of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class.

The oppression and exploitation inflicted on the Filipino people by foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism has caused the ruling system to be in a constant process of rotting. The objective conditions are fertile for building the subjective forces of the revolution and mobilizing the broad masses of the people.

The Arroyo ruling clique is today the principal puppet of US imperialism, the principal representative of the local exploiting classes and the principal exponent of bureaucrat capitalism. Confined to the parameters of the rotten ruling system, the regime of the Arroyo clique cannot be but rotten. It follows rabidly the political and economic dictates of the US and the local exploiting classes to humiliate and impoverish the people. It is well paid for its servility through bureaucratic corruption.

Under the auspices of US imperialism, the Philippine economy has been kept agrarian and semifeudal. Its principal forces of production are more than 13 million hectares of agricultural land and the peasantry, which comprise about 75 per cent of the population. The proletariat is only about 15 percent of the population (9 per cent in manufacturing and the rest in mining, public utilities and so on). Industry is completely dependent on imported equipment, fuel and other inputs. The lack of national industrialization and land reform has kept the Philippines in a state of underdevelopment and rampant poverty. The comings and goings of overseas contract workers, who come from the working class, the peasantry and the urban pettybourgeoisie do not change the basic proportions of classes in the Philippines.

Under the policy of "free market" globalization, the reactionary government has ignored the people's demand for land reform and national industrialization. Foreign monopoly capitalism is taking advantage of the denationalization of the Philippine economy, privatization of profitable state assets, liberalization of trade and investments and deregulation of protection for the working people, women, children and the environment. The reactionary government has backtracked even on its bogus kind of land reform and is openly promoting private accumulation and concentration of land. The certificates of land ownership amortization, certificates of land transfer, emancipation patents and stock distribution in agricultural corporation are simply being discarded or bought off cheaply.

To pay for imports of producer and consumer goods, the Philippines has to depend on income from the export of primary agricultural and mineral products, the remittances of overseas contract workers and an ever-growing amount of foreign loans. With the tariff walls being brought down under the terms of "free market" globalization, the country is wide open for dumping of agricultural surpluses from other countries, bankrupting the peasants and destroying national food security. Production of agricultural exports is also cut down as these cannot compete with the heavily subsidized produce of the imperialist countries.

The cost of imported manufactures is ever rising relative to the faster fall in the prices of the Philippine primary exports, especially because of the prolonged glut of agricultural and mineral products in the global market. Thus, the chronic trade deficit keeps on growing and leading to ever-larger amounts of foreign debt. The extremely high import content and the deliberate overprice (transfer-pricing) make the net export income from the low-value added semimanufactures extremely minimal. This is further minimized by the prolonged big fall in demand for the semiconductors (yielding 75 percent of gross export income) and other semi-manufactures.

Over eight million overseas contract workers (close to 10 per cent of the population) earned as much US\$8.5 billion and are expected to earn more than US\$10 billion next year. This outstrips the net income from the reexport of semiconductors and the export of primary crops. However, it is used mainly to pay for consumer imports. Thus, the trade deficit is growing fast and the foreign debt burden is ever mounting. The foreign debt is now officially at the level of US\$56.047 billion, excluding those loans still considered as part of gross international reserves. New debts now carry more onerous terms and are hardly enough to cover debt service. With foreign funds dwindling, the reactionary government has rapidly increased the local public debt to more than 3 trillion pesos in order to cover budgetary deficits.

All in all, the total public debt has exceeded Php 6 trillion. To service the public debt last year, the reactionary government spent 81 per cent of tax revenues. This year it is expected to spend 94 per cent. Without any doubt, it is in a state of bankruptcy. But government deficit spending continues to go to graft-ridden infrastructure projects and the upkeep of the military and police. Less funds are available for social services, like education, health and urban housing

The tax burden is being increased under conditions of economic depression. The coverage of the value-added tax has been expanded and increased by 20 per cent. The depression of the economy is

manifested not by official statistics but by the actual high rate of mass unemployment, the continuing layoffs and closure of factories, the sinking real incomes of working people and middle class, the soaring prices of basic commodities due to scarcity and higher import costs, the endless oil price hikes and higher charges for the ever deteriorating services of public utility firms (especially electricity, water and transport). The increase of beggars and street children in urban areas and the excessive number of farm workers and oddjobbers in the rural areas reflect the worsening conditions of poverty.

Social discontent and social unrest are widespread. In protesting against the oppressive and exploitative policies and in making their multisectoral and sectoral demands, the workers, urban poor, peasants, fishermen, women, youth, government employees, professionals and church people keep their rallies peaceful. But the Arroyo regime reacts arrogantly by ordering the military and police to intimidate and attack the people who exercise their right to speak and assemble. Demonstrating people have been violently dispersed and massacred, as in Hacienda Luisita. The regime has adopted and implemented the policy of "calibrated preemptive response" by which the military and police can arbitrarily use force on the basis of mere presumption and preemption.

Under the direction of the US, the Arroyo regime planned Bantay Laya in 2001 as a five-year national offensive campaign, similar to Lambat Bitag I, II, and III, for the purpose of destroying the revolutionary movement from year 2002 to 2006. Since 2002, military forces and mobile police forces have concentrated on a number of guerrilla fronts, used special operation teams for the purpose of psywar and intelligence and have inflicted all kinds of atrocities on the people, including kidnappings, torture, summary executions, arson, pillage, bombardments from planes, artillery fire and forced mass evacuations, in a vain attempt to destroy the revolutionary movement. The scale and magnitude of the human rights violations are comparable to the worst under the Marcos fascist regime.

To cover up its culpability for the policies that result in terrible hardship and suffering for the people, the regime blames the revolutionary forces as well as the patriotic and progressive legal mass organizations and party-list groups for the rise of protest rallies and marches. Worst of all, the regime is using death squads and special operatives from the military and police to kidnap, torture and murder people it regards as key leaders or defenders of the mass movement. The victims include priests, pastors and other religious, human rights activists, lawyers, journalists, labor leaders and progressive party-list members and mass leaders of workers, peasants, women and youth.

The escalating human rights violations in the urban and rural areas are inspired by the US policy of "war on terror" which the Arroyo regime rabidly follows. No less than Arroyo herself and her cabinet oversight committee on internal security (COC-IS) are directing the systematic violent acts against the patriotic and progressive forces and are emboldening and protecting the perpetrators of the human rights violations from the level of commanding generals to that of the death squads and motorcycle and car-riding assassins.

The broad masses of the people detest the Arroyo regime for being extremely servile to US imperialism, for being extremely corrupt, brutal and mendacious and for cheating in the 2004 presidential elections. They demand the overthrow of the regime. Thus, since June 2005, a broad united front of anti-Arroyo conservative parties, the legal democratic mass movement and the anti-Arroyo sections of the military and police has been developing to remove the Arroyo ruling clique from power.

The political crisis of the ruling system has rapidly worsened since the surfacing of the hard evidence that Arroyo connived with the Commission on Elections, especially an election commissioner, and certain senior military officers in fixing the vote count in her favor and in reversing the count of winning votes for the late Fernando Poe, mainly in the Visayas and Mindanao. The related issues of electoral fraud and illegitimacy of rule have triggered the people's

outrage and have inflamed the cheated opposition parties and frustrated candidates. Within the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) and the Philippine National Police (PNP), a significant number of officers and lower personnel are enraged over the rapid promotion of pro-Arroyo officers who are notorious for corruption, human rights violations and complicity in electoral fraud.

Ranged against the Arroyo ruling clique (Lakas-CMD) are the conservative political parties, coalitions and movements headed by former president Joseph Estrada (Partido ng Masang Pilipino), the widow of the cheated presidential candidate Fernando Poe (Koalisyon ng Nagkakaisang Pilipino), Panfilo Lacson (Pwersa ng Masa and Be Not Afraid Movement)), Eddie Villanueva (Bangon Pilipinas Movement), Senator Aquilino Pimentel (PDP-Laban) and Jejomar Binay (United Opposition). These are seeking to replace the Arroyo clique with a transitional governing council through a combination of people's uprising and withdrawal of military and police support from the regime.

The former president Corazon Aquino is rallying her own political following and her friends among the Catholic church bishops, business associations and military groups. Having failed to persuade vice president Noli de Castro to junk president Arroyo, Ms Aquino and her supporters (including a major part of the "social democrats") wish Senate President Frank Drilon (the biggest faction in the Liberal Party) to assume the presidency. Former senator Loren Legarda is also pursuing her electoral protest against de Castro.

The Lakas-CMD coalition of parties is openly supporting Arroyo. But she tends to depend more and more on her small party (Kabalikat ng Mamamayang Pilipino or KAMPI) and on her own trustees in the government. She has been abandoned and denounced by a number of her cabinet appointees and by Senate president Drilon who was previously her supporter. Former president Fidel Ramos and House speaker Jose de Venecia (key leaders of LAKAS-NUCD) have supported Arroyo against the

opposition but have at the same time publicly advised her to ease herself out of the presidency by the middle of 2006 through an amendment of the constitution that would allow a shift to the parliamentary form of government.

The offer of convening Congress as a constituent assembly to change the 1978 GRP constitution is being used to fend off popular demands for the ouster of the Arroyo regime. Thus, Arroyo formed a so-called consultative commission, consisting of her stooges, to prepare proposals for changes in the constitution. This commission has already submitted its proposals, which include retaining her as president to supervise the interim prime minister until 2010, calling off the 2007 elections in order to extend the terms of office for all elective officials, dissolving the Senate by absorbing the senators into the unicameral parliament and removing all national restrictions on foreign investments.

There are strong indications of Senate opposition to the convening of the constituent assembly. The broad masses of the people and the broad united front regard the entire offer of constitutional change as a maneuver not only to prevent the ouster of the regime but even to expand the powers of the president and give additional privileges to the US monopoly firms and military forces. Former president Ramos has expressed shock over the proposed cancellation of the 2007 elections. The other Lakas-CMD leader, speaker Jose de Venecia, is confident that the Arroyo regime can ram the proposed amendments through a constituent assembly.

The Arroyo regime has the illusion and even boasts that it can maintain the chain of command in the military and police. This is because it allows its favorites in higher echelons to engage in corruption, to commit human rights violations and even to sponsor or operate criminal syndicates. But the majority of active and retired military and police personnel are disgusted with the regime's corruption and its failure to fulfill its promise in 2001 to raise their salaries and pensions. They are outraged that the sale of military camps and the conversion of former US military bases have

enriched former president Fidel Ramos and that even their savings funds and budgetary allocations for food rations, clothing, shoes and the like are being stolen.

The regime underestimates the fact that the rank and file of the AFP and the PNP are deeply discontented and disgusted with it. It has been using the AFP and PNP to attack the urban-based legal democratic mass movement and the revolutionary movement in the rural areas. This is obviously a way of preoccupying and keeping the AFP officers and lower personnel committed to the regime. But the AFP officers and enlisted personnel in the field are doubly disgusted by the economic difficulties suffered by their families and the shortage of supplies and field rations. Thus, various anti-Arroyo groups are growing rapidly within the military and police. The AFP and PNP rank and file are in ferment. They are divided into three groups: the Arroyo loyalists, the anti-Arroyo reactionaries among senior officers and the anti-Arroyo progressives among the younger officers.

The anti-Arroyo group of reactionary officers consists mainly of senior officers and retired flag officers who are pro-US and do not want the ruling system to be changed. They have formed various groups. A retired officer usually heads each group. The best known groups are those headed by general Fortunato Abat, commodore Aparri, general Panfilo Lacson, and colonel Billy Bibit. General Abat heads the Coalition for National Salvation and has tried to draw a popular and military following by proclaiming his own government. But so far he has been less effective than when he formed and headed the FORCES that successfully called for the withdrawal of military support from Estrada in 2000 and 2001.

The anti-Arroyo group of progressive officers consists mainly of junior officers who wish to develop a patriotic and progressive position and who desire basic democratic reforms. They pledge to uphold the principle of civilian supremacy like those who withdrew military support from the Marcos and Estrada regimes in 1986 and 2001. They actively seek the alliance of the legal democratic forces

and wish to play a major role in the broad united front by spearheading the withdrawal of military and police support from the regime or by arresting the key members of the Arroyo ruling clique. They are open to truce and alliance between the GRP, AFP and PNP on one side and the CPP, NPA and NDFP on the other side upon the establishment of the revolutionary governing council. They are the positive product of the ferment within the AFP and the PNP.

The US is taking advantage of the desperate economic and political situation of the Arroyo regime. It is constantly pressuring the regime to become more servile to the dictates of the IMF, World Bank and WTO and the US multinational firms and banks and to pursue further the line of permanent "war on terror", promote continuous US military presence and expand US military facilities in the country and unleash campaigns of suppression against the revolutionary forces of the people, including the Bangsamoro. The Arroyo regime sometimes makes it appear that the "war on terror" is directed against the CIA-created Abu Sayyaf and other related groups. In fact, it is hellbent on rushing an "anti-terrorist" law directed against the revolutionary forces of the people, including the Bangsamoro, against dissent, against the legal opposition and against the broad masses of the people.

The Arroyo regime has connived with the US in putting the CPP/NPA and the NDFP chief political consultant in the "terrorist list", in escalating military campaigns of suppression against the revolutionary movement and in assassinating hundreds of leaders and activists of the progressive party-list groups and mass organizations at the regional, provincial and local levels. Complementing the main objective of seeking to destroy the revolutionary movement militarily is the US-Arroyo objective of pressuring the NDFP to capitulate to the GRP and to convert the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations into surrender negotiations. The COCIS and the Office of Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process have done nothing but to paralyze the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations and wait in vain for the destruction or capitulation of the revolutionary movement.

Despite the operationalization of the Joint Monitoring Committee, the Arroyo regime has brazenly disrespected the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL) by escalating human rights violations. The complaints against the GRP's military, police and irregular armed personnel for human rights violations remain unacted upon. It has violated the Hernandez political offense doctrine and has accused revolutionaries of common crimes and even of terrorism. It has stolen the money for the indemnification of the victims of human rights violations under the Marcos regime and has used it for electioneering purposes in 2004 under the guise of distributing free fertilizers. So long as the Arroyo ruling clique remains in power, GRP-NDFP peace negotiations cannot proceed to address the roots of the armed conflict and reach agreements on basic social, economic and political reforms.

The Arroyo regime has the foulest of intentions against the Filipino people. It is pushing the anti-terrorist bill in order to suppress all kinds of opposition to its anti-national and anti-people policies, to seek the destruction of the revolutionary forces (including those of the Bangsamoro) and to impose a fascist dictatorship on the people without having to declare martial law or emergency rule. The people and the revolutionary forces are challenged to engage the reactionary state in a life and death struggle, with no space whatsoever for peace negotiations. With tyrannical powers, the regime expects to change the 1987 GRP constitution in order to further dilute or delete provisions with regard to the protection of civil liberties, the national restrictions on foreign investments and the prohibition of foreign military bases, troops and weapons of mass destruction in Philippine territory.

The broad united front of the legal forces of the national democratic movement, the anti-Arroyo conservative political parties, coalitions and movements and the anti-Arroyo military and police commands and units have been developing since June 2005. It has the potential of ousting the Arroyo regime before the middle of 2006. The regime can be ousted as soon as the aforesaid three major parts

of the broad united front do their best in mobilizing their respective forces and coordinating altogether for the decisive moment.

The conditions are ripe enough for the overthrow of the Arroyo regime. In the weeks and months to come, they will become more so. The broad masses of the people cry out not only for the ouster of the Arroyo regime but for the overthrow of the entire ruling system. But there are stages to go through before the new democratic revolution of the people can succeed to overthrow the entire ruling system.

In accordance with its revolutionary mission, the CPP has directed the New People's Army to intensify guerrilla warfare on a nationwide scale and on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. It is also calling on the revolutionary forces of Bangsamoro to intensify their armed struggle, as the enemy forces are compelled by the NPA to stretch themselves thinly in the archipelago. The NPA tactical offensives are meant to strengthen the armed revolution and to weaken the Arroyo regime. They are best directed against the pro-Arroyo elements of the military and police and the worst of the human rights violators.

Within the broad united front, it is possible to agree on arrangements and methods for the NPA and anti-Arroyo sections or units of the AFP and the PNP to avoid clashes between them and to coordinate and cooperate against the Arroyo regime. At the appropriate time, the Party would be willing to openly enter an alliance that includes the anti-Arroyo military and police forces not only for the purpose of ousting the Arroyo regime but also for the purpose of resuming the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations and paving the way to basic national and democratic reforms and a just and lasting peace.

Party Situation and Achievements

The Second Great Rectification Movement (SGRM) has enabled the Party to grow stronger from year to year in an all-round way. We have won brilliant victories in ideological, political and organizational work. These have established a sound basis for the fulfillment of our ongoing Three-Year Plan. This Plan has resulted in significant achievements and has been extended to 2006 in order to achieve greater results.

The level of revolutionary consciousness is high among the Party rank and file because they study and apply the ideological line of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in their revolutionary practice. The Party has propagated the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method against subjectivism, including empiricism, revisionism and dogmatism. It has done so through the dialectical materialist analysis of history and current circumstances, further social investigation, summings-up of revolutionary work and the clarification of what is to be done. Party cadres and members have undertaken theoretical education, the study of rectification documents, social investigation reports and analysis and periodic and timely assessment and evaluation of work.

Every Party member has taken the primary course to learn the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as these are applied in the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution, in the Party Constitution, in Philippine Society and Revolution and other important Party documents. Cadres have taken the intermediate course to learn the teachings of Comrade Mao Zedong in connection with the Philippine revolution and other revolutions for comparative purposes. Cadres from the provincial level upwards have taken the advanced course to gain comprehensive and profound understanding of the great communist teachings in philosophy, political economy, strategy and tactics and the international communist movement.

The formal study courses ensure that Party cadres and members raise their revolutionary consciousness from one level to another. But apart from the formal courses they are also encouraged to read and study Marxist-Leninist works and related materials in connection with current problems inside and outside the Party and the Philippines and in connection with the current work and problems in one's Party organ or unit. The books and articles in various forms for study and reading are available and are adequate. Study materials, teaching aids and syllabi have been made to suit comrades who come from the working class and peasantry and who have limited reading ability.

In the course of the Second Great Rectification Movement and thereafter, the Central Committee and lower Party organs and units, as well as the conferences held on various fields of work, have generated an abundance of study materials. These have resulted from the summing up and analysis of experience. They are a rich source of knowledge for recognizing our achievements, errors and setbacks and for guiding us to work and struggle more arduously than ever, overcome errors and shortcomings and obtain better and bigger results. The work of summing up and analyzing our experience is ever continuing.

The Party has sharply demonstrated the pettybourgeois class basis of the subjectivist errors that ran rampant within the Party in the 1980s and until the Central Committee launched the SGRM in 1992. The pettybourgeois subjectivists wanted to win the revolution the easy way and invented or misrepresented data to support their wishful thinking. They asserted that the imperialist-funded big comprador operations of the Marcos fascist regime had industrialized and urbanized the country to an extent that invalidated the strategic line of protracted people's war.

The dogmatists adopted as model or paradigm the petty-bourgeois-led people's uprising against the autocratic Somoza regime in Nicaragua and were beside themselves in blaming the line of protracted people's war for supposedly delaying the victory of the

revolution. Their impetuosity led them to inflict serious damage on the revolutionary movement and even to commit serious crimes against the Party and the people. The empiricists proposed taking out the proletarian leadership from the national united front and carrying the sedan chair for bourgeois leaders as their own easy way to power. They based themselves in foreign-funded NGOs. And they fell prey to the influence of Gorbachovism and other anticommunist petty-bourgeois trends of thought.

The Party has won ideological victory in combating and defeating dogmatist and empiricist trends within the Party and in upholding the cause of scientific socialism and condemning modern revisionism from Khrushchov through Brezhnev to Gorbachov. It has also successfully contended with the various anti-proletarian and pettybourgeois trends of thought espoused by the incorrigible subjectivists and opportunists that sought to attack and wreck the Party first from within and then from without as they openly turned into rabid anticommunists. These trends include barefaced bourgeois liberalism, Trotskyism, Gorbachovism and social democracy.

The process of integrating the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism with the concrete conditions of the Philippines continues. The Party cadres and members are well-trained and well-experienced in analyzing the international, national and local situations. They are ever conscientious in doing social investigation in order to learn from the toiling masses of workers and peasants, become close to them and become well-rooted among them. They are deeply committed to serving the people and they do their best in advancing the revolution. They assess and evaluate their work, look at the positive and negative aspects, draw lessons and engage in criticism and self-criticism in order to correct errors and improve their work.

The Party resolutely pursues the general line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war against the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class, which are subservient to US imperialism. The

leading force of the revolution is the working class whose advanced detachment is the Party. The main force is the peasantry, which is the majority class in the Philippines and whose demand for land is the main content of the revolution.

The demand of the entire Filipino nation for national liberation is inseparable from the democratic demand for land reform. Both demands can be completely realized only by waging armed struggle and overthrowing the ruling system. Upon the seizure of political power by the people, the people's democratic revolution is basically completed. Bourgeois democratic reforms will be carried out through to the end but at the same time the socialist revolution will be started on the basis of the working class leadership in the people's democratic state and the nationalization of the strategic industries and the economy as a whole.

Through the SGRM, the Party has completely defeated the "Left" and Right opportunist lines that ran counter to the line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war. It has criticized and repudiated the "Left" opportunist lines such as the impetuous and adventurist line of "strategic counteroffensive" and "Red Area-White Area (RAWA)" urban insurrectionism. It has also condemned and adjudged as crimes the executions and brutalities committed against the Party and the people in the name of anti-infiltration campaigns. It has criticized and repudiated the "Right opportunist" line of subordinating the revolutionary forces and masses to the bourgeoisie and engaging in reformism within the ruling system.

The Party is vigorously integrating the building of the New People's Army with land reform and building the mass base. The NPA is growing in strength and advancing because it is deeply rooted among the masses of peasants and farm workers and draws strength from them. The peasants and farm workers join and support the people's army because it is their instrument for ensuring the success of the current level of land reform and ultimately the agrarian revolution. The advances in armed struggle and land reform are

interconnected with the building of the organs of political power and the mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, youth, cultural activists and children.

The NPA operates in more than 100 guerrilla fronts, consisting of guerrilla bases and wider swaths of guerrilla zones. The number of guerrilla fronts is lower than before because of the merger of a number of contiguous guerrilla fronts for the purpose of consolidation and because of concentrated enemy attacks on and temporary occupation of a few others under the enemy's Oplan Bantay Laya. The guerrilla fronts are in a continuous process of expansion and consolidation under the direction of the Party cadres within the NPA and the localities. NPA armed strength in a guerrilla front is typically 75 to 120 full-time guerrilla fighters with high-powered rifles.

Augmenting the guerrilla units are militia units serving as the local police force and the self-defense units in the mass organizations. The full-time Red fighters nationwide are in the thousands, the militia members in tens of thousands and the members of self-defense units in the hundreds of thousands. The guerrilla fronts cover millions of people in about 750 municipalities out of 1500 municipalities. They are in more than 70 of the 79 provinces.

The NPA is currently engaged in extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. The middle phase of the stage of strategic defensive in the people's war is now being developed. Since September 13, the NPA has launched more than 200 tactical offensives nationwide. These have resulted in the capture of a significant number of high-powered rifles and inflicted hundreds of casualties (both killed and wounded) on the enemy. The offensives include ambushes, raids, arrest operations and sniping. The objectives include seizing weapons, punishing, interdicting and harassing the enemy. Depending on the target and objective, companies, oversized platoons, platoons, squads and teams carry them out with flexibility according to plan or guidelines.

The NPA is intensifying the tactical offensives in order to strengthen itself by seizing weapons from the enemy and to further weaken and isolate the Arroyo regime. It is punishing the worst of human rights violators and plunderers. It is also forcing the enemy to take defensive positions and divide his forces by guarding his own fixed positions, supply and transport lines, vital installations, depots and enterprises. At the same time, the NPA is offering friendship and alliance with AFP and PNP officers and units that are opposed to the Arroyo regime and that wish to join the broad united front against it.

The NPA has seized the initiative from the enemy by intensifying the tactical offensives. It takes advantage of the fact that the enemy has far more exposed weak points than the NPA. NPA units can in fact raid or ambush anytime at their own choosing such enemy weak points as the Citizens Armed Forces Geographical Unit (CAFGU), police stations, small army detachments, supply and transport lines, installations and the like. They offset their own weak points by taking the initiative and preventing the enemy forces from using to their advantage such methods as periphery control by large units and infiltration by small units (SOTs and ranger teams) and whatever else they have, such as powerful weapons and abundant ammunition, superior means of transport (by land or by air) and new gadgets like night vision goggles, trackers, cell phones, armor vests and the like.

By seizing the initiative and intensifying the tactical offensives, the Party and the NPA have confronted the longrunning problem of conservatism: always evading the enemy military forces, minding only the need to do mass work and not minding the need to carry out tactical offensives by way of advancing the armed revolution. The Party and NPA have also confronted the problem of guerrillaism or roving rebel band mentality: constantly operating in the dispersed mode of the armed propaganda teams or squads and not minding the need to plan at the levels of the region, province and guerrilla front and to concentrate a platoon, oversized platoon or company to accomplish an offensive operation.

To intensify the tactical offensives on the scale of the whole country and therefore also on the scale of regions and provinces, the corresponding leading committees of the Party and commands of the NPA gather sufficient information about the strength and deployment of enemy forces, take stock of the strengths and resources of the NPA and plan out tactical offensives. From a higher to a lower level of decision-making and planning, what is relatively a generalized plan becomes more specific. At their operational level, the offensive units of the NPA have the necessary intelligence and reconnaissance and the personnel and equipment adequate to overwhelm and hit enemy targets by surprise.

In waging revolutionary armed struggle, the NPA undertakes only those offensive operations or battles that it can win, using superior force and surprise at the tactical level. It does not take chances blindly. It relies on mass support, ample intelligence stock and timely reconnaissance. It gives priority to the seizure and accumulation of firearms and ammunition. While intensifying the revolutionary armed struggle, the NPA smashes or thwarts the offensive campaigns of the enemy, forces him to take defensive positions and opens wide opportunities for mass work. It ensures that land reform and mass base building are carried out.

The enemy forces can concentrate on any area at anytime and occupy it for a short or long while. But the NPA has the flexibility of using the tactics of concentration to make its own offensives against the weakest points of the enemy, the tactics of shifting or evading the concentrations of enemy strength and the tactics of dispersal to do propaganda and mass work.

Under Bantay Laya, the enemy forces have never been able to occupy more than 10 per cent of the existing guerrilla fronts because of the limited personnel and resources and because the people and revolutionary forces keep them blind and deaf. Thus, in at least 90 per cent of the guerrilla fronts, the revolutionary forces are free to develop. Now, that the NPA seizes the initiative and intensifies tactical offensives nationwide, the enemy is dazed and bleeding from so many wounds.

The NPA arouses, organizes and mobilizes the peasant masses to carry out land reform. In general, the land reform being carried out is of the minimum kind. It involves the reduction of land rent, control of interest rates, raising the wages of farm workers, improving the prices of farm products at the farm gate and promoting agricultural production and sideline occupations. However, actions are taken to cause the restitution of land taken away from the peasants through sheer landgrabbing or through the nullification of emancipation patents, land transfer certificates, certificates of land ownership amortization and stock distribution agreements.

The barrio organizing committee whose members are appointed by the Party within the NPA unit concerned is still the quick way for establishing an organ of local governance and gathering mass support. But in due course, the full development of local mass organizations for workers, peasants, women, youth, cultural activists and children from the level of people's organizing committees and groups paves the way for the election of the barrio revolutionary committee (BRC) by the representatives of the mass organizations or by the entire village, depending on the security situation. The BRC is assisted by working committees on organization, education, health, land reform and production, defense, arbitration and cultural affairs and is supported by the mass organizations.

As the advanced detachment of the leading class, the Party continues to build the united front by building an echelon of alliances. First is the basic alliance of the toiling masses of workers and peasants. Second is the progressive alliance of the toiling masses and the urban pettybourgeoisie. Third is the patriotic alliance of the progressive forces and the national bourgeoisie. Fourth is the broad united front of the patriotic forces and sections of the reactionary classes against the worst reactionaries who take on the character and role of the enemy.

The basic alliance of the working class and the peasantry is going strong. The Party is successful in leading the mass struggles of the

working class and developing the links of the working class with the New People's Army and the peasant movement. The progressive alliance of the toiling masses and the urban pettybourgeoisie is best manifested by the National Democratic Front of the Philippines. This has a comprehensive array of 17 revolutionary formations. The patriotic alliance is strong mainly because of the basic alliance and the progressive alliance, despite the economically weak and politically vacillating character of the national bourgeoisie.

The broad united front is conspicuously gaining in strength against the Arroyo regime. It consists of the legal forces of the national democratic movement, the bourgeois opposition parties and enlightened officers of the military and police forces of the enemy. It is working to overthrow the regime in the same way that it did the Marcos fascist regime in 1986 and the corrupt Estrada regime in 2001. Both regimes were overthrown by a combination of unarmed people's uprising and the withdrawal of military and police support.

The broad united front of anti-Arroyo forces wishes to overthrow the Arroyo regime soon. So does the Party. But the US, a majority of bishops and most of the business groups still condone and support the Arroyo regime. The regime still has some tricks to play and is using time to maneuver and hold on to power. But these will further excite the wrath of the people. The prolongation of the regime gives the NPA the time and opportunities to express and realize the people's outcry for revolutionary change through revolutionary armed struggle.

The legal mass struggle and the revolutionary armed struggles have aroused, organized and mobilized large masses of the people for national liberation and democracy against the US and the local exploiting classes. The Party has systematically recruited Party members from among the mass activists and trained them as proletarian revolutionary fighters. Party membership has risen by the tens of thousands in recent years

We have increased our Party membership nationwide and deepened our roots among the toiling masses of workers and peasants. We

have recruited members from the ranks of the educated youth (who in the main originate from the urban pettybourgeoisie) in order to avail of their professional and technical expertise and allow them to remould themselves as proletarian revolutionaries and serve the people. Batches of workers and educated youth have been deployed from urban areas in order to serve in the NPA and in rural communities. They develop rapidly to become proletarian revolutionaries by participating directly in the revolutionary armed struggle and in rural mass work.

The Party Constitution and related Party decisions stipulate definite organizational rules for recruitment, building branches and establishing organs of leadership. Party branches and groups are established at the basic level: in workers unions, transport lines, plantations, barrios, schools, mass organizations professional associations, institutions and basic units of the NPA.

The Party upholds the principle of democratic centralism. This means centralized leadership based on democracy and democracy guided by centralized leadership. There is freedom to express ideas, views and opinions at every level and from one level to another on issues before and in the course of taking a decision. But once taken, a decision has to be followed by every Party member. Iron discipline is necessary to concentrate will and strength for advancing the people's cause against the enemy. Nevertheless, every party member has also the right to reserve his opinion and to ask from the responsible organ concerned for reconsideration of a decision on the basis of new development in the situation.

We have fostered both democracy and discipline in the Party. We have criticized and repudiated bureaucratism and commandism. This involves one-sided dictation from the top to bottom without the benefit of democratic discussion at every level and between higher and lower levels. We have also criticized and repudiated ultra-democracy or liberalism. This is corrosive of the discipline required of revolutionaries fighting against a powerful enemy. It is as damaging as bureaucratism to the revolutionary endeavor.

Since the SGRM has rectified organizational errors and weeded out the worst elements who spread either commandism or anarchy, the Party has been able to expand its organizational strength on the basis of the growth of the revolutionary mass movement. This has become well directed and revitalized by the Party cadres and members who have been inspired and guided by the SGRM.

Urgent Fighting Tasks of the Party

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines urges the Party rank and file to fulfill the targets set by the 3-Year Plan. We must continue to strengthen the Party along the ideological line of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. We must carry forward the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war. We must expand and consolidate the Party organization under the principle of democratic centralism.

We must consciously seek guidance from the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao in our revolutionary practice. We must grasp how these are related to the works and decisions of the Central Committee, lower organs and our own specific units. The Party cadres must explain the situation and the course of action of the Party in terms of doing the best possible in order to advance the Philippine revolution.

We must accelerate the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist education of the ever-growing number of Party members. We can augment the existing number of instructors by developing additional instructors from those who have finished a course, be this the primary, intermediate or advance course. We can combine the experienced and the new instructors. The books, articles and other study materials must be widely available to enable Party units and individual Party members to read and study according to their own needs, interest and pace.

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We must continue to study the documents of the Second Great Rectification Movement. Whenever necessary, we must review its documents so that we do not forget their essential content. We must devote all necessary time to study the ongoing summings up and decisions by higher organs and conferences on work and issues. In our units, we must assess and evaluate our work, identify the achievements, errors and shortcomings and practice criticism and self-criticism to improve our work and style of work.

We must fight US imperialism and the local exploiting classes more fiercely than ever before. They are today inflicting on the Filipino people the most brutal forms of oppression and exploitation. The policy of "free market" globalization has ruined the economy as never before. And the so-called war on terror is being used to apply state terrorism on the people and justify US military intervention. More than ever, it is necessary for the CPP as the revolutionary party of the proletariat to lead the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war.

The New People's Army must continue to carry out the nationwide tactical offensives. We must seize arms from the enemy and form more armed units to strengthen our army. At the national, regional, provincial and guerrilla front levels, the corresponding leading committee of the Party and commands of the NPA must gather all important information about the military, police and irregular forces of the enemy, take stock of the capabilities of our forces and plan offensives to wipe out enemy units. We must continue to combat conservatism and guerrillaism. We must further build the NPA as the fighting force of the people for winning the revolution.

We must weaken the Arroyo regime and contribute to its downfall through armed struggle. We must punish the worst of the human rights violators and plunderers. We must undertake actions to annihilate enemy units and elements. But we must also undertake disintegrative actions, such as targeting only those units and elements of the AFP and PNP who are Arroyo loyalists and sparing those who declare and demonstrate that they are against the Arroyo regime.

We must respect the rights of enemy officers and ordinary soldiers who surrender to us or who have lost the capacity to fight. In this regard, we must adhere to the fundamental rights provided for by the Guide for Establishing the People's Government, to the lenient treatment of captured enemy soldiers in the NPA Rules of Discipline and to the lawful treatment of prisoners of war in the Geneva Conventions.

The NPA must develop the middle phase of the strategic defensive through guerrilla warfare. While doing so, it looks forward to the advanced phase of the strategic defensive. The stage of the strategic stalemate shall come in due time, with regular mobile warfare becoming the main form of warfare. When we reach the troop strength of 15,000 to 20,000 with high-powered firearms, we shall be better able to define the stage of strategic defensive and its phases and anticipate the strategic stalemate.

The strategic stalemate can be estimated to be relatively shorter than the strategic defensive, because by then the capacity of the NPA to annihilate and disintegrate the enemy forces shall have risen considerably and shall provide a glimpse of the strategic offensive in the horizon. However, in the event of foreign military intervention and aggression, the revolutionary forces would have to make the necessary adjustments in strategy and tactics.

Even now, US military intervention has been increasing in the Philippines. The NPA can look forward to the glorious opportunity of rendering justice to the 1.5 million Filipinos killed by US troops from 1899 to 1913 and the countless victims of imperialist plunder. The US uses so many types of weapons of mass destruction to kill and maim its adversaries. These include the Massive Ordnance Airblast Bombs (MOAB), the depleted uranium-tipped weapons, white phosphorus bombs, cluster bombs. We must study and learn in advance how to inflict casualties on US military personnel and undertake other actions to discourage the US from further plundering the Philippines.

While we intensify the revolutionary armed struggle against the Arroyo regime, we must continue to carry out land reform and mass base building in the countryside. We must undertake land reform and the restitution of land to the peasant masses who are victims of land grabbing. We must build the organs of political power and mass organizations on a wider scale. We must look forward to the time when guerrilla fronts conjoin and become stable base areas and then the stable base areas conjoin and become wider liberated areas.

We must develop relentlessly the broad united front to isolate and destroy the Arroyo regime. This can allow the legal forces of the national democratic movement, the conservative opposition parties and the anti-Arroyo sections of the AFP and PNP to unite and overthrow the regime. At the same time, we must further strengthen the basic alliance of the workers and peasants, the progressive alliance of the toiling masses and the urban pettybourgeoisie and the patriotic alliance of the progressive forces and the national bourgeoisie.

Within the context of The Hague Joint Declaration of 1992 and the further agreements, the GRP and the NDFP have mutually agreed to negotiate a just and lasting peace by addressing the roots of the armed conflict and coming to comprehensive agreements on basic social, economic and political reforms. The NDFP has repeatedly indicated to the GRP that truce and alliance are possible if there is an agreement to confront foreign and feudal domination.

Instead, the Arroyo regime and its imperialist masters have sought to destroy the revolutionary movement and to press the NDFP into capitulation by using the "terrorist" label and escalating human rights violations, like the kidnapping, torture and murder of party-list officials, priests, human rights advocates, lawyers and journalists who are merely suspected of being linked to the revolutionary movement. The Arroyo regime has been arrogant in thinking that it can actually annihilate the revolutionary movement with the use of US military training and gadgetry for the puppet troops. In response, the Party has directed the NPA to seize the initiative by launching tactical

offensives against the so many exposed weak points of the enemy.

However, if the broad united front succeeds in overthrowing the Arroyo regime and if there is an ample number of patriots and progressives in a transitional governing council, the NDFP would be willing to resume the peace negotiations with the GRP and to propose truce and alliance for the purpose of confronting the three evils of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

Within and outside of the broad united front, the legal democratic mass movement must become stronger in the struggle against the Arroyo regime. So must be the armed revolutionary movement. There will be a rapid increase of workers and educated youth joining the New People's Army. The mass activists and the Red fighters must grow in number faster than ever before through the mass movement. They must be recruited into the Party as rapidly as possible.

We need hundreds of thousands of Party members in order to carry out the gigantic tasks of the revolution. We must build the Party branches and groups in the factories, transport lines, barrios, plantations, mass organizations, institutions and the people's army. With more Party cadres and members, the Party can lead the revolution more effectively.

We have laid stress on the need to overthrow the Arroyo regime. To achieve this purpose, we need to work and struggle hard in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the broad masses of the people. We thereby accumulate revolutionary strength for changing the semicolonial and semifeudal system. Overthrowing the Arroyo regime is not enough. We must aim for the complete satisfaction of the people's demand for national liberation and democracy against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes.

Issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party
of the Philippines on December 26, 2005

Further strengthen the Communist Party of the Philippines to lead the people's democratic revolution

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2006

Introduction

Let us joyously celebrate the 38th anniversary of the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought (Maoism) and on the basis of the history and concrete circumstances of the Filipino people.

This is a time to celebrate our revolutionary victories, to review our history, basic principles and lessons and renew our resolve to lead and advance the Filipino people's struggle for national liberation and democracy against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

Let us salute and congratulate all our Party cadres and members for all the victories won by holding high the banner of working class leadership and leading the broad masses of the people in life-and-death struggles with the enemy. Let us pay the highest respects to

the revolutionary martyrs and heroes. They have given the most to the revolutionary struggle.

We must further strengthen the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally. We must build on our solid achievements won under the inspiration of the Second Great Rectification Movement and through hard work and fearless struggle. Only thus can we lead the Filipino people to a new and higher level of revolutionary struggle through revolutionary armed struggle and the united front.

We are confronted today by a regime that is extremely oppressive and exploitative. It is carrying out an all-out war policy against the people and the revolutionary forces. It has repeatedly vowed to destroy the revolutionary movement. But instead of being cowed, the people and revolutionary forces recognize the desperation of a regime, which is increasingly being isolated for its servility to US imperialism, corruption, electoral fraud and brutality.

The worsening crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system of big compradors and landlords drives the imperialists and local reactionaries to shift the burden of crisis to the people. The people undergo terrible suffering. Thus, they desire revolutionary change through revolutionary armed struggle and other forms of struggle. The crisis conditions are therefore favorable for revolutionary struggle.

Worsening crisis of the US and world capitalist system

US monopoly capitalism is the main exponent and beneficiary of "free market" globalization. It has expected this to override permanently the problem of stagflation of the 1970s. It puts the blame for the problem on rising wage levels and social spending by government rather than on the crisis of overproduction, profit-taking by the monopolies, the decline of income among the workers and

high military spending for the benefit of the military industrial complex. The policy makers and spin doctors of monopoly capitalism pontificate that unbridled profit-taking in the "free market" can fix everything and that the least-regulated flow of finance capital renders unnecessary the intervention of the state in countering economic crisis or enabling economic development in less developed countries.

According to them, "free market" globalization is beneficial as it accelerates the concentration and centralization of finance capital in the US through attractive interest rates and dividends for foreign investors on US bonds and stocks, because the funds are supposed to maintain the US as the main engine of growth for the entire world capitalist system, as the developer of information technology and other high technology, as producer of the biggest items in international trade (military goods and otherwise) and as the largest market for consumer products.

The US economy has been badly shaken since 2000, when the high-tech bubble burst, as a result of the overproduction of high-tech goods. This was the last phase of a series of crises of overproduction, which included the Great Commodities Depression which began in 1980 and the overproduction of basic industrial products (machinery and durable consumer goods) by the leading imperialist countries and the major newly industrialized economies, which began in the later half of the 1980s. Since the bursting of the high-tech bubble, the US economy has been buffeted by sharp falls in the stockmarket and collapses of major financial firms and has gone into stagnation.

Thus the US has devised ways of dealing with the stagnation. It has directed the flow of money into a housing boom as a way of backing the American consumers in absorbing imported consumer goods and fuel. The US pays for these in US dollars, which such suppliers of consumer goods as China, Japan, South Korea and the oil-producing countries convert mainly to US treasury bonds and secondarily to stock investments. The US has thereby become the biggest debtor in the world because of its huge trade deficits. The US treasury bonds and stocks in the hands of foreign entities are US debts.

There are indications that in early 2007, the bursting of the housing bubble and the decline of consumer demand will signal a conspicuous fall of the US economy into recession, the sharp reduction of US demand for imports and the fall in the value of the US dollar abroad which might trigger the dumping of the US currency.

Since coming to the presidency in early 2001, Bush has been determined to step up military production as a means of stimulating the US economy. This has been called military Keynesianism, despite the fact that high-tech military production employs a few and cannot really increase the purchasing power of the people in big numbers. But the flow of money to the military-industrial complex and to the housing boom can certainly bloat the economic accounts and increase the growth rate of the economy. Big military spending by the US government has generated a budgetary deficit and has lessened the funds for job generation, education, health, disaster relief and other social services.

Since the September 11, 2001 attacks, the US under Bush has found the effective pretext for whipping up war hysteria in the name of anti-terrorism and directing larger amounts of public money to military production and the deployment of US military forces abroad for military intervention and aggression. Bush has declared a "global war on terror," which is supposed to be permanent and preemptive. He has unleashed wars of aggression against Afghanistan and Iraq and promoted state terrorism and fascism on a global scale. He has designated as targets states that he calls "rogue" for asserting national independence as well as all revolutionary forces and leaders that he calls "terrorist" for being anti-imperialist and revolutionary.

The so-called neo-conservatives in the Bush administration have found the conditions favorable for pushing the Project for a New American Century. This is a scheme for the US to become incontestably supreme over all other countries by using the full spectrum of its power, especially its high-tech military power, to wage preemptive war on any state it regards as potential rival or as

rogue. By waging aggression, the US is expected to gain profitable ownership and control over strategic resources (especially oil and gas) and to spread the "free market" and "democracy."

The US has put itself in a quagmire in Iraq by launching aggression against it in 2003 even before its aggression against Afghanistan could result in destroying al Qaeda. Despite the terrible destruction of 665,000 Iraqi lives, public infrastructure and private property, the US has incurred nearly 3,000 death casualties among the US troops (excluding the so-called security contractors), more than 21,000 troops wounded in action and more than 24,000 medically evacuated due to illnesses and accidents and US\$350 billion in expenses. It expects to own the new oil facilities to be set up in Iraq and encumber the old oil facilities with loans for repairs and renovation. But the Iraq resistance continues to attack the oil facilities, drastically reduce the oil production and render these unprofitable for the US and British aggressors.

The American people have become disgusted with the failure of the US objectives in the invasion and occupation of Iraq. The US mid-term elections last November has installed a Democratic majority in both houses of the US Congress. The majority demand the withdrawal of US military forces from Iraq. Congressional investigations into Bush's outright lies and intelligence cherry-picking and corrupt practices in military contracts are bound to further unravel the "global war on terror," the neoconservative network and the systematic attack on civil liberties in the US and abroad in the name of anti-terrorism.

While preoccupied with Iraq, the US is unwittingly failing to pay prompt attention to and act adequately on problems in other countries of the Middle East and Central Asia and farther afield. Even Afghanistan is becoming a quagmire for the US and NATO, as the Taliban has become resurgent. The US has threatened Iran and Syria, which it regards as "rogue states," but has exposed an utter incapability or grave difficulty to expand its aggression to these countries. The popular anti-US forces in Lebanon have been able to

frustrate the aggressive actions of Israel. After allowing the US to establish footholds in Central Asia and to attack Afghanistan, China, Russia and other former Soviet republics in Central Asia have formed the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) to promote cross-border economic and security cooperation. Oil and gas pipelines independent of US oil companies are being built between the countries in the SCO.

Russia is deliberately using its oil resources as leverage for stabilizing its economy and reasserting its influence in former Soviet republics and in Eastern Europe. It is changing or cancelling contracts with US and other foreign oil companies that are disadvantageous to Russia. It is laying new pipelines that run directly to Germany to avoid use of old pipelines running through pro-US states in former Soviet republics. In Venezuela and other Latin American countries producing oil and gas, there is a wave of nationalization against US and other foreign oil companies. The drive of the US to practically own the oil wells in Iraq is generating powerful popular resistance in Iraq and goading other peoples to fight for sovereignty over their natural resources.

The US can still count on all other imperialist countries as allies in order to oppress and exploit the peoples of the world, especially those in Asia, Africa and Latin America. In this regard, the imperialist powers can harmonize their policies through the Group of 8, OECD, UN Security Council, IMF, World Bank, WTO and multilateral and bilateral economic and military treaties. But under the pressure of the crisis of overproduction in all types of goods, contradictions are becoming conspicuous among them. Germany, France and Russia have differed with the US and UK regarding Iraq, Iran and the Middle East in general. The US and the European Union have sharp differences over questions of trade, paralyzing the recent Doha negotiations and casting doubts on the viability of the WTO. These contradictions are manifestations of the bankruptcy of "free market" globalization.

Japan is still the main economic and military partner of the US

against the proletariat and peoples of East Asia. But US-Japan relations are buffeted by sharpening economic competition due to the crisis of overproduction in industrial goods. Japan has continued to bend to US demands, even as it has suffered prolonged stagnation since the bursting of its real estate bubble in 1990. It has long agreed to hold a large amount of US securities, allow the entry of US investments and agricultural and manufactured exports and to subsidize the US military forces based in Japan. Like Japan, South Korea and Taiwan continue to be buffeted by the crisis of overproduction in industrial products and by financial crisis due to bad loans to the big companies and to an unsustainable housing boom. But they find a certain degree of relief from their trade with China.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) has successfully defied the US economic and military blockade and the threats of the US against developing its missile and nuclear research programs. Since the successful DPRK testing of a nuclear bomb, the US has slid down from an arrogant and threatening position to a position of asking China to arrange the resumption of the six-party talks among the DPRK, US, China, Russia, Japan and South Korea and the holding of bilateral talks between the US and DPRK. The DPRK is demanding the end of hostile US policy towards it, the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula, the lifting of the US economic blockade and the normalization of US-DPRK relations.

Regarding China, the US continues to apply the dual tactics of engagement and containment. Its main tactic is engagement because it expects China's growing capitalism and entry into the WTO to facilitate the eventual reintegration of Taiwan as a province and thus reduce the danger of war between the US and China over Taiwan. China itself has done everything to assure the US of its so-called peaceful rise. It has opened its economy to become the chief destination of imperialist investments by virtue of its cheap labor. It hosts many US and other foreign companies producing low-value added consumer goods for the US, Chinese and other markets. It has accumulated a holding of US\$1 trillion, much of which is

converted into US treasury bonds. But US and other multinational firms have the most claim on these US dollar holdings for the purpose of capital repatriation and profit remittance.

US strategists expect that under the WTO regime, the unlimited penetration of China by US finance capital would undermine and reduce Chinese political and economic independence and push the further dismantling of state-owned enterprises. China has the appearance of prosperity, which is real for less than 10% of its people, but which has relegated more than 90% of its people to suffer exploitation even more rapacious than, and oppression similar to pre-1949 conditions. Sweatshops, migrant workers, vagabonds and beggars abound. Workers frequently undertake protest actions against reduced real incomes and mass layoffs. Thousands of peasant uprisings have been launched against the arbitrary grabbing of land by bureaucrats and capitalist enterprises. A revolutionary communist party inspired by Maoism can take advantage of the fertile conditions for revolution. The phoney communists in power so far still succeed in destroying even the good name of real communists.

With the expected recession of the US economy next year, China is bound to suffer a drastic reduction of US consumer demand for its exports. Social unrest and political turbulence are expected to ensue. Likewise, Southeast Asia is expected to suffer from reduced foreign orders for raw materials and semi-manufactures. A new wave of economic disaster would come on top of the 1997 so-called financial crisis from which Southeast Asia has not fully recovered and which--at the level of the real economy--involved the overproduction of low-value added semi-manufactures and overconstruction of office and apartment buildings and the overconsumption of imported consumer goods financed by foreign loans. The conditions are favorable for the armed revolutionary movement in the Philippines to reach a new and higher level of development. The beginning of people's war for national liberation and democracy is also a distinct possibility in Indonesia.

The US tries to play mediator between Pakistan and India and in the process penetrate them. "Free market" globalization has led to further exploitation and degradation of the countries of South Asia. The people have been subjected to further impoverishment. Armed revolutionary movements are seething in several countries in South Asia today. Maoist parties are leading the people's wars in India and Nepal. The people's war in India has the potential of playing the role of the Russian revolution after World War I and of the Chinese revolution after World War II. The people's war in Nepal has been successful in bringing forward the democratic revolution to the point of compelling the monarchy to give up power and allowing the Maoist party to have a major share of power in the evolving bourgeois state in exchange for dismantling the people's army and the revolutionary organs of power.

As a result of the long period of revisionist rule and the subsequent open adoption of capitalism, former Soviet republics and East European countries have continuously deteriorated and become degraded to the level of most third world countries. The social wealth created by the working people has been privatized by a thieving criminal type of bourgeoisie and social services have been dismantled amid massive unemployment and widespread misery. The Balkans and Central Asia are the most combustible. The conditions are favorable for establishing Maoist parties and developing revolutionary mass movements. But various other types of parties have the headstart. These are bourgeois liberal parties, social democratic parties, neorevisionist parties and religious or religious-related parties.

In Latin America, "free market" globalization has become totally discredited for having long inflicted great suffering on the people. A series of bourgeois nationalist governments have arisen to defy US domination. They have undertaken the nationalization of oil and gas companies owned by the US and other foreign companies. There are revolutionary parties and mass movements in various countries. The FARC of Colombia has been the most persevering in carrying out protracted people's war against the reactionary state. The

Communist Party of Peru (Sendero Luminoso) has proclaimed itself as a Maoist party and has waged people's war. But it has been weakened since the 1990s by an inability to wield the united front as a revolutionary weapon and by a premature presumption that the people's war had already reached strategic equilibrium, which was supposed to win complete victory by resorting to an urban uprising.

The conditions of Africa are appalling for the broad masses of the people. In most countries, the contradictions are sharp among political parties motivated by plain greed and subservience to competing imperialist powers, by ethno-centrism and by religious bigotry. The parties and movements that have taken power, after using the slogans of national liberation, democracy and socialism, have succumbed to neocolonialism and become swamped by corruption. The imperialist powers have never ceased to manipulate and subvert the countries in Africa and to oppose any government, as that in Zimbabwe, that strives to nationalize foreign-owned plantations and carry out land reform. The conditions are ripe for establishing Maoist parties and developing revolutionary mass movements.

The conditions of oppression and exploitation generate the desire and will of the broad masses of the people for national and social liberation. The world is wide open for the establishment of Maoist parties and the development of revolutionary mass movements. World conditions have greatly retrogressed since the US propagation of the line of "free market" globalization and the unleashing of several wars of aggression in a so-called new world order. The revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism apply on struggles for national liberation, democracy and socialism. Maoism provides not only insight for winning the people's democratic revolution but also the foresight for combating revisionism, preventing the restoration of capitalism in a socialist society and for consolidating socialism.

Rottenness and isolation of the Arroyo regime

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Among the Southeast Asian countries, the Philippines has been the most unable to recover from the financial crisis of 1997. Only through reliance on the remittances of overseas Filipino workers and heavy foreign and local borrowing has the Arroyo regime been able to maintain a certain level of economic and government operations. It has thus aggravated and deepened the crisis of the Philippine economy. It is also through such inflow of dollar remittances from abroad, massive public borrowing and spending resources in a profligate way that the regime has produced an illusory economic growth rate that beats even that of the imperialist countries.

The Arroyo regime has incurred foreign and local public debts at a rate far faster than all predecessor regimes, including the Marcos fascist regime. The debt has been used to cover trade and budgetary deficits. Priority is given to servicing the rising levels of debt and paying for stepped-up military spending, overpriced graft-ridden infrastructure projects and other parasitic government operations over such social services as education and health. The tax burden has been increased despite the depressed conditions of the real economy. But most of the revenue goes to debt service, military spending and corruption.

The character of the Philippine economy remains semicolonial and semifeudal, which has been aggravated and deepened under the US-imposed policy of "free market" globalization. This shuns national industrialization and genuine and thoroughgoing land reform and favors denationalization, privatization, liberalization and deregulation for the benefit of foreign multinational firms and banks and to the detriment of the national economy, working people, women, children and the environment.

Under such policy, the Philippines has been limited to production for export of raw materials and for reexport of low-value added

consumer manufactures (semi-conductors, garments, toys, shoes and the like). These have been in global oversupply and their prices have remained depressed in the global market. At the same time, the Philippines has been inundated by food imports that harm local food production for the people and by luxury imports for the upper classes that divert precious resources to foreign shores.

Foreign lenders have continued to lend money at commercial rates to the Philippines. As they are assured of the mandatory priority given to debt service, they can take the debt service from the next flow of loans and sale of government bonds, convert the debt to equity in local businesses or ownership of natural resources, stake a claim on the foreign exchange earnings of overseas contract workers and compel the reactionary government to raise taxes. There is an increasing dependence on the sale of government bonds and on portfolio investments.

The increased tax burden is excruciating for the people under the depressed conditions of the economy. The actual rate of unemployment is high, exceeding 45%. The level of income for the workers, peasants and the middle social strata is continuously being pushed down. Small and medium enterprises of Filipino entrepreneurs are being closed down due to bankruptcy. Even the enterprises for the production of low-value added semimanufactures are being bankrupted or shifted to China by the big foreign companies.

In view of the economic downtrend in the US, the Philippine economy is expected to suffer increasingly from reduced orders for primary commodities and low-value added semi-manufactures. The broad masses of the people are subjected to worse conditions of unemployment, low income, deprivation and misery. Social discontent becomes more widespread and acute. The socio-economic crisis leads to political crisis and turmoil, not only between the Arroyo regime and the people but also among the reactionary factions of the exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

The Arroyo regime has incurred the ire of the broad masses of the

people and has become isolated because of its illegitimacy through electoral fraud in 2004, scandalous corruption, subservience to US and other foreign monopoly interests and gross human rights violations. Under the ongoing severe socio-economic crisis, the regime's proclivity to monopolize bureaucrat loot and to take preemptive violent action against the broad range of opposition, especially against progressive legal activists has aggravated. Contradictions among the reactionaries have become more bitter and sharper. The intrasystemic opposition is encouraged to fight the regime because it seeks the support of the broad masses of the people.

So far, the Arroyo regime has been able to use brute force in harassing, hampering and breaking up the mass actions of the broad united front of opposition forces. It has also frustrated two attempts by opposition congressmen (who lack sufficient number) to impeach Arroyo. Mortally afraid that the opposition would gain enough congressional seats to impeach her, Arroyo has maneuvered to cancel the May 2007 mid-term elections under the pretext of a fake people's initiative, a Senate-less constituent assembly or a rushed constitutional convention to revise the 1987 constitution and change the form of government from presidential to parliamentary.

The Arroyo regime's charter change scheme is being frustrated by the vigorous manifestation of outrage by the people, the broad united front of opposition forces and the major religious institutions. Unless it wants to ignite political turmoil, the regime has no choice but to allow the holding of the May 2007 elections. The broad masses of the people are now deeply concerned that the regime will do everything in its power to prevent the opposition from winning in the elections. The regime is expected to engage again in heavy government spending for its candidates and in using military and electoral officials to commit electoral fraud. A repeat of the 2004 electoral fraud will certainly result in grave political turmoil and the ouster of the Arroyo regime.

Contradictions among the reactionaries are tending to become

violent. This is indicated by increasing cases of assassinations and shootouts between factions of reactionary politicians at the local level and in the national capital region and more systematically by the increase of political factions among military and police officers at the national and lower levels. There is a long-running basis for the factionalization of the military and police forces because the factions are linked to criminal syndicates as well as to political patrons in the executive and legislative branches of the reactionary government.

But not all the military and police factions take shape according to selfish corrupt purposes. As a matter of course, there are pro-US and pro-Arroyo factions that are benefiting from the official chain of command. There are also pro-US but anti-Arroyo factions among senior officers. Further, there are either pro-US or anti-US but anti-Arroyo factions mainly among the junior officers who have some senior officers on their side. The anti-Arroyo factions have been preponderant since 2005. But to their temporary advantage, the Arroyo loyalists are in control of the chain of command.

There was a good chance to oust the Arroyo regime last February by a combination of anti-Arroyo mass actions and the open withdrawal of support by military and police forces from the regime. The First Scout Ranger Regiment of the Philippine Army, the First Marine Brigade of the Philippine Navy and the Special Action Force of the Philippine National Police were supposed to spearhead the withdrawal of support. But the chance was lost through a mistaken and failed attempt to persuade the AFP chief of staff and deputy chief to join the anti-Arroyo forces in order to shift the entire chain of command to the people's side and prevent any shootout.

The running-dog character of the two highest AFP officials was underestimated. They squealed to Arroyo on those who approached them. Subsequently, the regime took draconian measures under Proclamation 1071 against the anti-Arroyo military and police officers and against the demonstrators. There was never any attempt at a military coup. But the pro-Arroyo chain of command has persecuted all those it can identify and suspect as being anti-Arroyo.

There are, however, far more anti-Arroyo military and police personnel than it can identify and suspect.

As a result of the people's outrage over the charter change scheme, anti-Arroyo factions within the military and police forces have rapidly grown in number against the illegitimacy and criminal acts of the Arroyo regime. The vice president has also come out opposing the charter change scheme of his president and he has indicated that he would oppose electoral fraud by her. The ruling clique is showing signs of cracking as infighting between the Ermita group and other groups within the Arroyo cabinet are coming out into the open.

The Arroyo regime has rabidly supported the Bush "global war on terror" in order to expand US military intervention in the Philippines under the guise of military exercises, bootlick for more US military assistance, scuttle the peace negotiations between the Manila government and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines and carry out Oplan Bantay Laya under the all-out war policy against the people's army and revolutionary masses led by the Communist Party of the Philippines.

The Arroyo regime has estimated that the all-out war policy against the armed revolutionary movement would unify the military and police forces behind her and would actually weaken or destroy the revolutionary forces that it presumes to be the most solid part of the broad united front of opposition forces. The Cabinet Oversight Committee on Internal Security headed by Phoenix Plan and Marcos fascist regime veteran Eduardo Ermita is directly in charge of Oplan Bantay Laya and plans the dirty tactics carried out mainly by special operations teams for psywar and by death squads for extrajudicial killings. Their tactic is to denounce the intended victims as communists and, after they are killed, to blame the communists for killing them in a "purge."

Oplan Bantay Laya has two ugly aspects. First, it concentrates military and police forces on a number of guerrilla fronts at every given time in order to perpetrate massacres, mass intimidation, arbitrary arrests, torture and forced evacuations of entire

communities through bombings, artillery fire, machine gun fire, arson and bulldozing. Second, it engages in the extrajudicial killing, abduction and torture of legal activists, including local progressive party leaders, workers, peasants, women, youth, religious, journalists, lawyers and human rights advocates.

The Arroyo regime's scheme to destroy the people's democratic revolution before 2010 is a mere pipedream. Not even the Marcos fascist dictatorship, which received plenty of US military assistance in exchange for the stay of US military bases, which had a far bigger allowance for official concessional borrowings from abroad and which rapidly increased the AFP's troop strength could destroy the people's army that was then far smaller than its current size. Not even the Aquino regime could bank on its anti-Marcos popularity to destroy the people's army. Oplan Bantay Laya has run for five years and has failed to destroy the armed revolutionary movement in a single region.

The armed revolutionary movement is gaining more ground and strength than ever before because it upholds a just cause, fights for the people's national and democratic rights and defends the people against the puppetry, exploitativeness, corruption and brutality of the Arroyo regime and the entire reactionary ruling system. Our Party leads the democratic revolution, not only by wielding the weapon of revolutionary armed struggle but also the revolutionary united front. Thus, it has brought about the widest popular base for the revolutionary war.

The extrajudicial killings, abductions, torture, misrepresentation of children as NPA fighters in order to kill or detain them, forced mass evacuations and other gross human rights violations by the military and paramilitary forces of the regime have outraged the people of the world and the most respected institutions, organizations and personages concerned with human rights. It has come to the point that even governments friendly to the Philippine government have called on the Arroyo regime to take responsibility for and stop the gross human rights violations. Like the Marcos fascist regime, the

repressive Arroyo regime is finding itself isolated not only among the Filipino people but also in the international community of nations.

The National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) has consistently asserted that peace negotiations with the Government of the Republic of the Philippines are still ongoing in the absence of any side properly terminating the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees. It has repeatedly called for the resumption of formal talks upon the resolution of prejudicial questions, such as the so-called terrorist listing of the CPP, NPA and chief political consultant, the gross violations of human rights under Oplan Bantay Laya, the release of political prisoners and the indemnification of victims of human rights violations under the Marcos regime.

The NDFP has gone so far as to offer a concise immediate agreement for a just and lasting peace, which would serve to commit both the NDFP and GRP to definite principled points of agreement in the national and democratic interest of the Filipino. Such an offer is in response to the unjust demand of the GRP for surrender of arms or an indefinite ceasefire without agreement on substantive issues. It would lead to a truce in the civil war while the two sides implement the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law and negotiate practicable economic, social and political reforms in accordance with The Hague Joint Declaration.

As the Arroyo regime is hell-bent on carrying out its all-out war policy and finds no use for peace negotiations, the armed revolutionary movement led by our Party has no choice but to expand and intensify all over the archipelago. We know from our experience in peace negotiations how malicious and treacherous is the Arroyo regime. We have also observed the same character of the regime in its negotiations with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front. Our Party and the NDFP have all the patience to wait for the next regime to see the wisdom of peace negotiations and the benefits for the Filipino people.

Growing strength of the revolutionary movement

Our Party has continued to make all-round achievements. We have propagated the ideological line of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in all Party leading organs and organizations, among the cadres, members and the candidate members. We have carried forward the general political line of people's democratic revolution against foreign monopoly capitalism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. We have upheld and applied the principle of democratic centralism in organizational matters.

Our Party is indestructible and ever advancing because it consists of cadres and members who grasp Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the ideological line and who keep on strengthening their proletarian class standpoint, viewpoint and method in dealing with world and Philippine history, current circumstances, various types of work and struggle and the necessary strategy and tactics in carrying out the people's democratic revolution.

Our cadres and members keep on studying dialectical and historical materialism in relation to their work. They apply materialist dialectics in understanding and solving problems. They broaden and deepen their knowledge of Marxism-Leninism in order to oppose and defeat the empiricist and dogmatic kinds of subjectivism, modern revisionism, opportunism and reformism and other petty-bourgeois trends of thought like liberalism, neoliberalism, social democracy, neo-Kautskyism, Trotskyism, anarchism, clerico-fascism and NGOism.

Our Party cadres and members read and study the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao and the documents of the Central Committee. Our comrades who are more knowledgeable in theory help those who wish to learn more through formal study courses at basic, intermediate and advanced levels, through study and work meetings of leading Party organs and organizations and through informal and leisurely group discussions and conversations.

The Education Department of our General Secretariat and education and propaganda organs of the Party see to it that all sorts of study materials are made available. Simplified materials, brief texts and visual and audio-visual aids in various major Philippine languages are also provided for the benefit of comrades who come from the working class and peasantry and who have limited formal education. There is a mutually beneficial interaction between comrades who can easily understand the concepts and terms from reading materials and those who have rich practical experience for analysis.

Our Party cadres and members grasp the ideological line easily because it deals with life-and-death questions for the Party. Those who committed major errors of pettybourgeois subjectivism and the consequent Left and Right opportunist errors as well as crimes against our Party and our people could have destroyed us and the revolutionary movement from within had the proletarian revolutionaries not taken action to criticize and repudiate their wrong ideas and actions. The documents and lessons of the Second Great Rectification Movement continue to be studied in order to fortify our ranks against the misrepresentation and slander by the enemy and the renegades who have become special agents of the enemy.

Our Party cadres and members use Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the ideological weapon against the persistent ideological offensive of the imperialists and local reactionaries who prate that the cause of scientific socialism and the ultimate goal of communism are hopeless and that humanity cannot go beyond capitalism and liberalism. They therefore continue to study the definitive stand of our Party for socialism against modern revisionism.

We have generated a stream of articles to counter and debunk the claims and arguments of the neoliberal exponents of "free market" globalization, bourgeois liberals, social democrats, neo-Kautskyites, Trotskyites, anarchists, clerico-fascists and NGOists. These are well-funded by the imperialists to attack us from behind and from the

flanks in order to cut us off from the pettybourgeois intelligensia and the educated youth who are inclined to adopt the revolutionary position and join our Party. Our Party combats pettybourgeois thinking within the Party but attracts pettybourgeois elements to remould themselves and join our Party or become allies in the progressive united front.

We have victoriously advanced the general line of people's democratic revolution against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes through protracted people's war. We have raised high the banner of working class leadership and have aroused, organized and mobilized the broad masses of the people in the urban and rural areas. We have successfully employed revolutionary armed struggle and the united front as political weapons in the service of the working people.

Our New People's Army operates militarily and conducts mass work in more than 120 guerrilla fronts which cover thousands of barrios in more than 800 municipalities in 70 provinces of the Philippines. By doing mass work, it is instrumental in the formation of mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, youth and cultural activists and in setting up local organs of political power, at first barrio organizing committees and finally barrio revolutionary committees with the support of the mass organizations and committees for mass organizations, public education, public health, land reform and economy, self-defense, arbitration and cultural work.

The peasant movement for genuine and thoroughgoing land reform is the main mass movement for realizing the democratic revolution. It is thus that the peasant majority of the people can liberate themselves economically, socially and politically and become the main component of the people's democratic revolution. The minimum land reform program consists of rent reduction, reduction of interest rates, raising of farm wages, increasing prices of farm products and promoting agricultural production and sideline occupations. The maximum land reform program of confiscation

and free distribution of land as well as rudimentary forms of cooperation is applicable against landgrabbers, against despotic landlords and wherever landlord power has collapsed on a relatively wide scale.

Our people's army is engaged in extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever deepening and widening mass base. It is still in the process of increasing the number of platoons and guerrilla fronts on a nationwide scale. At the same time, it is developing the ability of regional commands to administer several guerrilla fronts, lead a headquarters platoon and to concentrate several platoons for offensive operations. The guerrilla front commands have the flexibility to launch platoon-size offensive operations and guide squads to carry out operations on a wide scale. The structure, mode of deployment, tactics and technique have been effective in carrying out raids, ambushes and arrest operations and in inflicting losses of personnel and weapons on the side of the enemy.

Oplan Bantay Laya has failed in its objective of destroying the NPA by concentrating military and mobile police units on a number of regions and a number of guerrilla fronts within every given period and, after supposedly destroying the NPA, move on to another set of regions and guerrilla fronts. In no region whatsoever has the enemy succeeded in destroying the NPA. The military and mobile police forces simply do not have the military strength to cover and control effectively 10% of the population at any given time. They can concentrate on a few guerrilla fronts and make life difficult for the people. But the NPA units can evade them in every guerrilla front or shift to another area for guerrilla front development. In scores of other guerrilla fronts, the NPA operates freely because of the overconcentration of enemy forces on a few guerrilla fronts elsewhere.

The enemy forces are frustrated due to deadly blows from the NPA in ambushes and raids and blindly carrying out patrols and other operations without any definite target. They often find themselves

vulnerable to sniping teams of the NPA and militia units, RPG fire and command-detonated land mines. They boast of amplifying their force by arming the local people as CAFGU, CVO, barangay tanods, and the like. But in fact they distrust the people and they prefer to concentrate their effort in trying to intimidate them through humiliation, cedula checks, food blockades and other worse human rights violations, including massacres, illegal detention, torture, arson and forced evacuation. They also know that those who agree to receive arms from them are ultimately vulnerable to the disarming operations of the NPA.

Aside from waging armed struggle against the enemy, our Party uses the policy and tactics of the united front. In the main, the united front is for the armed struggle. Thus, the antifeudal united front is of primary importance. Our Party relies mainly on the poor peasants and farm workers, wins over the middle peasants, neutralizes the rich peasants, takes advantage of the contradictions between the enlightened and evil gentry in order to isolate the despotic landlords and destroy their political power in the country. The antifeudal united front is an integral part of the overall national united front, which is anti-imperialist, antifeudal and antifascist.

A broad united front has emerged and is further developing against the US-Arroyo regime. It consists of the organized forces of the workers, peasants, women, youth, professionals, entrepreneurs and merchants, politicians, religious and even the anti-Arroyo groups among the military and police officers. In political terms, the Left is uniting, cooperating and coordinating with the Middle and the anti-Arroyo part of the Right against the worst part, which is the Arroyo ruling clique. In the broad united front, the patriotic and progressive forces of the Left and Middle can unite with the unstable and unreliable allies in the Right for the purpose of isolating and defeating the enemy and in the process gaining strength through struggle.

Both the revolutionary armed struggle and the united front have their respective ways of arousing, organizing and mobilizing the

broad masses of the people. The revolutionary armed struggle has made possible solid mass organizing and building organs of political power in the countryside. The united front has aroused, organized and mobilized the people in the entire country in order to facilitate their eventual organization by the Party. Legal united front work has directly helped in the organizational work of legal democratic mass organizations.

In our organizational life, we follow the principle of democratic centralism. The essence of centralism is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It guides democracy within our Party and is in turn based on it. The democratic process allows our leading organs to gather facts and ideas from the corresponding organization and to deliberate on them freely in order to arrive at policies and decisions. Individuals and the minority are subject to the will of the majority. The lower organ or organization is subject to the higher organ or organization. The Central Committee is the highest organ, while the Congress is not in session.

Our Party cadres and members uphold the two-way relationship of centralism and democracy. We are critical of any tendency towards bureaucratism or commandism, in which decisions and orders are one-sidedly made from top to bottom, without the benefit of reports and recommendations from below. At the same time, we are critical of ultra-democracy or anarchism, which means not recognizing the authority of higher organs and insisting on the limited view of the ground to the exclusion of the comprehensive view of a higher organ.

Our Party organization is of national scale and is deeply rooted among the masses of workers and peasants. The Party branches are in communities, factories, plantations, transport lines, schools and offices. Our Party groups or cells are at various levels of various types of organizations and institutions, progressive or reactionary. We have Party elements and cells even within the military and police forces of the enemy. Thus, we are well-informed about enemy movements, plans and activities. The well-known existence of

patriotic and progressive groups of military and police officers indicates our effective work within the enemy camp.

The regime's pipedream is to destroy our Party by murdering those whom they suspect as Party cadres and members. But the reactionary military and police machinery and killing capacity are limited by the fact that our Party has been clandestine since its reestablishment in 1968 and constantly takes care to preserve and secure itself, expand its membership and raise its quality through revolutionary education and practice. The enemy can concentrate its attacks on certain areas but leaves open many more areas for our Party to grow in strength and advance. Whenever some of our comrades are unavoidably martyred, we honor them so as to inspire our entire Party and our people to fight the enemy ever more resolutely and fiercely. Commands of the NPA at various levels are named after our martyrs who are exemplary in armed struggle.

We recruit our Party members from the armed revolutionary movement and the legal democratic mass movement. These have trained and tested so many activists worthy of recruitment into the Party. The intense and widespread armed and legal forms of struggle are providing a continuous flow of fresh highly motivated and militant Party recruits who come from the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the middle social strata and who bring with them rich experience, their closeness to the masses and various types of abilities that are useful for advancing the people's democratic revolution.

Our Party systematically deploys workers and educated youth from the urban areas to the countryside in order to serve in the New People's Army and the peasant communities. Thus, we raise and widen our capabilities as a Party in the countryside. We bring into the service of the people and the people's army their professional and technical capabilities. In turn, our Party personnel from the cities further remould themselves in the heat of the revolutionary armed struggle. Service in the people's army also provides safety and a fighting chance to Party members and mass activists who are under threat of death or arrest by the enemy.

Our Three fighting tasks

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We must further strengthen the Communist Party of the Philippines in order to lead more effectively than ever before the people's democratic revolution against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords. We must accelerate the recruitment of Party members from the ranks of the Red fighters of the New People's Army and the advanced activists of the mass movement in the urban and rural areas. We must allow them to advance from being candidate-members to full members within the prescribed period of candidature by providing them promptly with the basic Party course and making sure that they conscientiously perform their tasks within their units in the Party and in the people's army or in mass organizations.

1. Further strengthen the revolutionary party of the proletariat!

According to plan, we must increase our Party membership by the tens of thousands every year. We have an acute need for a larger number of Party cadres and members in order to carry out various types of work among the millions of people and in order to raise the revolutionary struggle to a new and higher level. Because our Party recruits come from the ranks of Red fighters and mass activists and they have some experience in the revolutionary struggle, they have an interest in completing as soon as possible the basic Party course, complying with their tasks within their units in the Party and in the people's army or mass organizations.

After they are sworn in as full Party members, they can take higher formal Party courses in their work units in accordance with the curriculum and syllabus or in study sessions specially arranged by a higher Party organ. They must always improve their grasp of the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method, know the correct line and oppose subjectivism and opportunism, modern revisionism and various trends of pettybourgeois thinking. The theoretical and political education of Party members must further develop through

conscious application of the basic revolutionary principles of our Party in the study of Philippine history and current circumstances and through the assessment and evaluation of work, criticism and self-criticism and the setting forth or adjustment of tasks.

Every higher Party organ must know within its jurisdiction the quantity and quality of Party cadres and members in any of the various territorial and functional organizations. Thus, it can decide to raise higher the strength of a given Party organ or unit or to redeploy Party cadres and members in order to strengthen other Party organs or units or to establish new ones. The Party must always ensure that the proletarian revolutionaries take the lead and that the Party cadres and members of worker and peasant origin must increase, without pressing down the number of those who come from the urban pettybourgeoisie.

Because the people's war is expanding and intensifying, it is of urgent necessity that more Party cadres and members arise and develop in the New People's Army and in the rural mass movement and that workers and educated youth be redeployed from the urban to the rural areas, without impairing the urban mass movement. We must preserve and increase our Party cadres and members. Those who are endangered by the rising wave of state terrorism in their publicly known places must take precautionary measures and be ready to be assigned to other places.

2. Expand and intensify the armed revolution!

We must carry out people's war in order to seize political power and establish the people's democratic state. We must strive to advance from the early to the middle phase of the strategic defensive by multiplying the platoons and the guerrilla fronts, and improving command at the levels of the region and guerrilla fronts. They must implement in their respective areas of responsibility the guidelines for nationally coordinated offensives. We must expand and intensify the tactical offensives of the people's army against the enemy. We must seize more arms from the enemy in order to form more platoons of the New People's Army and build more guerrilla fronts.

We must conduct politico-military training of Red commanders and fighters in the various formations and at various levels of command. The political significance and purpose of training for any major tactical offensive must be explained to boost fighting morale. We must also provide training to the militia units and self-defense units so that they can perform their responsibilities and they can stand as reserves and augmenting forces of the people's army. Thus, we can find out in advance who should have the priority for joining the people's army upon the increase of arms.

We must accelerate the waging of extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and ever deepening mass base. We can launch offensives and frustrate enemy counter-offensives only by having a strong mass base. We must build organs of political power and mass organizations and undertake campaigns for mass organizing, public education, land reform and production, health care, self-defense, settlement of disputes and cultural work. We must pay close attention to land reform as the way to engage the peasantry in the armed revolution.

In the revolutionary armed struggle, we have given priority to tactical offensives and other work to increase our political and military strength in the guerrilla fronts. We have not yet carried out to a significant extent our already declared policy to punish the most notorious perpetrators of human rights violations and corruption. So far, we have not retaliated dramatically against the high bureaucrats and the military and police officers responsible for the acts of state terrorism and fascism against the people in worker and peasant communities and against unarmed legal activists.

For the purpose of obtaining revolutionary justice against those officials with blood debts, we must accumulate the necessary information through intelligence and surveillance, form teams with the determination and skills and choose the time and place for arresting the criminals and bringing them to justice or for giving battle to those who are well-armed and cannot be peaceably arrested.

We are well aware that when we start to arrest or fight the criminals, more military and police forces will be pushed towards doing guard duty to protect them. The best time to arrest or give battle to the monsters in the Arroyo regime is when they are already in a state of rapid political decline. In the meantime, the Arroyo regime and its murderous military and police minions are the targets of the people's outrage in the Philippines and the whole world.

3. Mobilize the people through the united front!

We must mobilize the broad masses in their millions through various types of the united front. We must develop further the basic alliance of workers and peasants, the progressive alliance of the toiling masses and the urban pettybourgeoisie, the patriotic alliance of progressive forces and the vacillating national bourgeoisie and the broad united front of patriotic forces and reactionary forces that are temporary and unstable allies against the worst reactionary force, which is the enemy.

The enemy at this time is the US-directed Arroyo regime. We must do everything possible and necessary to expose its crimes against the people in order to isolate, weaken and remove it from power. In the process, we further strengthen the revolutionary forces and people and spur their advance in the revolutionary struggle. If we cannot yet destroy the ruling system by ousting the Arroyo ruling clique from power, we can accumulate the strength to engage the next regime in the resumption of the peace negotiations or to fight it as soon as it makes clear its antipeople, antinational and anti-democratic character. By fighting one enemy regime after another, we accumulate the strength to destroy the reactionary ruling system eventually.

We expect the crisis of the ruling system and world capitalist system to worsen further and inflict ever more terrible suffering on the broad masses of the people. We anticipate that the Arroyo will become even more servile to the US and other imperialists, continue its career of corruption, commit a bigger number of human rights violations and engage in electoral fraud in the 2007 elections. The fake president Arroyo is terribly afraid that the opposition would gain seats in Congress sufficient to her impeachment in the House of Representatives and conviction in the Senate. Thus, she is preparing to cheat in the elections and to use violence against opposition parties and candidates.

The Arroyo regime arrogantly underestimates the power of the people and the broad united front and knows no bounds for its crimes against the people. The broad masses of the people are already fed up with the regime. All that is needed to drive them to occupy the streets is one inciting incident or issue, like a repeat of the 2004 electoral fraud in 2007 or acts of violence against the legal opposition. The sight of hundreds of thousands of people in the streets would move most military and police officers of the reactionary government to prevail upon the chain of command in the military to respect the right of the people to speak and assemble and would persuade the dominant church to facilitate the replacement of the Arroyo regime by a successor or transition government.

The Communist Party of the Philippines and all the people and revolutionary forces it leads wish to remove the Arroyo ruling clique as soon as possible. But if this clique persists in power because it uses violence and deception against the people and the dominant church condones it, all revolutionary forces will gain more ample opportunity to gain strength from the broad united front and the people's movement. The people's war will gain ground and intensity as the broad masses of the people seek the effective way to get rid of the intolerable oppression and exploitation unleashed by the Arroyo regime, with the support of the US and other imperialists.

Issued by the Central Committee, Communist Party
of the Philippines on December 26, 2006

Accelerate the revolutionary advances of the CPP for the celebration of its 40th anniversary

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We celebrate with boundless joy the 39th anniversary of the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought (Maoism) on December 26, 1968. Since then, our beloved Party has become tempered in the crucible of revolutionary struggle and has accumulated brilliant victories in acting as the vanguard of the proletariat and in leading the Filipino people's struggle for national liberation and democracy against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

We render the highest tribute communism. Most urgently, we to our revolutionary martyrs and wish to prepare the celebration of heroes for their supreme sacrifice and exemplary service to the people. We salute all Party cadres and members, revolutionary forces and people for all their hard work and sacrifices in the revolutionary struggle. We have won great victories because we are not daunted by either tremendous odds or by mistakes or shortcomings. We gain

strength from overcoming dangers and difficulties, engaging in criticism and self-criticism and rectifying errors and weaknesses.

Once more we collectively renew our resolve to carry forward through protracted people's war the national democratic stage of the Philippine revolution. We are determined to complete this stage through the nationwide seizure of political power in order to reach the stage of socialist revolution and begin the long transition to communism. Most urgently, we wish to prepare the celebration of the Party's 40th anniversary in the coming year by accelerating advances in an all-round way in the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the entire people under the leadership of the Party.

The imperialists and the local reactionaries keep on prating that the CPP and the revolutionary movement of the people ought to be dissuaded from waging armed revolution because of the betrayal of socialism by the modern revisionists, the subsequent disintegration of the revisionist reactionaries keep on prating that the CPP and the revolutionary movement of the people ought to be dissuaded from waging armed revolution because of the betrayal of socialism by the modern revisionists, the subsequent disintegrates, and all the ideological, political, economic, cultural and military offensives of the imperialists headed by the US.

They obfuscate the fact that the Party has remained firm in its Marxist-Leninist and anti-revisionist position, that it understands and acts upon the concrete semi-colonial and semifeudal conditions in order to carry out the new democratic revolution, and that the offensives of imperialism and its puppets have only served to aggravate the oppressive and exploitative conditions and incite the people to wage armed struggle and other forms of revolutionary struggle. The enemies of the revolution overlook the fact that the Party and the revolutionary movement have prevailed over all the bloody campaigns of suppression carried out by the Marcos fascist regime and the subsequent pseudo-democratic regimes.

The Arroyo regime, especially the fake president and her top military henchmen keep on bragging that they can destroy or cause

the strategic defeat of the CPP, the New People's Army and all other revolutionary forces before 2010. Instead, the revolutionary forces are growing in strength and advancing because of the ever worsening crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system, and the Arroyo regime's detested policies of national betrayal, class exploitation, corruption and state terrorism. In the midst of all this, the Party's ceaseless ideological, political and organizational work nurture the revolutionary forces' continued growth and development.

Crisis of imperialism and resistance of the world's peoples

To describe the current crisis of the world capitalist system, it is necessary to start with the US' main responsibility for such a crisis. The US has been chiefly responsible for pushing the policies of "neoliberal" globalization and the global war of terror. These policies are aimed at solving, but have instead resulted in, aggravating and deepening the crisis of monopoly capitalism.

Since the end of the 1970s, the US has adopted the policy of "neoliberal" globalization supposedly to overcome the problem of stagflation which is the simultaneous occurrence of stagnation and inflation and the aggravation of one by any attempt to counter the other. This problem is blamed on government social spending and rising wage levels. Thus, the declared bias of neoliberalism is to oppose Keynesian state intervention by way of public investments and to give free rein to the "free market," with minimal intervention by the Federal Bank through the regulation of interest rates and money supply.

The main thrust of neoliberalism is to use the state to press down social spending and wage levels and deliver to the monopoly bourgeoisie huge tax cuts, military contracts, public assets, unlimited

credit, investment insurance and subsidies and to provide them political and military backing in their drive to expand and secure sources of raw materials, markets, fields of investments and all kinds of monopoly advantages.

Under the “neoliberal” slogan of “free market” globalization, the imperialist countries headed by the US have pressed the underdeveloped countries to denationalize their economies. The monopoly bourgeoisie have thus accelerated the concentration and centralization of capital in their hands through the extraction of superprofits and debt service, the liberalization of capital flows and trade, the privatization of state assets and social services, and deregulation to the detriment of the working people, women, children and the environment.

In order to press down wage levels within their national borders, the US and other imperialist countries have eroded workers’ rights and have deployed runaway shops abroad for the manufacture or semimanufacture of consumer goods and the outsourcing of labor-intensive services. They have tended to keep within their national borders the capital-intensive and highly profitable industries. But the accelerated exploitation of the working class and the oppressed peoples and nations has had the effect of stunting the growth of the global market and thus worsening the crisis of overproduction.

The real global economy has become depressed through several rounds of economic and financial crisis. This has been most flagrant for a long time in most countries of the world, and has especially become the general run of underdeveloped countries. But even the US, its imperialist allies and some third world countries like China would have long appeared as being in a state of depression if not for the massive use of local and foreign borrowing to evoke economic growth even if lopsided. The depression has been concealed by ever rising levels of global debt that cover budgetary and trade deficits to maintain the flow of trade and investments in favor of the imperialist countries and a few third world countries, and keep up abstract rates of growth above the real economy.

The US has been the most abusive in using local and foreign borrowing in order to cover budget and trade deficits, conjure the illusion of growth and maintain itself as the biggest market for consumer goods in the world. The US national debt has leaped from the 2001 level of US\$5.7 trillion to the current level of US\$9.1 trillion. The rapidly growing budget deficit has been brought about by huge tax cuts, military-industrial contracts and war expenditures in Iraq and Afghanistan.

The US trade deficit has reached the annual level of US\$800 billion. This has been aggravated by import accommodations to its industrial capitalist allies and by taking advantage of cheap labor in China, India and Southeast Asia. The US dollar is used wantonly to finance consumer imports, in effect making the US the world's biggest debtor. At their own level, American consumers have been pushed into heavy borrowing for consumption in the face of stagnation and the decline of US industry and employment.

At the time of the high-tech bubble from 1995 to 2000, American workers lost regular jobs but made up for this with part-time jobs in the economy's expanding service sector. Quite a number of them also borrowed money to engage in stock speculation and allowed investment firms to use workers' pension funds for the same purpose. After the bursting of the high-tech bubble in 2001 until 2005, the US monopoly bourgeoisie promoted the housing bubble by offering low-interest subprime mortgage rates with little or practically no collateral and misleading the mass of homeowners to borrow money for consumption spending against the inflated value of their mortgaged homes.

US banks have repackaged the mortgaged loans and sold them to foreign banks as components of so-called structured investment vehicles, thus globalizing the scale of potential financial crisis due to mortgage defaults.

The US consumer market is contracting due to the crisis of overproduction, the financial crisis generated by excessive US

national debt, the rapid decline of the US dollar, the mortgage meltdown and the rise of energy cost. It is expected to cause a starkly severe recession in the US and other imperialist countries next year. The contraction of the US consumer market is causing drastic reductions of orders from China, India, Southeast Asia and other countries producing low value-added semimanufactures for imperialist countries.

The underdeveloped countries are not at all benefited by the decreasing value of the US dollar because they have no substantial alternative source of foreign exchange income. Having been tied to the US dollar, their own currencies are even more vulnerable to depreciation. Their US dollar reserve holdings, if any, are in the first place mainly borrowings for the importation of consumer goods and for balancing current accounts. They are being eroded rapidly.

The attempt of the Bush regime to stimulate the US economy through increased military production and accelerated borrowing has been a big failure. Military production, characterized by high-cost high technology has limited capacity for generating jobs. At the same time, the American public can no longer accept the high cost of war production and the wars of aggression in terms of American lives and money in the quagmires of Iraq and Afghanistan. The war budget of the US in both countries has reached the level of more than US\$600 billion and the accumulated costs of war in Iraq alone have reached US\$1 trillion, if both the operational and related costs are included.

Further gargantuan US borrowing is knocking hard against the limits. The rising levels of the US national debt, debt service and budget and trade deficits have seriously undermined global confidence in the US dollar and is causing its depreciation. It is estimated that the US has to increase interest rates and draw down international credit by at least US\$2 trillion in order to stem the global loss of confidence in the US dollar.

Even as the American public is becoming increasingly averse to the wars of aggression in Iraq and Afghanistan, such giant corporations

as those in the military-industrial complex and in the oil business persist in pushing the US to remain at war and in maneuvering for the building of permanent US military bases in the Middle East and Central Asia.

US persistence in Iraq and Afghanistan and the waste of its human and material resources there have far-reaching adverse consequences to the US in its own homeland and abroad. These are exacerbating contradictions within US society and with its imperialist allies. The oppressed peoples and nations recognize the overextension and weaknesses of the US and are encouraged to fight for national and social liberation.

In the US and other imperialist countries, the monopoly bourgeoisie are using all kinds of strategic and tactical maneuvers to deflect attention from the root causes of exploitation and oppres-

sion and to push down the working class, immigrants, the youth and women. They play up and generate chauvinism, racism and fascism in order to divide the working class and to pit the people in the imperialist countries against those in other countries. They use the mass media and various forms of entertainment to conjure the illusion of democracy and deflect public attention from the most important social issues.

But the working class and the people in the imperialist countries are fighting back against the monopoly bourgeoisie. There have been widespread strikes by workers, protest rallies and marches by migrants and militant street actions by the youth in various imperialist countries. These are still sporadic, however, even as at certain times in certain countries outbursts of public outrage are robust and widespread. They manifest favorable conditions for the steady development of proletarian and other progressive forces. The imperialist powers are still able to shift the burden of the crisis mainly to the oppressed peoples and nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The imperialist powers are still united in exploiting and oppressing the proletariat and peoples of the world, especially the third world. They have an abundance of mechanisms to harmonize their interests against their common adversaries. Such mechanisms include the IMF, the World Bank, the WTO, the UN and its Security Council, regional and bilateral trade agreements, the NATO and other regional as well as bilateral military treaties and alliances.

The US has kept its position as the sole power due to its financial, technological and military power, which remains unsurpassed by any of its allies. Despite increasing weakness, the US dollar still maintains its position as the currency of the world. But there are now certain breaches in its dominance as some oil-producing countries and other big holders of US currency and debts have started to reduce their dollar transactions.

The contradictions among the imperialist powers are steadily building up. The increased number of imperialist powers and aspirants for imperialist status has made the world too small for their competition and rivalry. The US is taking advantage of its position as the sole superpower and has been most aggressive and provocative in pursuing its ultranational interests, increasingly at the expense of its own allies. At the same time, the US is exposing its own overextension and weaknesses, which embolden other imperialists to undertake initiatives at variance with those of the US.

Among its imperialist allies, the US is resented for its dominance over the world financial system, major sources of oil and other natural resources, fields of investments and markets. France, Germany, Russia and China have shown serious differences with the US in major issues and in positions regarding particular regions of the world. They have differences with the US over the US invasion and occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan and over the current US monopoly of the spoils of war.

The imperialist countries have differences over the issues of Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, Iran and other countries in the Middle East. Together with the border states in Central Asia, Russia and

China have formed the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) to counter US incursions in Central Asia. The imperialist powers have differing positions regarding various issues involving East Asia, South Asia, Africa and Latin America. The relative balance of power among the imperialists is increasingly showing strain and instability. While the US is preoccupied with Iraq, other imperialist powers are strengthening their economic and political positions elsewhere.

The main contradiction in the world is still that between the imperialist powers and the oppressed peoples and nations. This is most acutely manifested by the unbridled exploitation and oppression by the imperialists with the assistance of their dependent and puppet states and also manifested by the people's resistance through revolutionary armed struggle and other forms of struggle.

The wealthiest 20% of the world's population are in the imperialist countries, and the poorest 20% are in the third world countries. The income of the former was 30 times larger than that of the latter in 1960. Then it became 74 times larger in 1995. Today, the overwhelming majority of the people live on less than two dollars a day and are concentrated in the third world. In 1973, third world debt was only US\$130 billion. In 1982, it jumped to US\$612 billion. In 2006, it further leaped to US\$3.2 trillion. Imperialist plunder has caused the rapid impoverishment and indebtedness of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Revolutionary armed struggle, especially in the form of protracted people's war, is the most important weapon in achieving national liberation and democracy against imperialism. It responds to the central question of seizing political power and breaking away decisively from the clutches of imperialism and feudalism. There are peoples perse-

vering in armed revolution as in Colombia, the Philippines, India, Tamil Eelam and Turkey. In Nepal, the armed revolutionaries have declared the end of their people's war and wish to take power through a sequence of parliamentary struggle and popular insurrection. If frustrated, they are expected to resume people's war.

It is due to the demands of the people for national independence and democracy that certain governments act in an anti-imperialist way. The Iraqi government under Saddam Hussein tried to play off some imperialist powers against the US until the latter decided to unleash a war of aggression. The government of Venezuela under Hugo Chavez dares to challenge US imperialism in order to gain the support of the people and carry out reforms. The governments of China, Cuba and the People's Democratic Republic of Korea have consistently invoked national independence and the socialist aspirations of the people in order to contend with US imperialism.

The crisis conditions of the world capitalist system are favorable for waging revolution, especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America, where the main contradiction in the world are presently in sharpest focus. Armed revolution will become the main current of the world as a result of the intensification of the main contradiction in connection with the intensification of contradictions within imperialist countries and among imperialist powers. Crises do not automatically spell the advance or victory of revolution. They are objective conditions, which the subjective revolutionary forces and the people must exploit in order to strengthen themselves and defeat their enemy.

Rapidly rotting ruling system under the Arroyo regime

The semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system in the Philippines is in chronic crisis. It is rotten to the core and is always weak and unstable as it is afflicted by the three evil forces of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. It is thus vulnerable to the crisis of the world capitalist system.

Under the policy of "neoliberal" globalization, the ruling system has become far weaker than ever before politically and economically. It

is a big lie for the Arroyo regime to describe the puppet republic as being strong or the Philippine economy as ever growing toward “first world” status.

The puppet state is obliged to give up all pretenses to national industrialization and land reform. It is against using public resources and encouraging Filipino entrepreneurs to engage in national industrial development. It has reduced land reform to lopsided commercial transactions between landlords and tenants and outright commercial conversions of agricultural lands and crops. It has allowed the so-called stock distribution option to take the place of land reform. It has reclassified lands in order to exempt them from coverage by the so-called comprehensive agrarian reform program. More money has been spent on bureaucratic operations of the department of agrarian reform than on the transfer of land to landless tillers.

The puppet state has drastically removed national restrictions on foreign investments. These are mainly in the field of financial services, trade, tourism, export-oriented semimanufacturing, plantations and mining. It has brought down tariff walls and allowed multinational firms to dump their

agricultural and manufactured surpluses in the country. Agricultural production for local consumption has declined from an average of 1,509 kg/person/year in 1979-81 down to 1,100 kg/person/year in 2000-02, thus making the country a net food importer. Its dependence on food imports increased tenfold in annual import volumes from 1991-95 to 2001-03. Agricultural and mineral products are exported in greater volume but at prices lower than in the past because of the glut in the global market. Net export income from the reexport of semimanufactures from the reassembly and packaging industries is small because these contain mostly imported overpriced components.

The trade deficit is ever growing from year to year, averaging more than US\$8 billion annually from 2001 to 2006. The costs of consumption-driven imports are constantly rising. Export income

plus remittances of overseas contract workers cannot cover the costs of imports. The state always goes into huge budgetary deficits, which the Arroyo regime tries to reduce by increasing the tax burden on the people. Heavy spending for debt service and bureaucratic, military and other counterproductive activities is also rising above the ability of the state to collect tax revenues. The collection of customs duties has gone down due to trade liberalization and corruption. Internal revenue tax collection targets mainly the toiling masses and the fixed-income middle social strata. It is declining because of the depressed economy, with a high rate of real unemployment and underemployment.

But from year to year, the illusion of economic growth is conjured through local and foreign borrowing and also through the attraction of foreign portfolio investments in the stock and bond markets. The worsening global economic and financial crisis being generated by the rapidly growing US national debt, the US mortgage meltdown and runaway military expenditures are bound to put a squeeze on global credit for the Philippines and lessen orders for raw materials and its low value-added semimanufactures due to the growing recession and contraction of the US consumer market. The current level of foreign debt at more than US\$64 billion and that of the foreign trade deficit are expected to leap next year, spelling a serious financial crisis and a sharp decline in the value of the peso.

The socioeconomic crisis under the Arroyo regime is worsening rapidly. The rate of accumulated unemployment is growing. Incomes of the toiling masses of workers and peasants and even the middle social strata are being pressed down hard. Prices of basic goods and services are rising as a result of the rising costs of imported equipment, fuel and other inputs. The costs of basic services, such as education, health, electricity, water and transport are rising as the social infrastructure is breaking down and profit-taking runs rampant. The broad masses are reeling from the pressures of the crisis and the rising rates of exploitation. These are generating social unrest.

The broad masses of the people are enraged that foreign monopoly interests, highly placed bureaucrats and big compradors and landlords have accelerated the rate of exploitation and plunder of the country's natural resources. The net income of the top 1,000 corporations increased by 327% from 2001 to 2005, with their profits increasing by 20% annually.

The Filipino people are widely and deeply offended by the puppetry of the Arroyo regime to the US, Japan and other imperialist powers, by the unbridled corruption of the ruling Arroyo family and its cronies, by the regime's mendacious claim that the Philippines is ascending to "first world" status even as it is further deteriorating as a backward third world country, and by the brutal actions of the police and military to suppress workers' strikes, to drive away the peasants and national minorities from their homes and farms, to persecute and eliminate the legal patriotic and democratic movement, and to break up the protest actions of the working people and other social sectors.

Eighty percent of the people or around 65 million Filipinos live on the peso equivalent of less than two US dollars per day. The toiling masses of workers and peasants are living in grave conditions of poverty and misery. Eighty percent of the population share half of the national income, while only 20% enjoy the other half. The impoverished masses are most desirous of revolutionary change. The urban petty-bourgeoisie are also hardpressed by the social and economic conditions and are increasingly drawn to the revolutionary cause.

Overseas contract workers who now remit to the Philippines a total of US\$15 billion annually are responsible for the biggest chunk of foreign exchange income which the ruling system appropriates. But they deeply regret the fact that because of severe exploitation and the underdevelopment of their country, they are compelled to seek job opportunities abroad at low wage levels and without the rights enjoyed by workers of the host country. They resent the fact that they have to leave their families and that the reactionary

government exacts exorbitant fees from them and does not give them any protection and support abroad.

The socioeconomic crisis is fueling the political crisis of the ruling system. The space for mutual accommodation among competing reactionaries is shrinking, whipping up the Arroyo regime's penchant for monopolizing bureaucratic loot. The regime's unbridled corruption is easier exposed to the people. The progressive forces and the reactionary opposition forces are quick to denounce the regime. Even within the regime, a conflict of business and political interests is growing between the closest relatives and cronies of the fake president, on the one hand, and some of her allies within the ruling coalition of KAMPI, Lakas-NUCD and Nationalist People's Coalition, on the other.

The reactionary armed forces are more factionalized than ever before. Majority of the officers and enlisted personnel are contemptuous of the Arroyo regime and the pro-Arroyo officers at the top of the chain of command. Anti-Arroyo officers are confident that the majority of officers are ready to withdraw military support from the Arroyo regime and shift this to a council of civilian leaders as soon as a gigantic mass action arises against the regime.

Although praiseworthy for denouncing the crimes of the Arroyo regime, the Trillanes takeover of the Manila Peninsula Hotel last November 29 did not take into account the people's clamor for change under the principle of civilian supremacy, and the necessary sequence of mass mobilization and military withdrawal of support from the regime.

The Arroyo regime is prepared to go into a bloodbath in order to keep itself in power. It is therefore necessary for the broad range of opposition forces to engage in mass mobilizations that can discourage the use of armed force by the regime, as in the overthrow of Marcos and Estrada in 1986 and 2001. It is also necessary for the anti-Arroyo military and police officers to develop ways of paralyzing the pro-Arroyo chain of command and attracting the rank and file to their side. Among the problems faced by all anti-Arroyo

forces are the vacillations of the anti-Arroyo reactionary forces and the counter-intelligence network within the reactionary armed forces.

But if, despite the people's detestation, the Arroyo regime can manage to stay in power up to 2010 because the broad legal united front cannot yet oust it, the broad masses of the people will be repelled by the prospect of suffering under one reactionary regime after the other through elections and will increasingly rely on people's war to change the entire ruling system. The armed revolutionary movement can thus benefit from the failure of the broad legal united front to oust the Arroyo regime.

While various anti-Arroyo currents are developing for patriotic reasons within the reactionary armed forces, pro-Arroyo officers at various levels are feasting on opportunities to steal state funds, cheat the troops of their basic supplies and participate in, or connive with, criminal syndicates in illegal logging, smuggling, gambling, illegal drug trafficking, prostitution, murder-for-hire, robbery and kidnapping-for-ransom. As a whole and in essence, the reactionary armed forces are a mercenary and corrupt establishment that needs to be smashed by the armed revolution.

The Arroyo regime has unleashed Oplan Bantay Laya I from 2002 to the end of 2006 and Oplan Bantay Laya II since the onset of 2007, and has engaged in gross and systematic violations of human rights in order to comply with the US global war of terror and receive US military and economic assistance, to keep the loyalty of the officers and men of the military and police forces, to intimidate and suppress both the revolutionary forces and the legal opposition, and to ensure the regime's political survival.

Oplan Bantay Laya is twopronged. One prong consists of military campaigns of suppression by means of concentrating forces on a number of guerrilla fronts and engaging in barbarities to harm and thereby intimidate the people and drive them off the land to make way for plantations and mining companies. Another prong engages in extrajudicial killings, enforced disappearances and torture of unarmed legal activists, including leaders of workers, peasants, urban

poor, youth, women, journalists, religious, lawyers and human right advocates.

The Arroyo regime has become isolated in the Philippines and abroad because of the barbarities committed by the military and police forces against the people in their hundreds of thousands in the countryside and the extrajudicial killings and disappearances of more than a thousand unarmed progressive legal activists. And yet the regime perversely believes that it can break up the armed revolutionary movement by complementing bloody campaigns of military suppression with offers of so-called amnesty and rehabilitation funds. It is well-known to the people that officers of the reactionary armed forces fabricate lists of ghost surrenderees and pocket the money.

The socioeconomic and political crises and the extreme puppetry, corruption, mendacity and brutality of the Arroyo regime have only served to outrage the broad masses of the people and incite them to oppose the regime and engage in various forms of resistance. The crimes of the Arroyo regime have been exposed on a global scale and the most respected institutions, parties, mass organizations and personages have manifested their international solidarity with the Filipino people in their struggle for national independence, democracy, social justice and peace.

The Arroyo regime is extremely isolated. It is ripe for ouster by the broad masses of the people and a broad united front of anti-Arroyo forces. The patriotic and progressive forces of the toiling masses and the middle social strata are the most determined in ousting Arroyo, as they have borne the main brunt of economic hardships, extrajudicial killings, disappearances and torture in detention. But a great deal of vacillation is setting in among the anti-Arroyo reactionary parties, because some of their leaders have started to set their sights on the 2010 elections. Whether or not the legal mass movement succeeds in ousting the Arroyo regime, the legal democratic forces are gaining strength and experience in moving for the ouster of the regime.

The armed revolutionary movement of the Filipino people is gaining strength and advancing through tactical offensives and mass work. It stands to benefit from the continuing failure of the broad legal united front to oust the Arroyo regime because of the conspicuous vacillations of the anti-Arroyo reactionary forces. It becomes increasingly recognized as the principal way of changing the entire ruling system. At the same time, it continues to inspire the progressive forces of the legal democratic movement to persevere in struggle. It encourages mass activists to join the people's war. Most importantly, it accumulates the armed strength necessary for ultimately overthrowing the entire ruling system.

The Bangsamoro are persevering in the struggle for self-determination against the Manila government. There are recurrent reports that this government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) are about to enter into a "final peace" agreement. But MILF leaders are always quick to announce that they remain vigilant to the treachery and tricks of the Manila government. They have made clear that they would not follow the path of capitulation taken by some key leaders of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF).

Our Party remains firm in recognizing and supporting the Moro people's right to national self-determination and full control over their ancestral domain. We maintain our alliance with the revolutionary forces of the Moro people and urge the Moro people to be vigilant against maneuvers of the US and other imperialist powers to establish political, economic and military footholds in Mindanao in collusion with the oppressive Manila government.

Prospects are presently dim for the resumption of formal talks between the Manila government and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP). The main reason is that the Arroyo regime has been responsible for the 12 impediments listed by the NDFP and has shown no inclination to get rid of these impediments.

The regime has been repeating the line that the NDFP must first capitulate under the guise of indefinite ceasefire, which sets aside

the people's demand for social, economic and political reforms, and gives full play to "localized peace talks" aimed at fragmenting the revolutionary movement and to the sham offer of amnesty and rehabilitation money aimed at bribing surrenderees and eventually murdering them.

The Arroyo regime expects to destroy or drastically weaken the armed revolutionary movement in the remaining years up to 2010. On the contrary, the armed revolutionary movement will gain in strength and will be in a position to deliver more deadly blows to the lameduck regime amidst the far worsened crisis of the ruling system.

The Filipino people have all the reason to carry out the new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war. They are being subjected to intensified oppression and exploitation. They are obliged to fight for their national and democratic rights and interests. And they can avail themselves of the crisis conditions of the ruling system for building their revolutionary strength and advancing from one stage of the revolutionary struggle to another.

Steady rise of the revolutionary forces and mass movement

Imperialists and Filipino reactionaries keep on wishing for the disintegration of the Communist Party of the Philippines consequent to the full and open restoration of capitalism by the revisionist-ruled regimes. They are oblivious of the fact that the Party was reestablished in 1968, precisely to uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, repudiate modern revisionism then being promoted by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and root out subjectivism and opportunism in the history of the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands (1930) and the merger party of the Communist and Socialist Parties (1938).

We have gained revolutionary strength and rich experience in life-and-death struggles against the fourteen-year Marcos fascist dictatorship, and against the succeeding regimes that have pretended to be democratic and yet have been so brutal in trying to suppress the people's democratic revolution. The Arroyo regime is definitely chasing a pipe dream when it threatens to destroy or strategically weaken the Party and the revolutionary movement before 2010. The Party is taking advantage of the ever worsening crisis of the ruling system, the all-round bankruptcy of the Arroyo regime, and the accumulated revolutionary strength and experience of the people and all revolutionary forces.

The Party adheres to the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist line in philosophy, political economy, social science, strategy and tactics of waging the national democratic revolution, building socialism and continuing the revolution under proletarian dictatorship. The line allows us to understand the laws of motion in nature and society and the past, present and future stages of social development.

All Party members are required to have education in the basic principles of Marxism-LeninismMaoism and their concrete application in the history and current circumstances of the Philippines and the Filipino people. There are three levels of Party education available to all Party members. These are the basic, intermediate and advanced courses.

Every Party member is required to undergo the basic course of Party education. This involves the study of Philippine history, the basic problems of the Filipino people and the people's democratic revolution, as well as the basic principles of material and historical materialism, the political economy of capitalism and socialism, and revolutionary strategy and tactics. The basic Party course provides every Party member the foundation for staying firm on the revolutionary path and for developing consciousness and the ability to wage revolution.

The intermediate course involves the analysis of general and specific experiences in the Philippine revolution in comparison with

revolutionary experiences abroad, in the light of the teachings of Comrade Mao Zedong. Party members are encouraged to analyze and sum up the experience of their units and organs, identify major errors and weaknesses in certain periods and propose corrective measures.

The advanced course involves reading and study of the texts of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao on dialectical and historical materialism, the political economy of capitalism and imperialism, socialist revolution and construction, the history of the international communist movement, strategy and tactics and the theory of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship.

At every level of theoretical and political education, Party cadres and members learn how to integrate the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism with concrete conditions. They sharpen their understanding and application of materialist dialectics in developing their proletarian revolutionary standpoint, viewpoint and method. This is the essence of the Party's ideological building.

What makes Party cadres and members firm in revolutionary principles, flexible in policy and effective in practice is the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and its conscious application in the concrete conditions of the Philippine revolution. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism does not fly over reality but penetrates it and unfolds its laws of motion through the application of materialist dialectics.

The Party is indestructible and is ever-growing because an everincreasing number of Party members are recruited and undergo a system of theoretical and political education. Those who acquire this education are equipped with scientific knowledge and analytical ability to buttress their moral conviction for the just cause of social revolution.

Party cadres and members have benefited comprehensively and profoundly from the First and Second Great Rectification Movements. They have a full understanding of how the modern

revisionists betrayed socialism, and how the imperialists used pettybourgeois ideological currents to launch an anticommunist ideological offensive and mislead the toiling masses of the people about the nature and consequences of monopoly capitalism. They have rooted out the view of subjectivists that the Philippines has ceased to be semicolonial and semifeudal.

The Party is not simply driven by any abstract a priori knowledge or by an imagined future of socialism or communism. It considers, analyzes and acts on the concrete semicolonial and semifeudal conditions which oppress and exploit the people. On this basis, it has adopted the general political line of people's democratic revolution led by the working class in order to fight and defeat imperialist and feudal domination. It does not skip any stage in the Philippine revolution. It seeks to win the stage of new democratic revolution through protracted people's war before it can reach the stage of socialist revolution.

In building the Party politically, cadres and members pursue conscientiously the general line of people's democratic revolution, and in this regard wield the revolutionary armed struggle and the united front as two powerful weapons for arousing, organizing and mobilizing the broad masses of the people against the imperialists and the local exploiting classes of compradors and landlords.

Both in the legal democratic movement and the armed mass movement, the Party now leads millions of people and operates in all the regions of the country, in more than 70 provinces out of the 81 provinces and more than 800 cities and municipalities. The New People's Army operates in 120 to 130 guerrilla fronts under the absolute leadership of the Party. Fluctuations in the number of guerrilla fronts are either due to consolidation or reorganization undertaken by the Party and the people's army or due to temporary adjustments in the face of concentrated attacks by enemy forces.

The reactionary armed forces can concentrate on no more than 10% of guerrilla fronts and no more than 300 to 600 of the more than 18,000 villages in the guerrilla fronts at any time. They are

dumbfounded by the flexible tactics of concentration, dispersal and shifting used by the NPA. They have become fatigued by their own Oplan Bantay Laya which has run from 2002 to the present, and have become demoralized.

The Party follows the strategic line of people's war by encircling the cities from the countryside over a protracted period of time to accumulate armed strength through tactical offensives within the stages of strategic defense and strategic stalemate, until it becomes possible to seize the cities in a nationwide strategic offensive. Through people's war, the Party develops the basic alliance of the working class and the peasantry.

The Party integrates revolutionary armed struggle, agrarian revolution and base building. The NPA launches tactical offensives within the strategic defensive in order to annihilate enemy units and seize their weapons. Thus, it can grow from small to big and from weak to strong. It undertakes the minimum program of land reform and incrementally proceeds to the maximum program of distributing land to the tillers in order to carry out the agrarian revolution. Thus, the peasant masses join the armed revolution.

The Party engages in base building by forming mass organizations and organs of political power as well as a system of defense which includes full-time units of the NPA, militia units and self-defense units. Thus, backward rural villages can be turned into political, economic, military and cultural bastions of the revolution and can develop from guerrilla fronts into stable base areas.

A guerrilla front consists of guerrilla bases and several guerrilla zones. The headquarters guerrilla platoon in relative concentration secures the guerrilla base. Two other platoons secure the guerrilla zones. They are dispersed on a wider scale than the headquarters platoon which serves as the center of gravity for the entire guerrilla front. They may be subdivided into squads and teams for wider dispersal. A typical guerrilla front has a total force of a company.

A guerrilla front has the capacity to launch tactical offensives by

teams, squads and a platoon. The NPA provincial and regional operational commands are wielding the initiative and developing their capabilities to assemble oversized platoons and companies for the purpose of launching tactical offensives and other concentrated operations. The increasing victories of NPA platoons, oversized platoons and companies are preparing the emergence of stable base areas, the completion of the strategic defensive and the advance to the strategic stalemate.

The minimum program of land reform consists of reducing land rent, reducing interest rates, improving farm-gate prices and increasing agricultural and other forms of production through independent households and rudimentary forms of cooperation. It persists due to the limited strength of the guerrilla front, especially where a concentration of enemy military power is close.

But the consolidation and expansion of guerrilla fronts or the merger of guerrilla fronts into stable base areas increases the possibility for the revolutionary forces to carry out the maximum land reform program of confiscating land from the landlords and distributing this free to landless tillers. The NPA and the peasant masses have increased their capacity to dismantle large landholdings, plantations and ranches and allow equitable distribution of land to the tillers.

Base building involves the establishment of Red political power by building mass organizations and organs of political power and building armed strength. This can be done when the revolutionary forces are able to completely dismantle the enemy organs of political power, drive away big exploiters and counterrevolutionaries and destroy encroaching enemy forces. However, when the enemy forces have overwhelmingly superior strength, the NPA forces adopt the tactics of evasion and observation to discover enemy weak points, with the objective of attacking the weak points of the enemy force.

The Party avails of the policy and tactics of the united front in order to enhance the strength of the revolutionary forces as well as to amplify and augment this further by broadening the united front.

The united front structure of the revolutionary forces involves the basic revolutionary alliance of workers and peasants, the progressive alliance of the toiling masses and the urban petty-bourgeoisie, and the patriotic alliance of progressive forces and the middle bourgeoisie.

The broad united front includes the temporary alliance with unstable and unreliable allies, usually from sections of the exploiting classes against the worst reactionary force that is most servile to the imperialists. The Party can engage in a broad united front with certain reactionary forces in order to isolate to the utmost and destroy the worst reactionary force in the shortest possible time. The Party and the revolutionary movement have benefited most from the broad united front by having in the first place a strong and effective united front of the revolutionary forces.

In the united front with reactionary forces, the Party is vigilant against any tendency of Right opportunism and against acts of betrayal by any reactionary ally. The Party also guards against the danger of “Left” opportunism through a refusal to enter into any temporary alliance with unstable and unreliable allies who can facilitate greater access to the broad masses of the people and to certain resources and facilities that are otherwise not available.

The united front is an important and indispensable weapon for drawing in more people to the legal mass movement and to the revolutionary armed struggle. The legal united front can become so effective that the progressive forces can enlarge their legal parties and mass organizations, gain great political influence within the reactionary ruling system, win elections and participate in the peaceful removal of the worst reactionaries from power. Such is the success of the broad legal united front that some people are led to erroneously think that it is the way for the toiling masses to gain power. What is most important for the Party is to develop the united front for armed struggle and not exclusively for legal struggle.

The revolutionary united front policy and tactics directly and indirectly serve the armed revolution. It is easy to understand how

the revolutionary forces work to develop the united front for armed struggle. This is bound by the general line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war. It needs to be explained that even the reactionaries help build the united front for armed struggle when they comply with the laws of the people's government, pay due revolutionary taxes, contribute resources including arms, cooperate with the armed revolutionary movement, and support socioeconomic projects and struggles for rights and reforms that benefit the people.

By way of promoting the legal united front, the Party does not object to, and in fact, even encourages, the patriotic and progressive forces to undertake legal activities, including timely protest mass actions and electoral struggle. The Party itself has agreed to peace negotiations between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP).

These negotiations amount to seeking alliance and truce for the purpose of giving course to social, economic and political reforms. Through these negotiations, the Party can discover whether the ruling reactionaries or the reactionaries in the opposition are the better allies for effecting some needed basic reforms that encourage the mass movement for national and social liberation.

The principled position and conduct of the NDFP in the peace negotiations have served to propagate the program of the people's democratic revolution and raise the national and international standing and prestige of the revolutionary forces. Related to or independent of the peace negotiations, the NDFP has also done effective proto-diplomatic and diplomatic work, as well as international solidarity work at the non-governmental level in order to gather moral and political support for the Philippine revolution as well as to contribute to the development of the international movement against imperialism and all reaction.

The Party has done its utmost to develop relations with Marxist-Leninist, Maoist and workers' parties in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and with people's parties, national liberation movements and mass organizations in the spirit of anti-imperialist solidarity, and in accordance with its international united front policy.

Fighting tasks for all-round advance

We, the cadres and members, must do our best to carry out the fighting tasks of our beloved Party and make significant allround advances in the Philippine revolution in the coming year. We must ensure that the Party gains greater strength and reaps more victories as the advanced detachment of the proletariat leading the Philippine revolution and serving the Filipino people. Thus, we shall be able to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the Party with utmost joy and with greater determination to advance further.

Ideologically, we must continue to build the Party under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. We must apply this in studying the international and domestic conditions, in summing up and analyzing our revolutionary experience, reviewing our work and engaging in criticism and self-criticism and setting forth the tasks in order to advance further.

We must be on guard against subjectivism, revisionism and opportunism and against all the petty-bourgeois anti-communist currents promoted by the imperialists and local reactionaries to lead the revolutionaries astray. We must raise the level of our theoretical and political education in the course of study and work meetings of units and organs as well as in the formal courses of Party education.

Politically, we must build the Party by realizing its leading role in the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war. We

must adhere to the general political line and oppose Right and “Left” opportunism. In this regard, we the cadres and members, must carry out well our tasks in our respective units and organs and in the specific field of work to which we are assigned.

We must be able to develop the armed struggle and the united front as weapons for defeating the enemy and advancing the revolution. From our political work, we must be able to recruit into the

Party ever larger numbers of candidate-members from the ranks of activists in mass organizations of the toiling masses and the urban petty-bourgeoisie.

Organizationally, we must build the Party under the principle of democratic centralism and oppose bureaucratism and ultra-democracy. Our Party is under centralized leadership, which at the same time is based on democracy. We must ensure the leadership of cadres, at various levels up to the Central Committee, who are deeply dedicated to the revolutionary cause of the people, who are competent ideologically, politically and organizationally and who know how to draw facts and correct ideas from the organizations that they lead.

We must draw an ever increasing number of members from the revolutionary mass movement. We must recruit a large number of workers, peasants and educated youth from the mass organizations and from the people’s army. The more Party members we have, the wider and stronger the base of our Party is and the more capable we are of performing the various tasks in the revolution. We need tens of thousands of Party cadres and hundreds of thousands of Party members to win complete victory in the people’s democratic revolution and commence the socialist revolution.

In carrying out the revolutionary armed struggle, we must accelerate the tactical offensives against the enemy in order to seize more weapons for building more units of the people’s army and for strengthening the various levels of command from the guerrilla front to the provincial and regional commands and, further on, to the

national operational command. We must be able to annihilate more units of the enemy forces in order to gain strength and experience for destroying even more of them until we can seize nationwide political power.

In combat, we use our firepower to annihilate the targeted enemy unit. But when the enemy troops lose their capability to fight or they voluntarily surrender, they must be treated leniently and the wounded must be provided with medical care in accordance with the NPA's Rules of Discipline, the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL) and the Geneva Conventions. We fight the enemy forces and spies in order to uphold, protect and promote the rights and interests of the people. We must always take care that civilians and noncombatants are not harmed.

It is by implication a recognition of our status of belligerency under the Geneva Conventions that international agencies and other entities and even the enemy forces expect us to respect human rights and humanitarian conduct under international law and develop the legal and justice system of the people's democratic government. We must adhere to the right of any accused to due process in dealing with criminal suspects in connection with their arrest, pre-trial investigation and trial, with due care for the security of revolutionary personnel. At the end of the trial, there must be a case summary and decision. In cases where the criminal or suspects are armed and dangerous, we must explain to the public through a formal complaint why they are likely to be given battle by the arresting unit of the people's army or militia if they do not surrender themselves to any authority of the people's democratic government.

We must carry out land reform as the main component of the democratic revolution. We must be able to advance from the minimum land reform program to the maximum and thereby carry out agrarian revolution in as many areas as conditions permit. We must arrest, investigate, try and punish the feudal tyrants and their running dogs that have violated the laws of the people's democratic

government. We must defeat the feudal exploiters who oppose the land reform policy of the Party and the revolutionary mass movement.

We must increase the number of guerrilla fronts where possible in order to counter attempts by enemy forces to concentrate on and destroy some guerrilla fronts at every given time. Guerrilla fronts and subsequently, stable base areas must emerge on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base, the growth of the people's army, the militia and self-defense units, and the training of cadres and mass activists in the various aspects of social life.

Due to "Left" opportunist errors in the past, including military adventurism and putschism, we have had to emphasize such crucial aspects of mass base building as painstaking mass work and the setting up of mass organizations and organs of political power. But having already formed these, we must hasten to build further the units of the people's army, the militia and self-defense units in order to develop more armed strength and stability in the guerrilla bases or in stable base areas.

We must use our armed strength to destroy the political power of the enemy and drive away the oppressors. We must dismantle the intolerable economic power that these oppressors have in the form of big landholdings, plantations, mines, logging and other enterprises, unless the management of these firms comply with the policies and laws of the people's government regarding fair wages for workers and revolutionary taxation. Through the organs of political power and mass organizations, the Party must lead all aspects of social life and transform backward villages into political, economic, military and cultural bastions of the revolution.

We must develop the revolutionary united front on a national scale. Within the national united front, we must build the antifeudal united front. The Party and the proletariat must unite with and rely mainly on the poor peasants and farm workers, win over the middle peasants, neutralize the rich peasants and take advantage of splits among the landlords in order to isolate and destroy the power of the feudal despots and their running dogs.

We must always ensure that the basic worker-peasant alliance, the alliance of progressive forces and the alliance of patriotic forces are strong. Thus we can have a strong basis for broadening the united front as to include temporary, unstable and unreliable allies from the reactionary classes in order to isolate to the utmost and destroy the power of the worst reactionary clique, which is now that of Arroyo.

We must do our best to effect the ouster of the Arroyo regime through the broad united front. But if the Arroyo regime cannot be ousted because the anti-Arroyo forces in the military could not paralyze or overpower the pro-Arroyo chain of command, the effort of the broad united front to isolate and weaken the Arroyo regime would still be useful in helping to create conditions favorable to the tactical offensives that the NPA can freely undertake in the countryside. If the anti-Arroyo military officers press hard against the regime and the latter is compelled to deploy more troops in the national capital region and other urban areas, the people's army will face less obstacles in launching tactical offensives in the countryside.

The Party must carry out effective international work in support of the Filipino people in their struggle for national liberation and democracy. We must improve our work among Filipino overseas contract workers, immigrants and second or late generations of Filipinos abroad. We must develop their interest in the intensification of people's struggles against the escalation of exploitation and oppression by the imperialists and the Filipino reactionaries.

We must develop the closest of relations with Maoist parties and cultivate relations with other foreign communist and workers' parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism or anti-imperialist solidarity. We must encourage relations of patriotic and progressive Filipino organizations and institutions with their counterparts abroad. We must always be active in promoting the international united front against imperialism and all reaction and in strengthening organizations and movements on various concerns in the struggle of the world's peoples for greater freedom, democracy, social justice, development and world peace.

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We must avail of the peace negotiations with the GRP not only as a way of seeking just peace through social, economic and political reforms but also as a way of informing the peoples of the world about the conditions and the just demands of the Filipino people, thereby gaining worldwide support for the Philippine revolution. Thus, the peace negotiations serve a good purpose whatever their current status or final outcome.

We must continue through the NDFP to seek recognition for the status of belligerency of the people's democratic government and revolutionary forces of the people. We must develop proto-diplomatic and diplomatic relations in the long preparation for the victory of the people's democratic revolution and the establishment of the People's Democratic Republic of the Philippines.

Message of the Central Committee of the Communist Party
of the Philippines

Strengthen the Party and intensify the people's struggle in celebrating the 40th founding anniversary

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2008

With utmost joy, we celebrate today the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) as the advanced detachment of the Philippine working class under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Forty years ago today, we reestablished on a new foundation what originally was the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands (CPPI).

On this happy occasion, we in the Central Committee of the CPP salute all comrades in all Party organs, units and spheres of work, all Red commanders and fighters of the New People's Army, all allied forces in the National Democratic Front of the Philippines, all leaders and functionaries of the local organs of the people's democratic government, all activists in the mass movement and the broad masses of the Filipino people.

We congratulate all Party cadres and members for all the accumulated and recent victories in ideological, political and organizational work and all revolutionary forces and people for the

great victories in pursuing the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war and united front work against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The revolutionary cause of the people cannot advanced without the principled commitment, militancy and perseverance of the entire Party in revolutionary struggle. We have won our victories through hard work, arduous struggle and sacrifices. We must render the highest tribute to our revolutionary martyrs and heroes, including those who have died in the battlefield and those who have devoted their lives to various types of revolutionary work beyond the battlefield.

From year to year, the US-Arroyo regime has ranted that it would completely destroy, strategically defeat or debilitate the armed revolutionary movement of the oppressed and exploited people. It has in fact unleashed the most barbaric attacks against the millions of people in the guerrilla fronts and against unarmed persons, including leaders and members of legal mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth and women, teachers, church people, lawyers, journalists, judges and all other personalities, who criticize and oppose its rotten policies and criminal acts.

At this time, we can proclaim the utter failure of the so-called Enhanced National Internal Security Plan and Oplan Bantay Laya I and II. These have only served to incite the people to intensify the armed revolution and other forms of struggle. The people and revolutionary forces have gained strength in the course of militant struggle. They must not slacken but must intensify all forms of struggle.

Let us celebrate our Party's 40th founding anniversary throughout 2009 by undertaking educational, organizational, political, cultural and other activities to advance and bring the revolution to a new and higher level. Let us strive to bring about a great leap forward in all forms of our revolutionary struggle.

We must carry out vigorously the education and training of our

Party cadres and members in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and in the new democratic revolution. Our Party must lead the broad masses of the people by arousing, organizing and mobilizing them

We must wield firmly and effectively the weapons of armed struggle and united front. We must further strengthen the Party organization by accelerating the recruitment of Party candidate-members from the revolutionary mass movement and the building of Party branches in communities, factories, farms, schools and other institutions.

The armed struggle must be intensified in conjunction with land reform, the dismantling of big landholding and landgrabbing enterprises, and the widening and deepening of the mass base. The local organs of political power and the mass organizations must be further strengthened. Mass campaigns must be carried out to raise the level of the people's consciousness on major issues, raise production, promote health work, step up the training of militia and self-defense units and carry out cultural activities on a wide scale. The guerrilla fronts must be developed in the direction of creating relatively stable base areas. The various forms of alliance must be built within the framework of the antiimperialist and antifeudal united front.

Conditions for advancing the Philippine revolution are excellent. The No.1 imperialist power oppressing and exploiting the Filipino people and the peoples of the world is in the throes of a historically unprecedented economic and financial crisis that is worse than the Great Depression of 1929 and is incurring serious losses in its two current wars of aggression in Iraq and Afghanistan. Contradictions are sharpening between the imperialist powers and the oppressed peoples and nations, among the imperialist powers and between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the working class in the imperialist countries.

The chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system in the Philippines is rapidly worsening and is making the big compradors, landlords and their political agents more than ever

incapable of ruling in the old way. The broad masses of the people are intensely desirous of revolutionary change and they trust the Communist Party of the Philippines as the leading force of the revolution. This is the Party that has steadfastly fought the domestic ruling system, the imperialist system of plunder and war and has upheld the aspirations of the Filipino people for national liberation and democracy and for a socialist and communist future.

Unprecedented economic and financial crisis

For more than two years, we had observed the impending total unravelling and complete discredit of the “free market” pretense of monopoly capitalism and the full bankruptcy of the policy of “neoliberal globalization.” But the leaders of the US and other imperialist countries and the puppet states were always lying and boasting about the so-called strong fundamentals of their economies. Only recently have they been compelled by the circumstances to admit that the US and global capitalist system are beset by the worst economic and financial crisis since the Great Depression.

Soon after the bursting of the hightech bubble in the stock market in 2000, which had hit hard the pension funds and savings of at least 40% of American households, US authorities and financial institutions devised the housing bubble in order to hook American households into taking mortgages at low interest rates and into believing that the rising value of houses would enable them to borrow further and consume imports as much as they wanted even if they did not have enough income or employment. The increased hightech military production under the Bush regime could not make up for the longrunning industrial decline, service orientation and financialization of the US economy.

The housing bubble started to burst in 2006. A growing number of

US households could not pay the amortization of their mortgages as interest rates were raised to counter inflation. From month to month the epidemic of foreclosures spread. This exposed the unbridled leveraging by and resultant huge losses and bankruptcies of the biggest financial institutions. Those involved in the financial catastrophe include the investment banks (Bear Stearns, Lehman Brothers, Morgan Stanley, Merrill Lynch and Goldman Sachs), commercial banks (City Group, J. P. Morgan, Wells Fargo and Wachovia), the giant insurance corporation (the American International Group) and the federal government sponsored enterprises (Federal National Mortgage Association or Fannie Mae and the Federal Housing Finance Agency or Freddie Mac).

The mortgage meltdown has exposed US financial institutions as having exported to Europe and other continents toxic financial products, involving the securitization of the bad mortgages, labeled with such exotic names as mortgaged-backed securities, collateralized debt obligations, structured investment vehicles, credit default swaps and so on. These have generated a chain of financial collapses, including the credit crunch in interbank lending and in the money market and the stock market crash, not only in the US but also on a global scale. The US and other imperialist states have given priority to bailing out the banks and other financial institutions with public money rather than the people victimized by the depredations of monopoly finance capitalism.

The mortgage meltdown has certainly ignited the current financial crisis. But the fundamental cause of this crisis goes much deeper. It involves the ever persistent drive of the monopoly bourgeoisie to extract surplus value from the working class, to maximize superprofits even further by pushing down wage levels and thus to unwittingly contract the market by reducing the income of the working class and effective demand for products. Thus, the crisis of overproduction and the cycle of boom and bust. These have been further aggravated and deepened by the US' drive to seek and exploit cheaper labor abroad as well as to provide investment and market accommodation to its main allies.

The US adopted the policy of “neoliberal globalization” to overcome the phenomenon of stagflation in the 1970s which it blamed on rising wage levels and government social spending but not on economic concessions it had to give to its anticommunist allies, military competition with the USSR in the Cold War and big government spending for military production, the overseas deployment of US military forces and the costly wars of aggression in Korea and Indochina. In accordance with its line of “neoliberal globalization,” the US has pushed down domestic wage levels, caused industrial decline, favored the military-industrial complex and oil giants and promoted the so-called post-industrial service economy as well as the financialization of the economy.

The falling real incomes of the American people relative to GDP has led to the recurrence of increasingly severe crises of overproduction in the form of recessions from decade to decade since the 1980s. But the US has always resorted to debt financing in order to override recessions and the persistent trade and budgetary deficits. All three sectors of the US economy have gone into extreme and unsustainable borrowings: the government, the private corporations and the households. These have gone too far beyond the limits and have caused the current gravity of the US and global financial and economic crisis.

The US has incurred the understated total debt of US\$53 trillion, which is 350% of the US GDP of US\$14.6 trillion. This is a far cry from the Great Depression when such debt was only 250% of the US GDP. The US total debt consists of the national government debt of US\$10.6 trillion, corporate debt (non-financial and financial) of US\$23 trillion and household debt of US\$14 trillion.

The US national debt was less than US\$1 trillion at the end of the Carter administration in 1982. It went up to US\$3.6 trillion by the end of the Reagan administration. This turned the US from No.1 creditor to No.1 debtor of the world. Reagan had engaged in highspeed, hightech military production, incurred large trade deficits in order to accommodate the exports of its anticommunist allies; and

attracted foreign investments in US stocks and bonds. Clinton promoted “neoliberal globalization” and kept on increasing the trade deficit even as he balanced the budget. At the end of the Clinton term, the US national debt was US\$5.7 trillion. The Bush regime bloated this even further at a much faster rate. The national debt now stands at US\$10.6 trillion. A great part of this debt (estimated at US\$2.5 trillion) is owed to China, Japan, the United Kingdom, Germany, Saudi Arabia, the Caribbean banking center, and so on.

The US corporate debt of US\$23 trillion is understated. The nonfinancial corporations take loans from the banks as well as issue bonds. The biggest US corporations like General Motors and General Electric are far more involved in finance than in production. It is easily conceivable that the financial corporations are far more indebted than the nonfinancial. Banks can generate credit nine to ten times that of bank deposits and, as a result of the Financial Services Modernization Act of 1999, investment banks have been allowed to generate credit 12 to 30 or even more times the placements of investors. Under the Commodity Futures Modernization Act of 1999, various types of financial institutions can generate derivatives without any restraint.

The US household debt is in the form of housing mortgages, auto loans, credit cards and student loans. It has been bloated mainly by the housing bubble. The general run of American households have negative savings; aggregate household debt in relation to aggregate household income has risen to 138%, with a 40-year record increase of 37%. Millions have lost their homes. The unemployment rate is higher than the official one of 6.7%, which excludes those who have stopped applying for jobs and those supposedly unqualified for available jobs. More than half a million are now losing jobs every month. The drastic fall of employment and income in US households spells further loss of effective demand for the products of both US and foreign productive enterprises.

It took decades for the current financial and economic crisis to grow before bursting. This will not be solved in the short term of one to

two years. The solutions made so far, like the bailout for collapsing financial institutions, aggravate the problem. Government dispensing of public money for this sort of bailout is a case of further robbing those who have been robbed to bail out the thieves. It is also a case of throwing good money after bad. It does not at all revive production, employment and effective demand. Even the credit crunch among the banks has not eased because producer firms would not borrow money for production if they cannot sell their products. Bailout money is simply being used by the strongest finance monopoly groups to consolidate and enlarge their monopoly positions. Worst of all, the national debt bubble is growing and is about to burst. The market for treasury and corporate bonds is expected to collapse next year.

Obama's plan of creating 2.5 million jobs through infrastructure projects and expansion of social services will not offset even only the low estimate of four million job losses from further financial collapses, bankruptcies, plant closures and mass layoffs. The public funds available for Keynesian pump-priming are limited by further demands of the financial institutions and giant non-financial corporations such as the Big Three automakers (General Motors, Ford and Chrysler), by the continuing wars of aggression in Iraq and Afghanistan, by the drastic reduction of tax collection and by the continuing need to import goods from abroad.

A prolonged recession or depression in the US similar to that in Japan is in the horizon. After the spike in food and oil prices, which delivered superprofits to the giant oil and food corporations, a deflationary trend has emerged and has prompted the US Federal Bank to cut down the basic interest rate to nearly zero. However, the beneficiaries are not the millions of American workers who have lost their jobs, homes, savings and pension funds, but the stronger financial institutions, which are gobbling up the weaker ones. A longrunning global depression is already being aggravated and deepened by the international credit squeeze and by reduced demand from the American consumer market.

Within the last quarter of this year, millions of workers have been laid off at an unprecedented rate in the imperialist countries and even more so in the neocolonies. The number of people who live on less than US\$1 to US\$2 a day is rapidly rising. A billion people go hungry daily. Two billion people have no access to clean water. The current turmoil guarantees even more rapid increase in misery in the years to come. Millions of low-wage workers in export-processing zones of monopoly capitalist firms in the neocolonies are particularly vulnerable to the reduced orders for consumer goods and semimanufactures in the industrial countries. Millions of peasants, farm workers and workers in the extractive industries are bound to suffer even graver destitution as demand for raw materials decline. Migrant workers, especially undocumented laborers will become ever more vulnerable, targeted as they are as scapegoats for rising unemployment in capitalist countries and sent back to their countries of origin.

Beneath their rhetorical concern over climate change and the environment, the imperialist countries continue to intensify plunder of natural resources in the neocolonies. They continue to emit virtually all the greenhouse gasses that is causing global warming and is already leading to declining crop yields, increasing food and water insecurity, diseases and deaths in the exploited and oppressed countries.

Under the auspices of “neoliberal globalization,” the US has been vaunted as the engine of growth and market of last resort for the global economy in the last three decades. But now, it has clearly become the center of the global financial and economic crisis and is thus clearly recognized as the generator of the destruction of productive forces and of socioeconomic and political turmoil. As a result of the current severe crisis, the position of the US as the No. 1 imperialist power is deeply undermined, especially in economic and political terms, even if it remains the strongest in military terms. The current crisis is causing an over-all weakening of the US and it is loosening its control over its imperialist allies. The latter are scrambling to protect their national and ultranational interests and

are demanding a multipolar world and moving away from a unipolar world of unquestioned US dominance.

The US is being undermined not only by the financial and economic crisis but also by its own wars of aggression in Iraq and Afghanistan and the global deployment of its military forces. Iraq will remain a quagmire for the US and its puppets for as long as the US maintains military bases and troops and has a stranglehold over the Iraqi economy and oil resources. The Iraqi people will not give up their resistance. If the US under Obama brings more of its military forces to Afghanistan, it will ultimately suffer the same fate as the Soviet forces of aggression in the past. Afghanistan can become a more sucking quagmire for both the US and NATO.

Competition is growing among the imperialist powers for oil and other natural resources, markets, fields of investment and spheres of influence. Imperialist powers other than the US increasingly protect their national interest as they adopt fiscal and monetary measures independently of the US in order to cope with the financial and economic crisis and as they avoid or restrain themselves from being dragged by the US into wars of aggression. There are definite signs that certain imperialist powers are contradicting the position of the US on economic, financial, political and security issues.

As objects of imperialist interest and as active aspirants for a bigger say in global affairs, certain large but less developed countries like China and India have an impact on the changing balance of forces among the imperialist powers. China has become the biggest foreign creditor of the US even as it remains poor and dependent on the US as market for its cheap consumer manufactures and is vulnerable to the looming collapse of the bond market and the fall of the US dollar. However, it competes with the US for sources of oil and other natural resources and independently seeks markets and fields of investments in various parts of the world. Russia is using its oil and gas resources and its continuing military capabilities to keep itself a major imperialist power.

Complaints are growing against US dominance in the UN, IMF,

World Bank, WTO and other global institutions. On the western front, France has joined Russia in demanding the formation of a new European security alliance to replace NATO and in opposing the missile shield put up by the US in Poland and Czechoslovakia. On the eastern front, China and Russia are spearheading the Shanghai Cooperation Organization as a security alliance which includes the former Soviet republics in Central Asia and major countries in the Middle East and South Asia. Beneficial to the US at first, the full reintegration of Russia and China into the world capitalist system has in the long run resulted in the intensification of inter-imperialist contradictions rather than an amicable and peaceful expansion of capitalism.

Even as its No. 1 position is being undermined, the US remains a key player among the imperialist powers in the foreseeable future. It must be pointed out that the imperialist powers remain allied against the oppressed peoples and nations of the world and always try to shift the burden of crisis to them. The contradiction between the imperialist powers and the oppressed peoples and nations is still the main contradiction in the world, not only in terms of the given fact that the imperialists and their puppets inflict the worst forms of oppression and exploitation on the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, but also because of the growing real and potential struggles for national and social liberation.

The current crisis of imperialism inflicts severe suffering on billions of peoples in the third world but also incites the people of the world to resist and provides them with a bigger room for maneuver in the struggle to liberate themselves from imperialism and all reaction. The broad masses of the people detest the ever worsening general crisis of the world capitalist system and their ever worsening oppression and exploitation. From year to year, we can expect the rise of various legal and illegal forms of mass resistance by the people.

The revolutionary armed struggle of the people will rise to a new and higher level in such countries as Iraq and Afghanistan, which

the US and other imperialist powers invade and occupy. The long-running armed movements for national liberation and democracy, such as in the Philippines, Colombia, India, Peru and Turkey, will make great advances and will inspire more people's wars to arise in various continents. The peoples and governments of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Cuba, Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador and other Latin American countries are noticeably asserting national independence against the hostile policies of the US imperialists.

South Asia remains the fertile ground for the rapid growth of the armed revolution for national liberation, democracy and socialism. The people's war in Nepal has allowed the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) to overthrow the monarchy, establish a republic and take leadership over the coalition government. The people and revolutionary forces led by the Communist Party of India (Maoist) can play the great role of bringing the world proletarian revolution to a new and higher level in the same way that those of Russia did in the wake of the First World War and those of China did in the wake of the Second World War. At any rate, the proletariat and peoples of Russia and China are in deep discontent on a wide scale. The revolutionary communist parties are steadily growing to raise high the red banner and legacy of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao.

The implosion of the Soviet Union and the Soviet bloc revisionist regimes, the return of the worst forms of oppression and exploitation in Russia and China and the current depredations of the US and global financial and economic crisis expose the rottenness of the world capitalist system and point to the great challenges and opportunities for the peoples of the world to carry forward their revolutionary cause. Social unrest is now spreading in China, the former Soviet republics and former Soviet bloc countries. The people are increasingly rejecting capitalism and demanding socialism.

Within the imperialist countries, the class struggle between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the working class is surfacing and coming

to the fore. The workers, the youth, women, the migrants seethe with anger as they face rising unemployment and decreasing income and the scandalous greed and arrogance of the monopoly bourgeoisie. They increasingly condemn capitalism and clamor for socialism. The Parties of the Left have gained strength in several countries of Europe. To deflect the proletariat and people from class struggle and anti-imperialist solidarity, the monopoly bourgeoisie and its slimy politicians are doing everything to drum up chauvinism, racism, fascism and war hysteria.

But it has been demonstrated time and again that the proletariat and people in the imperialist coun-

tries, including the US, are capable of rising against the exploitative and oppressive policies of monopoly capitalism. The current severity of the prevailing financial and economic crisis has definitely begun to stir the broad masses of the people against the capitalist system. As the crisis prolongs for several years and probably more than a decade, there is ample opportunity for the revolutionary forces to arouse, organize and mobilize the masses and to develop and grow ideologically, politically and organizationally.

The total bankruptcy of “neoliberal globalization” is impressing the proletariat and peoples of the world that monopoly capitalism is evil because it destroys the forces of production and inflicts intolerable suffering and that there is an urgent necessity for revolutionary struggles for national liberation, democracy and socialism. The conditions of crisis are conducive to revolutionary activity but do not automatically or inevitably bring about revolution. The conscious and organized revolutionary forces, chiefly the revolutionary party of the proletariat, need to work and struggle hard in order to call upon and bring the broad masses of the people on to the road of revolution.

Desperate state of the Philippine ruling system

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The semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system in the Philippines is in chronic crisis, subjected as it is to the worst forms of exploitation and oppression by foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. It is therefore vulnerable to the vagaries of the general crisis of the world capitalist system and to the current financial and economic crisis that has already been described by chieftains of imperialist countries as the worst since the Great Depression and by some economic analysts as unprecedented in the last 100 years.

However, most of the year, the or even immune to the financial Arroyo regime and its economic and economic crisis of the US and experts were giving false assur- world capitalist system. They were ances to the Filipino people that boasting about the supposed the Philippines was decoupled from strong fundamentals of what actually is a pre-industrial, semifeudal and agrarian economy, dependent on the export of raw materials and low value-added semimanufactures, on the remittances of overseas contract workers and on foreign borrowing for covering trade and budgetary deficits.

The lies of the regime have been ineffective, especially when the prices of food and fuel were soaring. The people are disgusted that even as the Philippines is an agricultural country and historically the base of the “miracle rice,” it has become the No. 1 rice importer of the world. This has been a result of decades of rice dumping on the country under the auspices of trade liberalization, even way ahead of the schedule for tariff reduction set by the World Trade Organization. This has also been a result of converting land from the production of rice and corn to other crops for export or to entirely nonagricultural uses.

The regime boasted that by raising the people’s tax burden through the expanded value added tax under orders from the International

Monetary Fund, it had protected the economy from global financial and economic crisis. It pointed out that only 20% of Philippine exports go to the US and that any export drawdown would not be painful to the Philippines. In fact, the direct exports of the Philippines to the US amount to as much as 25%. Moreover, the increased Philippine exports to Hong Kong, China, Taiwan, South Korea and Japan are actually destined for the US after some additional processing.

Certainly, the contraction of the consumer market and production in the US hits the Philippines hard in terms of decreased US demand for Philippine exports. Worst of all, the international credit crunch deprives the Philippine rulers of the key resource for covering trade and budgetary deficits and for servicing old debts with new debts to conjure an illusion of economic growth. As the financial and economic crisis protracts and worsens, the demand for Filipino contract workers abroad will decrease. This means the decrease of foreign exchange remittances as a major financial resource to which the Philippines has been accustomed.

The depression of the Philippine economy will worsen. The decrease of export income, foreign loans and remittances of overseas contract workers will mean less resources for Philippine production and consumption. Even now the Arroyo regime has already scaled down the previous projections of economic growth rates, which are anyway still exaggerated and do not fully take into account the credit crunch. The reality of depression will include more bankruptcies, closures, reduced production, mass layoffs and the drastic fall of incomes for the toiling masses and even for the middle social strata.

Under current circumstances, the economic depression in the Philippines is already causing acute and widespread discontent among the broad masses of the people. The demand for jobs, decent wages, industrial development, land reform, adequate social services and respect for the democratic rights of the working people will ring louder and move the broad masses of the people to march and rally in the streets and convene at various public places.

For the reactionaries, there is no way out of the depression and the chronic crisis of the ruling system. No part of the huge amounts of funds borrowed domestically and abroad, collected as taxes from the people or remitted by overseas contract workers has gone into industrial development. Even the agricultural land devoted to staple crops has been reduced in the shift to export crops, real estate speculation and other land-extensive enterprises.

The people will increasingly desire and demand a revolutionary way out of the economic and social crisis as the counterrevolutionary rulers employ deception and violence to mislead and suppress them. The people will be further goaded to rebel by the counterrevolutionaries themselves who trample on their basic democratic rights and who offer no solutions to the social and economic problems but only further betrayal of national independence, economic sovereignty and the national patrimony under the auspices of the totally discredited policy of “neoliberal globalization.”

The competing political factions of the ruling classes of big compradors and landlords are differentiated by the names of their parties and coalitions but are quite undifferentiated in their subservience to the US-dictated policy of “neoliberal globalization.” What they similarly compete for are the blessings of the US and the spoils of political power. Whichever is the reactionary faction that ascends to power tends to monopolize the spoils. The opposition factions, on the hand, preoccupy themselves with the clamor for clean government and against corruption, but avoid the fundamental issues of national independence, democracy, industrial development, genuine land reform, people’s culture and independent foreign policy.

Every reactionary ruling clique, from that of Ramos to that of Arroyo, has proposed to amend the 1987 Constitution of the reactionary government in order to extend its rule and delete or rewrite provisions that were the fruit of the struggle against the US-instigated Marcos fascist dictatorship, such as those restraining the

proclamation of martial law, protecting human rights and civil liberties, upholding economic sovereignty and national patrimony and banning foreign military bases, foreign troops and nuclear weapons storage and transport on Philippine territory. In fact, these have been undermined and circumvented through legislation and executive agreements.

Even as the US-directed policy of “neoliberal globalization” has been totally discredited by the current financial and economic crisis, the minions of the Arroyo regime in the House of Representatives have proclaimed that their purpose in seeking to amend the 1987 constitution of the reactionary government is to cast away economic sovereignty and national patrimony and to allow foreign investors 100% ownership of land and all kinds of enterprises. The Arroyo regime has embarked on treason in exchange for prolonging itself in power.

The ever worsening social and economic crisis has continuously pushed the political crisis of the ruling system. And the ruling classes have increasingly become unable to rule with any lasting moral authority through any of the reactionary factions that assume power. The broad masses of the people have long become disgusted with the puppetry, corruption, mendacity and brutality that have characterized every reactionary ruling clique. They are therefore intensely desirous of revolutionary change and strongly wish the revolutionary party to lead and hasten the advance of the struggle for the overthrow of the entire ruling system and establish the people’s democratic state.

With the Arroyo ruling clique at the top, three political formations collaborate in an unstable alliance for dominating the people. These are the Kabalikatang Mamamayang Pilipino (KAMPI) of the fake president Arroyo, the Lakas-NUCD of expresident Ramos and the Nationalist People’s Coalition of the old Marcos crony Eduardo Cojuangco. These are the largest and most moneyed political formations but are discredited, especially for corruption.

Ranged against these dominant formations are the far smaller

parties which stand to benefit from the discredit of the dominant parties, but which tend to be fractious. These include the Nacionalista Party of Manuel Villar, the Liberal Party of Mar Roxas, the Partido ng Masang Pilipino of former president Joseph Estrada, the PDP-Laban of Aquilino Pimentel, and the makeshift coalition called United Opposition (UNO).

The Arroyo ruling clique is pushing charter change through a constituent assembly in a maneuver to prolong its rule. But the Senate has refused to collaborate with the House of Representatives, especially because of popular opposition to the Arroyo project of charter change. The Arroyo ruling clique is preparing to rig the 2010 elections in order to protect its loot and secure impunity for its criminal liabilities. It is preparing to employ massive electoral fraud and terrorism to secure the election of its own candidates.

Contradictions among the reactionary political formations are bound to sharpen as the Arroyo ruling clique tries to rig the 2010 elections as in 2004. Contradictions among the factions in the military and police will also sharpen. They have run deep and wide because the Arroyo ruling clique has persecuted those officers and men who have denounced its criminal policies and activities and has favored those who are not only partisan of the ruling clique but are also flagrantly engaged in corruption and other lucrative criminal activities within and outside the military and police services.

The Party is correct in adopting and implementing the policy of the broad united front in taking advantage of the contradictions and rifts among the reactionaries and in seeking the objective or conscious alliance and cooperation of groups and individuals in the reactionary parties and coalitions, in the civil bureaucracy and in the military and police services who express patriotic and progressive positions against the reactionaries who are the worst and are the most rabidly loyal to the imperialists. The broad united front has taken up important issues against the Arroyo regime, including electoral fraud in 2004, numerous mega cases of corruption, the gross and systematic violations of human rights, unequal trade and economic

agreements with foreign powers and the scheme to amend the 1987 constitution.

The Arroyo regime stands as the worst of the reactionaries and is therefore categorized as the enemy of the people and the revolutionary movement. It is comparable to the Marcos fascist dictatorship in its puppetry to US imperialism. It caninely follows the US-dictated policies of “neoliberal globalization” and “war on terrorism” despite the bankruptcy and total discredit of these policies. It is rated as the most corrupt regime in the whole of Asia and the No. 2 most corrupt in the entire world. It has engaged in gross and systematic violations of human rights.

These human rights violations include the massive military campaigns of suppression against workers, urban poor, peasant masses and national minorities; and the extrajudicial killings, disappearances and torture of legal democratic activists (including workers, peasants, women, youth, church people, lawyers, human rights defenders and peace advocates) and consultants of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) who are guaranteed safety and immunity under the GRP-NDFP Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees.

The US imperialists have instigated the Arroyo regime to unleash barbaric military campaigns of suppression against the people and the revolutionary forces and to prevent the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations from proceeding to address the roots of the armed conflict with social, economic, political and constitutional reforms. The US and the Arroyo regime have drummed up the so-called “global war on terror” in order to allow US military intervention in the civil war between the revolutionary and counterrevolutionary forces and the continuous basing and operation of US military forces in our country.

In line with the dictates of its US master, the Arroyo regime has rendered impossible the resumption of formal talks between the negotiating panels in the GRPNDFP peace negotiations by preconditioning it with the surrender and pacification of the

revolutionary forces and people under the guise of a prolonged ceasefire and by refusing to affirm and comply with the previously signed bilateral agreements without the precondition of a prolonged ceasefire. The malicious objective of the regime is to replace the peace negotiations with ceasefire and surrender negotiations, discard the previously signed agreements and prevent substantive negotiations on social, economic, political and constitutional reforms. After murdering so many NDFP consultants and progressive activists, the Arroyo regime demands the surrender of the very life of the entire revolutionary movement.

The Party and the entire revolutionary movement of the people have no choice but to intensify the revolutionary armed struggle against the priorly escalating military campaigns of suppression against the people under Oplan Bantay Laya and the Enhanced National Internal Security Plan. The New People's Army and all other revolutionary forces of the people can take advantage of the rapidly worsening crisis of the domestic ruling system and the US and world capitalist system. Most concretely, they can take advantage of the fact that the reactionary government and armed forces are now faced with the problem of having to fight on two war fronts, one in Moroland and another all over the Philippine archipelago.

The Arroyo regime has closed the door to peace negotiations with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front by casting away the Memorandum of Agreement on Ancestral Domain (MoA-AD) and demanding the resumption of informal talks without the MoA-AD. It has also closed the door to the resumption of formal talks with the NDFP by preconditioning it on the violation of The Hague Joint Declaration and all other previously signed agreements.

It is of strategic importance to the Filipino people and the Bangsamoro to fight for their revolutionary cause in their respective territories and to maximize their unity, coordination and cooperation in accordance with the longstanding alliance agreement between the NDFP and the MILF.

It is to the great advantage of the revolutionary forces and the people

represented by the NDFP and the MILF that in common they fight a thoroughly discredited and isolated regime under severe conditions of domestic and global crisis. They have the critical mass to systematically deliver lethal blows against the many weak points of the enemy armed forces and ruling system. The main thing is to hit hard at those weak points in order to incapacitate and destroy the ruling system. Thus the revolutionary strength of the people can further grow and win greater victories. We can trust the people and the revolutionary forces to build a new Philippines that is independent, democratic, just, progressive and peaceful.

Great victories of the Communist Party of the Philippines

In the last forty years, the Communist Party of the Philippines has won great ideological, political and organizational victories which are of lasting value and have served to advance the new democratic revolution of the Filipino people against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords. These victories have been won against tremendous odds through resolute and militant struggles that have gone through twists and turns but have ascended to new and higher levels of revolutionary consciousness and fighting capability.

The US imperialists and their local puppets have unleashed so many nationwide and localized campaigns of military suppression against the Party, the New People's Army and the Filipino people in vicious attempts to destroy the armed revolutionary movement. After trying in the period of 1969-71 to "nip in the bud" the people's war in one and then in two guerrilla fronts, the US imperialists instigated the Marcos regime to impose fascist dictatorship on the people for 14 years—from 1972 until this was weakened by the people's resistance and brought down by an uprising in 1986. Then this would be followed by the series of post-Marcos regimes,

pretending to be democratic and trying in vain to destroy the people's democratic revolution through deception and violence.

All attempts to destroy the armed revolution have failed. They have merely served to make the people suffer further and incite them to fight more fiercely for their national and social liberation. We must underscore the fact that the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war has endured and has advanced in a big and all-round way in a country, which has long been a major base of US imperialist hegemony in the entire East Asia. This is a great victory which is ever inspiring to the Filipino people and other peoples of the world.

In leading the Philippine revolution successfully, the Party has always sought to integrate the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism with the concrete conditions of the Philippines and with the concrete practice of the revolution. It has seriously studied the history of the Filipino people and the international working class movement and has taken advantage of crisis conditions of, and contradictions within, the Philippine ruling system and the world capitalist system.

In ideological work, the Party has firmly adhered to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and has always sought to develop the dialectical materialist stand, viewpoint and method among Party cadres and members, rejecting subjectivism, be it empiricism or dogmatism. In political work, it has set forth the line of new democratic revolution through protracted people's war, rejecting Right and "Left" opportunism. In organizational work, it upholds the principle of democratic centralism, rejecting liberalism and bureaucratism, and has built itself nationwide and struck deep roots among the toiling masses of workers and peasants.

The Party has improved its work and style of work by conducting periodic and timely sessions of criticism and self-criticism. But major errors can persist and grow when Party cadres in higher organs or even in the Central Committee continue to hold and spread these

in the Party. In the face of such errors, a rectification movement of major proportions needs to be conducted. In this regard, the Party has victoriously engaged in two great rectification movements, each being a campaign of education to draw lessons from experience, rectify major errors and set forth the tasks for advancing the revolutionary cause.

The First Great Rectification Movement prepared the founding of the Party from 1965 onward and proceeded during the foundational years of the Party from 1968 to 1977. It criticized and repudiated the accumulated errors of the Lavas and Lavaite revisionists and the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique. The Second Great Rectification Movement dealt with the “Left” and Right opportunist errors in the 1980s and early 1990s. The “Left” opportunists inflicted serious harm to the Party and the mass base during most of the 1980s. After the “Left” opportunists openly swung to the Right in the late 1980s, the Right opportunists sought to liquidate the Party with their eclectic hodgepodge of notions derived from bourgeois liberalism, Gorbachovism, Trotskyism and social democracy.

As a consequence of the resounding victory of the Second Great Rectification Movement, which took its course for more than six years since 1992, the Party has revitalized and further strengthened itself ideologically, politically and organizationally. The worst of the “Left” and Right opportunists have turned into out-and-out anticommunists and counterrevolutionaries. They act as special agents of imperialism and reaction as they specialize in anticommunist slander. Some of them have become racketeers in imperialistfunded “nongovernmental organizations” and others have joined the military and intelligence services of the enemy as consultants and psywar experts.

The Party has developed its ideological line of Marxism-LeninismMaoism by studying the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao as well as by confronting, exposing and repudiating opportunism, reformism and revisionism and the various anti-communist and antisocialist ideas. It has taken up the most

important issues in the history and current circumstances of the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and people in the Philippines and the world. It has confronted the problems of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism and has advanced the theory and practice of new democratic revolution.

The Party has produced and issued major decisions, analytical articles and books that have a high theoretical and practical value. These are published in Pilipino and other Philippine languages as well as in English and other foreign languages. Together with the classical works of the great communist thinkers and leaders, they are in the syllabi of study courses undertaken by the Party. Study guides and aids are provided to enable the workers, peasants and other people with less formal education to advance in their theoretical and political education.

The primary course includes the study of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the history, basic problems of the Filipino people and the new democratic revolution as solution. The intermediate course seeks to analyze and compare the Philippine revolution with other revolutions abroad. The advanced course involves the study of the works of the great communist thinkers and leaders in philosophy, political economy, social science, strategy and tactics and history of the international communist movement.

The Party membership runs into several tens of thousands. It is deeply rooted among the toiling masses of workers and peasants through the length and breadth of the Philippine archipelago. Party members are recruited from the revolutionary mass movement of workers, peasants, women, youth and other sectors. They are developed through courses of study and training in and out of their work units, through collective work and individual assignments and through revolutionary mass struggles.

The Party follows the principle of democratic centralism, with centralism based on democracy and democracy guided by centralism. A territorial structure of leading organs and

organizations covers the entire country at various levels: regions, provinces, districts, cities and municipalities and barangays. The leading organs have staff organizations that assist them in various types of work. The basic organization of the Party is the branch, which is based in local communities, factories, farms, transport lines, campuses, offices and the like. The Party group is also the basic Party organization at various levels of a mass organization or social institution.

The Party has drawn the general political line of new democratic revolution through protracted people's war for the purpose of overthrowing the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system and establishing the people's democratic state system on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance. It wields the weapons of revolutionary armed struggle and the united front. It takes the mass line. It relies on the masses and learns from the masses to be able to arouse, organize and mobilize them.

The Party has aroused, organized and mobilized the broad masses of the people in their millions. It leads the thousands of fighters of the New People's Army and millions of organized peasants in 120 to 130 guerrilla fronts in 70 provinces, more than 800 municipalities and more than 10,000 barangays. The Party cadres within the people's army and in the localities have formed the organs of political power and the mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, cultural activists and others. Units of the people's army can move freely in more than 80 percent of the Philippines because the regular personnel of the reactionary forces can occupy no more than 10% of the country at any single period of time.

Historically, the New People's Army has been the largest revolutionary army ever built in the Philippines. It is larger than the Philippine revolutionary army against Spanish colonialism in the period of 1896 to 1898 and then against US imperialism from 1899 onwards. It is far larger than the Hukbong Bayan Laban sa Hapon or the Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan. On its own track, the NPA is stronger than what it was in the 1980s in both political and

military terms. The NPA never reached the level of 25,000 riflemen in the 1980s. Its peak strength in that decade was only 6,100, without any clear accounting of firearms lost in Mindanao as a result of Kampanyang Ahos.

In the countryside, the Party has integrated the revolutionary armed struggle, land reform and base building in order to advance the new democratic revolution. Revolutionary armed struggle is the main form of struggle. It destroys the armed power of the big compradors and landlords and thereby builds the people's army in the countryside until it gains the capability of seizing political power in the cities. As a result of the Second Great Rectification Movement, the NPA has strengthened itself politically and militarily by waging intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base.

Only with armed power have the Party and the people been able to carry out land reform as the main content of the democratic revolution. This has involved the minimum program of rent reduction, elimination of usury, raising the wages of farm workers, improving prices at the farm gate and raising production in agriculture and other economic activities. On the basis of such program, it is possible to move up to the maximum level of land confiscation and free distribution of land. Upon the advance of the armed struggle and agrarian revolution, it becomes possible to move up from the level of guerrilla fronts to that of stable base areas by strengthening the organs of political power, the mass organizations, the militia units and self-defense units.

The Party has built the united front as an important weapon of the new democratic revolution. This weapon involves several types of alliances. The most important of these is the basic alliance of the workers and peasants. It is the alliance of the working class as the leading class and the peasantry as the main force of the Philippine revolution. As the advanced detachment of the working class, the Party has pursued the antifeudal class line in its alliance with the peasant masses: rely mainly on the poor peasants and farm workers,

win over the middle peasants, neutralize the rich peasants and take advantage of the splits among the landlords in order to isolate and destroy the power of the biggest and most despotic landlords.

Only with an effective basic alliance of the workers and peasants for the armed struggle can the other types of alliances in the united front become effective. We refer to the progressive alliance of such basic revolutionary forces as toiling masses and the urban pettybourgeoisie, the patriotic alliance of these progressive forces and the middle bourgeoisie and the broad united front of patriotic forces and certain reactionary forces to oppose the enemy, defined as the worst reactionary force and most servile to imperialism.

The Party has employed the united front policy and the various forms of alliances in order to augment the strength of the basic revolutionary forces and to reach, arouse and mobilize the people in their millions in various forms of struggle and on a wide range of issues. Together with allied organizations, the Party has built the National Democratic Front of the Philippines as the united

front framework for all basic revolutionary forces. The NDFP is open to internal broadening as to include patriotic forces of the middle bourgeoisie or external broadening as to engage in a formal or informal broad united front with reactionary forces opposed to the worst reactionary force at a given time.

In legal mass struggles against US imperialism and the worst of the local reactionaries, the Party always calls on the broad masses of the people and the patriotic and progressive forces to unite and act resolutely and militantly. The people have rallied to the Party's calls and have risen in massive protest actions that have led to the ouster of Marcos and Estrada from power. They have foiled schemes to amend the 1987 constitution for the purpose of serving pro-imperialist and reactionary ends as they continue to expose and condemn the proimperialist and reactionary policies of the ruling clique.

By itself alone, the legal democratic mass movement may oust a

particular reactionary regime from power but cannot overthrow the entire reactionary ruling system. The Party has always recognized that the legal democratic mass movement can weaken the ruling system, gain strength and affirm the justness of the revolutionary cause of the people. But such a movement is vulnerable to brutal attacks by the reactionary diehards. In this connection, the Party has constantly urged patriotic and progressive legal activists to join the revolutionary armed struggle when they are targeted for extrajudicial killing, kidnapping, torture and incarceration by the reactionary state.

The Party stands for the democratic rights and welfare of overseas Filipinos and has called upon them to support the revolutionary struggle of the Filipino people for national liberation and democracy. In scores of foreign countries, it has encouraged Filipino immigrants, permanent residents and land-based and seaborne contract workers in forming their associations and in fighting for their own rights and interests.

Our Party enjoys a high standing in the international communist movement as well as in the broad anti-imperialist movement. This is due to the great victories of the Party and the Filipino people in waging the new democratic revolution against US imperialism and the local reactionaries as well as due to the revolutionary stand taken by the Party on international issues. Communist and workers parties study the publications of our Party and seek exchanges of ideas and experiences with our Party. Our Party has established and developed comradely or friendly relations with other parties through bilateral meetings and multilateral conferences. It has thereby entered into agreements of practical cooperation in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. A broad range of anti-imperialist and democratic forces has also established relations with the Party and the mass organizations led by the Party in the spirit of anti-imperialist solidarity.

Plan for a qualitative leap of the armed revolution

Our Party considers of crucial importance how to bring the new democratic revolution to a new and higher level of development or a qualitative leap on account of the rich accumulated revolutionary experience, strength and great victories of the Party, New People's Army, the National Democratic Front of the Philippines and the broad masses of the Filipino people and the ever worsening crisis and depression of the Philippine reactionary ruling system and the world capitalist system.

It is necessary for the Party to formulate the plan for accelerating the advance of ideological, political and organizational work, enlarging the subjective forces of the revolution and taking advantage of the ever worsening crisis of imperialism and the local reactionaries in order to approach the goal of overthrowing the rotten ruling system and establishing the people's democratic republic.

We can have a five-year central plan of work. It must have clear objectives to be accomplished from year to year involving cumulative growth as well as flexibility and adjustability in order to achieve better results. It must be based on the current level of strength, track records and plans of the lower Party organs and organizations, on further inquiries to confirm current strength and estimate potential growth and on a determination to be clear about tasks and methods of carrying out the tasks and undertaking the necessary checkups, follow-ups and necessary adjustments.

The overriding objective of the plan must be to increase the strength of the revolutionary forces and approach the goal of destroying the ruling system and replacing it with the people's democratic state. The plan must encompass the following points:

1. Educate and train Party cadres and members on the ideological line of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the general political line of new democratic revolution

The Party must educate and train a large number of Party cadres and members on the theory and practice of Marxism-LeninismMaoism and on the general line of new democratic revolution through protracted people's war in order to serve as the steel core and leading force of the revolutionary mass movement. We need tens of thousands of Party cadres and hundreds of thousands and then millions of Party members to carry out the gigantic tasks of the revolution and bring about a qualitative leap in the revolutionary movement.

The Party branch and groups must undertake the basic political course and the basic Party course in order to promptly educate and train a large number of Party candidate-members to become full Party members and for the latter to refresh and consolidate their knowledge. The higher Party organs must undertake the intermediate and advanced Party courses and pay attention to the education and training of instructors for all courses of study.

The Party organs concerned must plan how the existing and forthcoming Party candidate-members must take and finish the basic Party course without any delay. Those with lesser ability than others to read and comprehend original texts must be provided with simplified study materials and interesting visual aids. Those with more ability must provide comradely assistance to others in the process of learning under the direction of the instructor.

2. Accelerate the recruitment of Party candidate-members from the revolutionary mass movement and expand the Party boldly

The Party must recruit candidate members from among the most active and advanced elements of the mass movement. Our constant policy is to expand the Party without letting in a single enemy agent. The mass movement is a reliable way of determining the honest elements who accept the Party Constitution and Program and who are resolute and militant in pursuing the general line of people's struggle for national liberation and democracy. We may also recruit such elements in reactionary institutions and organizations who accept the Party Constitution and Program but who must take

precautions in order to carry out effectively special tasks for the Party.

It is the responsibility of the Party organs concerned to make candidate members become full members within the time specified by the Party Constitution, according to class considerations. Immediately after taking the general and special mass courses, advanced elements of the mass movement should be able to take the mass and the basic Party course as candidate members. To achieve full Party membership, the candidate member must complete the basic Party course, must be active in a Party branch or group and must carry out the tasks assigned. Such tasks in the period of candidature may be construed as the trial work.

The Party is aware that its organizational growth has been restrained by negligence to recruit candidate members and if and when these are recruited, at whatever rate there is negligence in 14

providing the basic Party course and minding the period of candidature. All Party cadres and members are reminded that mass activists become inspired when they become Party candidate members and the latter become even more inspired to work harder and fight more fiercely for the revolutionary cause when they become full Party members and that the Party will be capable of accomplishing greater victories if there is a cumulative increase of Party cadres and members.

3. Intensify the campaigns to arouse, organize and mobilize the people along the general line of the new democratic revolution.

We must always learn from the masses through social investigation of their oppressed and exploited conditions and their concrete needs and demands. Thus, we learn how to carry out mass campaigns to arouse, organize and mobilize the people. We must trust and rely on the people in being able to act effectively on issues that concern their rights and interests and to take the direction towards empowering and benefiting themselves along the general line of the new democratic revolution.

The Party must ensure that the leaders and members of the mass organizations undergo and understand the general mass course on Philippine society and revolution and the appropriate sectoral mass course. With such a growing corps of conscious activists in the mass organizations, the Party can bring the revolutionary message to ever larger numbers of people. The task of arousing the people must be well carried out through mass actions and publications and in various forms of agitation and propaganda.

The mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, youth, professionals, cultural activists and other sectoral or issue-based formations must be constantly expanded and consolidated. Every mass organization must have a clear plan of expanding its membership cumulatively and consolidating it through political education, tasking and checking of results. Mass mobilizations and mass campaigns should be ways for exercising the current strength as well as increasing strength by attracting more people to become members.

4. Intensify the revolutionary armed struggle and hit the targets to maximize the political and military victories

Under the absolute leadership of the Party, the New People's Army must continue to pursue the strategic line of protracted people's war. It must grow in strength in the countryside until it attains the capability of seizing the cities on a nationwide scale. The revolutionary armed struggle is integrated with the agrarian revolution and the building of the mass base.

The NPA must advance from the stage of the strategic defensive to that of the strategic stalemate and finally to that of the strategic offensive. At every strategic stage, it must launch tactical offensives to change the balance of forces by inflicting more and more defeats on the enemy and gaining more and more armed strength through increased fighting experience, weapons and technical capabilities.

Currently, the NPA is waging intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever expanding and deepening mass base.

It must intensify this guerrilla warfare in order to wipe out enemy units, destroy enemy facilities, interdict enemy lines of supply, force the enemy to take guard duties and go on the defensive. It must also dismantle the landgrabbing operations of foreign and local agri-corporations, mining companies, logging companies for export, real estate companies and similar enterprises that reduce the land for agriculture and land reform and that result in the destruction of the environment.

The NPA must deal with the impunity of high bureaucrats and military officials in perpetrating treason, plunder and human rights violations. Those who commit these grave crimes are subject to summons for investigation and arrest and if armed and dangerous or protected by armed personnel are subject to battle by the NPA arresting unit. Retirement from reactionary government service does not free the suspects from criminal liabilities, arrest or battle. Close relatives and friends who benefit from the criminal offenses or fruits thereof must be treated as accomplices in crime. Dynastybuilding and cronyism must be combated.

5. Raise land reform to a new and higher level towards the maximum level

The Party must raise land reform to a new and higher level towards the maximum program of land reform, wherever possible. The minimum land reform program may be maintained wherever it is still advantageous to the tillers and the requirements for maximum land reform are not yet present, such as the sufficient strength and readiness of the Party, the people's army and the peasant association.

In striving for maximum land reform, the main blow must be directed at the big despotic landlords and the landgrabbing corporations that have armed personnel or use the reactionary military and police to oppress the peasant masses and fight the revolutionary movement. The NPA must employ the tactics of dismantling and rendering unprofitable the operations of these land-greedy entities and thus forcing them to leave the land. Concomitantly, the landless tillers must be organized to take over the land.

When the despots and landgrabbers insist on holding the land by employing the reactionary military and police and the private armed guards, the NPA must turn the latter into sources of weapons by repeatedly assaulting the isolated guard posts or ambushing the guards on the road. The bigger the landholding, the more difficult it is to guard. It would prove excessively costly for the big landlords or the corporations to try to hold the land against the resolute resistance of the people and the people's army.

6. Develop the guerrilla fronts toward becoming relatively stable base areas

The guerrilla fronts must be increased to the level of 168. This means having a guerrilla front in every congressional district in all the provinces in consonance with the line of intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare based on an ever widening and deepening mass base. Armed city partisan units with specific missions in highly urbanized congressional districts can be deployed and directed from the nearest guerrilla front commands in coordination with the appropriate urban district Party organ.

Having a definite goal for increasing the number of guerrilla fronts leads us to think of the next stage in the development of revolutionary territory. It is realistic and logical to anticipate and work for the emergence of relatively stable base areas from the increase, merger, integration or expansion of existing guerrilla fronts under a base area command, capable of launching company-size tactical offensives on the scale of a province or several provinces, if based on an inter-provincial border area.

To build the relatively stable base area, the Party must lead the NPA in suppressing and driving away the oppressors and exploiters and dismantling the reactionary organs of political power over extensive areas. The Party, the people's army, the revolutionary organs of political power and the mass organizations must attain a new and higher level of development. As internal security is maintained by the people's militia and the selfdefense units of the mass organizations, the NPA fighting units can increase and intensify

their tactical offensives and carry out battles with short rest periods.

7. Develop the various alliances under the united front policy in order to reach the people in ever larger numbers

We must develop the various alliances under the united front policy in order to arouse, organize and mobilize the people in ever larger numbers. The most important of these alliances is the basic worker-peasant alliance as it is the very foundation of the people's democratic revolution. It combines the working class as the revolutionary leading class and the peasantry as the most numerous class and main force of the revolution. The people's democratic government is based now and in the future on the worker-peasant alliance.

We must continue to develop the progressive alliance of the toiling masses of workers and peasants with the urban pettybourgeoisie. All of them are the basic forces of the revolution. At the moment, their alliance is best embodied in the revolutionary underground by the National Democratic Front of the Philippines. We must also continue to develop the patriotic alliance of the basic revolutionary forces with the middle bourgeoisie by promoting anti-imperialism and espousing national industrial development.

Further, we must develop the broad united front, involving the alliance of the patriotic and progressive forces with certain sections of the reactionary classes against the enemy, defined as the worst reactionary clique and most servile to imperialism. This kind of alliance is temporary and unstable because the allies are reactionary in character and may abandon or betray the alliance. In this regard, we must always be vigilant, maintain independence and initiative, be skillful at unity and struggle and gain revolutionary strength while the alliance holds.

8. Uphold proletarian internationalism and broad anti-imperialist solidarity

The Party must uphold proletarian internationalism and remain active in the international communist movement. The best way we can contribute to the advance of the world proletarian revolution is to make further advances and win further victories in the ongoing new democratic revolution in the Philippines and to condemn and combat imperialism, revisionism and all reaction. We must exchange revolutionary experiences and ideas with other Parties and arrive at possible and necessary forms of practical cooperation.

The Party must uphold the broad anti-imperialist solidarity of the people of the world. Together with the National Democratic Front of the Philippines, it has long been active in promoting anti-imperialist solidarity by relating to, and cooperating with, national liberation movements and various people's organizations and institutions abroad. We are encouraged that mass organizations of the Filipino people are active domestically and internationally in fighting imperialist plunder and war which have been pushed by the US under such slogans as "neoliberal globalization" and "war on terror."

The Party must further develop its relations with parties, people's organizations and institutions abroad not only to garner support for the Filipino people in their struggle for national liberation and democracy but also to contribute what it can and participate in the efforts of all peoples to attain greater freedom, democracy, social justice, development and world peace.

Message of the Central Committee Communist Party of the Philippines issued on December 26, 2008

Strive to make a great advance in the People's War for New Democracy

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2009

We celebrate today with utmost joy the 41st anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of the Philippines as the revolutionary advanced detachment of the Filipino proletariat under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

We are deeply gratified by the long-accumulated as well as recent victories won by the Filipino proletariat and people under the leadership of the Party in the course of the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war. We salute and congratulate all our cadres and members and we pay the highest respects to our revolutionary martyrs and heroes for making our victories possible.

We have long proven that, by pursuing the strategic line of protracted people's war, we can build in stages the strength of the revolutionary forces of the people and overcome the brutal campaigns of suppression unleashed by US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords. In the process, we have so far built the largest and strongest revolutionary movement of the

Filipino people in the entire history of the Philippines since the revolution of 1896.

We have grown in strength and advanced precisely through resolute and fierce revolutionary armed struggle against every regime of counterrevolutionary violence directed and supported by US imperialism. We have prevailed over the 14-year Marcos fascist dictatorship and all the succeeding regimes that have pretended to be liberal democratic but have been so brutally antinational and anti-democratic.

The current Arroyo regime is going down in history in complete ignominy for its grave crimes against the people. It has utterly failed to realize its pipe dream of destroying or reducing the armed revolutionary movement of the people to inconsequentiality. Not only have we prevailed and preserved our forces against the enemy campaigns of suppression, we have also gained strength and scored resounding victories.

After more than 40 years of successful people's war, we consider it of highest importance today to declare our determination to strive within the next five years to make the great advance from the stage of the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate, fulfilling all the requirements and without skipping any necessary phase. We can look forward to still greater revolutionary possibilities within the next ten years if we carry out successfully the tasks and plans for the next five years.

Our revolutionary optimism is based on three factors. First is the ever worsening crisis of the world capitalist system, which is now in the throes of its worst crisis since the Great Depression. Second is the accelerated worsening crisis and rotting of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system. Third is the revolutionary forces of the people led by the Party that have far more strength now than at the start of our people's war in 1969 and have the sufficient strength and critical mass to carry out the tasks and plans for advancing from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate of the people's war within the next five years.

World capitalist system in the throes of depression

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The world capitalist system is in a state of economic depression. The economic and financial crisis has spread throughout the world like a plague from the imperialist countries. The most devastated economically and socially are the underdeveloped countries. But the imperialist powers and their followers keep on euphemistically calling the situation a mere recession and keep on referring to any spike in the financial market as a sign of recovery.

The crisis of overproduction runs unabated and continues to be aggravated by the financial crisis. Factories continue to scale down production or to close down. The toiling masses of workers and peasants and even the middle social strata continue to suffer the loss of jobs and homes, the reduction of income, the soaring prices of basic commodities and social services and the deterioration of the social infrastructure. The level of exploitation and oppression is escalating on a global scale.

The US and other imperialist states are using public money in the trillions of dollars to bail out the big banks and corporations in the military-industrial complex and in the service sector. New and bigger financial bubbles are being generated with the use of state funds for lending and subsidy to the monopoly bourgeoisie, especially the financial oligarchy. The money is being used merely to raise profits in the balance sheets of big financial and industrial corporations and has not resulted in real economic recovery in terms of generating employment and increasing production and consumption.

The current economic and financial crisis of the world capitalist system has been the outcome of the recurrent, accelerated and cumulative crises since the monopoly bourgeoisie and its economic policymakers were confronted by the phenomenon of concurrent stagnation and inflation as a result of the reconstruction of the imperialist countries ruined by World War II, intensified inter-

imperialist competition, rising costs of the cold war and wars of aggression and the growing severity of the crisis of overproduction in the world capitalist system.

Since then, the imperialist states headed by the US have blamed the working people for having caused the stagflation due to what they have termed as wage inflation and excessive social spending by government. At the same time, they have obscured the costs of the Cold War, especially those of military production, overseas deployment of military forces and wars of aggression.

In the succeeding decades, they adopted and implemented the policy of freezing wages, reducing social spending, privatizing public assets, liberalizing investments and trade, doing away with regulations and denationalizing the economies of underdeveloped countries. They let loose the unbridled greed of the imperialist banks and firms to prey on the people of the world. Thus, they undercut and constrict the global market far beyond what debt financing can cover and conceal.

Having run for several decades, the policy of "neoliberal" or "free" market globalization is deepgoing and has caused widespread social ruin on a global scale. It continues to dominate the thinking of policymakers of the imperialist states. It serves first of all the big banks and corporations against the demand of the people for economic recovery, employment, social relief and rehabilitation. Thus, the current grave crisis of the world capitalist system continues to worsen and is bound to persist for a long while.

The monopoly bourgeoisie seeks to pass on the burden of the crisis to the working people in the homegrounds of imperialism but much more to those in the underdeveloped countries. The imperialist powers and their puppets continue to extract further superprofits from those already laid low by the crisis. We therefore witness today the initial manifestations of the peoples' resistance in both the imperialist and the underdeveloped countries.

In the imperialist countries, the monopoly bourgeoisie wages a ferocious class struggle against the proletariat and is pushing the

proletariat to fight back by waging the just side of the class struggle. It seeks ever more to divide and confuse the working people by whipping up anti-terrorist hysteria, chauvinism, racism, fascism and religious bigotry and pitting the host people against the migrants. However, revolutionary parties and movements are arising to expose the roots of the crisis in monopoly capitalism and rouse the working people to wage class struggle.

The peoples subjected to ever rising levels of exploitation and oppression are waging various forms of resistance against the imperialist powers and their local puppets. Those who are victimized by imperialist aggression are waging armed resistance for national liberation, as in Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Palestine and Lebanon. National liberation movements led by Maoist and other revolutionary parties are gaining strength and are advancing as in India, the Philippines, Nepal, Turkey, Peru and Colombia.

Some governments as those of North Korea, Cuba, Venezuela and Bolivia have taken anti-imperialist positions and invoked national independence in response to the clamor of the people for resistance to imperialism and its worst reactionary agents. Such governments as those of China and Russia try to collaborate with the US-led alliance of imperialist powers while at same time cooperate with Iran and other governments that are subjected to sanctions and embargoes by the US and its imperialist allies.

The imperialist powers are still united in oppressing peoples and nations of the world and in passing on the burden of crisis to them. But they are also driven by imperialist greed and by the crisis to compete and contend with each other in a struggle to redivide the world for sources of raw materials and cheap labor, markets, fields of investment, spheres of influence and strategic points of control.

The complete restoration of capitalism in countries previously ruled by revisionist regimes has added Russia and China to the ranks of big capitalist powers and has made the world ever more cramped for inter-imperialist competition. The US has pushed the NATO to expand to the borders of Russia and threaten and seek control of

this huge source of oil, gas and other strategic raw materials. Although China is acknowledged as the biggest partner of the US under the policy of "free market" globalization, contradictions between them over major issues are growing.

The betrayal of socialism brought about by the rise of modern revisionism and the full restoration of capitalism in the former revisionist-ruled countries have contributed in a big way to intensifying inter-imperialist contradictions and generating the conditions for wars of aggression and the use of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. The threats posed by imperialism to the very existence of humankind seems unstoppable. But they can be effectively countered by the people's revolutionary mass movement, revolutionary civil wars and people's wars for national liberation.

The US and the NATO are so aggressive that China and Russia consider themselves threatened and are thus developing the Shanghai Cooperation Organization into a potent security bloc. Almost all global regions, such as the Middle East, Central Asia, South Asia, East Asia, the Balkans, Eastern Europe, Latin America and Africa are fraught with the danger of war.

The intensification of inter-imperialist contradictions has already resulted in wars of aggression and military intervention, such as those in the Balkans, Africa, Central and South Asia and the Middle East. These have been carried out under the initiative of the US, its NATO allies and its major partners in the UN Security Council. The insatiable drive of the US and its closest NATO allies to monopolize the sources of oil and other raw materials and to subordinate Russia and China is upsetting the balance of forces among the imperialist powers.

The imperialist powers are frenziedly engaged in wars of aggression and plunder of natural resources, causing both social and environmental disasters. The wars of aggression have resulted in heavy casualties among the people, in the destruction of the social infrastructure and pollution of the environment from the use, among

others, of radioactive and toxic weapons of mass destruction. The wanton plunder of natural resources by the profit-driven monopolies has been a major factor in ecological destruction that has caused ever more destructive typhoons, floods, droughts and other disasters.

The imperialist powers are the biggest destroyers and polluters of the environment as they wantonly plunder and misuse the world's natural resources. They pretend to be concerned about environmental destruction and the problem of global warming in order to deflect attention from the problems of social exploitation, manufacture of weapons of mass destruction and wars of aggression. They manipulate the issue of environment and global warming in order to justify further imperialist control and exploitation of the world's resources.

Greater social turmoil and political disorder in all continents and in nearly all countries are in the offing. From year to year, the US will continue to be afflicted by economic crisis and will be sucked into new quagmires of military aggression and intervention. These are conditions favorable to the revolutionary forces of the Filipino people in advancing the people's war for new democracy from the stage of strategic defensive to that of strategic stalemate.

Accelerated rotting of the domestic ruling system

Under the weight of the crisis of the world capitalist system and due to its own internal weaknesses, the rotting of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system is accelerated in economic, social, political and cultural terms. The rotten unjust ruling system in chronic crisis is overripe for overthrow and replacement by the people's democratic system.

The imperialist policy of "free market" globalization has grossly distorted and made the Philippine economy more lopsided than ever. The economy is mainly agrarian and semifeudal and yet does not produce sufficient food for the people. This is the result of the dumping of agricultural surpluses by the imperialist countries and some neighboring countries. It is compelled to reduce food production to make way for the production of certain commercial crops for export and to serve the purposes of imperialist control.

The agricultural, mineral, forest and marine resources of our country are being exploited for export at a rapid pace and at lower prices. There is no economic development through national industrialization and land reform. The unequal exchange of raw material exports and manufactured imports persists. The natural resources of the country are plundered even as the imperialists and the local reactionaries shed crocodile tears over the lack of development and the destruction of the environment.

Incomes from the reexport of low-value added semi-manufactures and the export of cheap labor have not been enough to cover the growing balance of payments deficits. Thus, the foreign debt continues to mount. The reduced demand for raw materials, semi-manufactures and overseas contract workers is inflicting economic ruin and social devastation on the Philippines.

The toiling masses of workers and peasants and even the middle social strata are suffering from a rising rate of unemployment, drastic fall of incomes and the soaring prices of basic commodities and social services. The tax burden is mounting, even as the economy is depressed and the social infrastructure and social services are deteriorating. Debt service (interest payments and amortization of the principal) and military expenditures gobble up most of the government budget. Social misery and discontent are fueling legal mass protests and the people's war against exploitation and oppression.

The US-directed Arroyo regime has followed the US policy of global war of terror and carried out Oplan Bantay Laya since 2001 in order

to intimidate and attack the broad masses of the people, especially the legal opposition forces and the revolutionary forces. It has perpetrated gross and systematic human rights violations, victimizing workers and peasants as well as social activists from the ranks of the women and youth, the professionals and religious. As a consequence, the regime is isolated domestically and globally by its own crimes and by the outrage and resistance of the people.

US-supported state terrorism has been unleashed with a combination of the military, paramilitary and police agencies and the private armies and security agencies in order to bust labor unions and strikes and to displace millions of peasants and national minorities from their homes and farms. The Ampatuan massacre of 58 persons in less than an hour is emblematic of the crimes committed with impunity on a large scale by the combination of military, police and paramilitary forces in the service of the violent and corrupt regime and is indicative of the growing violence of political rivalries among reactionary politicians at the national and local levels.

The broad masses of the people and a broad united front of opposition forces are ranged against the Arroyo regime. The outcry for the ouster of the Arroyo ruling clique has been going on for years against its puppetry, corruption, brutality and mendacity. But the clique has increasingly used the coercive apparatuses of the state to suppress its critics and the people's resistance. Many of its opponents can only hope to obtain justice after the clique is removed from power.

However, in trying to preempt prosecution for its grievous crimes against the people, the Arroyo clique is desperately using the resources of the state to engage in electoral fraud and terrorism. Fears are widespread that it intends to declare martial law nationwide or in a number of key regions by claiming a failure of elections and thereby perpetuate itself in power. It can only inflame the people's resistance by treading the Marcos path of fascist dictatorship.

At any rate, the political crisis of the ruling system is worsening as a consequence of the economic and social crisis. The contradictions among the reactionaries are becoming ever more bitter and violent. Whichever reactionary clique gains power would tend to monopolize the bureaucratic loot and use the instruments of state violence in suppressing the intrasystemic opposition and the revolutionary movement of the people.

The major political parties and coalitions vying for offices in the 2010 elections, except Makabayan, avoid or even oppose the people's demand for national independence and genuine democracy and do not criticize and repudiate "free market" globalization and the US-instigated policy of terror against the people. The Lakas-Kampi party of the ruling clique clings to its discredited antinational and antidemocratic policies. The major opposition parties, like the Liberal Party and the Partido ng Masang Pilipino concentrate on pretending to be for good governance to dissociate themselves from the scandalous corruption of the Arroyo regime.

Whichever reactionary clique takes power through the electoral process is predisposed to follow the same path being trod by the Arroyo regime. It will keep power under the dictates of the US and the local exploiting classes and will use its power to enrich itself and deploy the coercive apparatuses of the state to suppress opposition.

Among the four major presidential candidates, former Senate president Villar seems to be the most patriotic and progressive insofar as he advocates the interests of Filipino businessmen, expresses sympathy for the workers and peasants and condemns human rights violations. However, it remains to be seen whether he can win and prove himself any better than his major political rivals who have bloodstained records of opposing the demands of the workers and peasants, like Aquino of Hacienda Luisita notoriety, Teodoro of being the mad dog defense secretary of Arroyo and Estrada of having a bellicose record during his failed presidency.

So far, in the history of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system, every president has kowtowed to the power of US imperialism and has

sought to amass wealth and power for self-aggrandizement against the rights and interests of the people. No president ever has had the political will to undertake significant reforms that respond to the people's demand for national independence and genuine democracy nor has used peace negotiations in order to forge agreements with the revolutionary movement on social, economic and political reforms as basis for a just peace.

We can anticipate that whichever new reactionary ruling clique arises from the 2010 elections, it would continue to apply draconian measures by legally misrepresenting revolutionary acts as common crimes, as acts of terrorism or as rebellion punishable by reclusion perpetua and therefore nonbailable. It would carry out campaigns of military suppression against the revolutionary forces of the Filipino people including those of the Bangsamoro. It would merely pretend at being for peace negotiations and try to use these not to arrive at agreements on basic reforms with the National Democratic Front of the Philippines but merely to deceive and confuse the people and destroy the revolutionary movement.

A new ruling clique is bound to continue allowing the US to deploy military troops in the Philippines under the US-RP Mutual Defense Pact and the Visiting Forces Agreement and under various pretexts, including so-called anti-terrorism, anti-drugs, humanitarian intervention, civic action, disaster relief, medical mission and the like. The ground is being laid for ever increasing military intervention and outright aggression, mainly under the pretext of combating terrorism as they label the Filipino and Bangsamoro revolutionaries as "terrorists."

The worsening crisis of the ruling system would compel the prospective ruling clique either to escalate counterrevolutionary violence or to seek truce and alliance with the revolutionary forces against the US and the worst of the local reactionaries if in the first place the armed revolutionary movement grows in strength, delivers lethal blows on the weak points of the ruling system and advances to a new and higher stage of development.

We can take full advantage of the socio-economic and political crisis of the ruling system in order to strengthen ourselves, wage all forms of revolutionary struggle and make great advances in our people's war. We can hope for national and social liberation only if the people gain the power for its realization. The people's power can arise only through revolutionary struggle against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes.

Current basis and tasks for the great advance

At its founding in 1968, the Communist Party of the Philippines had only a few score cadres and members and a few thousands of activists in various types of mass organizations. But since then we, as a Party, have been able to lead the revolutionary mass movement and make it grow in stages from small and weak to big and strong because we have availed of the favorable objective conditions for making revolution and have adopted and implemented the correct line in ideology, politics and organization.

We have pursued the ideological line of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the political line of new democratic revolution through protracted people's war and the organizational line of democratic centralism. We have accumulated rich experience and reliable knowledge, gained ideological, political and organizational strength and won great victories in the course of waging all forms of revolutionary struggle.

Our current all-round strength as a Party is our basis for carrying out our tasks and plans for advancing the new democratic revolution and the people's war from the stage of strategic defensive to that of strategic stalemate within the next five years.

We have thousands of Party cadres and members with the capability

to do work in theoretical and political education. They can propagate the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and our works on Philippine history and current circumstances. They can run the basic, intermediate and advanced levels of Party education everywhere possible in the urban and the rural areas. They can ensure that our Party members grasp the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method. They can develop cadres to lead work at various levels of our Party organization and in various fields of our work.

We must put forward and carry out an educational plan to produce sufficient Party cadres and members who can lead the work from grassroots level and upwards and who have the determination to establish and develop the Party and the mass organizations where these do not yet exist. The multiplication of our Party cadres and members who are schooled and steeped in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism makes our Party ever indestructible and victorious.

We must have a comprehensive political plan for expanding and consolidating the revolutionary mass movement in both urban and rural areas. For this purpose, we have tens of thousands of Party cadres and members to lead mass work. Their duty is to arouse, organize and mobilize the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the rest of the people along the line of the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war. We have a wide and deepgoing mass base running in the millions of the people nationwide.

We can advance wave upon wave from our existing mass base. The local branches and leading committees of the Party lead the mass organizations. These can be built much ahead of the expansion of the NPA. They prepare the way for the NPA and the establishment of the temporary and then the regular organs of political power. At any rate, the Party within the NPA can deploy teams of Red fighters for mass work.

Our Party has the New People's Army as its main organization for fighting the enemy, building the mass movement in the countryside,

establishing the organs of political power and strengthening the basic alliance of the working class and the peasantry. We have thousands of Red commanders and fighters capable of achieving immensely far more than could the original 60 Red fighters we had in 1969.

Our Party is at the head and the core of the NPA. It grows with the expansion of the NPA and ensures the consolidation of the NPA. We draw our Party recruits from the ranks of the Red fighters and from the mass activists. We must intensify the recruitment and the politico-military training of the Red fighters under the leadership of our Party.

We must have a plan to increase the number of Red commanders and fighters, units of the NPA and guerrilla fronts from around 120 to 180 in order to cover the rural congressional districts and gain the ability to deploy armed city partisan units in the urban congressional districts. The increase in guerrilla fronts can be made in a manner and at a pace at which the seed units of the NPA (be these teams, squads or platoons) can draw strength from the mass base in the areas of expansion.

The process of expanding towards the goal of 180 guerrilla fronts will result in strengthening the Party and the NPA command at the levels of the guerrilla front (district), province and region. Relatively stable base areas will arise on varying territorial scales, depending on the growth of the Party, the NPA, the mass base and the organs of political power and of course on the actual destruction and disintegration of enemy political power in the localities.

We must continue to carry out extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. We must intensify our tactical offensives as we widen and deepen our mass base. As a matter of course, the enemy forces will react to our offensives by concentrating on those guerrilla fronts where we are estimated as being strong and by unleashing vicious campaigns of suppression. But as the enemy forces are extremely limited on the national and regional scale, we can maintain our initiative by

employing flexible tactics of concentration to go on an offensive, shifting to evade a superior enemy force and dispersal to conduct mass work.

The Military Commission of the Central Committee is responsible for deciding and issuing the most strategic guidelines and plans. Every level of operational command must provide the necessary information and recommendations as well as feedbacks to their respective higher organs. Within their respective territorial scopes, they can formulate and issue specific guidelines and operational plans for tactical offensives aimed at attacking the weakest points of the enemy and seizing weapons in the process.

The weapons for arming new units of the NPA at the levels of the district, province and region must be obtained mainly from the enemy through ambushes, raids and other operations. The seizure of weapons from the enemy would accelerate upon the increase of initiative, coordination and cooperation of NPA units at the provincial and regional levels.

To enable the NPA to engage in offensive campaigns with short rest periods from battles, there must be an ever expanding mass base in which the mass organizations and local organs of political power can engage in campaigns and specific activities to improve the people's social, economic, health and cultural concerns.

The campaign for land reform must be carried out well in order to win the steadfast support of the poor peasants, farm workers and lower middle peasants. The minimum land reform program can be raised higher towards the level of the maximum, depending on the strength of the NPA and the peasant movement. The campaign of mass organizing, public education, raising production, health care, defense, cultural work and settling disputes among the people must be pursued well.

The people's militia must perform police duties and the mass organizations must train units in charge of self-defense. The NPA can strengthen itself only by having a far bigger number of people in

the militia and self-defense units that can serve as auxiliaries and as reserve forces. The front, provincial and regional units of the NPA , which serve as centers of gravity and/or as strike forces, can move faster and become more effective with the assistance of the organs of political power, the mass organizations and the local guerrilla units, the people's militias and the self-defense units within their respective areas of responsibility.

As well exposed in the implementation of Oplan Bantay Laya and previous national operational plans of the enemy, the number of enemy forces available for campaigns of suppression against the NPA in the countryside is limited relative to the population and the entire country. It cannot cover more than 10% of the terrain at every given time. Conversely, the NPA can move freely in more than 90% of Philippine territory. The number of enemy combat effectives can be further limited by the growing militancy of the urban mass movement and by the internecine fighting among the reactionaries in the form of coup and counter-coup threats against each other.

The NPA can take the initiative of developing armed city partisan warfare and launching special operations against enemy facilities and antipeople enterprises in order to force the enemy forces to go on guard duty and put more of its troops on the defensive. The movement of enemy units can be hampered by sapper operations, mine warfare, sniping and other small team operations. These appear to be mere pinpricks but have far reaching demoralizing effects on enemy troops.

The NPA must target for arrest and trial violators of human rights and international humanitarian law and the penal code of the people's democratic government. It must move to dismantle extremely exploitative plantations, logging-for-export enterprises, mining and other operations that grab land from the people and destroy the environment. The dismantling can be accomplished by disabling equipment, discouraging management personnel and launching tactical offensives against the armed guards. More land must be made available for land reform and food production.

In our first decade of Party expansion from 1968 to 1977, our Central Committee created and used the regional Party committees as the key instrument for organizing the Party, the NPA and the armed revolutionary mass movement nationwide. The current regional Party committees must strengthen themselves and the provincial committees directly under them. In turn, the district committees must strengthen the municipal or section committees directly under them. We must keep in mind that when a higher level of Party leadership works hard to strengthen the next lower level, the base of the Party is ultimately strengthened.

We must have an organizational plan for increasing the number of Party cadres and members for the purpose of achieving the great advance from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate. We need at least 200,000 Party members for this.

We need to be at the core of the people's army and to lead the work in the localities from the barrio level upwards and in the mass organizations, economic enterprises and cultural institutions. The organizational strength that we wish to develop for the great advance in the next five years will be the foundation for still greater advances in the next five years after.

We have a wide range of sources for our Party recruits. This includes the people's army and the mass organizations. From these sources, our Party must put emphasis on recruiting the advanced mass activists of the working class, peasantry and urban pettybourgeoisie. In wave upon wave of advances, we must ensure that we have the mass strength and various types of cadre capabilities necessary for winning the revolution.

We must remould and temper all our Party cadres and members through revolutionary education, hard work and arduous struggle in both rural and urban areas. We must encourage the workers and the educated youth to serve in the people's army and in the countryside. We need the most conscious and competent proletarian revolutionaries in the countryside in order to advance the people's war and at the same time prepare for the ultimate seizure of political power.

We are confident of fulfilling the ideological, political and organizational requirements for our Party to achieve the great advance from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate in the next five years. We must seize every minute, every day and every week for carrying out plans and the tasks assigned to us.

The crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system, and the people's suffering and outcry for advancing the new democratic revolution in the direction of socialism and communism are urging us to do our best and achieve our utmost at every phase and stage of the struggle.

Issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party
of the Philippines on December 26, 2009

Fulfill the requirements for the advance of the people's war from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate

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2010

We celebrate the 42nd founding anniversary of the Communist Party of the Philippines under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism by renewing our resolve to fulfill the political and other requirements for advancing from strategic defensive to strategic stalemate in the people's war for national liberation and democracy against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes.

We salute all Party cadres and members for strengthening the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally, for victoriously leading the New People's Army, the National Democratic Front of the Philippines, the mass organizations, the organs of political power and the broad masses of the people for overcoming Oplan Bantay Laya I and II of the US-Arroyo regime, and accumulating the all-round strength to fight and defeat the campaigns of suppression being launched by the US-Aquino regime.

The worsening crisis of world capitalism and that of the semicolonial and semifeudal system provide us with the favorable

conditions for further strengthening the subjective forces of the revolution and advancing our people's war from one stage to another. The ruling classes of big compradors and landlords are incapable of solving the crisis and are aggravating it as a consequence of their subservience to foreign monopoly capitalism, their plundering character and their brutality. The people are suffering more than ever before and they are driven by the crisis to fight fiercely for their national and democratic rights and interests.

As the advanced detachment of the working class and as the leading force in the Philippine revolution, our Party is determined to strengthen itself and guide other revolutionary forces, such as the New People's Army (NPA), the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP), the mass organizations, and the local organs of political power in further strengthening themselves. The growth in strength of all the organized forces of the revolution ensures the forward movement of the Filipino people in the new democratic revolution.

Benigno Aquino III has emerged as the chief representative of the exploiting classes, having drawn the biggest amount of campaign funds from them, enjoyed the support of the media lords, run the most guileful propaganda campaign and benefited from the manipulation of the US-controlled automated voting system. Thus, he is hellbent on continuing the US-dictated policies of neoliberal globalization, the preservation of the neocolonial fascist state and support for the global war of terror. His promise to lift the people from poverty and misery is a big lie. So is his promise to hold his predecessor Gloria Arroyo accountable for corruption and human rights violations. Poverty, corruption and human rights violations are bound to persist.

The US-Aquino regime does not conceal its objective of destroying the revolutionary movement by following the US Counterinsurgency Guide and supporting the strategic objectives of the US stated in Joint Vision 2020 to maintain world dominance. It continues the widespread militarization and brutal military campaigns of suppression unleashed by its counterrevolutionary predecessors. But it

wishes to cosmetize the reactionary military, police and paramilitary forces with ever more deceptive psywar, demagogic gimmickry and doleout campaigns in the guerrilla fronts and other areas of popular resistance.

The US-Aquino regime intends to use the peace negotiations with the NDFP as an instrument for deceiving the people and pressuring the NDFP towards capitulation. It is scheming to junk the peace negotiations when these cannot be bent towards the counterrevolutionary objectives of the regime. The revolutionary forces and the people are aware of these objectives and thus, even if they push for whatever can be achieved through peace talks, they harbor no illusions that revolutionary objectives could be achieved through these alone or in the main. They are fully aware that their patriotic and democratic aspirations can only be effectively pushed in peace negotiations alongside the primacy of people's war and mass struggles.

The best way to serve the Filipino people and to honor our revolutionary martyrs and heroes is to advance the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war. Without the people's army for waging the people's war, the Filipino people have nothing and can never hope to complete the struggle for national liberation and democracy. And neither can they hope to have their own stable bases or liberated zones, nor to encourage and realize the possible rise of an anti-imperialist coalition government.

We stand firmly for waging the people's war, fulfilling the requirements of full-scale guerrilla warfare and advancing it from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate by taking advantage of the crisis conditions in order to intensify the tactical offensives, carry out land reform and build the mass base and the local organs of democratic power in the countryside. At the same time, we encourage the patriotic and progressive forces in the urban areas to intensify the mass movement. We welcome mass activists who wish to join the people's army or to work in the countryside. They are urgently needed by the peasant masses.

Protracted global depression and disorder

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The world today is characterized by protracted economic depression and political disorder. The crisis of the world capitalist system keeps on worsening and deepening because the imperialist powers cling to the rapacious fundamentals of capitalist exploitation and the dogma of neoliberal globalization. The consequent political disorder involves the rise of reactionary currents, the escalation of state terrorism, foreign military intervention and wars of aggression. Amid all this rise the people's resistance and revolution.

The recent flurry of summits by the Group of 8, the Group of 20 and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation have exposed the confusion and inability of the leaders of the imperialist states to solve the protracted economic depression in their respective economies. They openly worry about protectionist trends that run counter to the policy of neoliberal globalization. They fear both the deflationary tendency resulting from the depression and the inflationary tendency from public spending.

In the imperialist countries, public funds have been used to bail out the big banks and corporations responsible for the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression. The use of public funds for bailout in combination with tax cuts have allowed the monopoly bourgeoisie, especially the finance oligarchy to show profits and revive the financial markets. However, production and employment have continued to decline.

Public deficits and debts have mounted. Subsequently, brutal austerity measures at the expense of the workers and the rest of the people have been adopted. Workers' economic, social and political rights are under severe attack. Wages have been pushed down. Health insurance has been made more expensive. Unemployment relief and pension benefits have been reduced. Social services have drastically been cut back.

The workers are being pressed upon by their dire conditions to wage class struggle. They are conducting strikes intermittently and on a widening scale. Among the most threatened and victimized as a result of the crisis are the blue-collar, the public sector, the young and the migrant workers. They are also the most conspicuous and most militant in general strikes and other mass protest actions. The student youth are rising due to the drastic cutbacks on education and other social services. Mass protests of millions have been sprouting in many countries in Europe and some states in the US and spreading to other countries.

The mass movement of the workers and youth is exposing the root causes of the crisis and is favoring the advance of progressive political parties. But the monopoly bourgeoisie is whipping up chauvinism, racism, religious prejudices and other reactionary currents in order to obfuscate the roots of the crisis and favor the rise of reactionary parties. A tug of war is going on between the forces of the Left and the Right in the electoral and other forms of struggle.

The imperialist states are increasingly repressive and prone to use state terrorism. The legal and political infrastructure for fascism has become well entrenched since the 9/11 anti-terrorist hysteria. The imperialist states have stepped up war hysteria and war production, and have proceeded to escalate military intervention and wars of aggression. They have taken advantage of the high rate of unemployment to recruit more troops for their armies and more police agents for breaking up strikes and street demonstrations. Fascism is rearing its ugly head as immigrants and migrant workers are scapegoated as having caused the crisis.

Contradictions among the imperialist powers on economic, financial, political and security issues are steadily growing and becoming conspicuous. But the imperialist powers still manage to maintain their alliance as they confront the oppressed peoples and nations in the underdeveloped countries. At any rate, the crisis is generating protectionism in the imperialist countries. Inter-imperialist

competition is intensifying more than ever before for sources of cheap labor, oil and other raw materials, markets, fields of investments and spheres of influence.

The US is wary over the tendency of the European Union to look after its own interests in Europe, Asia, Latin America and Africa. The EU is currently being buffeted by the public debt crisis as a consequence of the bailouts and accumulated neoliberal spending on high consumption and on construction projects. Japan continues to hold on to the coat tails of Uncle Sam in terms of accommodation or cooperation in trade, investments, technology and security. In turn, the US wants Japan to act as a counterforce to China as part of the arc of containment against China in the Asia-Pacific region.

However, the US and China have been the main partners under the policy of neoliberal globalization, with the former serving as the main source of investments and main market for the cheap sweatshop consumer manufactures of the latter. Now the US is increasingly blaming China for the global economic and financial crisis and prating that China's export surpluses are the cause of US indebtedness and that China is prolonging and aggravating the crisis by manipulating its currency in order to continue cheapening its exports.

The US depicts China as its current and long-term No. 1 rival in economic and political terms, notwithstanding the fact that China is a poor country with a low per capita GDP even if its total GDP now ranks second in the world. China has strengthened certain parts of the industrial base inherited from socialism, but has undermined other parts through privatization. It has large foreign exchange reserves which it has used to export capital to various parts of the world. But US and other multinational firms have a claim on such foreign exchange reserves.

China has improved its modern weaponry formidable for defensive purposes, but it is still no match to that of the US for offensive or aggressive purposes. It has sought to counterbalance the US military presence by forming the Shanghai Cooperation Organization,

developing close friendly relations with Russia, and making the US dependent on its mediating role with regard to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The US is currently being weakened by the economic and financial crisis as well as by its wars of aggression in Iraq and Afghanistan and the overstretch of its military forces elsewhere in the world. Thus, it appears weakened relative to China in East Asia and relative to the bloc of countries aligned with Cuba and Venezuela in Latin America.

The countries most devastated by the crisis of the world capitalist crisis are, of course, those underdeveloped ones in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and those degraded in Eastern Europe and certain republics of the former Soviet Union. The oppressed peoples and nations in all these countries undergo terrible suffering. They yearn and struggle for national and social liberation from the imperialist countries and the local exploiting classes.

The armed movements fighting the largest and most intense struggles are those of peoples victimized by the US wars of aggression such as those in Iraq and Afghanistan. Taking the revolutionary lead on a longer time scale are the Maoist parties waging or preparing to wage people's war for national liberation and new democracy in various continents. The people's war in India, the Philippines, Turkey and elsewhere is showing the way. Avowedly Marxist-Leninist parties like those in Colombia and other countries have also been waging revolutionary armed struggle for several decades.

The defeat of the Tamil Tigers has been due to strategic and tactical errors but has not foreclosed the reemergence of the revolutionary armed struggle in Tamil Eelam and Sri Lanka. A new revolutionary leadership has declared the continuance of the people's war. The Maoist party in Nepal is at the crossroads of gaining control over government through parliamentary struggle and mass uprisings, or of resuming a protracted people's war.

More armed revolutionary movements are bound to arise in various continents and countries due to the protracted crisis and its effects, such as increasingly severe forms of oppression and exploitation, more wars of aggression against the people and sharpening contradictions among the imperialist powers themselves. The ever worsening crisis of the world capitalist system is favorable to the armed revolution of the Filipino people.

Chronic crisis of the rotten system worsens

The chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal system continues to worsen under the impact of the crisis of the world capitalist system. More than ever before, the Philippines is dependent on the export of raw materials, migrant labor and low value-added semimanufactures, and the prices of these are now pressed down in the global market. More than ever, the Philippines is stricken by trade deficits, and is a beggar for foreign loans at more onerous terms and for portfolio investments in search of higher returns in the financial market.

The change of puppet administrations from Arroyo to Aquino does not involve any significant change. The Aquino regime clings to the dogma of neoliberal globalization, and shuns national industrialization and land reform. It remains dependent on foreign loans and grants for the continuance of an economy oriented to the export of raw materials, and infrastructure projects to serve agricultural and mining corporations. It has given first priority to selling the Philippines and luring more foreign investments through its Public-Private Partnership Program.

Like its predecessor regime, the puppet Aquino regime slavishly follows its US master's bidding in its counterinsurgency drive. The content and language of Aquino's new counterinsurgency campaign

plan, Oplan Bayanihan, to succeed Arroyo's brutal Oplan Bantay Laya--is just the same brutal dog with a different collar. It is patterned after and hews closely to the latest US Counterinsurgency Guide, with the same objectives and pretentious features. Couched in new fancy slogans, it combines all forms of deception, cooptation and brute force in seeking to destroy the revolutionary forces by all means. Like other counterinsurgency campaign plans in the past, Oplan Bayanihan has the same objective of controlling and silencing the population right down to the grassroots. It purports that the "whole-of-nation" and "people-centered" approach that it now totes is genuine and is primary over the military or "enemy-centered" approach. Its new slogans sugarcoat fascist bullets and atrocities with pretensions at reaching out to the people and respecting human rights, all to provide cover for and facilitate its brutal campaigns of suppression against the people and their revolutionary forces. In intent and reality, US counterinsurgency doctrine and practice--as more straightforwardly prescribed in military manuals--hold that, in the final analysis, military and other coercive measures are primary. As the revolutionary struggle gains strength, especially amid the ever intensifying crisis, the imperialist and puppet reactionary forces invariably resort to more and more militarist and fascist means and methods.

In conformity with the US Counterinsurgency Guide, the Aquino regime has been using the catchwords of good governance, delivery of services, economic development and security reforms in order to undertake graft-ridden programs and projects, hand doleouts for counterinsurgency purposes, aggravate the underdevelopment of the economy and divert resources from education, health and other essential social services to the military, debt service and profit remittances by multinational corporations.

The World Bank, the US Millennium Challenge Corporation and other imperialist agencies have joined the charade in announcing that they would favor and support states with development projects, such as those bandied about as Millennium Development Goals and Conditional Cash Transfers that supposedly would raise the quality of

life of the population, improve governance and the delivery of basic services, but whose real objectives are to keep the recipient countries backward and mendicant, and to further the imperialist neoliberal and counterinsurgency agenda.

The Filipino people suffer the impositions of a regime whose chieftain Aquino has been handpicked by the US and the local exploiters. His supposed victory in the elections was predetermined by the propaganda, financing and manipulation of the foreign-controlled automated electoral system by the US and the worst of the local reactionaries. The Aquino regime is being directed by the same foreign and domestic interests that directed the Arroyo regime. It has already exposed itself as essentially similar to the Arroyo regime in terms of puppetry, corruption, brutality and mendacity.

To surpass his electoral rivals in campaign rhetorics, Aquino promised to prosecute and try Arroyo and her accomplices for corruption and human rights violations. But the promise is not going to be fulfilled as proven by the built-in weaknesses and the waste-basketting by the Arroyo-dominated Supreme Court of the so-called Truth Commission, as well as by the continuing condonement not only of the Arroyo regime's human rights violations but also those of the current regime itself.

Intense pressure, including heavy criticism of the ridiculously trumped-up charges, widespread demands nationwide and abroad, the detainees' resolute struggle for justice and freedom and their hunger strike compelled the Aquino government to drop the charges against the Morong 43 and have them released. The AFP still has to answer for the injustice, torture and sufferings inflicted on the victims. The Aquino government has still failed to clear and release hundreds more political detainees who have also been falsely charged, including those whose scurity is guaranteed by the GRP-NDFP Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG). It has not rendered justice to the thousands of victims of human rights violations.

By all indications, the Aquino regime is hellbent on using the slogan

of human rights in order to continue the gross and systematic human rights violations. It is obviously going to use the peace negotiations with the NDFP and the MILF as an occasional propaganda device and to block the demands of the people for basic social, economic and political reforms to address the roots of the armed conflict and lay the basis for a just and lasting peace. So far, most important to the Aquino regime is beefing up the military, police and paramilitary forces and unleashing them against the people and the revolutionary forces.

The contradictions between the Filipino people and the Aquino regime will sharpen. The people will resent Aquino for failing to fulfill his promise to solve the problem of poverty by eliminating corruption. The regime has practically condoned the crimes of corruption committed by the Arroyo clique and allows the continuing rampage of corruption. To end poverty, it is not enough to stop corruption. Social justice and development through national industrialization and land reform are necessary. But the Aquino regime is opposed to these as well, as proven by his actuations on the Hacienda Luisita issue and his policy pronouncements and acts that exceedingly tout foreign investments and favor the imperialist policy of neoliberal globalization.

The people cannot tolerate extreme forms of exploitation and oppression inflicted on them. Social discontent is more widespread and intense than ever before. The mass organizations of the toiling masses and the middle social strata are girding for concerted mass actions. Strikes and mass demonstrations have begun to break out and are bound to spread. The armed revolutionary struggle is intensifying. The people's army is launching more tactical offensives than ever before in order to realize the objective of advancing from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate in five years.

As the crisis worsens and the people's resistance rises, the contradictions among the reactionaries intensify. The economic and financial basis for mutual accommodation among the reactionaries has further narrowed. The ruling reactionaries headed by Aquino

tend to monopolize the spoils of power. The reactionaries in the opposition are pushed to expose the corruption and other crimes of those who are in power. They are obliged to criticize the ruling clique in order to seize the political initiative and prepare for the next electoral contest.

At various levels of the political system, the competing reactionaries build their respective armed strength by cultivating factions within the military and police and by organizing their own armed body guards and private security agencies and militia units. GRP president Aquino as commander-in-chief of the armed forces has the advantage over his political opponents in using the military and police chain of command and his own private security corporation. But the regime is vulnerable to the changing alignments among the armed factions that struggle for power and spoils, especially in lucrative official assignments and criminal activities.

There is no sign whatsoever that the war between the Manila government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) would be resolved under the Aquino regime. The regime and its imperialist master seek the capitulation of the MILF so that they can exploit and plunder the natural resources in Bangsamoro land in Mindanao. But the MILF is unwilling to give up the right of the Bangsamoro to self-determination and to their ancestral domain.

While the war continues in Bangsamoro land, the Manila government has less deployable military forces against the New People's Army. At the same time, while the people's war advances throughout the Philippines, the MILF and the Bangsamoro have better prospects of achieving their revolutionary aspirations. The revolutionary forces and people led by the Communist Party of the Philippines have always recognized the right of the Moro people to national self-determination. The Moro people have the right to secede from an oppressive state as well as to opt for autonomy in a centralized or federal state that is nonoppressive.

The contradictions between the US imperialists and the Filipino people are sharpening in every field--economic, political, military

and cultural. The US has tightened its grip on the Philippine economy under the policy of neoliberal globalization. At the same time, it has increased its military intervention under its policy of "global war on terror" and particularly under the Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA) and the US Counterinsurgency Guide. Under various pretexts, the US has realized the permanent basing and deployment of US military forces in the Philippines. US military officers have openly acted as the bosses of the Filipino puppet forces.

The US is bent on escalating its military intervention to a war of aggression against the Filipino people as the revolutionary forces gain strength towards the strategic stalemate. But US military forces are being adversely affected by the domestic US economic and financial crisis, by being sucked into the quagmires of two wars of aggression and by being overstretched in overseas deployment.

The possibility of a US war of aggression against the Filipino people can be diminished by the rise of more armed revolutions in the world and by diplomatic actions taking advantage of growing contradictions between the US and certain countries in East Asia, like China and the DPRK. But the most important consideration is that the Filipino people and the revolutionary forces shall have gained a great amount of strength and experience from advancing towards the strategic stalemate and shall have prepared to fight a US war of aggression.

The Party leads the revolution

The Communist Party of the Philippines has successfully led the Philippine revolution for over 42 years since its founding. It has defeated all the military campaigns of suppression unleashed by the Marcos regime to "nip the revolution in the bud" from 1969 to 1972 and the 14 years of fascist dictatorship from 1972 to 1986; and

thereafter, the various campaigns of the post-Marcos regimes from 1986 to the present.

It has grown from small to big and from weak to strong through fierce revolutionary struggles. It has become tempered in battles against the enemy forces and overcome tremendous odds and difficulties. It has gained rich experience from which to draw lessons in order to advance the people's war from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate in five years.

The Party has won great victories in the fields of ideology, politics and organization. It has upheld, defended and promoted Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the theory of the revolutionary proletariat. It has applied this theory on Philippine history and circumstances in order to determine the character of Philippine society and to draw the general political line of new democratic revolution through protracted people's war. It has adhered to the principle of democratic centralism in building an organization that is deeply rooted among the toiling masses throughout the country.

The Party has gained strength and competence in leading the Philippine revolution because it has resolutely and diligently built itself ideologically, politically and organizationally. Criticism and self-criticism are conducted regularly and in a timely way in all organs and units to identify and overcome errors and shortcomings and to improve work and style of work. When errors and shortcomings of major proportions are committed, higher organs conduct rectification campaigns of varying scale and duration.

The CPP Central Committee initiated and led the Second Great Rectification Movement (SGRM) from 1992 to 1998 that identified, criticized, repudiated and rectified major errors of Left opportunism and Right opportunism arising from the subjectivist notion that the Philippines has ceased to be semifeudal. The Left opportunists who pushed the lines of "strategic counteroffensive" and "urban insurrectionism" (Red Area-White Area, etc.) departed from the strategic line of protracted people's war and undermined the mass base of the revolutionary movement. Subsequently, they conjoined

with the Right opportunists who got carried away by Gorbachovism, Trotskyism, bourgeois liberalism and other pettybourgeois trends and who were most vocal in espousing the liquidation of the Party.

The Party held its ground against the opportunists and called for the reaffirmation of basic revolutionary principles and the rectification of errors. It confronted and defeated the opportunists on all major issues, renewed the criticism and repudiation of modern revisionism in view of the blatant and full-scale restoration of capitalism in revisionist-ruled countries. It combatted the ideas and policies related to the ideological, political, economic and military offensives of the US and its allies against the cause of national liberation, democracy and socialism.

The SGRM held the incorrigible opportunists and renegades accountable for gross ideological and political errors and for crimes arising from hysterical anti-informer campaigns. It frustrated and defeated the wrecking operations of the opportunists who eventually exposed themselves as renegades and special agents of the enemy. Ideological work was intensified. Through vigorous efforts, the Party successfully recovered and expanded the mass base in rural and urban areas. But certain aspects and areas of work did not get prompt and proper attention until after the SGRM.

The Party was able to preserve itself and gain strength under the worst conditions of adversity. It was still in the process of laying its foundation when Marcos imposed the fascist dictatorship and sought to destroy the revolutionary movement. In the time of the first Aquino regime, the military campaigns called Lambat Bitag coincided with the opportunist lines still at work within the Party. The Ramos and Estrada regimes continued the campaigns of suppression while the Party concentrated on the rectification movement and the recovery of the mass base.

The Arroyo regime carried out Oplan Bantay Laya (OBL) for nearly ten years. The victories gained from the SGRM served the revolutionary movement well. In certain regions, the revolutionary forces that came under concentrated enemy attack became stronger.

Others maintained their strength to be able to fight back in armed and legal struggles. One region was able to surmount the whole course of OBL I but declined in both armed and legal forms of struggle in the course of OBL II. In certain regions, the revolutionary forces grew because the enemy military forces were sparse due to overextension elsewhere.

Even when the enemy forces launched the most brutal campaigns of military suppression, the Party has been able to engage in ideological building by undertaking courses at the primary, intermediate and advanced levels in many rural and urban areas. It is impossible for the enemy to stop ideological and political studies in so many guerrilla fronts, mountainous sites, private homes, offices and campus grounds apart from studies conducted in guerrilla fronts under concentrated attack by the enemy forces.

It is absolutely necessary to have Party cadres and members who have a sufficient level of theoretical knowledge of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. They serve as the hard core of the revolutionary movement. The long life and victories of the Party and the entire revolutionary movement are assured as the number of Marxist-Leninist-Maoists keep on increasing.

Theoretical and political studies have been facilitated and accelerated by the translation of the classics and major Party documents in various Philippine languages, by the legal availability of these in hard copies and on the internet in digital copies, by simplified study materials and by the use of audio-visual media and illustrations in hard and digital copies,

The Party has consistently promoted the general political line of democratic revolution through protracted people's war in response to the semicolonial and semifeudal conditions that have not only persisted but also worsened and deepened under the policy regime of neoliberal globalization and the global war of terror pushed by the US imperialists. The Party has taken up all the major political, economic, social, cultural and military issues related to the general line of the revolution. It has debated with and defeated the

exponents of blatant counterrevolution and reformism.

The Party has vigorously aroused, organized and mobilized various sections of the masses to undertake various forms of struggle against the current enemy and the entire ruling system. The mass movement has continued to persevere and grow in both urban and rural areas. It can grow faster than ever as it responds to the demands of the masses themselves and members of mass organizations are recruited in accordance with easily understood constitutions and programs of such organizations.

There is no way for the enemy to stop the mass organizations, especially because of the worsening political and economic crisis of the ruling system. But certain mass organizations and alliances have declined not so much because of the enemy campaigns of suppression but because of errors and shortcomings of leadership in the Party organs concerned.

The mass movement of workers, peasants, youth, women, professionals and other people is the source of Party members and NPA fighters. It is the force by which the masses themselves express their needs, demands and aspirations. It is the force by which they can build and appreciate their own strength. It is also the force by which various types of alliances can be formed.

The New People's Army has 110 to 120 guerrilla fronts that cover significant portions of 800 municipalities in 70 provinces. The number of guerrilla fronts fluctuates because of concentrated enemy attacks with varying durations. The enemy has no capability to concentrate attacks on more than 10% of the guerrilla fronts at every given time.

To frustrate and defeat concentrated attacks by the enemy forces, the NPA can shift its forces, leave units to pin down the enemy and launch offensives at the weakest points of the enemy elsewhere. While the enemy can concentrate strength on less than 10% of the Philippines, the NPA can move around freely in more than 90%.

The NPA continues to integrate the revolutionary armed struggle with genuine land reform and the building of the mass base and organs of political power. It is invincible because it smashes the bureaucratic military power of the state, responds to the peasant demand for land and realizes land reform as the main content of the democratic revolution and because it builds the people's democratic state of workers, peasants and other people.

The National Democratic Front is effectively harmonizing 17 revolutionary forces consisting of the Party, the NPA and the underground revolutionary mass organizations of workers, peasants, national minorities, women, youth, teachers, health professionals, lawyers, scientists and technologists, writers and artists, the religious and other sectors. It is a united front for armed struggle. At the same time, all the revolutionary forces have authorized it to engage in peace negotiations with the reactionary government.

The peace negotiations have dragged on because one reactionary regime after another has sought to use it in futile attempts to deceive the people, split the revolutionary forces and press the NDFP towards capitulation and pacification. But the NDFP has correctly and consistently asserted that the framework agreement, The Hague Joint Declaration, must be followed and that the roots of the armed conflict must be addressed through basic social, economic and political reforms to lay the basis for a just and lasting peace.

The Party and the NDFP have served well the people and the revolutionary forces by declaring that the line of negotiations for a just peace is no different from the line of struggle for national liberation and democracy. A just peace can be achieved in the following ways: the complete victory of the armed revolution, the emergence of an anti-imperialist coalition government or an anti-imperialist alliance and truce.

None of these possibilities is easily attainable because the enemy persists in trying to destroy the revolutionary movement of the people. The NDFP carries on the peace negotiations because these provide the opportunity to articulate the program for a people's

democratic revolution, to win more adherents to the revolution and to be open to possibilities presented by the worsening crisis of the ruling system and the world capitalist system.

The new fighting tasks

It is an achievement of great national and world significance that the Communist Party of the Philippines and the Filipino people have carried forward the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war for more than four decades and in the process overcome the most vicious campaigns of suppression unleashed by US imperialism and the local reactionary classes.

The Party has taken an outstanding role in exposing and opposing the ideological, political, economic, cultural and military offensives of the US and other imperialist powers abetted by the revisionist betrayal of socialism. It has analytically anticipated the resurgence of the forces of national liberation, democracy and socialism as a result of the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system under the policy of neoliberal globalization.

It is fine that the Party has resolved to advance the people's war from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate in five years' time. The sight of the near horizon has aroused the optimism and heightened the vigor of the revolutionary forces as they rise in triumph over the harse difficulties and trials inflicted in the course of the enemy's vicious Oplan Bantay Laya just as they have triumphed over all past similar counterinsurgency campaigns, and rallied to push forward and make a new leap in the struggle, armed with deep resolve, valuable lessons and increased strength. Inspired by their victories accumulated in more than 40 years of ardent struggle and the higher new challenge, the Party membership, NPA units and revolutionary forces are resolved to raise the level of intensity and quality of their struggle, fulfill the requisites, carry out

the required tasks, and advance the people's war. The Party must take advantage of the favorable conditions created by the crisis of the world capitalist system for waging revolution. It must confront and defeat the scheme of the enemy to destroy the armed revolution in the Philippines. It must make great strides in realizing the people's aspirations for national and social liberation.

Certain requirements have to be fulfilled in order to advance the people's war. We must be clear about the tasks to be carried out in order to fulfill such requirements.

1. The Party must expand boldly without letting a single undesirable in. It must increase its membership to an extent that it has a Party branch in a majority of barangays and in every NPA company and it has Party groups at various levels of mass organizations and institutions. It must be able to recruit Party members from the urban and rural-based mass organizations as well as from units of the NPA.

The main source of Party recruits is the revolutionary mass movement. The mass organizations of workers, peasants, national minorities, urban poor, women, youth, migrants, professionals and others must run far ahead of the Party in recruiting their own members from the unorganized masses. Recruitment can be carried out in large numbers, because acceptance of the constitution and program of the mass organization with patriotic and progressive character suffices for a recruit to become a member. Members thus recruited take general and special mass courses to deepen their understanding, adherence and commitment to the national and democratic cause. Rapid expansion of membership can be realized especially when these mass organizations are at the lead of propaganda campaigns and mass mobilizations of the people to fight for their immediate and strategic aspirations.

The Party can expand easily upon the rapid growth of the mass organizations. It gives priority to the recruitment of the most advanced mass activists at every given time. Any resident of the Philippines at least 18 years of age who accepts the Party

Constitution and Program can qualify immediately as a candidate-member. Within the period of candidature, the recruit is provided with the basic Party course and has the same rights and obligations as the full members, except the right to vote.

The period of candidature for workers and peasants is six months; for those of the urban pettybourgeoisie, one year; and for the middle bourgeoisie, two years. Kabataang Makabayan Communist Youth League members automatically become full members of the Party upon reaching the age of 18, provided they have finished the basic Party course.

The Party must enforce the provisions on Party membership as stated in the Constitution. Any notion that there are rules and standards for membership other than those in the Constitution must be dispelled. The long-running neglect and indefinite delay in the promotion of candidate-membership to full membership must be rectified. Party candidate-members must be provided with the basic Party course promptly, tasked and promoted to full membership upon completion of their period of candidature.

After the candidate-member becomes a full member, he/she must take the intermediate and higher Party courses as soon as possible. A full Party member is expected to become more inspired and more active in fulfilling tasks within the Party and the revolutionary mass movement or in any unit of the people's army.

All Party organs must continually conduct assessments and summing up of their experiences to determine their strengths and weaknesses and draw new plans for their work. The Central Committee of the Party must require all regional Party Committees, Commissions and similar leading organs to make reports and recommendations on the status of the revolutionary forces in their respective areas and lines of work, find out from them their strengths and weaknesses, and provide them with guidance for enhancing their strengths and overcoming their weaknesses. It must require strong and well-developed regions to help weaker ones in augmenting cadres and resources for strengthening the Party, the

people's army and people's mass organizations and the united front. Every higher Party organ must inquire from the organs below it what are their strengths and weaknesses and what are the errors and shortcomings of leadership as well as the impact of enemy campaigns of suppression and the interrelation of the subjective forces and the circumstances.

2. The Party must direct the New People's Army to increase the number of full-time fighters. Every fully developed guerrilla front must have a total strength of at least one company. It should develop in stages from the seed unit deployed from a previously existing guerrilla front. Developing a guerrilla front entails integration of the revolutionary armed struggle, the agrarian revolution and building the mass base and the organs of democratic political power under the leadership of the Party.

The leadership of the Party over the NPA is ensured with the Central Committee and the Military Commission making the strategic policies and plans on the basis of reports and recommendations below and then issuing the directives to the NPA National Operational Command. At every level of command are a political department and a political officer to maintain the dual leadership with the commander in charge of military command and operations. Every company or platoon has a Party branch and every squad a Party group.

The units of the NPA must be increased by fighting the enemy forces and seizing their weapons. The NPA units must wage only battles that they can win. They do so by concentrating enough strength to wipe out an enemy force, using such elements as surprise, favorable terrain and favorable conditions. They must give priority to battles of annihilation that take the form of ambushes and raids. By annihilation, we mean taking away by armed force the capability of enemy units to fight but treating the captives leniently after they are disarmed or they lose the ability to fight.

The tactics of annihilation must be complemented by tactics of attrition at the sure expense of the enemy. The NPA must train from

the ranks of the full-time fighters and the militia special teams for reconnaissance, sniping, producing and employing command-detonated explosives and other means, with the objective of destroying moving and parked vehicles used for transporting military personnel, weapons, fuel and other war materiel as well as storage facilities for these.

Enterprises that do not comply with the rules and regulations of the people's democratic government, disregard and violate the welfare and interests of the people, and conduct abusive and antagonistic actions against the people must be banned, disabled or dismantled. These include those that engage in destructive large-scale logging, mining and plantations for export; plunder nonrenewable resources; ruin the environment and take land away from land reform. The military forces and security agencies protecting these enterprises are targets for annihilation by the people's army.

As a matter of revolutionary law and justice, those who have committed murder and other serious crimes against the people and the revolutionary forces, including human rights violations and plunder, must be arrested by the people's army and militia, investigated by the people's prosecution and tried by the people's court. Such criminals are subject to the necessary amount of force by the arresting units if they are armed and dangerous, resist arrest or are protected by bodyguards and units of the reactionary military or police.

The NPA must use the tactics of concentration in order to win the tactical offensives against target enemy units. But it must also be vigilant against the enemy using the same tactics of concentration. When a superior enemy force comes looking for a fight and implements a plan to occupy an area, be it a guerrilla front or a part of it, the NPA must be ready to use the tactics of evasion or shifting in order to avoid being put at a disadvantage, to trade space for time and to move to an advantageous position for conducting a counteroffensive at a later time or at a location where the enemy is weak. When the enemy forces set camp, the NPA must harass and

inflict damage on them and be on the lookout for opportunities to annihilate any enemy unit or element going out of the camp.

The NPA must use the tactics of dispersal to cover a wide area for mass work and develop a wide network of mass organizations, self-defense units and militia against the enemy. In a guerrilla front, the NPA must always maintain a relatively concentrated unit (e.g., a platoon) and relatively dispersed units (e.g., two platoons divisible into squads and propaganda teams).

The NPA can carry out intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare and flexibly use the tactics of concentration, shifting and dispersal only if it has an ever widening and deepening mass base. The peasant masses are ever willing to let their best sons and daughters join the people's army. They are the active base and limitless source of Red fighters and resources for the armed revolution because the NPA is their instrument for fulfilling their demand for land and for realizing their economic, social and political liberation.

The NPA must promote the establishment and development of the mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth, women, cultural activists and other sectors of people in the localities. It must help build the organs of political power. Initially, these are appointive committees of the people and eventually elected by the representatives of the mass organizations or by the entire community. The Party must systematically deploy urban-based mass activists to the countryside so that they can learn from the peasant masses, render service to the peasant communities and in due course join the people's army. Party cadres and members from the ranks of the workers and educated youth are urgently needed for strengthening the people's army and the Party in the countryside.

3. The Party must strengthen the basic alliance of the working class and peasantry. This is the combination of the leading force and the main force of the new democratic revolution. Through the Party as the advanced detachment, the working class is the leading force because it directs the current course of the revolution towards the socialist future. The peasantry is the main force because it is the

most numerous exploited class whose struggle for land is the main content of the democratic revolution. The proletariat and the peasantry constitute more than 90% of the people. Their combination is indispensable and decisive for winning the new democratic revolution.

The basic worker-peasant alliance must win over the urban pettybourgeoisie as allies in order to constitute the alliance of progressive forces. The National Democratic Front is the best expression and most consolidated underground alliance of the workers, peasants and the urban pettybourgeoisie. It must be strengthened further. The urban pettybourgeoisie is a small part of Philippine society and constitutes the lower part of the bourgeoisie. It suffers a certain degree of oppression and exploitation and it can be won over to contribute its capabilities and influence to the revolution.

The Party must further win over the middle bourgeoisie to cooperate with the alliance of progressive forces and become active in a formal or informal alliance of patriotic forces interested in strengthening the anti-imperialist and democratic movement of the entire people. The middle bourgeoisie is interested in national industrialization and can understand land reform as a way of releasing capital, expanding the domestic market and serving as the source of food and raw materials for industry. The alliance of patriotic forces is interested in the rise of an anti-imperialist and democratic government.

The Party must be open to the broadest possible alliance, which includes the reactionary forces opposed to the enemy that is the most reactionary and most servile to the imperialists. Reactionaries are temporary and unreliable allies. They join the alliance because of their self-interest and they are inclined to attack the revolution once they come into power. But alliance with them is necessary in order to isolate and destroy the enemy. Relative to the broadest possible alliance, the Party must maintain its independence and initiative and must draw benefits for the revolutionary movement from the conflicts of the reactionaries and build its strength for eventually overthrowing the entire ruling system.

So far, in the history of our Party, the reactionary force considered as the enemy has been the ruling clique. But the Party does not foreclose the possibility of an anti-imperialist alliance and truce with a regime in power that takes an anti-imperialist and democratic position. It considers the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations as a way of encouraging and stimulating the emergence of a government of national unity against the imperialists and their unrepentant puppets.

For as long as no possibility exists for such a government to arise, the Party and the Filipino people must exert all efforts to carry forward the new democratic revolution through people's war. After we succeed in advancing from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate, our task is to fully develop the strategic stalemate until the conditions are ripe for the nationwide seizure of power through the strategic offensive.

Issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party
of the Philippines on December 26, 2010

Further strengthen the Party to advance the people's war

2011

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We celebrate today with boundless happiness the 43rd anniversary of the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and all the victories that we have won since then in the Filipino people's democratic revolution against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

We salute and honor all Party cadres and members, all the revolutionary forces and the entire people for all their efforts and sacrifices in bringing about victories in the revolution. Let us fervently extol and emulate our revolutionary martyrs and outstanding heroes.

Since last year, we have seen significant achievements in our ideological, political and organizational work. We have scored major successes in fulfilling the political requirements for realizing the plan to advance from strategic defensive to strategic stalemate. We have strengthened the political foundation for intensifying the people's war.

As a result, the NPA has been able to launch and win more and more tactical offensives despite prolonged large-scale military offensives by the fascist puppet state. It has delivered lethal blows on the enemy and captured weapons to form more fighting units. It has carried out extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base.

The crisis conditions in the world capitalist system and in the Philippine ruling system are extremely favorable for waging the people's democratic revolution and for realizing the medium-term plan to advance from strategic defensive to strategic stalemate. Let us take full advantage of the ever worsening and deepening crisis conditions.

Monopoly capitalism and the neoliberal policy are in total discredit. The time has come for the proletariat and people in the Philippines and throughout the world to intensify the counteroffensive against imperialism and reaction. Let us march forward in the struggle for national liberation and democracy and unite with the global anti-imperialist and socialist movement.

Protracted and worsening crisis of global capitalism

In recent decades, the monopoly capitalists in various countries have been driven by the profit motive and competition to adopt new technology and bring new products into the market as a necessary way for capital expansion. The adoption of higher levels of technology has intensified the contradiction between the social character of production and the private character of appropriation in the capitalist economy.

The monopoly bourgeoisie has used information technology and other new technologies to raise productivity and to accelerate profit

making and capital accumulation by reducing the wages paid to the working class. It has also used the more efficient forms of transport and communications to accelerate the commerce in goods and services and to spread the ideology and propaganda of monopoly capitalism, usually packaged in petty-bourgeois language.

Faced with the recurrent and worsening crisis of overproduction and the tendency of the profit rate to fall, the monopoly bourgeoisie has used information technology to speed up financial transactions and generate all sorts of financial derivatives above the real economy. It has thus accelerated the extraction of superprofits and the accumulation of fictitious capital. It has promoted the financialization of the US and the other most advanced capitalist countries and the rise of the financial oligarchy sitting on top of the monopoly capitalist heap.

The neoliberal policy of “free market globalization” is concurrent with the rapid rise of technology and the recurrence of ever worsening economic and financial crises. It has brought the capitalist system to a far worse crisis than what has been described as stagflation in the 1970s. It has accelerated the accumulation and concentration of both productive and finance capital in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie, especially the financial oligarchy.

Since the adoption of the neoliberal policy, which misrepresents monopoly capitalism as free market capitalism, the world capitalist system has been wracked by successive crises. But for a while until 2008, each crisis appeared remediable by further expansion of the money supply and heavy doses of credit at the level of the state, corporations and households. The world still has to see the full destructive effect of the accumulated derivatives worth more than US\$600 trillion generated by banks and investment houses in recent decades.

It used to be said that all problems could be solved by helicoptering more money from the central banks and pouring it on the problem. Since the financial meltdown in 2008, it has become conspicuous that the abuse of finance capital to override the crisis of

overproduction has limits and leads to a crisis comparable to that in the Great Depression. The limits have been exceeded by the public treasuries providing trillions of dollars (US\$7.7 trillion in the US alone) to bail out the crisis-stricken banks and corporations and letting them raise profits on their balance sheets.

The bailouts have served to conjure at times the illusion of recovery in the financial markets even as production continues to stagnate and unemployment continues to rise at the very center of global capitalism. But the financial crisis arising from further borrowing has taken the form of enormous public deficits and public debt. This has been aggravated not only by the colossal amounts of bailout money for the banks and corporations but by the persistent tax cuts provided to the corporations and the wealthy and the rising bureaucratic and military expenditures even while social spending is reduced.

The response of the international banks and the imperialist states to the crisis of public deficits and debts is to impose austerity measures and cut social spending that shift the burden of the crisis to the people who are already suffering from high levels of unemployment, much reduced incomes and soaring prices of basic goods and services. The austerity measures have only served to worsen and deepen the economic crisis due to the dogmatic adherence to the neoliberal policy and the stubborn refusal to undertake fiscal measures to directly generate employment, revive demand and stimulate production. The imperialists have repeatedly made claims since 2009 that the global economy is on the way to recovery. Yet, the crisis persists and threatens to take another downturn. Even the economies of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS) which have fared better than the industrial powers during the crisis and were perceived as alternative engines of growth have already started to show signs of slowing down.

All imperialist countries are beset by the crisis of public deficit and debt and by falling value of currencies, especially the US dollar and the Euro. Like the Third World countries, they are chronically at the

brink of default and bankruptcy but get temporary relief by taking new loans that sink them deeper into the debt trap. The imposition of austerity measures at the expense of the people has resulted in massive protests and social disorder in several imperialist states.

The grave economic and financial crises are pushing the imperialist powers to step up war production and to wage wars of aggression. Their objective is to stimulate production by the military-industrial complex and expand economic territory abroad through threats and wars of aggression. Since 2001, the US has spent more than US\$4 trillion on wars of aggression, apart from huge expenditures on so-called homeland security.

Under the neoliberal economic policy regime and the persistent influence of the neoconservative military policy, the US and the NATO countries have unleashed wars of aggression at an increasingly rapid rate, including those in the Balkans, West Asia, Central Asia and Africa since the end of the Cold War in 1991. The main thrust of the wars is to seize markets and fields of investment, control sources and routes of oil and other natural resources and install puppet governments.

The reactionary political parties in the service of the monopoly capitalists promote jingoism and war hysteria and obfuscate the roots of the economic crisis by whipping up chauvinism, racism, religious bigotry and xenophobia against migrant workers, Muslims and immigrants. They use these reactionary currents to try to counter the anti-imperialist and socialist-oriented forces, which the crisis has caused to resurge. Thus, there is currently a tug of war between pro-imperialist and anti-imperialist forces in the industrial capitalist countries.

Nevertheless, the worsening economic and social conditions in the imperialist countries are steadily engendering mass protests among the people. Gigantic mass protest actions have broken out in Greece, Portugal, Spain, Italy, the United Kingdom and other countries in Europe. The Occupy movement has arisen in Wall Street and spread out to many cities in and beyond the US. The working class

is becoming increasingly conscious of the need to engage in class struggle against the monopoly bourgeoisie that has long pressed them down. The subjective forces of the revolution have ample favorable conditions on which to grow in strength.

The already prolonged and ever worsening economic and financial crisis in the imperialist countries has a heavy adverse impact on the rest of the world in terms of reduced import orders and exports, decline of production and tightening of international credit. An economic depression has fallen upon the entire world, especially in the underdeveloped countries, which in turn recoils on the imperialist countries.

The imperialist powers, the foreign banks and corporations are extremely demanding on the client states. They impose ever more onerous terms of debt and use loans as leverage for taking over domestic public and private assets and plundering the natural resources of the country. The puppet governments yield to the monopoly firms their local capital assets, land and natural resources at dirt cheap prices.

The imperialist powers are more than ever prone to engage in military intervention and wars of aggression in order to acquire cheap sources of raw materials, markets, fields of investment and spheres of influence. The struggle among the imperialist powers for a redivision of the world is growing. The integration of China and Russia into the world capitalist system has cramped the space for mutual accommodation among the imperialist powers.

The conditions of economic depression and worsening exploitation have intensely aggrieved the people. Mass uprisings and political turmoil are surging to shake and topple the rulers and autocrats of the client states of the US and other imperialist powers. Conditions are ripe for revolutionary armed struggles in many countries and entire global regions.

The so-called Arab Spring has swept the Middle East and North Africa, with the masses demanding democratic changes, toppling

despotic regimes and shaking others. Contrary to their hypocritical claims to democracy, the imperialist powers headed by the US are trying to redirect the people's uprisings and install new puppets in certain countries and perpetuate puppet monarchies in other countries.

The revolutionary movements for national liberation and democracy are growing stronger in India, the Philippines, Kurdistan, Colombia and Nigeria. Where the imperialist powers have unleashed wars of aggression, the people are engaged in armed struggles, as in Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Somalia, Sudan and Libya. Revolutionary parties in Asia, Africa and Latin America are preparing to wage armed revolution.

The US has announced the reduction of the number of US troops in Afghanistan and Iraq but it retains strategic military bases in and around these countries. It seeks to concentrate on the Asia-Pacific region under what it declared to be the American Pacific Century. It considers increasing investments in the region as the key to its prosperity. It seeks to counter China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) and has made clear its intention of maintaining and increasing military presence and missions in the Asia-Pacific despite planned defense spending cuts.

However, the US continues to be bogged down in the Middle East and North Africa. Aside from keeping permanent strategic military bases in Iraq and Afghanistan, the US and its NATO allies have unleashed a vicious war of aggression on Libya, massacring 100,000 Libyans under the slogan of "humanitarian intervention". Also under this pretext, they are increasingly getting embroiled militarily in such African countries as Sudan and Somalia and making war preparations against Syria and Iran.

At any rate, the US is trying to develop the Trans-Pacific Partnership on top of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) and regional and bilateral trade agreements either to contain China or to continue to engage it and press for the dismantling of its state-owned enterprises which have made the Chinese economy more

resilient than other monopoly capitalist economies in coping with the crisis of global capitalism.

The US openly regards China as its rising rival despite their close relations under the neoliberal policy and the US reliance on China in bringing the DPRK to the negotiating table with regard to the latter's nuclear research and development program. The US does not cease to make war provocations against the DPRK, supply arms to Taiwan, stir up tensions over the Spratly islands issue and incite social unrest in Tibet and Xinjiang. Part of the US' long-term interest and objectives in Africa is to contain and counter the steadily developing trade and diplomatic inroads of China in the continent.

China is wary of the US and has been active in building the Shanghai Cooperation Organization as a forum for collective security against the US and NATO. It has also entered into bilateral and multilateral trade agreement with Japan, South Korea and Southeast Asian countries without the US. Since 2010, the BRICS countries have activated themselves as an economic bloc in order to counter the global dominance of the US-led alliance of imperialist powers.

In the Americas, more countries and their peoples are asserting their independence against US imperialist aggression and intervention. Thirty-three countries participated in the establishment of the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC) which aims to promote greater integration, cooperation and dialogue in the Americas minus the US and Canada. Widely perceived as an alternative to the US-dominated Organization of American States, the CELAC is described by its leaders as an attempt to reduce US intervention and promote the independence of the countries in the region.

China is in a position to cooperate with the Philippines in a program of national industrialization. But the US and Philippine governments seek to block such a possibility by generating tensions between China on one side and the Philippines and other countries

in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) over the issue of the Spratly islands. The US seeks to manipulate the issue in order to justify the maintenance and enlargement of US military forces in the Philippines and restrain Sino-Philippine economic relations.

But no matter how hard the US tries to retain hegemony over the Asia-Pacific region, its efforts are undermined and weakened by its internal economic decline, its overextension over several regions of the world and the increasingly assertive forces for national independence and democracy in the region.

The US can no longer maintain an unchallenged hegemony as in the recent past when it strutted as the sole superpower after the collapse of the Soviet Union. A multipolar world has emerged. The peoples in various global regions are increasingly vigilant and militant against plunderous and aggressive US actions and activities.

The Philippines in the vortex of crisis

Like the pseudo-development policy of the big comprador-landlord Marcos regime, the series of post-Marcos regimes have aggravated and deepened the semifeudal character of the Philippine economy under the US-instigated neoliberal economic policy since the 1980s. The ever worsening crisis, itself generated by the basic laws of motion of the world capitalist system and its supposed remedy, neoliberal economic policy, has pushed the Philippine economy into the vortex of an unprecedented crisis.

The current Aquino regime has been in power for more than a year already. Like its imperialist masters, it clings dogmatically to the neoliberal economic policy. The regime has not put forward any policy proposal to assert national independence and carry out economic development through genuine land reform and national

industrialization. Instead, it has adopted a policy of keeping the agrarian and underdeveloped character of the economy.

Its so-called Philippine Development Plan 2011-2016 pushes primarily the private-public partnership program of infrastructure projects. These projects are calculated to draw away resources from any potential for industrial development. However, global financial restraints prevent the projects from being implemented as fast as expected. Thus, the US stands out with its Millennium Challenge Corporation grant of US\$434 million funding for infrastructure and so-called community development projects within the “counterinsurgency” scheme Oplan Bayanihan.

Lacking a program of national industrialization, the Aquino regime has practically limited itself to touting business call centers, pushing the plunder of our natural resources by foreign mining companies and doling out cash under the so-called Conditional Cash Transfer program which is misrepresented as an antipoverty program but is actually a palliative for psywar purposes being pushed and funded by US imperialism through the World Bank.

The Philippine economy is depressed. It is under the stress of the protracted and worsening crisis of global capitalism. The global demand for the kind of exports that the Philippines produces—raw materials and semi-manufactures—has fallen drastically. The growth of remittances of overseas contract workers is slowing down. The bubble in private construction is bursting as effective demand for housing is decreasing.

Unemployment is rising rapidly with mass layoffs in the sectors of low value-added manufacturing and in private construction. Production of food staples like rice and corn have been cut down by decades of liberalized imports and reviving it is difficult as prices of imported agricultural inputs have risen. The regime is carrying out an unannounced severe policy of austerity at the expense of the people, with cutbacks on government expenditures for education, health and other social services.

Even as incomes of the working people have plunged, the prices of basic goods and services are soaring. Despite the depressed condition of the economy, the Aquino regime is raising the tax burden. The Aquino psywar machine continues to prate about fighting corruption. But until now, the regime runs too slow in going after the crimes of corruption under the Arroyo regime. It continues to provide tax cuts to the big corporations and the wealthy and is blind to the grand corruption of the big compradors and former Marcos cronies (e.g., Eduardo Cojuangco and Lucio Tan) simply because they were big contributors to the Aquino electoral campaign. It has carried out successive demolitions of urban poor settlements to clear valuable real estate for Aquino's big business friends.

The biggest corruption of the Aquino regime is letting the foreign monopoly firms and banks run rampant in plundering the economy and making superprofits. Even as international credit is tightening, debt service on accumulated debts continues to drain the country of precious funds. The reactionary government continues to waste tax revenues through bureaucratic corruption, military expenditures and doleouts of cash in a futile attempt to undermine and counter the revolutionary movement.

As a result of the economic crisis, conditions of hunger and poverty have worsened and afflict more people than ever before. But the National Statistical Coordination Board manipulates the data and changes the terms for determining poverty to reach the false conclusion that the Aquino regime has reduced the incidence of poverty. Underscoring the fakery in official statistics, the rate of unemployment in the Philippines is also made to appear much lower than that in the industrial capitalist countries. The truth is that the real unemployment rate in the Philippines is one of the worst in the region and in the world, coupled with rapidly increasing numbers of underemployment, low quality and unpaid work.

As economic conditions deteriorate and the regime fails to solve the growing problem of unemployment and poverty, the popularity

rating of Aquino is made to rise through the ceaseless hype generated by the Lopez-owned mass media and poll surveys manipulated by Pulse Asia, owned and controlled by Aquino relatives. Aquino's recent attacks on Arroyo and the Supreme Court are calculated to deflect public attention away from the worsening economic and social crisis and the continuing gross violations of human rights as well as to boost his popularity rating in poll surveys. The Aquino regime seeks to thrive on sheer manipulation of the media and poll surveys.

Social discontent is widespread and deep-going. The broad masses of the people are conspicuously restive. Mass protests are increasing against the worsening economic and social conditions. The tactics of the global Occupy movement, which have been familiar to the Philippine mass movement since the 1960s, are now intensifying. The people's mass uprisings cannot be stopped so long as there is a revolutionary political leadership that is resolute, militant and does not fear the coercive actions of the regime.

The revolutionary forces and the people are persistently growing in strength. The social and economic crisis is pressing hard on the ruling classes and the rival political factions and is resulting in a political crisis of the ruling system. At the national level, the Aquino ruling clique is challenged by the Arroyo, Marcos and other factions. The contradictions among them are reflected between and within the three branches of the reactionary government (executive, legislative and judiciary). At lower levels, the internal contradictions within the ruling class are also intensifying.

The contradictions between the Aquino and the Arroyo factions have taken center stage for the time being, especially since Arroyo's attempt to leave the country under the pretext of seeking medical care. Aquino is going through the motions of running after Arroyo for electoral sabotage and corruption but not for gross and systematic violations of human rights. Behind all the sound and fury is Aquino's resentment over the decision of the Supreme Court, dominated by Arroyo appointees, to invalidate the stock distribution

option as a way of cheating the farm workers of Hacienda Luisita.

The competing factions of the ruling class have armed strength by having followers within the reactionary armed forces and police and by maintaining private armed groups. The worst reactionary factions build their private armed groups under various legalized methods such as so-called force multipliers of the army and police with such names as CAFGU, CVO, CAA, bodyguards with special gun permits and private security agencies.

The intensifying competition for bureaucratic loot and the political rivalry among the reactionary factions are objectively favorable to the revolutionary movement as they split and weaken the ruling system. Under the current circumstances, the revolutionary forces can augment their own strength by employing broad united front tactics to oppose the worst reactionary faction, which is targeted as the enemy.

The mass movement of workers, peasants, fisherfolk, the national minorities, urban poor, women, youth, teachers, lawyers, health professionals and other patriotic and progressive forces is surging. The various mass organizations are determined to give voice to the socio-economic and political demands of the people and to act militantly in pursuing compliance with these just and reasonable demands.

The workers demand respect for their trade union and other democratic rights, for job security and better wage and living conditions for stopping the ceaseless layoffs and for national industrialization so that employment expands and they do not have to leave their families to seek employment abroad. The mass layoffs in low value-added semi-manufacturing for export and in private construction and the dismal trend abroad against foreign migrant workers are pressing hard on the entire Philippine economy.

The peasants demand genuine and thoroughgoing land reform, not the bogus land reform law CARPER; recovery of staple-food production, credit and technical assistance, and development of

production for industrial processing. The revolutionary forces and the people are carrying out minimum land reform as the general line and maximum land reform wherever possible.

Many people are pleased that the protracted struggle of farm workers to own Hacienda Luisita has been rewarded as a result of the final decision of the Supreme Court, though belated, to scrap the Stock Distribution Option and allow the distribution of the land to the farm workers. However, it is still unclear how much the farm workers would be made to pay for the land. Aquino and his Cojuangco relatives are demanding so-called current market value, absolutely way beyond the paying capacity of the farm workers. The farm workers, on the other hand, see the immeasurable misery they had to endure and the unearned largess appropriated by the Cojuangcos over the decades as more than enough payment for the land to be distributed to them.

The fisherfolk demand respect for their rights, a stop to the preemption of fishing areas and markets by the big fishing corporations, the right of small fishermen to operate and the provision of credit and technical assistance. They oppose the reactionary government's policy of allowing the fishing magnates to monopolize fishing in lakes and bays, and foreign fishing vessels and factory ships to encroach on the exclusive economic zone of the Philippines in violation of the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea.

The national minorities demand respect for their right to self-determination and ancestral domain. They demand that their land must not be taken away from them, that they are not displaced from their home grounds by foreign and local corporations that plunder the forest, mineral and water resources. Together with the rest of the people, the national minorities applaud the NPA offensives to dismantle and shut down the operations of foreign and big comprador mining firms in Mindanao and throughout the country.

The urban poor that include workers, oddjobbers, small vendors and poor self-employed demand their right to livelihood, housing and

other democratic rights. They demand that they must not be subjected to eviction, demolition of their dwellings and deprivation of nearby sources of livelihood as well as to all kinds of indignity, harassment, physical attacks and dispossession. They fight to oppose the demolition of their dwellings to make way for the interests of real estate developers and actively resist the deployment of police and military to intimidate and attack them.

The women demand respect for their right to gender equality, enjoyment of equal opportunities in all socio-economic activities, a systematic stop to violence against women and to women trafficking. They demand respect and support for the children who suffer victimization under the dire economic and social conditions and campaigns of military suppression. They demand the right to gender equality and against discrimination that extends to lesbians, gays, bisexuals and transgendered.

The youth demand their right to education, an increase of state appropriations for public education at all levels, a stop to the wastage of public resources on military spending, debt service and bureaucratic corruption. They oppose the soaring prices of basic commodities, unemployment, the rapid rise of poverty, and the reduction of public funds for public schools. They demand respect for the democratic right to speak and act in the interest of the students, youth and the entire people. They condemn and oppose the increasingly violent reaction of the Aquino regime to mass protest actions, as exemplified by the repeated brutal dispersal of the youth attempting to hold a camp-out protest at Mendiola earlier this month.

The professionals, small entrepreneurs and the entire middle class demand a stop to the imposition of higher taxes, fees and other onerous burdens, the judicious use of their tax and other contributions, instead of being wasted on bureaucratic corruption, military expenditures and debt service. The urban petty-bourgeoisie is ever more ready to join the toiling masses as a revolutionary force. The middle bourgeoisie is concerned about the surrender of national rights to foreign powers and monopoly firms.

More than ever, the crisis conditions are providing fertile ground for the growth in strength and advance of the people's war and the people's army. The escalation of oppression and exploitation incites the people to engage in mass protests and to rise up in arms against the reactionary state and to build the people's democratic state. The conditions for armed revolution are exceedingly favorable.

The people and the revolutionary forces represented by the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) are willing to negotiate with the reactionary government to address the roots of the armed conflict by forging agreements on social, economic and political reforms in order to lay the basis for a just and lasting peace. But the Aquino regime is hellbent on using the US-instigated Oplan Bayanihan to destroy the revolutionary movement of the people. It is obsessed with using the peace negotiations as a mere tool for psywar and as a way to seek the capitulation and pacification of the revolutionary forces.

The Aquino regime is not seriously interested in peace negotiations with the NDFP. It is preconditioning the peace negotiations with demands for the capitulation and pacification of the revolutionary movement. It is backtracking on and invalidating previous bilateral agreements by qualifying and putting them aside. It has not rectified the Arroyo policy of abducting, torturing and murdering NDFP consultants in the peace negotiations. It has condoned and upheld the actions of the Arroyo regime to have the NPA, the CPP and the NDFP chief political consultant in the peace negotiations maintained in the terrorist list of the US and other foreign governments; and likewise to have the NDFP chief political consultant arrested and detained in 2007 by the Dutch government for criminal charges, which the Dutch court in The Hague dismissed as baseless and politically motivated. It refuses to release imprisoned NDFP consultants and to comply with the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG).

It has condoned gross and systematic abuses of human rights in violation of the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human

Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL) under the Arroyo regime and is emboldening the military, police and paramilitary forces to further commit atrocities. It refuses to release hundreds of political prisoners who are accused of participation in the revolutionary movement but are falsely charged with common crimes in violation of the CARHRIHL and the Hernandez political offense doctrine.

The reactionary government recurrently demands ceasefire for this or that reason in order to avoid negotiating the substantive agenda of the peace negotiations and in effect obtain the capitulation and pacification of the revolutionary movement. But it refuses the NDFP offer of truce and alliance on the basis of a ten-point general declaration of common intent regarding national independence, democracy, economic development, social justice and other important demands of the people.

It conducts sham peace negotiations with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) like it does with the NDFP by backtracking on previous agreements and nullifying them and ever wishing to trick or bend the opposite party towards capitulation and pacification. It has blocked real progress in the peace negotiations with the NDFP as well as the MILF. The GPH has gone as far as scamming and racketeering by recycling the CPLA and the RPA-ABB surrenderees and hirelings as rebel groups and using their names to malverse public funds.

It is advantageous for both the NDFP and the MILF to continue fighting against their common enemy. Although waged separately, their revolutionary armed struggles support each other. The reactionary government has increasing difficulties in trying to fight on two major fronts. The crisis will further reduce the capabilities of the reactionary state and all its coercive apparatuses. The reactionary state and its armed forces will further weaken upon the growth in strength of the NDFP and the MILF separately and simultaneously.

The broad masses of the Filipino people are acutely aware of the growing US military intervention in the Philippines under the US-RP Mutual Defense Treaty and the Visiting Forces Agreement. Such intervention is aimed at perpetuating US control of the Philippines and using the Philippines as a strategic base for securing US hegemony in East Asia. The Filipino people and their revolutionary forces are prepared for the escalation of US military intervention and to wage a war of national liberation against US imperialism.

The growing strength of the Party

The CPP continues to strengthen itself and perform its role of leading the Philippine revolution by resolutely and vigorously engaging in ideological, political and organizational work. In this connection, we are confident that we can successfully carry out our plan to advance from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate in the people's war.

Strengthening our Party is the most important of the political prerequisites for realizing our plan. Ideological work ensures that all our cadres and members have a basic level of knowledge of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the Philippine revolution and continue to raise their level of knowledge through revolutionary practice and higher study courses (intermediate and advanced).

To remain in superb fighting shape, the Party should keep constant watch and wage persistent struggle against bourgeois and other reactionary influences and tendencies within the Party such as bourgeois reformism, modern revisionism, empiricism, dogmatism, right and left opportunism, liberalism, bureaucratism, complacency and desire for ease and comfort. Through vigilant and conscious struggle against these pernicious influences, the Party strengthens its proletarian revolutionary line, raises its fighting capacity and develops the militant style of work that is well-appreciated by the masses.

Party units and committees at different levels have undertaken summings-up and assessments of revolutionary work, conducted regular criticism and self-criticism and in so doing, identified shortcomings and errors in order to rectify them. Through self-criticism and prompt and conscientious correction of errors and shortcomings, the Party continuously improves its work and style of work and truly becomes the proletarian vanguard of the revolution.

The number of Party cadres and members educated in the ideological line of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the political line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war are increasing and are therefore in a position to perform the various tasks and functions in the revolution. They guarantee the revolutionary character and direction of the struggle of the proletariat and the people.

However, our efforts in training and developing cadres in number and quality are still way below the level required by the next and even the current stage of the people's war. Our educational work and cadre training must be given greater attention by leading Party committees at all levels. Problems and difficulties arising from lack of training personnel and facilities and the ruthlessness and exceeding fluidity of our people's war have to be overcome step-by-step by more persistent effort, better planning and taking full advantage of every available resource and opportunity.

We have identified the factors and reasons in previous years and decades for the slow growth of the Party, especially lack of planning and diligence and insensitivity to the desire of advanced mass activists to become Party candidate-members and of the latter to become full members according to the time frame and reasonable requirements stipulated in our Party Constitution.

To a large extent, we have learned to overcome the obstacles and are now providing the basic Party education promptly to the old stock and the new flow of Party candidate-members and are promptly swearing them in as full members after they complete the basic Party course.

To ensure that the majority of our members who come from the working class and the peasantry can effectively undergo the necessary training and education, we have simplified study materials and audio-visual aids in various Philippine languages and more important, we have trained instructors who can explain Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in terms comprehensible to our comrades who come from the ranks of the working people.

The Party is now ideologically stronger than before and is in a better position to engage in political work and lead the revolutionary movement. We have Party cadres and members who grasp the principles, policies and line of the revolution and who are at the head and at the core of the revolutionary mass movement. As a result, the mass movement, the revolutionary armed struggle and the united front are resolutely and militantly growing in strength.

Party groups and branches are at the core of the trade unions and other mass organizations as well as in units of the people's army. Thus, the mass movement continues to grow and becomes firmer and vigorous in the urban and rural areas. The message of the people's democratic movement resounds among the people in their millions throughout the archipelago. We also have Party groups in certain offices of the reactionary government as well as in educational, social service, religious and other kinds of institutions.

The Party ensures that the NPA integrates revolutionary armed struggle with land reform and mass base building. Party committees, branches and groups within the people's army work hard to carry out the general policy of minimum land reform and, wherever possible, maximum land reform and to conduct mass work for building the mass organizations and the local organs of political power.

We are well on the path of increasing the number of guerrilla fronts, whose millions of people are the direct reliable mass base of the people's war and the people's army. The mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth, women, children and cultural activists are growing in strength. They are the broad mass base of the organs of political power.

These organs constitute the people's democratic government of the workers and peasants opposing the city-based reactionary government of the big compradors and landlords. The revolutionary government comprehensively renders public services through the working committees in charge of mass education, mass organizing, land reform and production, health care, defense, arbitration and cultural activities.

As the guerrilla fronts gain in strength in political and military terms, the reactionary and puppet state has unleashed even larger, more prolonged and more intensive attacks against them. To frustrate the enemy offensives, it is imperative to force the enemy to spread itself thin by expanding and intensifying guerrilla warfare on a nation-wide scale, strengthening inter-front coordination and mutual support, accelerating the rate of expansion and consolidation of the guerrilla fronts, and developing in an all-rounded way the military and political forces and struggles of the masses.

But in some old guerrilla bases and zones, serious losses have been incurred in organizational, political and military strength not only and not so much due to the intensified enemy attacks but as a result of passivity in military work; long-running neglect of the mass organizations, the antifeudal class struggle and political education among the masses; and deterioration of the basic Party units which have come under strong influence by rich peasant elements, thinking and practices. These reflect errors and shortcomings not only at the basic level but also in Party and army work and leadership in the higher levels.

The participation and support of the people have enabled the NPA to launch tactical offensives and win victories. The people are the inexhaustible source of strength for the people's army. The people's militia, acting as the local police forces of the local organs of political power, and the self-defense units of the various mass organizations, reinforce and amplify the strength of the people's army.

NPA tactical offensives have been intensified and have resulted in increased number of arms for creating new combat units. Casualties

on enemy troops are increasing and causing demoralization among their ranks. The NPA units have destroyed or disabled enemy transport and supply lines, depots and vehicles. They have broken up large landed estates in the course of conducting land reform.

They have dismantled or paralyzed business enterprises and landed estates that violate the laws of the people's democratic government. These violations involve ruining the environment and agricultural production, taking away land from the people, opposing and preventing land reform or exporting mineral ores at the expense of future industrialization.

The broad masses of the people welcome the tactical offensives of the people's army against the armed personnel and military facilities of the reactionary state; the arrest and trial of despotic landlords, human rights violators, plunderers, drug lords and other criminal elements; and the dismantling of mining and logging enterprises and plantations that are grievously harmful to the people and the environment.

By intensifying the people's war, the NPA has captured an increasing number of weapons from the enemy and has enlarged the people's army and increased the guerrilla fronts. In turn, the greater number of people in more guerrilla fronts helps the people's army to achieve greater feats in the people's war. At various levels of the Party and the NPA commands, guidelines and plans for tactical offensives are developed and implemented according to the capabilities of NPA units concerned.

All NPA units are keenly conscious of their duty to carry out offensives that they can win. They wage operations to ambush or raid enemy units as well as operations to destroy enemy facilities. They carry out extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of ever widening and deepening mass base. They therefore engage in mass work, production and cultural activities in order to complement and pave the ground for the tactical offensives.

The Party has achieved successes in employing the united front

policy to strengthen the basic alliance of the workers and peasants, the progressive alliance of the toiling masses with the urban pettybourgeoisie, the patriotic alliance of the aforesaid progressive forces and the national bourgeoisie and the broad alliance with such temporary and unreliable allies among factions of the ruling system that fight the ruling clique as the common enemy.

The united front is aimed at uniting various forces to oppose the common enemy. The legal patriotic and progressive forces form multisectoral, sectoral and issue-based alliances in order to reach the broadest ranks of the people. At the same time, the united front is principally aimed at facilitating the advance of the people's war.

The Aquino regime has amply shown its lack of sincerity and seriousness in peace negotiations with the NDFP. We should dispel any illusion that the regime is interested in addressing the roots of the armed conflict and forging agreements with the NDFP on social, economic and political reforms. Clearly, it is hellbent on destroying the Party and the revolutionary movement.

The formal meetings in the GPH-NDFP peace negotiations cannot be held unless the GPH addresses the prejudicial issues being raised by the NDFP and makes amends. However, we continue to express our desire for peace negotiations in order to prevent the enemy from claiming falsely that we are not interested in a just and lasting peace and also to keep open the possibility that the enemy regime would be compelled by the crisis and/or by our significant victories in people's war to seriously seek negotiations. Indeed, the only way to compel the enemy to engage in serious negotiations is to inflict major defeats on it and make it realize the futility of its attempt to destroy the revolutionary movement, especially the people's army.

Our Party is highly respected in the international communist movement and in the global anti-imperialist movement because of our revolutionary achievements in the Philippines and because of our well-known concern and support for overseas Filipinos. We have extensive relations with Marxist-Leninist and anti-imperialist parties and organizations abroad. Our international united front policy has

enabled us to have well-developed relations with revolutionary and anti-imperialist mass organizations, social movements and other progressive formations.

By our revolutionary struggle in our country, we have contributed significantly to the development of the anti-imperialist and socialist movement on a global scale. Our Party delegations have participated in various international conferences, forums and seminars aimed at strengthening the ideological and political position of communist and workers' parties against imperialism and all reaction and for national liberation, democracy and socialism.

We uphold and advance proletarian internationalism and the anti-imperialist solidarity of the world's peoples. We look forward to a new and higher level of development in the international communist movement through the revolutionary victories of communist and workers' parties in various countries and continents.

Urgent fighting tasks for advancing the revolution

1. We must further strengthen the Party as the leading force in the democratic revolution and in the socialist future of the Filipino people. We must exert all efforts to further strengthen the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally.

Still greater attention and effort must be exerted in bolstering and consolidating Party education and training. Study and instruction guides and aids must be completed and produced in adequate quantities; more cadres selected, trained and mobilized for instruction work; and more study courses conducted involving more students at all levels.

Summings-up and assessments must be done regularly and whenever needed to take stock of the situation of revolutionary

forces and work, identify and solve problems, and clarify tasks, policies and priorities. Researches and investigations must be conducted to probe, analyze and solve important issues and problems. Problems must not be allowed to fester and pile up, but must be promptly confronted and solved. Work and study conferences must be held to involve more cadres from different areas and lines of work in discussions about policy and theory, making decisions and plans, and summing up and exchanges of experiences.

We must strengthen the Party committee system and Party leadership at all levels. Tens of thousands of cadres must be developed and trained to fill up positions of responsibility and serve as core elements in different levels and areas of work. Party committees must be kept strong and vigorous through the bold promotion of the most dedicated and most capable cadres, the replacement of those who have deteriorated or failed to advance, and the combination of old and experienced cadres with young and more energetic ones. The system of regular and special reports must be improved as an essential requisite of strengthening democratic centralism and Party leadership.

We must accelerate the recruitment of Party candidate-members from the ranks of advanced mass activists. We must follow the requirements for facilitating the process of raising candidate-members to full members as stipulated by our Party Constitution. All Party members must finish the basic Party course and advance in due time to higher courses. They must fulfill tasks in their Party branches in units of the people's army and in the mass organizations to which they belong.

We must tirelessly expand and deepen the Party underground in urban and rural areas and steel Party cadres and members in strict underground rules and methods. This is an absolute necessity if we are to persevere and advance in revolutionary work and struggle in the face of the fascist and puppet state's unremitting attacks and schemes to crush and decapitate the Party as well as the wide-

ranging and intensifying intelligence and special military operations by the US which categorizes the Philippine revolutionary movement as a target in its global antiterror war.

2. We must expand and intensify the mass movement in both the urban and rural areas. We must encourage the urban-based mass organizations to uphold, defend and advance national independence and democracy. We must develop the mass movement resulting directly from our mass work in the guerrilla fronts.

We must encourage the mass activists in the urban areas to learn from the workers and peasants, render service to the people and devote their lives to the worker and peasant movements. We must encourage and help the mass activists based in both urban and rural areas to support and work for the expansion of the people's army.

We must lead and support the peasant masses in carrying out widespread mass struggles against feudal and semifeudal exploitation and against brutal campaigns of suppression of military, police and paramilitary forces of the state. We must encourage the peasant masses to rise up in their hundreds of thousands in mass campaigns to demand and carry out land reform, take over abandoned and idle agricultural lands for tilling, and promote production and the people's livelihood.

We must boldly expand the revolutionary mass organizations and continuously broaden and strengthen them through political education and mass campaigns and struggles. Neglect and other shortcomings in planning and guidance by the Party of mass work and the mass movement must be rectified resolutely and thoroughly.

3. We must intensify the people's war and accelerate efforts to fulfill the plan to advance from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate. We must carry out the tactical offensives to deliver lethal blows to the enemy, increase our NPA fighting units, carry out land reform, build mass organizations and organs of political power and create new guerrilla fronts.

We must encourage workers and the educated youth to join the people's army or render rural service. We must redeploy some cadres and weapons from one region to another in the communist spirit of the relatively stronger helping the relatively weaker. We must recognize the uneven development of our revolutionary forces and decide how the stronger forces in a region help weaker ones in other regions.

We must hamper and prevent enemy intrusions into the guerrilla fronts through ambushes and other actions, including sniper fire, grenade attacks, mortar and land mines. We must destroy the transport and supply lines and depots of the enemy. We must give the enemy forces no rest by launching attacks on their camps and detachments whenever possible, even at night. When enemy personnel hide in fortifications, we can wait for them to take the road and expose themselves to our attacks.

We must arrest and try landlords who violently oppose land reform, the human rights violators, the plunderers, drug lords and enemy spies. We must interdict and dismantle enterprises that violate the laws and regulations of the people's government and destroy the environment and agricultural production, plunder natural resources and prevent land reform and national industrialization.

4. We must implement united front policy along the correct class line: rely on the basic worker-peasant alliance, win over the urban pettybourgeoisie to develop the alliance of basic revolutionary forces, further win over the middle bourgeoisie to form the patriotic alliance and broaden the united front through temporary alliances with sections of the reactionary classes to isolate to the utmost and defeat the enemy in the shortest possible time. We must employ the united front to reach the masses and arouse, organize and mobilize them in their millions and to promote the people's war.

We must unite all the patriotic and progressive forces to fight the US imperialists and their die-hard puppets. When possible and

necessary, we must develop temporary and tactical alliances with reactionaries who oppose the worst of the reactionaries as the enemy target. We must pursue the tactic of defeating the reactionaries one by one. We must maintain our independence and initiative and avoid being completely or mainly integrated or subordinated into the reactionary political system.

5. We must continue to develop the anti-imperialist solidarity of all peoples and contribute to the steady advance of the international communist movement on the basis of the growing strength of proletarian revolutionary parties in their home countries amidst the most favorable conditions arising from the global crisis.

We must build the broadest possible international united front of all anti-imperialist forces. We must relate with various communist forces through bilateral and multilateral meetings and conferences as means of promoting proletarian internationalism, exchanging ideas and experiences and raising the level of common understanding and practical cooperation.

Issued by the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Philippines

Seize the initiative in all forms of struggle and intensify the offensive against the enemy

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2012

With utmost joy, we celebrate the 44th anniversary of the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines on the theoretical foundation of Marxism-LeninismMaoism and the resumption of the people's democratic revolution under the correct leadership of the Party against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

We salute and commend all Party cadres and members for their hard work, militant struggle and sacrifices. We congratulate them for contributing to the victories that the Party and the people have won in the revolutionary struggle. We render the highest tribute to our martyrs and heroes and we thank them deeply for their selfless service and everlasting inspiration.

We have accumulated victories in building the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally. We have prevailed over major errors and shortcomings in the historical background of the Party through the First Great Rectification Movement in the late 1960s and in the

decade of the 1980s and early 1990s through the Second Great Rectification Movement in most of the 1990s.

Since the beginning of last year, we have scored victories in further building the Party, the New People's Army, the National Democratic Front, the organs of political power and mass organizations; as well as in carrying out the strategic plan to advance from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate in our people's war.

We have exposed the US-Aquino regime as being no different from the US-Arroyo regime in terms of puppetry, exploitativeness, corruption, brutality and mendacity. We have effectively combated and frustrated the enemy campaigns of military suppression and deception under the US-designed Oplan Bayanihan and we have gained strength in the process. The people and their organized forces are more than ever determined to deliver lethal blows on the weak points of the enemy and score greater victories.

The worsening crisis of the capitalist system and that of the domestic ruling system are increasingly favorable conditions for waging the people's war and for strengthening the revolutionary forces and the people. We are highly confident of bringing the people's war forward to the stage of strategic stalemate.

Crisis of global capitalism protracts and worsens

Since its inception, the neoliberal economic policy has intensified the exploitation of the working people and has accelerated the concentration and centralization of capital in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie and its financial oligarchy. It has never solved the problem of stagnation and market, financial and fiscal volatility and meltdowns but has aggravated these further.

It has run into more than a hundred serious financial and economic crises through three decades, culminating in the crisis that has sprung out since 2007-2008 when the US housing bubble burst and major financial institutions collapsed right at the centers of global capitalism. Since then, the economic and financial crisis has protracted and deepened. The worst economic depression since the Great Depression has descended upon the world.

No solution to the crisis is in sight, especially because the imperialist states and the monopoly bourgeoisie continue to cling to the neoliberal economic policy and still enjoy the benefits of making profits and accumulating capital through liberalization, privatization, deregulation and the de-nationalization of less developed economies, especially the underdeveloped ones.

Public funds meant to revive the economy first pass through the labor-saving and profit making processes of the banks and monopoly firms. Thus production stagnates and the high rate of unemployment remains. Incomes are depressed for 99% of the population. And yet the prices of basic goods and services are soaring.

All the centers of global capitalism are afflicted by and mired in crisis. The fundamental contradictions between capital and labor have become conspicuous at the level of states. Public funds are used to bail out the banks and monopoly firms which continue to be rewarded with tax cuts and high-profit contracts.

Upon the rise of public deficits and the public debt, states adopt and implement policies that pass the burden of crisis to the proletariat and the rest of the people such as austerity measures. These measures cause further lay-offs, wage decreases, rising prices of basic necessities, reduced pensions, lessened social benefits and tax hikes on goods and services used by the working people.

The people resist through strikes and mass protests, as well demonstrated by the recent Europe-wide general strike and previous major strikes in most of the imperialist countries. The class struggle of the proletariat is steadily coming to the fore as the workers stand up

and act to defend their rights and interests, whether or not the existing unions agree.

The conditions have become favorable for the resurgence of the working class movement against capitalism and for socialism. But the monopoly bourgeoisie and their political agents are still very much ahead in undertaking measures to counter the current of people's resistance through violence and deception. They have adopted draconian laws against the people in the name of anti-terrorism.

They are also whipping up war hysteria to justify increased war production and higher military budgets. To distract attention from the roots of the crisis, they stir up such reactionary currents as fascism, chauvinism, xenophobia, racism and religious bigotry.

The proletariat and peoples of the underdeveloped countries suffer the most from the global depression. The demand for raw material and semi-manufactured exports has decreased or some of these are being exported in greater volume but at lower prices. At the same time, the prices of imported manufactures are rising. Trade deficits grow and foreign debt mounts.

The economic crisis has resulted in the escalation of exploitation. The working people and the middle social strata suffer from intolerably high unemployment rates, real wage reductions, lower income levels, soaring prices of basic goods and services and the deterioration and higher costs of social services, such as education, health, low-income housing and the like. The conditions of mass poverty have worsened.

This has led to widespread social unrest. The people's resistance has taken various forms. Those in power representing the exploiting classes are quick to use violence to intimidate the people and suppress their resistance. They find it convenient to adopt the language and force of the US designed war on terror.

The so-called Arab spring in North Africa and the Middle East spread like wildfire and toppled despotic governments which have been held responsible for the economic crisis, corruption and repression.

Conflicts continue between reactionary and progressive forces.

In all the underdeveloped regions of the world, the entire Africa, West Asia, Central Asia, South Asia, East Asia and Latin America, mass protests are spreading and intensifying.

Blatantly pro-imperialist governments are being condemned and repudiated by the people. Governments like those of Cuba, Venezuela and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have their people's support because they assert national independence and oppose imperialism; and because they work hard to look after the welfare of the people.

Where the US and NATO allies have unleashed wars of aggression to bring down governments that reject US dictation, such as in Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya, Yugoslavia and Syria, the most intense forms of armed conflict occur; and even after the overthrow of the anti-US government, movements for national liberation persevere and serve as long-term challenges to imperialist power.

Long-running armed struggles for national liberation, such as those in Colombia, the Philippines, India, Turkey and Kurdistan, are persevering and proving to the whole world that armed revolution can be waged and can grow in strength under current conditions. The Palestinian people have persisted in waging their decades-long struggle for national liberation and for their return to their homeland with broad international support against the brutal Zionist aggression and occupation backed by US imperialism. All these continue to prove that the US and NATO do not have a seamless control over the entire world.

Due to the grossly uneven development of global capitalism, imperialist hegemony has many weak points, especially in the underdeveloped countries whose people suffer the most from imperialism and local reaction. The current global crisis and the overextension of the US in wars of aggression and in military interventions are favorable conditions for advancing the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed peoples and nations.

So far, the imperialist powers have maintained amicable relations among themselves and have avoided becoming openly hostile to each other in their economic and political competition. They have succeeded in doing so by uniting against underdeveloped countries which they exploit on a multilateral basis under the auspices of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank and the World Trade Organization (WTO). A crucial feature of the neoliberal policy of “free market” globalization is the denationalization of the economies of these underdeveloped countries.

The imperialist powers built their own unity on the previous anticommunist and anti socialist alliance during the Cold War. Since the restoration of capitalism in former socialist countries, the traditional imperialist powers have simply integrated such countries into the world capitalist system. Russia and China have themselves grown into big powers and are cramping the space for mutual accommodation among the imperialist powers.

It is inherent to the capitalist system for imperialist powers to be always engaged in a struggle for a redivision of the world and to expand their respective economic territory as sources of cheap labor and raw materials, as markets, fields of investment and spheres of influence.

While avoiding direct hostility among themselves, the imperialist powers manifest different positions regarding US imperialist aggression and also engage in proxy wars by backing different sides in civil wars or in cross-border wars in underdeveloped countries. In Africa today, particularly Sudan, Somalia, Kenya, Nigeria and DR Congo, the US and other imperialist powers engage in proxy wars.

The crisis is generating sharp contradictions among the imperialist powers. In the wars of aggression against Iraq and Afghanistan, Russia and China went along with and even assisted the US-NATO alliance. But since then, they have become wary and have organized the Shanghai Cooperation Organization to countervail the US and the NATO. They have shown reluctance in backing up the USNATO wars of aggression in Libya and now more so in Syria.

On its own account, the US has become wary of China becoming a challenge to US hegemony in East Asia and is bent on overseeing and influencing major developments in China, such as the further privatization of state-owned enterprises and the liberalization of the Chinese political system. Thus, the US has decided to refocus militarily on the region even as it remains bogged down in a number of trouble spots in the Middle East and Africa. It has used its allies and puppets in the East Asia region to stir up diplomatic tension over the sea between China and its neighbors; and to justify the increase of US military forces in the region.

In the meantime, the US maintains its close economic cooperation with China and is further pushing China to privatize its strategic state-owned enterprises and sell out to the US and other multinational firms. At the same time, the US is projecting a strong military presence by launching successive joint military exercises in Korea, Japan, Philippines and other Asian countries surrounding China to serve as a constant reminder to the “communists” (bureaucrat capitalists) in power that they should moderate their nationalism and compromise with a proUS democracy movement. US strategists calculate that military encirclement can induce China to follow US wishes to further denationalize its economy and further liberalize its political system.

At any rate, social unrest is rampant and is on the rise in China as a result of the decline of its export-oriented economy. While 1% of China's population has become as rich as the uppermost class in advanced capitalist countries, 99% of the population mostly suffer in poverty. The broad masses of the people oppose and decry the corruption, inflation, rising unemployment, the withholding of wages, the grabbing of land from peasants and the degradation of the environment. The outbreaks of mass protests have leaped from the level of 80,000 to 280,000.

The Maoists in China are striving hard to provide leadership to the widespread outbursts of social unrest and to see what advantages the people can gain from the potential clash of the forces that are using the slogans of nationalism and liberal democracy.

With overweening arrogance, the US imperialists seek to enhance US hegemony over East Asia. They need to be reminded of their resounding defeats in China, Korea and Indochina following the end of World War II. So far, China has held its ground in political disputes with the US. The US has also failed to bend the DPRK to its wishes and has failed to destroy the people's war for national liberation and democracy in the Philippines since 1969.

The world is in turmoil due to the bankruptcy of the neoliberal economic policy and the grave crisis of the world capitalist system. So far, we have seen the growing mass unrest in the industrial capitalist countries and also in the underdeveloped countries. We have also seen the wars of aggression that the US imperialists have launched in the Baltic, Middle East and Africa. A further spread of the turmoil to China and East Asia due to US machinations would present greater opportunities to the Filipino people and revolutionary forces for carrying their revolutionary cause forward.

The rotten ruling system is tottering

The US-directed Aquino ruling clique came to power through automated electoral cheating, mass media manipulation, and massive funding by big compradors and landlords. It continues to believe that it can ride over the grave economic and social crisis of the ruling system by depending on the inflow of foreign investments and loans and by false claims of good governance and a robust economy, pretenses at combating corruption and through a ceaseless stream of publicity gimmicks, slanted news reports and manipulated poll surveys.

Aquino's propaganda machine is secretly managed by US and other foreign psy-war experts. It is operated by long-time hacks in the bourgeois mass media and pseudo-Left operatives also working for US intelligence.

The harsh economic and social conditions speak louder than any of Aquino's triumphant declarations of "inclusive growth" Mass poverty is conspicuous both in urban and rural areas. The surplus population from rural areas move to urban areas, competing for odd jobs, expanding the slum areas and occupying spaces under bridges, in public markets and squares and along roads and railways.

The regime brazenly lies by claiming an economic growth rate of more than 7%. This is made up mostly of bloated figures of import-dependent consumption, upscale private construction and service sector activities. Agriculture and manufacturing have declined and unemployment has increased. The regime also lies by claiming an unemployment rate of only 7%, which is far less than the rate of 23% in the European Union. Even the proAquino Social Weather Survey states a rate of 25-30% percent, more than four times the regime's claim.

The statistics of the regime grossly understate adverse socioeconomic figures. Big mass lay-offs have occurred from year to year since 2008 in all sectors of the economy, especially in low-valued semi-manufacturing, which is adversely affected by the economic downturn in the industrial capitalist countries. Since the Asian financial crisis of 1997, Philippine-based semi-manufacturing has become a mere satellite of Chinabased final reassembly.

The much-vaunted increase of employment in the business call centers does not make up for the mass lay-offs in many other economic sectors. Private construction is still apparently booming but has reached a precarious near-bust situation after years of building an overcapacity of office and residential towers financed by foreign commercial loans. The public infrastructure projects under the so-called Public-Private Partnership Program have slowed down, despite reported large appropriations, because behind the scene Aquino's close relatives are still trying to enlarge their cut from the contractors. Fund releases for projects are likely to speed up in the first half of 2013 to influence the May congressional and local elections.

Mining operations of big foreign companies, which the regime is promoting and protecting, provide a negligible amount of employment and engage in gross tax avoidance (including the large scale smuggling of

gold, silver and other precious metals out of the country). It involves mainly open pit mining and heavy use of chemicals for a rapid plunder of natural resources, causing massive devastation of the environment. It further results in ethnocide of the indigenous people, deforestation, soil erosion, severe floods and droughts, siltation and poisoning of rivers and destruction of agricultural land. The massive export of mineral ores preempts future industrialization of the country. State security forces are being unleashed against minority peoples and other sectors resisting and protesting these operations, resulting in increased attacks, extra-judicial killings, enforced disappearances, arrests and other human rights violations being committed with impunity.

The expansion of plantations for fruit export and biofuel production is prejudicing domestic staple food production, long upset and damaged under the neoliberal policy of removing agricultural subsidies and allowing food imports with little or without tariff. Altogether, the expansion of mining, logging and plantations lessen the land for domestic food production and for land reform.

The export of people for migrant work abroad is a clear proof of the scarcity of job opportunities and the lack of national industrialization in the country. The global depression and the growing turmoil and rising discrimination against migrant workers in host countries indicate a dismal future for the export of cheap labor. Through all the years, the high bureaucrats and big compradors have made sure that the foreign exchange remitted by migrant workers to the Philippines is used to promote the consumption of imported goods rather than fund national industrialization.

The Philippine economy remains agrarian, pre-industrial, underdeveloped and semifeudal. The ruling system of big

compradors and landlords prevents national industrialization and land reform. While income from the export of raw materials and semi-manufactures has taken a dive, the cost of importing basic necessities and luxury goods for the exploiting classes has soared. The trade deficit keeps on rising and so does the accumulated foreign debt and annual debt service. Foreign debt has reached the level of US\$72.22 billion but the regime tries to downplay this by making false boasts of lending to the International Monetary Fund US\$1 billion. The Aquino brag that the Philippines contributed to efforts bail out the debt-crisis ridden Eurozone countries, is actually a spin on the obligation of member countries to invest in the IMF.

Under the current crisis conditions, the US-Aquino regime is escalating the exploitation and oppression of the toiling masses of workers and peasants and even the middle social strata. Women, youth and children suffer most from the deteriorating conditions. But with its twisted logic, the regime spreads the propaganda that the people's resistance--not foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism--is the cause of underdevelopment, poverty and crisis.

Under conditions of a depressed economy and increasing bureaucratic corruption, the Philippine reactionary government is weighed down by budgetary deficits and public debt. Despite this, the US-Aquino regime gives priority to expenditures for debt service, the military, the so-called Conditional Cash Transfer program and other counterproductive activities. At the same time, the regime has been carrying out an unproclaimed austerity policy at the expense of the people by laying off government employees, pressing down wages and cutting back on expenditures for social services, especially health, education and low-cost housing.

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the people's resistance—not foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism—is the cause of underdevelopment, poverty and crisis.

Corruption is rampant under the Aquino regime. At the highest level, some of the president's sisters and brothers-in-law and Aquino and Cojuangco uncles and cousins take cuts from big business projects requiring presidential approval and loans from government financial institutions. They favor contractors close to the Aquino and Cojuangco families. They facilitate technical smuggling which now averages US\$19 billion annually, six-times larger than the US\$3 billion annual average during the time of Estrada and Arroyo, according to findings of the IMF Direction on Trade Statistics. Aquino fudges statistics boosting agricultural production to conceal increased rice smuggling by big traders under the protection of high government officials. The regime uses strict tax enforcement as threats to intimidate and bend Aquino opponents even as it condones the massive tax evasion of Lucio Tan, Eduardo Cojuangco and other big funders of the Aquino electoral campaign.

Even jueteng has not escaped the clutches of Aquino. A close associate of his has been exposed by an archbishop as the Aquino connection to the jueteng magnates. The Anti-Poverty Commission is chaired by a long-time NGO racketeer and US intelligence asset and misappropriates government funds as proven by a Commission on Audit report. The Conditional Cash Transfer program, including both the Pantawid Pamilya and the so-called PAMANA development and rehabilitation fund, is in fact a slush fund for politicking and for counterinsurgency campaign, and has become a scandalous feeding trough for bureaucratic corruption. Despite the exposure of corruption in this doleout program, its funding is being increased to PhP49 billion.

The high rate of unemployment, the decline of incomes for the toiling masses and the middle social strata, the rising cost of basic goods and services, and the deterioration and rising cost of social services are generating social unrest all over the country. The

Aquino regime does not address these and their root causes but tries in vain to obscure them by using the mass media and poll surveys to distract the public. Worst of all, the regime wantonly uses state violence against workers on strike and the people engaged in peaceful mass protests.

The worst forms of violence are being perpetrated by the reactionary armed forces under the US-designed and directed Oplan Bayanihan to suppress the people, especially the workers, peasants and the national minorities. Human rights violations like enforced disappearances, illegal detention, torture and extrajudicial killings are rampant and victimize leaders of the toiling masses, social activists and human rights defenders. Children are being illegally arrested, detained and murdered and then misrepresented as child soldiers to malign the NPA. On a wide scale, homes of the urban poor are being demolished to make way for real estate developers. In the countryside, military campaigns are used to force the evacuation and eviction of peasants and national minorities to benefit landgrabbing private enterprises, big bureaucrats and military officers.

Since the beginning, the US-Aquino regime has condoned the human rights violations under its predecessor US-Arroyo regime and has thus further emboldened the military, police, paramilitary forces and military assets to commit even worse human rights violations. Not a single military officer or perpetrator has been prosecuted or convicted for human rights violations, despite the strong evidence in many cases. Impunity reigns. Officers who are supposed to have command responsibility are themselves the criminals, cover up their crimes and even get promoted more rapidly. The issuance of an arrest warrant for the butcher general Palparan is a mere token and has not resulted in his arrest simply because he is being protected by the military. Moreover, Aquino has callously appointed the colonel responsible for the forced disappearance of Jonas Burgos to general and to the position of ISAFP chief.

The recent creation of an inter-agency committee touted as the superbody on human rights on top of the existing Philippine Human Rights Commission is one more publicity gimmick. The committee is an additional gadget of the regime for whitewashing human rights violations by the reactionary armed forces, police and military. The committee is composed of the secretaries of the DND, DILG, the AFP chief of staff and the PNP. The committee is headed by the secretary of the Department Of Justice and is dominated by the secretaries of the Department of National Defense and Department of Interior and Local Government, the AFP chief of staff and the chief of the Philippine National Police. It is no different from Arroyo's Presidential Task Force on Political Violence .

Despite the strong clamor and public attention, the trial of the Ampatuans and their accomplices for the flagrant massacre of 58 people, including 34 journalists, has yet to get off the ground. The main concern of Aquino is to be able to view the trial on television. He has not paid attention to the fact that the trial is designed to run for as long as 200 years.

The economic and social crisis generates a political crisis of the ruling system. However at the moment, it appears that all major political parties and coalitions of factions of the exploiting classes are happily united in serving the interests of the US and the exploiting classes and in opposing the revolutionary movement of the people. Behind the scenes, the US advisers and Aquino's uncles, Eduardo and Jose Cojuangco, conjure the illusion of unity by using President Aquino and Vice President Binay to form coalitions that hog the political road and block the rise of any significant opposition party.

Aquino's ruling Liberal Party has coalesced with the Nationalist People's Coalition, the Nacionalista Party and some elements in the former ruling coalition under Arroyo for the 2013 elections. Likewise, Binay's PDP-Laban has coalesced with Estrada's Pwersa ng Masang Pilipino of Estrada and Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino to form the United Nationalist Alliance (UNA). The ruling coalition and UNA are actually close collaborators. There is no

significant mainstream opposition party or coalition within the ruling classes, except the residue of the Arroyo ruling coalition which persists due to the strength of its leaders in local bailiwicks.

The US is promoting the unity of the reactionary forces in order to push anti-national and anti-democratic amendments to the 1987 constitution, enable further US military intervention and press for the debilitation of the legal democratic movement and the outright armed suppression of the revolutionary movement of the people under Oplan Bayanihan. Plans are afoot to rig the automated electoral system to prevent the election of patriotic and progressive candidates.

At any rate, the contradictions among the reactionaries over their share of power and spoils will continue to sharpen beneath the surface of current appearances of unity. The reactionary political factions never cease to maneuver for advantages in political and economic terms and in having private armed groups and access to corresponding factions within the military and police.

The fakery in the Aquino claim of good governance, uprightness and honesty is becoming exposed. With the fractious and corrupt character of the rotten ruling system, the revolutionary movement can take advantage of the contradictions among the reactionaries. Ever applicable is the policy of the united front to coordinate and synergize the basic forces of the revolution, take advantage of reactionary splits, isolate and destroy the power of the enemy.

The temporary alliances that the Party can have with certain reactionary forces may relate to the reactionary elections, the conduct of the reactionary government, the peace negotiations and other matters. As a matter of united front policy, the Party encourages the patriotic and progressive forces to participate in elections even as these are farcical and subject to the power and finances of the major reactionary political parties. It is important for the people to have representatives who will vigorously pursue their patriotic and democratic demands even within the reactionary institutions and processes.

Like the unlamented Arroyo regime, the Aquino regime and its retinue of military officers keep on boasting that most areas of the Philippines have become insurgency-free. They keep on repeating the lie that in the mid-1980s the NPA had an armed strength of 25,000 high-powered rifles and now has only 4,000. The fact is that the NPA armed strength in 1986 was only 6,100 rifles.

They wish to downplay the fact that NPA Red fighters and other revolutionary forces can move freely in more than 90% of Philippine territory. The enemy has only enough armed force to concentrate on a few guerrilla fronts at every given time. The reactionary government is bankrupt and incapable of making any significant increase in military personnel and equipment without substantial military support of the US government. Even within guerrilla fronts under concentrated enemy attack, there are wide gaps between enemy units and the NPA units are able to maneuver and launch tactical offensives to wipe out one enemy unit after another.

Furthermore, NPA units deployed by regional or inter-front commands are able to counterattack enemy units on a wide scale. The enemy offers so many weak points that the NPA can discover and exploit or create and attack at will. The broad masses have cheered several NPA offensives against mining, logging and plantation enterprises, especially in the northeastern, southern and northcentral regions of Mindanao. Most embarrassing to the enemy are NPA offensives carried out in areas previously declared insurgency-free by the reactionary armed forces. These are the ambushes on enemy units in Abra, Ifugao, Isabela, Aurora and Leyte. NPA offensives have also been done in Camarines Norte, Sorsogon, Catanduanes, Masbate, Iloilo, Zamboanga del Norte and other provinces.

Corollary with waging people's war, the National Democratic Front of the Philippines in representation of the Filipino people and the revolutionary forces negotiates with the reactionary government. The peace negotiations are a process of propagating the Program for

a People's Democratic Revolution, exposing the anti-national and antidemocratic character of the reactionary government and challenging its better elements to join the revolutionary forces in a united front against foreign and feudal domination and for the completion of the people's struggle for national liberation and democracy.

In peace negotiations, the NDFP undertakes a form of struggle for a just and lasting peace that is based on negotiated and mutually agreed basic social, economic and political reforms to address the roots of the civil war. So far, one ruling clique after another in the reactionary government has tried to use the peace negotiations in order to cause the capitulation and pacification of the revolutionary forces and to preserve the rotten ruling system. Over the past two years, the US-Aquino regime has paralyzed the peace negotiations by seeking to undermine The Hague Joint Declaration of 1992 and by refusing to comply with the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG) and the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL).

In violation of the JASIG, the regime has prevented the proper investigation of the enforced disappearances, illegal arrests and detention, and surveillance and harassments of NDFP consultants and personnel in the peace negotiations. It stands by the lie of its predecessor in denying that the GPH had instigated and was fully complicit with the US and Dutch governments in the raids by the Dutch police on the NDFP offices and the residences of its negotiating panel and staff, and in the arrest and detention of Prof. Jose Maria Sison on the basis of false charges. It continues to block the release of 14 NDFP consultants and members of the NDFP Negotiating Panel. In violation of the CARHRIHL, the regime continues to hold the release of more than 400 political prisoners falsely charged with common crimes despite allegations of involvement in the armed conflict/civil war. The big comprador-landlord president is not interested in serious peace negotiations and is motivated by class vengeance against the revolutionary

movement for the demand of farm workers to subject Hacienda Luisita to land reform.

Aquino continues to heed the wishes of the clerico-fascists and military agents who have disrupted the peace negotiations since the time of the Arroyo regime. They use the negotiations as a vehicle for psy-war and for broadcasting their demand for the revolutionary forces to surrender. They vainly wish for the permanent ending of hostilities before the comprehensive agreements on social, economic and political reforms are forged. They are obsessed with trying to break the will of the revolutionary forces and compel them to accept the rotten ruling system and its reactionary constitution.

The Manila government has signed with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro. In crucial provisions of the agreement, the MILF submits to the authority of the oppressive state based in Manila and gives up the possibility of seceding and establishing an independent Bangsamoro state. Essential points for four annexes on transitional arrangements and modalities, power sharing, wealth sharing and normalization are stated in the agreement and confirm the submission of the MILF to the sovereignty and constitutional processes of the Manila government.

The Transition Commission that would be responsible for formulating the Bangsamoro Basic Law is to be created by an executive order by Aquino and subject to approval by Congress and further subject to processes ordained by the Manila government. The Manila government provides a certain measure of concessions to the Bangsamoro on power and wealth sharing but can limit or even retract such concessions. Not soon after the much ballyhooed signing last October, the talks on the annexes has hit an impasse reportedly due to the Manila government attempt to renegotiate the Framework Agreement provision on the chairmanship and composition of the Transition Commission. The provisions on normalization subjects the Bangsamoro Islamic Armed Forces (BIAF) of the MILF to decommissioning while allowing the continuing presence AFP troops in Bangsamoro lands.

The Manila government may go through the motion of realizing the Framework Agreement and its annexes because after all the MILF has submitted itself to its supreme authority, as the Moro National Liberation Front had done previously in the process of establishing the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM). The main objective of the Manila government is to pacify and subordinate the MILF and use it for the political and economic purposes of Manila and Washington.

The reactionary government expects that with the MILF and BIAF pacified, more troops of the reactionary armed forces could be deployed to crush the NPA and the revolutionary movement. This is a pipe dream. The Marcos fascist dictatorship could not destroy the NPA when it was still small and weak, even after Marcos obtained a permanent ceasefire with the MNLF under the Tripoli Agreement in 1976. Moreover, were the MILF to capitulate completely, other existing and potential armies could continue the armed struggle of the Bangsamoro and still tie down a big number of enemy forces in south-western Mindanao.

The growing US military intervention in the Philippines involves the violation of national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Philippines. It constitutes an assault on the Filipino people and their revolutionary movement. It uses pretexts that are clearly obnoxious, such as the frequent joint military exercises, the so-called global war on terror and refocus on the East Asia region to contain China.

The US is hell-bent on entrenching its military forces in the Philippines and is using the Philippines as a strategic base to service US military forces and to serve as entry point and host storage facilities for US nuclear, chemical, biological and other weapons of mass destruction. On a daily basis, US military advisers and troops participate in intelligence, psy-war and combat operations of the Philippine reactionary armed forces. They provide the latest high-tech military equipment and directly operate unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs), commonly called drones, whose technology the US military intends to monopolize and control.

At any rate, the US is already overextended as it refocuses on East Asia. China continues to cooperate with the US in the region and in the world and is astutely avoiding any hostility with the US.

Contrary to the belief of some Filipino reactionaries that the US provides protection to the Philippines against China, the US has clearly declared that it is neutral on issues concerning territorial controversies over the sea between China and its neighbors. In fact, the US has more interests in relations with China than in relations with the Philippines. Moreover, the US-RP Mutual Defense Treaty does not carry any provision for automatic retaliation in the event of a thirdparty attack on the Philippines.

Only the Filipino people can best protect themselves by strengthening their revolutionary movement and ultimately winning political power in the people's democratic revolution. It would be foolhardy to rely on the US for protection or on China for magnanimity. No foreign power will ever dare to conquer and occupy the Philippines so long as the more than 100 million Filipino people are ever ready to inflict serious damage on the invader through people's war.

The Philippine revolution is advancing

Under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, the people's democratic revolution through people's war is advancing. It is making substantial progress in carrying out the strategic plan to advance the people's war from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate. In this connection, the Party has strengthened itself ideologically, politically and organizationally.

The Party and the revolutionary movement are frustrating and thwarting the US-Aquino regime's use of Oplan Bayanihan for the stated objective of debilitating or destroying the revolutionary

movement from 2011 to 2013 and transferring from the reactionary armed forces to the police the task of mopping up the remnants of the revolutionary forces from 2014 to 2016. It is instructive to point out that even when the NPA was still small and weak in the early 1970s, the Marcos fascist dictatorship with more available resources could not prevent its growth.

The US-Aquino regime's Oplan Bayanihan is a vicious monster. The regime hypocritically and cynically calls its triad military operations (psy-war, intelligence and combat) as “peace and development” operations. In fact, these operations involve abductions, enforced disappearances, torture, assassinations, massacres, forced mass evacuations and population control operations through intimidation and coercion, bombardments, strafing and artillery fire. All these are done to preserve the ruling system and allow foreign and domestic exploiters to oppress and exploit the people.

The main thrust of Oplan Bayanihan is to kill suspected revolutionaries and whip up military units to a competition of “body counts.” It is complemented by psy-war actions in the form of civic actions, medical missions, money dole-outs and other deceptive tactics conducted by “peace and development teams” to engage in intelligence work and intimidation of the families of suspected revolutionaries.

Even children in suspected guerrilla fronts are not spared. They are misrepresented as NPA child soldiers and subjected to intimidation, arrest, torture or extrajudicial killing. Thus, the NDFP has issued the General Declaration and Program of Action for the Rights, Protection and Welfare of Children. This covers the children in the entire country and in all respects and gives special attention to children in areas of armed conflict.

The growth of the various subjective forces of the revolution cannot be stopped because of the Party's correct line and because of the crisis conditions and the expanse of the countryside which cannot be intensively covered by the coercive apparatuses of the reactionary state. The current grave crisis of the world capitalist system and the

far graver crisis of the domestic ruling system are exceedingly favorable conditions for further advancing the armed revolutionary movement of the Filipino people. Their determination to wage armed resistance does not wane despite forty years of difficult struggle. The increasingly intolerable conditions of exploitation and oppression suffered by the broad masses of the people heighten their desire revolutionary change.

Under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the Party is vigorously engaged in ideological building among Party cadres and members as well as among mass activists who wish to join the Party. They are eager to study the history and circumstances of Philippine society and revolution and the global context of imperialism and proletarian revolution; and to widen and deepen their knowledge of revolutionary theory and practice through the three levels of Party education. The Party is determined to make prompt assignment of instructors and arrangement of study meetings to respond to the enthusiasm of those who wish to study.

The revolutionary forces daily conduct countless study meetings. They employ various creative ways to keep these secret from the enemy who desire to put a stop to the propagation of revolutionary ideas. Study sessions conducted by Red fighters as well as by peasants mass organizations and local Party branches are secured and defended by units of the people's army.

In all Party study courses, the use of materialist dialectics in thinking and action is inculcated to enable Party members to discern and analyze what is correct in relation to subjectivism, be it in the form of empiricism or dogmatism as well as reformism and revisionism.

The Party has been able to conduct the basic Party course in order to make the Party candidate-members become full members. Party leading organs and units are aware that the accelerated increase of Party members is a crucial component of the strategic plan to advance to the strategic stalemate. The Party has also been able to conduct the intermediate and advanced Party courses in order to

widen and deepen the understanding of Marxism-LeninismMaoism among Party members and cadres.

Oplan Bayanihan has no way of stopping the recruitment and education of Party candidatemembers and full members from the trade unions, farms, schools, offices and the mass movement in general. The Party has been able to digitize the storage, retrieval and publication of revolutionary study materials on a wide scale. It has also used new technology to produce and reproduce for people with limited formal education simplified study materials in various Philippine languages. Thousands of local Party cadres, as well as worker and peasant activists, are being trained as instructors of the Party and the national democratic school.By having easy access to MarxistLeninist-Maoist references, activists can more actively engage in study and propaganda and wage debates against the reactionaries and their ideological apologists.

The Party has propagated and carried out the general line of new democratic revolution through propaganda and agitation, through the expansion and consolidation of mass organizations and through

the mobilization of the broad masses of the people on urgent and long-running issues. The people's army, the mass organizations and the organs of political power have been effective in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses.

The Party combats “Left” and Right opportunism. It defines the correct political line on particular issues and processes, guided by the Program for the of People's Democratic Revolution, by subjecting facts and circumstances to class analysis, and by determining the principal and secondary aspects and thus arriving at the course of action that carries the revolutionary movement forward.

The Party engages in research and publications on domestic and global issues. The lies churned out daily by the reactionary spin factory are exposed, denounced and challenged. News of revolutionary struggles and victories are promptly circulated. Various publications are issued by the Central Committee, regional Party

committees and various mass organizations. These are published in print and on the internet. Local Party branches are setting up guerrilla printing shops to screen print *Ang Bayan* and ensure that copies reach every Party member, Red fighter and activist. Leaders and speakers are trained and gain experience by explaining issues to the masses and expressing their demands at public meetings.

The Party encourages the working people and the middle social strata to build open and underground mass organizations and to uphold, defend and promote the national and democratic rights and interests of the Filipino people. The underground mass organizations are allied within the framework of the National Democratic Front and support the local organs of political power.

The Party's main mass organization is the New People's Army. It is different from all other mass organizations by being armed and by serving as the people's instrument for smashing the power of the reactionary state and enabling the local organs of political power and in sum the people's democratic state to arise and develop.

The NPA is responsible for waging revolutionary armed struggle. It has thousands of high-powered rifles in the hands of its fighters and aims to increase this to the level of 25,000 in order to reach the threshold of the strategic stalemate in the next few years. It currently operates in more than 100 guerrilla fronts and is striving to increase these to 180 within the next five years since 2010 or for a longer period if need be. There are efforts to assist those regions that are lagging behind other regions in order to keep them apace with the overall advance.

In order to achieve the strategic plan of creating a guerrilla front per congressional district, regional Party committees subdivide their areas of responsibility to interfront and front commands without necessarily immediately dividing or liquidating the regional and inter-front commands and their respective headquarters and strike forces. To expand existing guerrilla fronts or establish new ones, NPA units can advance wave upon wave from an established guerrilla front. The Party and the mass movement can also expand ahead of

NPA units. Party cadres and mass activists can be assigned to the expansion area to conduct social investigation and initial organizing and the NPA can subsequently forward initial armed propaganda teams.

The Party is currently concerned with strengthening the leading committees and NPA commands at the level of the region, inter-front and the guerrilla front in order to seize initiative in launching tactical offensives and defeating enemy campaigns and operations. Every level has a center of gravity (headquarters and strike force) with an armed strength sufficient to protect the Party leadership and NPA command and deliver lethal blows on enemy units independently or in conjunction with NPA units at lower levels.

The Party can develop the NPA national operational command (NOC) on the basis of the regional operational commands. These can serve as the source of highly competent officers. The NOC can base itself on any regional command and organization at any given time before it can develop its own distinct central base in a relatively stable base area in the future.

The current modus operandi of the enemy is to concentrate large forces against certain guerrilla fronts in various regions for extended periods. Southern Mindanao, Samar-Leyte and Negros have been top priority for sustained enemy attacks involving eight to twelve battalions for each region. Bicol, Southern Tagalog, Central Luzon, Northeast Luzon and Northeast Mindanao have been attacked by six to ten battalions per region.

An NPA force within a guerrilla front under enemy encirclement avails of the tactics of using the wide gaps between enemy units in order to move from interior line to exterior line to launch tactical offensives and wipe out weak segments of the enemy forces. NPA units have been able to deliver lethal blows on enemy forces even where these are concentrated by hitting their weak points.

Outside a guerrilla front under enemy attack, the regional and inter-front commands can launch tactical offensives against the enemy

forces besieging the guerrilla front or against the enemy forces in areas at some distance from the guerrilla front under attack. NPA tactical offensives are unstoppable because enemy weak points to observe and attack abound.

The enemy does not have sufficient armed strength to target and encircle all the guerrilla fronts in the country and conduct prolonged and in-depth attacks against them all at the same time. Whenever the enemy chooses to concentrate on a number of regions or guerrilla fronts at a given time, the NPA elsewhere can attack weak points of the enemy, be these military, police, paramilitary forces and private security agencies as well as facilities and supply lines.

The NPA undertake annihilative actions as the main tactic to wipe out enemy units in order to seize weapons for increasing NPA units. It concentrates its forces to launch ambushes against enemy troops and carry out raids against lightly-guarded enemy detachments and camps, police stations as well as against secret armories maintained by the private security agencies. Such methods as sniping, zapping, deploying land mines and other explosives and inflammables (including sprayer and cigarette lighter) are used. Attritive actions are launched to inflict damage on the fighting capacity and morale of the enemy. Disintegrative actions are done by propaganda suited to the enemy personnel and by lenient treatment of those who are captured.

The NPA uses intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare on an ever expanding and deepening mass base in order to accumulate armed strength for regular mobile warfare and building relatively stable base areas in the future. It concentrates a superior force to wipe out an enemy unit. It shifts to get more advantageous position for attacking the weak points of the enemy. It disperses units to do mass work when conditions permit.

The Party makes sure that the revolutionary armed struggle is integrated with land reform and mass base building. The NPA is invincible as long as the peasant masses benefit from genuine land reform and remain the inexhaustible source of strength for the NPA.

At the same time, the mass base is expanded and consolidated with the building of the organs of political power and the mass organizations.

Land reform is the main content of the democratic revolution. It has been carried out in stages, from the minimum to the maximum program. The minimum program consists of rent reduction, elimination of usury, raising farm wages, improving farm-gate prices and increasing production in agriculture and sideline occupation through rudimentary forms of cooperation. The maximum program of confiscation and free distribution of land is possible upon the defeat of feudal power.

In certain regions, especially in Mindanao, the NPA has carried out significant offensives against mining, logging and plantation enterprises. Nationwide, these offensives are meant to stop and discourage landgrabbing, the plunder of natural resources for export and the destruction of the environment and agriculture; and to make more land available for land reform, to conserve the natural resources and use them wisely for national industrialization.

The US-Aquino regime has shamelessly used the reactionary armed forces as security guards for the mining, logging and plantation enterprises and has encouraged these to form larger private armies called “investment defense forces.” It is fine that the NPA is compelling the enemy forces to be tied down by guard duty. The formation of so many dispersed state and private armies can turn into its opposite and they can subsequently serve as sources of arms for expanding NPA ranks.

The strengthening and proper functioning of the local organs of political power and mass organizations under the leadership of the local Party branch relieve the NPA of work overload as they shoulder more responsibilities. By assuming responsibilities in defense and production, the people's militia at the barrio level and self-defense units of the mass organizations can reduce the work load of NPA units and allow them more time for combat, politico-military training, and other military duties. Even so, the people's

army maintains a balance of combat and non-combat duties (including mass work, especially in new areas.)

The mass line is to trust, rely on and enable the people to look after their own good through the local organs of political power and the mass organizations under Party leadership. The committees which are the organs of political power are supported by the working committees in charge of mass education, organizing, land reform, production, health and sanitation, defense, arbitration and cultural work. The mass organizations rouse and mobilize the people to engage in campaigns for their own benefit.

In establishing the people's government from the level of the villages and upward, it has been necessary for the NPA to defeat the enemy forces cumulatively and for the peasant masses to wage mass struggles in order to break up reactionary power in the localities and to eliminate or cause the flight of incorrigible reactionary officials who oppress the people and incur blood debts. Higher levels of people's government have an underground character while the reactionary government can still operate and extort levies from the people.

The Party applies the antifeudal united front in the countryside by relying mainly on the poor and lower middle peasants, befriending the rich peasants, taking advantage of the splits among the landlords and isolating and defeating the despotic landlords. The antifeudal united front is at the base of the national united front. The Party ensures that the united front policy is mainly for the armed struggle, especially through the National Democratic Front. At the same time, the policy serves to encourage the development of patriotic and progressive forces in the legal mass movement. These are of vital importance in propagating the people's demand for fundamental change towards national and social liberation.

In any case, the united front policy and tactics are meant to arouse, mobilize and organize the masses in their millions. To maintain the patriotic and progressive character of the united front, the Party in principle and in proper style leads every possible combination of forces in the echelon of alliances, such as the basic worker-peasant

alliance, the progressive alliance of the toiling masses and the urban pettybourgeoisie, the patriotic alliance with the national bourgeoisie and the unstable alliance with any section of the reactionary classes that cooperates in opposing the enemy.

Through the united front, the people in great numbers ventilate and act upon the issues arising from the people's struggle for national liberation and democracy. The people are united and mobilized to uphold national sovereignty and territorial integrity against the imperialists, to defend and uphold human rights against state terrorism and repression, to condemn corruption and to remove from power corrupt and oppressive government officials. Marcos and Estrada were isolated and then overthrown, with the Party applying the united front policy. This policy is now directed against the puppet, corrupt, exploitative, brutal and deceptive regime of Aquino.

Engaging in peace negotiations is relevant to the united front. It involves propagating the program of people's democratic revolution and exposing to the public how the reactionary government reacts to demands for basic reforms and offers of truce and alliance or cooperation against imperialism and the worst forms of local reaction.

Tolerating the electoral process of the reactionary government on whatever scale is also relevant to the united front. It involves developing cooperation with patriotic and progressive candidates and groups and encouraging them to fight the worst reactionaries in the reactionary government and do what they can to help disintegrate the reactionary ruling system.

As always, the Party is bound by the principle of democratic centralism. This is centralized leadership based on democracy and democracy guided by centralism. The Party promotes both discipline and democracy. It is always on guard against bureaucratism and ultrademocracy. It practices criticism and self-criticism on ideological, political and organizational issues.

Party membership has increased under the impetus of the strategic plan to advance the people's war from the strategic defensive to the

strategic stalemate and upon the proper expeditious implementation of the provisions of the Party Constitution on membership.

Activists in the trade unions and the mass organizations of peasants and fisher folk, women, youth, professionals and other sectors have become Party candidate members by accepting the Party Constitution and Program and applying for Party membership. Previous causes of stagnation or slow growth of Party membership are being addressed and rectified.

Mass activists are being recruited in great number and are promptly provided with basic Party education within the period of candidature stipulated by the Party constitution. Negligence of the basic tasks of Party recruitment and education, conceit by setting standards higher than those required by the Party constitution and failing to trust mass activists are being rectified.

The period of candidature for workers, peasants, fisherfolk and other toilers is six months; for those from the urban pettybourgeoisie, one year; and for other classes, two years. To become full Party members the candidate-members finish the basic Party course and join a basic Party unit.

The Party's policy is to recruit Party members mainly from the ranks of mass activists and to boldly expand the Party membership without letting in a single unreliable. The expansion of Party membership is necessitated by the intensifying revolutionary struggle and the gigantic tasks to be carried out by Party cadres and members in serving the people and carrying the revolution forward.

The Party is now present in nearly all provinces of the country. It runs ahead of the building of the New People's Army. It expands with the mass movement. It prepares the way for the advance of the people's army, which it heads and within which it is the core. The Party grows not only from the ranks of Red commanders and fighters but also from the far greater number of activists in the mass organizations of the toiling masses and the urban pettybourgeoisie.

Fight firmly and fiercely for national liberation and democracy

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We must fight firmly and fiercely for national freedom and genuine democracy against the oppressive and exploitative USAquino regime. We must defeat its campaigns of violence and deception. We are confident of winning victory because the current crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system provides exceedingly favorable conditions for the revolutionary struggle. The regime can be surely discredited and isolated due to its anti-national and anti-democratic policies and actions.

We must completely defeat the strategic plan of the USAquino regime to destroy the revolutionary movement of the people and to preserve the ruling system of big compradors and landlords under the hegemony of US imperialism. The regime's lip service to peace negotiations is merely a minor part of its campaign of deception which complements the main campaign of military suppression under Oplan Bayanihan.

We must win the immediate struggle against the reactionary puppet regime in order to strengthen our revolutionary forces for the long-term struggle to overthrow the entire ruling system. We must persevere in carrying out the strategic plan to advance the people's war from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate.

1. We must further strengthen the Party as the most advanced detachment of the revolutionary proletariat and as the leading force of the people's democratic revolution. We must propagate Marxism-LeninismMaoism as the guide to the Philippine revolution. We must apply this theory on the history and current circumstances of the world and the Philippines.

We must use the theory to explain the crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system, illuminate the road of revolution led by the working class and raise our revolutionary

consciousness and struggle. We must expose the root causes of our country's underdevelopment and our people's poverty and suffering and define the revolutionary course to take in order to advance the cause of national and social liberation.

We must ensure that all Party candidate-members take the basic Party course which is mainly about Philippine society in order to become full Party members within the stipulated period of candidature. Even at this basic level, those taking the course must gain awareness or an initial understanding of how materialist dialectics and class analysis are applied on Philippine history and current social conditions and the adoption of the general line of new-democratic revolution through people's war.

Consequently, Party members must take the intermediate Party course in order to learn more about the Philippine revolutionary movement by comparing it with other revolutions under proletarian leadership. Still further they must take the advanced Party course to study Marxist-Leninist-Maoist philosophy, political economy, social science, strategy and tactics and the history of the international communist movement.

We must understand how monopoly capitalism wreaks havoc on the lives of the working people, how socialism arose in the world, how it has been betrayed and overpowered by modern revisionism and how it can rise again from the conditions of crisis brought about by monopoly capitalism and from the perseverance of the proletariat and the people in their revolutionary struggle.

All Party organs and units must strive to apply what they learn from studying theory and practice and must diligently carry out the policies and decisions of the Central Committee. They must sum up and analyze their experience and engage in criticism and self-criticism in order to rectify and overcome errors and shortcomings and in order to improve work and work style to advance the struggle against the people's adversaries.

Special studies should be developed and propagated on military theory; the strategy and tactics of our people's war based on summings up of experiences, Party policies and directives; waging agrarian revolution wave upon wave, united front work, the democratic mass movement; revolutionary work inside the reactionary parliament and style and methods of leadership of Party committees. Theoretical and work conferences must be organized at different levels to encourage systematic study and discussion of theoretical and practical questions, enliven exchange of experiences and views, and facilitate the unification of the Party on policy and tactics.

Combatting subjectivism requires constant vigilance against both dogmatism and empiricism. But at present we need to pay particular attention against the empiricist current and the related erroneous tendencies of right opportunism in politics, conservatism in the conduct of the armed struggle and ultrademocracy and liberalism in organizational matters. The manifestations of empiricism include narrowness and superficiality instead of striving for a comprehensive and concrete understanding of questions and events; being overly engrossed with the immediate and shortterm while neglecting basic and long-term questions; neglect of theoretical and political education; being content with low level, small-scale, scattered or stagnant organization and mobilization of the masses; guerillaism in some NPA units; military passivity of some NPA units and guerilla fronts; over-reliance on unreliable tactical allies; vacillation on revolutionary dual tactics within reactionary institutions and processes; mountain-stronghold mentality in some guerilla units; gross neglect of the Party's report system; ultrademocracy and small-group mentality in Party organization.

2. We must pursue the general line of people's democratic revolution through people's war. This line responds to the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine ruling system, which is maintained by force in order to exploit and oppress the people. To overthrow this system, we must arouse, organize and mobilize the people in their millions and thereby build the political strength of

the Party, the New People's Army and the National Democratic Front for the purpose of overthrowing the reactionary state and establishing the people's democratic state.

The Party must lead the NPA to fight and defeat the armed forces of the reactionary state. The NPA must frustrate and prevail over Oplan Bayanihan with more frequent tactical offensives on a wide scale. In the process, we must seize more arms from the enemy and increase the number of NPA fighting units. The NPA level of armed strength must reach 25,000 in order to advance from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate.

The Party must develop the national operational command as well as the interregional, regional, provincial, inter-front commands in order to strengthen planning and coordination at the different appropriate levels and thus, multiply the NPA's sources of initiative to fight and defeat the enemy campaigns that concentrate on certain regions and certain guerrilla fronts in an attempt to destroy these. The initiatives can take the form of counter-attacking enemy units that besiege any of the guerrilla fronts or undertaking offensives in areas where the enemy forces are weak and vulnerable.

Planning and coordination at the regional and interregional levels should also hasten the strengthening of guerilla warfare in all strategic areas in order to make full use of the whole length and breadth of the archipelago for intensifying guerilla warfare.

Greater attention and effort should be given to the building of the people's militia. They are essential to the advance of widespread and intensive guerilla warfare and they directly impact the growth and strengthening of the people's army. Cadres and special units in-charge of the formation, training and supervision of people's militia units should be assigned at the front, inter-front and regional levels.

The NPA must wage intensive and extensive guerilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. The accumulation of victories will eventually lead to larger and more widespread NPA operations. The revolutionary armed strength must

be integrated with land reform and mass base building. The guerrilla fronts must be consolidated with the establishment and development of the local organs of political power and the mass organizations.

The Party must promote and lead the united front nationwide in both urban and rural areas. The united front is aimed at facilitating and strengthening the revolutionary armed struggle and the legal mass struggles. The various types of alliances must be developed. The objective is to arouse and mobilize the people in their millions along the line of people's democratic revolution.

Correspondent to the strategic line of protracted people's war, the antifeudal united front must be at the base of the national united front. It involves the Party relying mainly on the poor peasants and farm workers, winning over the middle peasants, gaining the friendly neutrality of the rich peasants and taking advantage of the contradictions among landlords in order to isolate and destroy the power of the despotic landlords.

The Party must further develop nationwide the basic alliance of the workers and peasants, the progressive alliance of the toiling masses with the urban pettybourgeoisie, the patriotic alliance of the foregoing with the national bourgeoisie; and the broad alliance with certain sectors of the reactionary class. All types of alliances are meant to arouse, organize and mobilize the people in order to isolate and destroy the power of the enemy.

The legal democratic movement of the workers and other urban poor, the student youth, low-income professionals and intellectuals and other democratic sectors centered in the urban areas must be expanded and strengthened. The economic and political struggle of the workers and other progressive forces must be independently expanded and advanced along the anti-imperialist, antifascist and antifeudal line to serve as a strong spearhead of the broad protest movement that can oppose and isolate the biggest and worst imperialist puppets and reactionaries in power and cause the destruction of the reactionaries one by one.

National democratic agitation, propaganda and political education must be invigorated as a basic component of all mass campaigns.

3. The Party must uphold the principle of democratic centralism. This means centralized leadership based on democracy and democracy guided by centralized leadership. Every Party member is bound by the collective interest and program of the entire Party and the revolutionary movement.

In any voting, the majority prevails over the minority. The lower organ is subordinate to the higher organ. The Party must strengthen the leading committees at various levels and must take the lead in performing the functions that are necessary for advancing the people's war from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate.

All Party organs and units must strive to apply what they learn from studying theory and practice and must diligently carry out the policies and decisions of the Central Committee. They must sum up and analyze their experience and engage in criticism and self-criticism in order to rectify and overcome errors and shortcomings and in order to improve their work and work style to advance the struggle against the people's adversaries.

The Party must further increase its membership to 250,000 in the next few years. This is to enable the Party to lead the growing people's army, the organs of political power, mass organizations and alliances and perform various types of functions. Expanding the Party membership is an urgent and essential task for advancing the revolution.

The Party must run ahead of the people's army in building the Party organization in the provinces, districts and municipalities where units of the people's army do not yet operate. The Party must pay attention to expanding in both urban and rural areas and providing leadership to the mass movement.

The activists in the mass movement must be encouraged to apply for Party membership. Upon application and acceptance, they

become candidate members and must be tasked and given the basic Party course. Every Party unit must take responsibility for every Party candidate-member that it recruits to become a full Party member.

We must recruit Party members mainly from the conscious and militant ranks of the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the youth mass movement. We need educated youth, with various types of knowledge and technical skills to do revolutionary work in various fields of social activity and in various organizations and institutions.

We should develop and train thousands of new and young cadres to further strengthen Party leadership at every level and in the different spheres of revolutionary work. We need cadres who have a firm grasp of

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, are steadfast in upholding the Party line, diligent in work and study, are close to the masses, can find their own bearing, are willing to face difficulties and sacrifices, can unite with other comrades, observe discipline and know how to criticize themselves.

A healthy system of regular and special reports and system of correspondence between the higher and lower organs of the Party is required for the Party organization to function properly and well. The lower organs should submit regular and special reports and make sure that the higher organs are constantly well-informed about the situation, developments and problems in their revolutionary work and should request for instructions and guidance to insure the successful carrying out of Party plans, policies and decisions. The higher organs on the other hand should be diligent in studying reports and giving timely guidance to the lower organs. Gross neglect of reporting by the lower organs and failure of the higher organs to check-up on and give guidance to the lower organs are serious breaks in the Party organization and discipline.

We resolve to fight the US-Aquino regime and the entire ruling system and thereby win ever greater victories in the people's

democratic revolution. We are confident of advancing from the stage of strategic defensive to that of the strategic stalemate in our people's war, no matter how long it takes.

The important point is to do everything possible and necessary to carry the revolution forward in stages towards the basic completion of the new democratic revolution and move forward to the commencement of the socialist revolution. Our ultimate goal is communism.

Message of the Central Committee of the Communist Party
of the Philippines issued on December 26, 2012

Advance the national-democratic revolution through people's war amid the worsening global and domestic crisis

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On the 45th anniversary of the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines on the theoretical basis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, we celebrate the accumulated and recent victories of the Party and the Filipino people in the new democratic revolution against the ruling system of big compradors and landlords servile to US imperialism.

We are resolved to advance the new-democratic revolution on the basis of our ideological, political and organizational strength, overcome our errors and shortcomings, set forth our tasks and carry them out in order to bring about greater victories in the revolutionary struggle.

The crisis of the world capitalist system continues to protract and worsen. Consequently, the chronic crisis of the domestic ruling system continues to deepen and aggravate. The crisis conditions inflict intolerable suffering on the people and drive them to wage all forms of resistance.

In line with US design, Oplan Bayanihan aims to destroy the revolutionary movement or reduce it to inconsequence by combining the escalation of brutal military campaigns of suppression and the misrepresentation of the Aquino regime as the paragon of good governance, economic growth and the dispenser of doleouts for the poorest, especially in the guerrilla fronts.

But at this point, the dismal failure of Oplan Bayanihan is starkly clear. The people's war continues to gain ground and grow in strength. The revolutionary forces and the people are optimistic that with relentless hard work and struggle, they can advance further from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate.

The Aquino regime is exposed and condemned by the people for serving the interests of the exploiting classes to which he belongs, for being subservient to the US imperialists, for worsening the underdeveloped character of the economy and for being corrupt by stealing public funds and taking bribes from big business.

The US imperialists and the local exploiting classes previously expected the Aquino regime to contain the revolutionary movement, harmonize the rival reactionary forces and stabilize the ruling system. But it has aggravated the socio-economic and political crisis and is pushing the people to rise up. The demand for the ouster or resignation of the Aquino regime has become extensive and sharp.

Global crisis protracts and generates war

The imperialist powers headed by the US are fixated on perpetuating the neoliberal economic policy. They cling to the dogma that the maximization of private profit and the accelerated accumulation and concentration of capital in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie and its financial oligarchy through the

reduction of the wage level, liberalization of investments, trade and finance, the privatization of state assets, deregulation of social and environmental restrictions and the denationalization of the underdeveloped countries are the way to economic growth, job creation and social satisfaction.

They obscure the fact that the capitalist system of maximizing private profits by minimizing the wage fund cannot but result in the crisis of overproduction in the real economy and that the use of credit, derivatives and financial bubbles to buoy up the economy and deliver still bigger profits to the monopoly bourgeoisie in cycles of boom and bust has limits. Amid the economic stagnation, the people in the US and other imperialist countries are outraged by the gross inequality of incomes between the upper 5% and the rest of society and the worsening conditions of poverty due to unemployment, homelessness and soaring costs of basic goods and services.

Since the financial meltdown of 2008, there has been no letup in the crisis and the deterioration of the world capitalist system despite the sporadic bounces in the financial markets. The global depression persists and the most victimized are the people of the third world. The imperialist powers have found no solution to the crisis but have aggravated it by bailing out the big bourgeoisie with public money and buoying up the assets of the big banks and corporations and further shifting the burden of crisis to the working people and the underdeveloped countries through austerity measures.

The recurrent and worsening economic and financial crises brought about by the neoliberal economic policy has profoundly undermined and weakened the US for decades. Its manufacturing base has contracted as a result of outsourcing many kinds of consumer commodities to China and a few other so-called emerging economies while focusing on the production of big items (such as telecommunications, aircraft and hightech weaponry), widening the service sector and financializing the US economy.

The crisis of the US and the world capitalist economy has taken the

conspicuous form of the public debt crisis on top of the underlying problems of corporate debt and the hundreds of trillions of financial derivatives. The tax base of the imperialist states has been undermined by economic stagnation, the rise of unemployment, the continuing huge tax cuts for the corporations and the wealthy, bureaucratic corruption and high military spending.

In a futile attempt at solving the public debt crisis and rising public deficits, the imperialist states pass the burden of crisis to the people. The US federal government engages in so-called quantitative easing or printing money, while the local states conspicuously adopt austerity measures. The European Union imposes austerity measures on its member-states, especially those already openly bankrupt, such as Greece, Spain and Portugal. Austerity involves the reduction of wages and pensions, social services and public sector employment.

The US leads the imperialist powers in presuming military production to be a stimulant of the economy, in actually stepping up such production, in deploying military forces abroad and in launching wars of aggression. The US and its NATO allies openly share the position that maintaining military superiority is necessary for promoting and protecting foreign investments. At the same time, social services (such as education, health and social housing) are relentlessly being cut back.

To conceal the reality of economic depression and make it appear as mere recession albeit repetitive, the imperialist states inject public funds into the financial sector semestrally in order to create the illusion of recovery. The monopoly bourgeoisie and its financial elite cover up their responsibility for the crisis through the dominant political parties, mass media, the schools and the churches. They let loose such reactionary currents as chauvinism, racism, religious bigotry, anti-immigrant politics, anti-communism, fascism and warmongering to disable people from recognizing the capitalist roots of the crisis and the need for revolutionary class struggle.

Nevertheless, the working class and other people in the imperialist

countries are resisting the rising level of exploitation and oppression, despite the attempts of the big bourgeoisie to confuse and entrap them in the electoral struggle between the barefaced reactionaries and the reformists. The workers are launching strikes and mass protests, together with the youth, women, senior citizens, migrants and refugees. The more severe the crisis, the more militant are the mass actions. Conditions are rife for the development of the revolutionary party of the proletariat and the progressive mass organizations in various sectors.

The imperialist powers always try to override contradictions among themselves by uniting against the third world countries and peoples by shifting the burden of crisis to them through intensified exploitation, privileged investments, lopsided trade, foreign currency imposition, heavier debt burden and the accelerated plunder of the natural resources and destruction of the environment. Modern imperialism has always been global in scale. But under the neoliberal policy, the main thrust of imperialist globalization is the denationalization of third world economies in violation of national sovereignty, national patrimony and the legitimate aspiration for national industrial development.

The peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the socially retrogressive countries of Eastern Europe and republics of Russia are resisting the escalation of exploitation and oppression. The social unrest and political turmoil are sweeping entire continents of the world. The broad masses of the people are waging mass protests on an unprecedented scale. In a significant number of countries, revolutionary parties of the proletariat are waging people's war for national and social liberation, such as the Philippines, India, Bangladesh, Turkey, North Kurdistan, Colombia, Peru and elsewhere.

Conditions are rife for the emergence of people's war in more countries as the crisis protracts and worsens. The revolutionary parties of the proletariat and the people can hope to complete the struggle for national liberation and democracy and then proceed to

socialist revolution only if they smash the military and bureaucratic machinery of the reactionary state. Very instructive to all revolutionaries is the way peace agreements have been used to frustrate social revolution in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Nepal and Tamil Eelam.

Certain third world states like the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Cuba, Venezuela, Syria and Iran have asserted their national independence and have stood their ground against threats, provocations and sanctions imposed by the imperialists led by the US. In varying degrees, they have learned lessons from the dismal experience of states, which at first resist imperialist dictates and then compromise with the imperialists and expose their vulnerabilities for eventual subversion and aggression.

The US and NATO have installed puppet regimes and gained military bases and economic spoils in countries where they unleashed wars of aggression or engaged in military intervention. But the people there continue to resist. Armed conflicts continue in Iraq, Afghanistan, parts of Pakistan and Libya. The Balkans remain a powder keg. The so-called Arab spring in Tunisia and Egypt have succeeded in toppling authoritarians like Zine el Abadine Ben Ali and Hosni Mubarak and led to the ascendancy of the Salafi and Muslim Brotherhood. The US has had to install again a pro-US military ruling clique in Egypt in order to please both Israel and the Egyptian military bourgeoisie bred by the US after the Camp David sell-out by then Egyptian president Anwar Sadat in 1977.

The US and the NATO undertook the bombing campaign that disintegrated the defense structure of the Qaddafi regime and allowed the anti-Qaddafi militia groups to overthrow it. Once more with the collaboration of Israel, Turkey, Saudi Arabia and Qatar, they instigated and supplied militia groups to fight the Assad regime in Syria and schemed to unleash air assaults against it on the false allegation that it is using chemical weapons. They also calculated that the regime change in Syria would pave the way for an attack on Iran.

However, Russia and China used their veto power in the UN Security Council to block the US-NATO bombing scheme and to give way to diplomacy in working out an agreement regarding the elimination of Syria's chemical stocks and US-NATO desistance from bombing Syria. Further on, Russia and China pushed an agreement for Iran to reduce its uranium enrichment to the level of 5% for the purpose of energy generation in exchange for the reduction of economic sanctions by the imperialist powers. As in previous cases, agreements can prevent the US and NATO from bombing an enemy state for a while. But subsequently, they can claim noncompliance with such agreements or use other pretexts to justify aggression in due time.

The worsening crisis of the world capitalist system fuels contradiction among the imperialist powers no matter how hard they try to patch up their differences and unite against the third world countries and the working people. Since China and Russia became openly capitalist and joined the ranks of major capitalist states, the room for mutual accommodation among the imperialist powers has strategically contracted.

Having inherited from their socialist background a tradition of assertive national sovereignty, a significant degree of industrialization, a high level of science and technology and nuclear weapons, China and Russia are strong entrants in the circle of imperialist powers. They cannot be made to follow US dictates without resistance or circumvention. Thus, inter-imperialist contradictions are growing over a wide range of issues: investments, trade, finance, security, spying and the environment.

China and Russia are major members of the UN Security Council, the IMF, World Bank, the WTO and the Group of 20. And yet they are the stalwarts of the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa), an economic bloc with a comprehensive range of products and is a huge market. They are also stalwarts of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), a security arrangement which has far more population and land than the NATO. The SCO

has arisen as a countervailing force to the US and NATO, especially in Asia, as a result of the overweening arrogance and aggressiveness of the US after getting support for its so-called war on terror.

During and after the years of 1989 to 1991, when the revisionist regimes openly embraced capitalism and proceeded at top speed to legalize bureaucratic loot and privatize state assets, the imperialists and their camp followers proclaimed the death of socialism. They could not imagine how China and Russia as new capitalist powers would exacerbate inter-imperialist contradictions, worsen the crisis of global capitalism and unintentionally bring about the resurgence of the anti-imperialist and socialist movements in the long run.

Even while still stuck in a number of politico-military quagmires of its own making in West Asia, Africa, Central Asia and South Asia and still facing potential armed conflicts elsewhere, the US is pivoting to Asia in an ill-disguised scheme to confront and contain China. It is rebalancing by deploying 50% of all its military and 60% of its naval forces in the Asia-Pacific region. It is using the military buildup in combination with the Trans Pacific Partnership Agreement (which at present excludes China) to persuade China to completely privatize its remaining state-owned enterprises and to give way to the so-called democracy movement, which requires multiparty competition in elections from the local up to the national level and ending the privileged role of the pseudo-communist party which is in fact an authoritarian bourgeois party.

The US is also taking advantage of the disputes between China and Southeast Asian countries over portions of the South China Sea as well as that between China and Japan over Diaoyu island in the East China Sea. The Kalayaan or Spratly and other islets, reefs and shoals owned by the Philippines are clearly within the 200-mile exclusive zone stipulated by the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea signed by China and the Philippines. But in the case of Diaoyu islands, these belong to China because it is far closer to China than to Japan and most importantly because Japan officially acknowledged Chinese ownership of them in 1885 and annexed

them as war booty in 1895, following the defeat of China in the First Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95. The US unjustly takes side with Japan, if only to fish in troubled waters, and has combined with Japan in challenging China's extension of its air defense identification zone over Diaoyu islands.

The US pivot to East Asia means the further transgression of Philippine national sovereignty and territorial integrity. It involves the further entrenchment of US military forces in the Philippines and the ultimate reestablishment of the US military bases. The US is already preparing for the return of the US military bases by setting up forward stations inside and outside of the military camps of the Philippine puppet army, rotating ever larger military units, increasing frequency of comings and goings of aircraft and naval vessels and ever developing interoperability with the puppet troops and supply mobilization.

We can anticipate the increasing involvement and participation of US military forces in armed counterrevolution against the revolutionary movement of the Filipino people. The current level of US military intervention in Philippine affairs is a preparation for outright military aggression. This is concomitant to the strategic scheme of the US to have a secure base in the Philippines for undertaking military actions and maneuvers against China and other countries in the region. US strategy regards the Philippines as being in the first line of defense against China and the DPRK, backed by a deeper second line of US military forces in the Pacific Islands and Oceania.

Ruling system reels from crisis and corruption

The crisis of the world capitalist system has a destructive impact on the Philippine economy and aggravates its chronic crisis. The export of semiconductors and other low value-added semi-manufacturing

products has drastically fallen. Many of the plants engaged in fringe processing and reassembly have shut down. Agricultural production is bedeviled by dumping and smuggling of rice and corn into the country and lack of support from the state, which misrepresents the smuggled staples as domestic products.

Like its predecessors, the Aquino regime is opposed to genuine land reform and national industrialization. The neoliberal economic policy continues to aggravate and deepen the underdeveloped, agrarian and semifeudal character of the economy, dominated by the imperialists, big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists.

The regime claims to have made the economy as the fastest growing with the increase of remittances of overseas Filipino workers (OFWs), rise of income from the call centers and the expansion of private and public construction, mining, plantations, casinos and other tourist facilities.

The continuing increase of OFW remittances comes mainly from the Filipino nurses and caregivers in North America. Elsewhere, the crisis of global capitalism, the anti-migrant bias and social disorders have started to reduce overseas employment. Private construction is now afflicted by overcapacity and is a bubble that is bound to burst as soon as the imperialist banks raise interest rates to counter inflation and the portfolio investments (hot money) fly back to their countries of origin. Belated appropriations for public construction have been to a large extent pork barrel scams, with the public money privately pocketed, invested in upscale real estate or stashed away in foreign banks by the bureaucrat capitalists.

Foreign and domestic corporations are frenziedly engaged in mining all over the country. They practice open pit mining with heavy use of poisonous chemicals to accelerate mineral extraction to the detriment of agriculture, fishing and the environment. Mineral ores and precious metals are brought out of the country. Only token taxes are paid to the government. The plantations for the production and export of pineapple, banana, rubber and palm oil are reducing the

land for staple food production and for land reform. The casinos and other tourist facilities do not spell any real economic development.

In the absence of any industrial development or rise of manufacturing, the Aquino regime boasts of having achieved an economic miracle by having the highest economic growth rate in the whole world. In fact, the so-called economic miracle is a mere bubble. The claimed growth rate of more than 7% on a GDP of US\$250 billion is generated mainly by hot money in the carry trade and by wanton government borrowing and spending for nonproductive purposes. The hot money from abroad flows mainly into the stock and money markets; and at best finances the overcapacity and the bubble in private construction.

The budgetary deficit has widened because the revenue base of the reactionary government has been eroded by the actual economic depression, the privatization of earning assets, the tax cuts for the foreign investors, tax evasion by businesses and the wealthy and smuggling of goods in and out of the country; and because the tax revenues have been used to feed bureaucratic corruption, service the mounting foreign and local debt and raise appropriations for the military and other counterproductive purposes. The trade deficit has also widened because of high expenditures for the importation of luxury goods and necessities produced by other countries; and because export income has drastically declined. The reactionary government keeps on increasing the local and public debt and applying austerity measures without announcing these as such.

Whenever the Aquino regime boasts of economic growth, the broad masses of the people are outraged by the lie and by the fact that a huge part of the GDP includes the superprofit-taking operations of the multinational corporations and what the big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists grab from the social wealth that the toiling masses of workers and peasants create. They point to the rising mass unemployment, the decline of incomes, the soaring prices of fuel, food and other basic commodities, the increased charges for public utilities and social services and the visible spread

of poverty, hunger and misery. Social unrest is widespread and deepening. Thus, the people are rising in mass protest. And an increasing number of people are joining the armed revolutionary movement in the countryside.

The ruling political system is the instrument of the US and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords that are represented by the bureaucrat capitalists. The bureaucrat capitalists are themselves members of the exploiting classes, like the current president B.S. Aquino who is a big comprador-landlord from the Cojuangco-Aquino dynasty. Other bureaucrat capitalists are recruited by the ruling classes from the urban pettybourgeois intelligentsia and, like their economic and political superiors, generally aspire to rise in economic and social standing and amass wealth in capital and land.

The bureaucrat capitalists amass private wealth by using their government offices for the purpose. They adopt policies and rules designed to favor their electoral campaign financiers, relatives and friends with economic privileges, and they take bribes in business contracts and use government appropriations for their private benefit. Contrary to hypocritical claims that his regime is clean and honest, Aquino has become exposed as the Pork Barrel King, using hundreds of billions of pesos of lump sum appropriations at his sole discretion to disburse for his personal gain and political patronage. One of his siblings has also been denounced by a Czech company for demanding bribes.

The Filipino people have been further outraged by the corruption of the Aquino regime with the exposure of the disappearance of calamity funds for the victims of natural disasters and with its criminal failure to make pre-disaster preparations to ensure the safety of the people and to provide timely and adequate rescue and relief to the millions of people assaulted by the monster winds of the super typhoon Yolanda (Haiyan) and storm surges. Thousands were killed, homes, means of livelihood and social infrastructure were destroyed and millions of people suffered from hunger, thirst, cold in

the open air, lack of medicine, illness and death. Thus, the people are increasingly demanding the resignation or ouster of Aquino and his entire corrupt ruling clique.

The exposure of the plundering character and corrupt practices of the Aquino regime has unraveled the scheme of the US and most sections of the local exploiting classes to drum him up as the icon of good governance for stabilizing the ruling system and for rallying against the armed revolutionary movement of the people led by the Communist Party of the Philippines. Even the reactionary mass media which touted Aquino as a clean and well-meaning leader for more than three years have started to publish statements and articles exposing the corrupt character of his regime.

In the last elections of 2012, the Aquino regime appeared to reign supreme, riding high with the support of the media and poll survey firms and without any serious opposition from any rival bourgeois party. The ruling Liberal Party was able to coalesce with the Nacionalista Party, the Nationalist People's Coalition, the LDP and sections of the PDP-Laban and Laban-NUCD. Even the opposition party, PDP-Laban, was seen as a fake opposition because Vice President Jejomar Binay had long been known as an Aquino protege, directly handled by an uncle of B.S. Aquino. Previous to the 2012 elections, Aquino rounded up all major reactionary parties with pork to convict Supreme Court Justice Corona.

Notwithstanding his "popularity" conjured by the reactionary media and the poll surveys, Aquino and his gang pre-determined the results of the 2012 senatorial elections by programming the 60-30-10 pattern in favor of his candidates and feeding into the automated electoral system operated by the foreign company Smartmatic and its Philippine partner Total Information Management (TIM). The electoral cheating has been proven conclusively by the highly respected computer scientists in AES Watch. It indicates how Aquino was elected not only with the financial help of big businessmen like Eduardo Cojuangco, Lucio Tan, Manny Pangilinan and Jaime Zobel de Ayala but also with the manipulation of automated electoral system.

The automation of the electoral system has made the elections even more fraudulent and even more controlled by foreign and big comprador interests in violation of the people's sovereignty.

Automated or not, the reactionary elections are undemocratic as they include the political agents of the exploiting classes but exclude the patriotic and progressive representatives of the workers and peasants by such predetermining factors as the repressive and slanderous actions of the military and police agencies against the latter, the prohibitive costs of campaigning and the bias generated by the mass media, churches and schools. Even the party-list system that allowed the election of a handful of progressive members of Congress representing the exploited classes will now be completely overrun by the political dynasties and the reactionary parties as a result of a recent decision of the Supreme Court allowing them use of the system.

It is fine for the revolutionary movement that the reactionaries are themselves unwittingly doing everything to dispel the illusion that the reactionary elections are democratic. After all, the reactionary politicians expose their antinational and anti-democratic character as soon as they betray the people and grab the spoils of power. The entire government itself has been weakened by exposure of its pro-imperialist and reactionary character, the privatization of its earning assets under the neoliberal policy, the intolerable levies on the people already impoverished by the crisis, the reduction and deterioration of social services and runaway wastage of public funds through bureaucratic corruption, debt service and military spending.

The Aquino regime has never had any serious intention of negotiating a just peace with the National Democratic Front of the Philippines. At the first formal meeting of the NDFP negotiating panel and the Aquino-appointed panel in Oslo in 2011, the latter denounced The Hague Joint Declaration as a "document of perpetual division."

The NDFP pointed out that this is the framework agreement that has made possible more than ten major agreements, including the

Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL). The regime has consistently refused to release NDFP peace consultants who have been arrested and detained in violation of the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG).

In 2012, it declared the JASIG inoperative and refused to agree to the reconstruction of the list of JASIG -protected individuals which had been destroyed by the Dutch police raids in 2007 upon the Arroyo regime's instigation to the Dutch government to arrest the NDFP chief political consultant on false criminal charges and to raid and seize documents and electronic media and equipment from NDFP Information Office and the houses of NDFP negotiators, consultants and staffers. For this reason alone, the NDFP had the basis to terminate the peace negotiations in accordance with the JASIG but decided to extend its patience for the sake of seeking a just peace.

The Aquino regime has exposed itself as worse than the Arroyo regime in violating the CARHRIHL and committing gross and systematic human rights violations. It has refused to release the hundreds of political prisoners that the Arroyo regime imprisoned in violation of CARHRIHL, especially the Hernandez doctrine that political activists and rebels should not be criminalized and should not be accused of common crimes, instead of political offenses. The Aquino regime has proceeded to arrest suspected revolutionaries, torture and murder or detain indefinitely hundreds of them on false charges of common crimes.

It is upon US advice that the Aquino regime has continuously fouled up and considered the peace negotiations as unnecessary for so long as he can maintain the illusion of good governance and efficient delivery of services to the people and thus combine well the triad of psywar, intelligence and combat operations. This US advice is clearly spelled out in the US Counterinsurgency Guide. By way of strengthening psywar and intelligence to serve combat operations, the Aquino regime has also recycled the failed Aquino-Ramos

amnesty and rehabilitation program of the past by undertaking the Conditional Cash Transfer Program and PAMANA, using bribery and intimidation to entice entire communities and even the families of revolutionaries with cash doleouts in exchange for information against the revolutionary movement.

The Aquino regime is not at all interested in peace negotiations but the capitulation and pacification of the revolutionary forces and people under the guise of “unilateral simultaneous indefinite ceasefires.” It has rebuffed the offer of the NDFP for truce and alliance or cooperation on the basis of a concise general common intent to realize and carry forward national independence, democracy, social justice, development through land reform and national industrialization, people’s culture and international solidarity. The truce and alliance or cooperation are meant to promote the accelerated negotiation of the remaining comprehensive agreements in accordance with The Hague Joint Declaration.

In view of the proven unwillingness of the Aquino regime to negotiate a just peace, the revolutionary movement does not expect the resumption of peace negotiations with the regime. It has no choice but to wait for the next regime to engage in serious negotiations. It remains to be seen whether the regime can make a final peace agreement with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front that does not arouse the opposition of the Moro National Liberation Front headed by Nur Misuari and the Bangsamoro Islamic Freedom Fighters. We are optimistic that the Bangsamoro will continue to struggle for self-determination and ancestral domain so long as these are not fulfilled.

The Aquino regime is a shameless puppet of US imperialism. It allows the US military forces to violate Philippine national sovereignty and territorial integrity. It cravenly believes that the US can save the rotten semicolonial and semifederal ruling system in the Philippines. Thus, it supports the US policy of pivot to East Asia. It is poised to sign with the US the Increased Rotational Presence Framework Agreement in order to improve interoperability of

personnel, units, equipment and commands under the Visiting Forces Agreement of 1997 and the US-Philippine Mutual Defense Pact of 1953.

The increased rotational presence of US military forces, the frequent comings and goings of air and naval vessels, the establishment of forward stations inside and outside of the puppet camps, the improved interoperability and joint operations of the US and Philippine military forces constitute foreign military intervention and are preparations for the reestablishment of US military bases and for aggression against the Filipino people and neighboring peoples.

But like the rotting ruling system of the Philippines, US imperialism is on a path of accelerated decline. It has outwitted itself by imposing on the world the neoliberal economic policy, weakening its manufacturing base, financializing its economy, ever increasing military expenditures and extending concessions to China and Russia for their integration in the world capitalist system. What was once the sole superpower is now one of several power centers in a multipolar world. It has overextended itself in wars of aggression to suppress countries assertive of national independence and in contention with other imperialist powers.

In this context, the Filipino people can take their own destiny into their own hands more than ever before and continue to wage the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war. It can look forward to a near future when the proletariat and people are again dramatically rising and reasserting themselves on an ever expanding scale in a world proletarian-socialist revolution amid the decomposition of the world capitalist system and the escalating contradictions of the imperialist powers.

The Party victoriously leads the new democratic revolution

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Under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the Communist Party of the Philippines continues to strengthen itself as the advance detachment of the proletariat and lead the broad masses of the people in the new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war. It continues resolutely to build itself ideologically, politically and organizationally.

It takes advantage of the protracted and ever worsening crisis of the world capitalist capitalist system and the domestic ruling system. It sees clearly that the crisis inflicts terrible suffering on the people and drives them to fight US imperialism and the local exploiting classes. It is building on its achievements over the last 45 years and it is confident of winning ever greater victories.

The Party takes pride in having led one of the world's most important armed revolutions for national and social liberation in a period of temporary defeat and strategic retreat for the international communist movement because of the sabotage and betrayal carried out by the modern revisionists. But now, the integration of Russia and China in the world capitalist system is exacerbating inter-imperialist contradictions and the international communist movement and the broad anti-imperialist movement are resurgent. The conditions for the Philippine revolution to advance are better than ever.

In the protracted struggle to complete the people's democratic revolution, it has been useful and encouraging for the Party to define the goal of advancing from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate in the people's war and to rally all revolutionary forces to realize the political and other requirements for such an advance. The goal remains valid even as the plan and time scale to achieve it may be adjusted and readjusted in whole or in part in the course of struggle.

In ideological building, the Party has upheld the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and has integrated it with the concrete Philippine conditions and the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution. We are opposed to subjectivism, be it of the dogmatic or empiricist type. We have produced guiding documents, books and articles on the Philippine economy, politics and culture. We continue to provide timely analysis of major events and issues in the Philippines and abroad, published these in *Ang Bayan* and made available in our website.

We have carried out social investigations of varying scales in all areas in connection with our revolutionary work. Our Party's leading organs and units engage in periodic and timely assessment and evaluation of our work as a matter of course. We conduct study conferences among our Party cadres and members to sharpen our understanding of crucial issues and campaigns that need to be carried out.

Whenever we evaluate our work, we conduct criticism and self-criticism in order to understand our errors and shortcomings and rectify them and thus improve our work and style of work. We have engaged in rectification movements, such as the First and Second Great Rectification Movements and others of lesser scale but of wider scope than the criticism and self-criticism that we conduct in specific organs and units in the general course of our work .

We plan and carry out formal Party study courses at the basic, intermediate and advanced levels. We ensure that all Party candidate members finish the basic Party course within the period of candidature so that they are promptly sworn in as full Party members. They can take the intermediate Party course within the first year of Party membership and the advanced Party course within the second year. The study outlines and texts are published to enable Party units to conduct the study courses.

The study courses are meant to ensure that Party cadres and members keep on improving their theoretical knowledge and revolutionary practice; and keep on deepening their revolutionary

commitment. To keep the courses lively and interesting, they are always related to history and current circumstances and to current revolutionary work. In every course, the instructors make sure that the living study of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is done in connection with problems and issues in the objective situation and in revolutionary work.

Inside and outside the Party study courses, Party cadres and members can heighten, deepen and widen their knowledge by reading and study of revolutionary publications and integrating their knowledge with their work. But many of our Party members come from the ranks of the toiling masses and have limited formal education and training in reading or have limited time to read long and complex texts. Thus our Party cadres in education are tasked to prepare simple reading materials and audio-visual aids for quicker comprehension in combination with oral discussion based on facts and experience.

Videos and other audio-visual aids are prepared to facilitate the Party study courses and the presentation of various subjects of major importance. They are interesting and educative to all Party cadres and members, irrespective of their level of formal education. The new media can be used to serve revolution in conjunction with printed materials that can be easier distributed to working people who have no access to computers and even electricity.

In political building, the Party pursues the general line of new democratic revolution through people's war against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords. The Program for a People's Democratic Revolution is a comprehensive instrument for arousing, organizing and mobilizing the oppressed and exploited masses. On the basis of their strength, the Party can build the people's army and the revolutionary united front as weapons for overthrowing the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system and establish the people's democratic state of workers, peasants, the intelligentsia and other democratic and patriotic classes and sectors.

The Party serves as the advanced detachment of the unionized and nonunionized workers. Trade unions led by secret Party branches are the most effective in fighting for the rights and interests of the workers. They provide a good example to the workers where the unions are not led by the Party or where there are no unions yet. The Party organizes the workers in the factories as well as in the communities, together with other urban poor, to struggle for the just interests of their class as well as for the entire people's democratic revolution.

Aware that the industry-based working class is only around 15% of the population, the Party has exerted all efforts to organize the peasant masses which comprise around 75% of the population. The peasants are the main force of the revolution. They are the inexhaustible source of strength for the people's war. The fulfillment of their demand for land is the main content of the democratic revolution.

The patriotic and progressive youth movement has urban-based mass organizations. It fights for the rights and interests of the youth as students and out-of-school. It is aware that it can make political advances more effectively only in combination with the workers and other exploited people. It has produced leaders for other mass movements. The most advanced among them have become members of the Party and augment the ranks of proletarian revolutionaries. They have thus become more dedicated to the achievement of the people's democratic revolution.

The women's movement has become powerful because it is based on one half of the entire people and fights for its rights and interests within the context of the people's democratic revolution. Women who become trained as mass activists have become leaders of various types of mass organizations and have also joined the Party. They are aware that they cannot advance in their struggle against millennia of patriarchy without developing their collective strength through the people's democratic revolution.

Men and women in various professional and technical occupations

are drawn to the people's democratic revolution because here they can contribute their knowledge and expertise to the people for their national and social liberation. Although they are better off economically than the exploited masses, they have their grievances and demands against the increasingly oppressive and exploitative ruling system.

Since its founding, the Party has considered the New People's Army as the main instrument for overthrowing the ruling system and making possible the establishment of the people's democratic state. The organization of the people's army was facilitated by the combination of the proletarian revolutionaries from the Manila-based movements of workers and youth with the good remnants and veterans of the old people's army in Tarlac province.

Since then, the people's war has grown from small to big and from weak to strong by integrating revolutionary armed struggle, agrarian revolution and mass base building.

Under the leadership of the Party, the New People's Army is now a nationwide revolutionary force operating in more than 110 guerrilla fronts, which exist in substantial portions of 71 out of 81 Philippine provinces. It has thousands of full-time Red fighters armed with high powered rifles and has a mass base of millions of people, mainly peasants benefiting from genuine land reform.

A typical guerrilla front has a total force of a guerrilla company, with a platoon serving as the headquarters, organizer of offensives on the scale of the front and cooperator with a higher command for the purpose of offensives of wider scale than the front. The two other platoons disperse into squads and teams for mass work and for combat operations appropriate to their size, capability and interoperability with the people's militia and the self-defense units of the mass organizations. Combat capability is not limited to the full-time Red fighters but augmented and amplified by the people's militia and self-defense units.

The enemy has repeatedly boasted that it can destroy or reduce the

NPA to inconsequentiality but is always shamed soon enough. Enemy forces have so far been incapable of attacking simultaneously in concentrated strength for six months to one year on more than 10% of the guerrilla fronts. Within a typical guerrilla front, the space for maneuver is wide enough for NPA platoons and squads to launch counteroffensives against an enemy battalion that subdivides itself for covering wide areas.

Moreover, the NPA forces under a subregional (interfront) or regional command can launch counteroffensives within or outside the guerrilla front under enemy attack. When in certain regions the enemy is concentrating combat operations, the NPA in other regions can take the initiative of attacking the enemy forces in their region in order to take advantage of lesser enemy strength and in order to help the NPA in the regions under attack.

The NPA launches annihilative offensives such as ambushes, raids and arrest operations to seize the weapons of military, police, paramilitary and private security units. For attritive actions against the enemy forces, it also uses sniping operations, land mines, grenades, sapping, interdicting supplies and destroying military vehicles and fuel stocks at depots.

The NPA has in its ranks the best sons and daughters of the peasant masses because it is their own army, which enables them to benefit from land reform and other types of campaigns for their social benefit. The NPA carries out the minimum land reform program of rent reduction, elimination of usury, raising farm wages, improving the prices of farm products at the farm gate and promoting agricultural production and sideline occupations through rudimentary cooperation. As soon as allowed by circumstances, the maximum land reform program of confiscating the land and distributing them free to the landless tenants is carried out.

In times of natural disaster, the NPA and other revolutionary forces do everything they can for the purpose of rescue, relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction. In this regard, the Party goes to the extent of declaring unilateral ceasefires of varying scope in order

to concentrate on work for helping the people. But the enemy forces shamelessly continue to carry out combat operations. Thus, the NPA has to be alert and ready for defense even when on ceasefire mode in the face of any impending attack.

The NPA continues to carry out extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. The Party within the NPA unit and the Party in the localities make sure that the mass base is developed in support of the NPA and as a bastion of political struggle against the reactionary and puppet forces. Mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth, women, cultural activists and children are built and strengthened. They also support and assist the local organs of political power which the Party leads.

The organs of political power in the countryside are established at the barrio, sub-municipal and municipal levels. Appointive organs of political power established by the unit of the NPA in the barrios precede the elective barrio revolutionary committees (BRC). The appointive organs of political power at the barrio level are tasked with hastening the full development of the different revolutionary mass organizations in the barrio, the building of units of the people's militia, and undertaking antifeudal mass struggles and other mass campaigns of the people. The BRC is elected by the representatives of the mass organizations or an assembly of the people, depending on the security situation. They are established in clusters of barrios and can soon be followed by the establishment of the sub-municipal organs of political power or by the municipal organs of political power. The local organs of political power are formed along the line of the united front.

The policy of the united front is followed by the National Democratic Front and the people's democratic government from the national level to every lower level. In representation of the united front, the Party leads the united front and makes sure that it is based on the worker-peasant alliance and is for the revolutionary armed struggle. It can combine the toiling masses and the urban

pettybourgeoisie to form the alliance of basic revolutionary forces and further combine these with the middle bourgeoisie to form the alliance of patriotic forces. It can further make temporary and unstable alliances with sections of the reactionary classes to isolate and destroy the most reactionary section.

The Party organizational structure extends to all types of workplaces, communities, mass organizations and institutions and draws new Party members from them. It recruits those who have manifested revolutionary commitment and militancy and who accept the Party Constitution and Program for a People's Democratic Revolution. Each recruit is recommended by a full Party member to the Party branch or committee concerned, which in turn, assigns another full Party member to verify the personal character and level of consciousness and commitment of the recommendee. After the aforesaid process, the branch or committee concerned can approve the status of candidate member and takes charge of developing the subject to become a full Party member within the stipulated period of candidature.

The Party can deploy and redeploy Party cadres and members in order to advance the work of the Party and the revolutionary movement. The NPA and the countryside are ever in need of Party cadres and members who are workers and educated youth.

Their integration may be facilitated in various ways. The most important consideration is that they are determined to stay indefinitely with the NPA or in the countryside where their competencies are needed.

The Party enjoys high prestige in the international communist movement and broad anti-imperialist movement because it has continued to lead successfully the people's democratic revolution in an archipelagic country, which is supposed to be in the tight grip of US imperialism and its rabid puppets, despite the global sway of neoliberalism, the full restoration of capitalism in former socialist countries and the reign of neocolonialism in third world countries. The Party has demonstrated that the people's democratic revolution

through protracted people's war has continued to grow in strength and advance with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as its powerful guide.

Among the millions of Filipinos who have left for work abroad because of underdevelopment and poverty in the Philippines are members of the Communist Party of the Philippines and activists of the national democratic movement. They have been among those most resolute and militant in fighting for the rights and interests of overseas Filipino workers. They have been active in developing the solidarity of the Filipino people with the peoples in many countries. They have readily joined activities of the working class and the broad anti-imperialist movement in their host countries.

In closing, we wish to stress a number of tasks:

1. Let us do our best to cause the ouster of the Aquino regime or compel Aquino's resignation from his office because of puppetry to US imperialism, corruption, electoral fraud, grave human rights violations, mismanagement of pre-disaster preparations and disaster aid, mendacity, unrestricted mining, logging, landgrabbing and other forms of destroying the environment. We consider our efforts to remove Aquino from power as part of the process of strengthening the revolutionary movement and overthrowing the entire ruling system for the purpose of realizing fully the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution and proceeding to the socialist revolution. As proven in the overthrow of Marcos and Estrada, it is possible for the legal mass movement to drive the overthrow of Aquino. Even if this would not succeed, the movement would still be strengthened and will further cause the US-Aquino regime to fail in its brutal attempt to destroy the armed revolution of the people.
2. Let us further strengthen the Communist Party of the Philippines ideologically, politically and organizationally. We must ensure that the Philippine revolution is led by the revolutionary proletariat in the current stage of the people's democratic revolution and in the subsequent stage of the socialist revolution. The effective leadership of the Party is the most important political requirement for the current plan of advancing from the strategic defensive to the

strategic stalemate in our protracted people's war. We must train and develop big numbers of capable cadres in the different lines of work, improve the collective leadership and style of work of Party committees, revitalize the Party system of regular and special reports, and strengthen the Party organization based on the principles of democratic centralism. We must strive to bring the number of our Party members to 250,000. Such organized strength of ideologically committed and politically competent Party members will give us the capability to perform all necessary tasks for advancing the revolution.

3. We must continue to intensify the offensives of the New People's Army. We must wage battles to wipe out enemy units and seize their weapons. This is the way to strengthen the people's army for the purpose of overthrowing the reactionary state. We must increase the number of our Red fighters to 25,000, no matter how long it takes to do so. We must be good at frustrating and defeating the enemy forces wherever they attack, attacking them at their weak points of deployment and their supply lines, dismantling the mining, plantation and logging enterprises that violate the laws of the people's government and compelling enemy forces to take guard duty and be on the defensive. We have succeeded in preserving and increasing the people's army nationwide by following the strategic line of protracted people's war: encircling the cities from the countryside until we have accumulated the armed strength to seize the cities and achieve total victory.

4. We must persevere in our current tactical line of extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. We must be skillful at using the tactics of concentration, dispersal and shifting for defeating enemy forces in a war of fluid movement. In order to reach the strategic stalemate, we must strive to reach the goal of more or less 200 guerrilla fronts, while always improving the Party leadership and army commands at the national, regional, subregional and front levels. We must always integrate the armed struggle with agrarian revolution and mass base building. We must build the mass organizations of

various types and the organs of political power. They should generate the land reform campaign and other social campaigns and build local defense forces (people's militia and self-defense units) to augment and amplify the strength of the people's army.

5. We must apply the policy of united front in the mass movement and in building the organs of political power at every level. The united front is under the leadership of the Party and is mainly for armed struggle. The National Democratic Front is the embodiment of the united front of the Party, NPA and all other revolutionary forces. It propagates the line of people's democratic revolution. It harmonizes the relations of the revolutionary classes and their forces within its organized framework and develops alliances with other forces in a broader united front. It is authorized to engage in peace negotiations with the reactionary government and is guided by the line of seeking national liberation, democracy, social justice, real development, protection of the environment and solidarity of peoples as the basis of a just peace. There is no point in making any peace agreement without these objectives.

6. Let us continue having a positive view of all legal forces that seek to attain such objectives as those of the NDF and welcome their campaigns and activities. We appreciate that they also pursue the united front for the purpose of arousing, organizing and mobilizing the people in their millions to fight for their rights and interests. We condemn the brutal policy of the enemy towards organizations and activists that uphold, defend and promote the rights and interests of the workers, peasants, fishermen, urban poor, women, youth, indigenous people, teachers, journalists, scientists and technologists, health workers, lawyers and other professions as well as those who focus on good causes and advocate land reform, human rights, peace, environmental protection and so on. We encourage all social activists to hold their ground and fight for their rights. At the same time, we welcome to the revolutionary underground and the people's army those who are in danger of death and imprisonment and decide to join the armed struggle.

7. The Party is guided by the principle of proletarian internationalism and works for the rebuilding of the international communist movement as well as the further strengthening of the broad anti-imperialist movement. We consider these movements of great importance in the face of the protracted and ever worsening crisis of the world capitalist system, the escalation of oppression and exploitation and the unleashing of wars of aggression by the imperialist powers. We must contribute to and support the resurgence of proletarian revolutionary parties and the anti-imperialist movement. We must raise the level of common understanding and practical cooperation through bilateral and multilateral meetings and other activities. In the course of our solidarity relations with revolutionary and progressive forces and peoples abroad, we must promote the rights and interests of overseas Filipino workers and we must encourage the Filipinos in the motherland and abroad to unite with all other peoples in fighting for and building a fundamentally new and better world free from the scourge of imperialism and all reaction.

Message of the Central Committee of the CPP issued on
December 26, 2013

The tide of revolution rises in the Philippines as the chronic crisis of the ruling system worsens

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2014

With boundless joy, we celebrate the 46th founding anniversary of our great and glorious beloved Communist Party of the Philippines, the proletarian revolutionary vanguard of the Filipino people's democratic revolution against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

We congratulate all our comrades for winning victories in building the Party, the New People's Army and the National Democratic Front; in carrying out the revolutionary armed struggle, genuine land reform and building the rural mass base (organs of political power and mass organizations) and in intensifying the mass movement in both urban and rural areas.

As always, we honor and give the highest respects to all our revolutionary martyrs and heroes for the accumulated strength of the Party and the revolutionary mass movement since the founding of the Party. We render special honor to the revolutionary martyrs and heroes in the previous year. Their arduous struggle and supreme

sacrifice inspire us to fight more fiercely than ever before for the total victory of the revolution.

We reiterate our congratulations to the Kabataang Makabayan, our Communist Youth League, for celebrating its 50 years of service to the proletariat as its assistant and to the entire Filipino people. We are ever grateful for the revolutionary education and training of the young workers, peasants, students and professionals who join the revolutionary mass formations and consequently the Communist Party of the Philippines.

The tide of revolution is ever rising in the Philippines because of the worsening chronic crisis of the rotten US-dominated ruling system of big compradors, landlords and corrupt bureaucrats. The prolonged and ever worsening crisis of the world capitalist system is aggravating the domestic crisis.

Persistent crisis of global capitalism and mounting wars of aggression

The crisis of global capitalism is persistent and is ever worsening as the US and other capitalist powers cling to the neoliberal economic policy under the Washington Consensus. This policy has not only failed to solve the old problem of stagflation but has aggravated it.

But the US and its followers have retained the policy because it serves the superprofit-taking by the monopoly bourgeoisie and the financial oligarchy and they belittle the current level of revolutionary resistance and underestimate its potential. The protraction of the severe crisis provides the opportunity for the revolutionary forces to develop further.

Even within the imperialist countries, economic depression and social degradation have taken a serious toll on the people. The proletariat and people of color have suffered the most from

unemployment, reduced income and social cutbacks. The so-called middle class has drastically shrunk.

The big bourgeoisie has benefited from the bailouts and the expansion of money and credit and continue to enjoy tax cutbacks, financial incentives, investment and trade liberalization, privatization of public assets, deregulation of social and environmental restrictions and the denationalization of client-economies.

At the base of the economic and financial crisis is the crisis of overproduction. One financial bubble after another has been created by the big bourgeoisie to lay over the economic crisis but keeps on bursting to aggravate the crisis. Since the financial meltdown of 2008, the bubble of public debt through sheer expansion of money supply and credit in the financial markets has become overblown and is in the process of bursting to cause further destruction of the forces of production.

Unable to expand and revive the civil economy, the US, the EU and Japan are engaged in ever higher spending for high-tech war production. The US is spearheading its NATO allies and Japan by increasing the deployment of US military forces in the underdeveloped countries, especially in the oil-producing countries and in the vicinity of China and Russia. The US and its NATO allies are practically spreading the flames of aggressive war and civil strife on a global scale. The US has also prodded Japan to discard its pacifist stance.

The US and its imperialist allies use homeland security and anti-terrorism as pretexts for violating the national sovereignty and independence of other countries. They have also used the same pretexts to build the legal and political infrastructure for domestic fascism and militarization.

They brainwash and train the police and military to regard political opposition and the exercise of the right to free speech and assembly, especially by people of color, as manifestations of terrorism. In the

US, racial profiling has resulted in widespread state violence against African-Americans, including the killing of an African-American every 28 hours by a police officer. In addition, African-American men, who form 6% of the US population, disproportionately compose nearly half of the US prison population.

The oppressed peoples and nations suffer extreme economic plunder by the imperialist powers with the collaboration of client states. They are victimized by debt-driven consumption, dependence on imported manufactures and food, the extraction of raw materials and chronic trade and budgetary deficits.

In the case of certain underdeveloped countries, in which the states become assertive of national independence because of the demand of the people, the US and its imperialist partners have unleashed wars of aggression, as in the former Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya and Syria. Control of energy sources and supply lines have been a major cause of such wars. The US persists in economic and military blockades, threats and provocations against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Cuba.

Recent moves by the Obama administration towards the possible restoration of diplomatic relations with Cuba do not mean the end of US economic sanctions and schemes to subvert the current government and social system of Cuba. It shows the failure of the US to isolate Cuba. For its part, the Cuban government and the Communist Party of Cuba have declared that they will continue to defend the ideals of independence, national sovereignty and socialism.

Under the prodding of the neoconservatives, the US has systematized a grand scheme to keep the whole world under US hegemony or Pax Americana in the entire 21st century by using the full spectrum of its power, especially its supreme high-tech military power against real and potential rivals or recalcitrant states in underdeveloped countries. While toning down some of the abrasive unilateralist rhetoric, the supposedly anti-neoconservative Obama regime has continuously pushed for a US-ruled unipolar world order.

The US has already demonstrated several times how it can use a combination of bombing campaigns and economic sanctions to bring down a state and bring up a set of puppets. It has underestimated how its acts of aggression can bring out the people's revolutionary resistance in the long run.

Until recently, the US and its imperialist allies have celebrated the full integration of China and Russia in the world capitalist system as the death of the socialist cause and the strengthening of global capitalism. But the US is now increasingly worried that these big capitalist countries are challenging US hegemony and disturbing the world order as designed by Washington.

Due to the increasingly independent stance of Russia and China, inter-imperialist contradictions are growing over a wide range of issues: economic, trade, financial, security and so on. A realignment among the capitalist powers is occurring with China and Russia taking a lead role in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) as a security bloc and BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) as an economic bloc.

The US has always applied a policy of engagement and containment towards China. But in recent years, it has engaged more in containment by carrying out a strategic pivot to East Asia, aiming to concentrate 60% of US naval forces and 50% of ground and air forces in the area.

The strategic pivot of military forces is combined with the Trans Pacific Partnership Agreement, which pointedly excludes China. The current apparent objectives of the US is to pressure China to further privatize its state-owned enterprises and to encourage the so-called pro-democracy forces to undercut and junk the Communist Party as the authority legitimating the Chinese bourgeois rulers.

At the same time, the US together with the UK as its most rabid NATO ally is continuing the provocations against Russia started by the so-called color revolutions in countries bordering it. It has escalated the provocations by openly instigating and funding neo-

Nazi groups in the Ukraine to overthrow the Yanukovych government and install a rabidly pro-US and pro-NATO government in this country.

This government has downgraded the ethnic Russians and the Russian-speaking regions of Ukraine and provoked them to assert their right to self-determination and proclaim their own people's republics. To further aggravate the situation, it has invaded said regions in Novorossiia and blamed Russia for the missile attack that brought down Malaysian commercial airline MH-17 in July. The unfounded accusation has been used as pretext for economic sanctions by the US and EU and for Russia's suspension from what used to be the G-8. The US Congress has recently issued a resolution practically declaring war on Russia.

In addition to the sanctions, the US, in collaboration with Saudi Arabia, has pushed down the international prices of crude oil to cause large-scale destabilization of oil export-dependent Russia, as well as Venezuela, Iran and Nigeria. Oil prices are now pushing down to \$50 per barrel due to an oversupply of around 700,000 to two million barrels per day through the rise in US shale oil production to unprecedented levels despite high production costs and Saudi Arabia's rejection of the demand of members of Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) to reduce crude oil production to stop the oil price fall.

The provocations towards both China and Russia by the US and its imperialist allies have only served to push the two countries to close ranks and defend their mutual interests. They have made agreements on cross-border trade between oil, gas and other raw materials from Russia and manufactures and food from China and on building the pipelines and train lines for the purpose. They have also agreed on joint military exercises, building of the BRICS Bank and using currency other than the US dollar for trade.

The US is still stuck in the quagmires of its own making in the Middle East, Central Asia and Africa. It is exacerbating and complicating its imperial overstretch by making provocations against

China or the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in East Asia and against Russia from the European side.

It is wrongly presuming that all the EU countries would follow the dictates of the US at all times. Some of the major EU countries need the oil and gas that Russia can supply and hesitate to be pawns in a revived Cold War and in the exchange of nuclear threats between the US and China. At any rate, the US keeps on instigating troubles in Eastern Europe and compromising the EU countries with the NATO framework.

The protracted and ever worsening crisis of global capitalism is pushing the imperialist powers to intensify their struggle for a redivision of the world. In response to escalating threats of aggression and first nuclear strike by the US, Russia has made its own exercises to demonstrate its own military strength and nuclear capabilities. The proletarian revolutionary parties and peoples of the world need to grow in strength to counter wars of aggression and an inter-imperialist world war.

The severe economic crisis and political turmoil arising from the inter-imperialist contradictions are favorable conditions for the resurgence of the movements for national liberation, democracy and socialism. The growing danger of imperialist wars of aggression and the possible use of nuclear weapons in an inter-imperialist war can and must be counteracted by mass movement and revolutionary civil war in all the imperialist countries and the rest of the world.

Puppetry, corruption, plunder and brutality discredit the US-Aquino regime and the entire ruling system

In its first four years in power, the Aquino regime was touted by its imperialist and local reactionary sponsors as made out for “good

governance” and “peace and development.” The objective of the imperialists and yellow reactionaries was to make the Aquino regime most effective in deceiving the people, further denationalizing the economy and liberalizing the operations of foreign capital and attacking the revolutionary movement with Oplan Bayanihan.

It was favored by an extremely long “press honeymoon” by the imperialist and local reactionary mass media and opinion poll surveys. But in the last two years of its tenure of office, the regime is being buffeted by the people’s clamor and movement for its ouster. The extreme corruption of the regime, especially in the use of the pork barrel system and in favoring the Aquino-Cojuangco family and its cronies has become well exposed.

The regime was also provided with a heavy flow of hot money or portfolio investments by US hedge funds to conjure the illusion of an “economic miracle.” The delusionary claims of 6.8% and 7.2% growth of the gross domestic product (GDP) in 2012 and 2013 are well accounted for by the foreign hot money that flowed into the stock and bond markets and that somehow supported import-dependent and debt-driven consumption, including the glossy but unstable private construction boom.

The bubble has not revived the export-oriented semimanufacturing of semiconductors, garments and footwear and reassembly of cars and appliances for domestic use, which had been previously shut down by the global depression. It has not changed the fundamental fact of underdevelopment that ties down most of the manpower to agrarian and semifeudal conditions in the production of goods and drives 20% of the population to seek jobs abroad.

The drastic fall in the inflow of hot money is due to the tapering of the so-called quantitative easing in the US (rapid expansion of money supply) and the tightening of credit in China where the expansion of public debt and private credit had been so many times bigger than that in the US. The global depression is expected to further debilitate and degrade the Philippine economy.

The economic underdevelopment of the Philippines has been aggravated and deepened by the neoliberal policy. Investment liberalization has allowed foreign and big comprador firms to control economic and financial policy in the country to plunder human and natural resources, export raw materials and avoid tax payments. The unbridled expansion of export-oriented mining, logging and plantations has resulted in grave damage to the economy and environment.

The denationalization of banks and domestic trade has ensured the foreign capture of the foreign debt and foreign exchange earnings of overseas contract workers. Consistent with its treasonous character, the Aquino regime is scheming to amend the 1987 charter in order to get rid of the provisions on economic sovereignty, conservation of the national patrimony and nationality restrictions on foreign investments.

The privatization of public assets has favored the foreign banks, the multinational firms and the big comprador firms and has resulted in unlimited profit-taking and the deterioration of social services. The deregulation of social and environmental restrictions has resulted in the extreme exploitation of labor, women and children and the pollution and degradation of the environment.

The foreign corporations and the big compradors have benefited most from the bubble generated by foreign hot money and by pork barrel spending. While taking their superprofits, they have further impoverished the people who suffer a higher rate of unemployment, reduced incomes, landlessness and homelessness, soaring costs of basic goods and services and the degradation of social services and the environment. They have caused further underdevelopment, widening trade and budgetary deficits and mounting foreign and local public debt.

The Aquino regime has been thoroughly exposed for its corruption in having made the yearly budget as a construct of lump sum appropriations under the sole arbitrary discretion of the president and under his illegal claims to savings for the purpose of

misappropriation and malversation. No less than the Supreme Court, including the Aquino-appointed justices, has ruled that such devices as the Disbursement Acceleration Program and Priority Development Assistance Fund are unconstitutional and illegal.

But stubbornly, the Aquino regime persists in making most of the P2.6-trillion budget for 2015 and the so-called off-budget accounts (like the Malampaya fund, PCSO earnings and the like) the personal discretionary fund of the president. The corruption of the Aquino regime knows no limits. It extends to all supply contracts with the civilian and military agencies of the reactionary government, the finances and operations of the government-owned corporations, the infrastructure projects under the Public-Private Partnership Program and the Conditional Cash Transfer and PAMANA doleouts.

Even the relief and rehabilitation program for the Haiyan/Yolanda supertyphoon victims and other calamities has not been spared from the thieving hands of bureaucrats and military officers. Rampant corruption is being exposed as a result of the outcries of the victims, the militant diligence of the people and the revolutionary forces and contradictions of the regime with rival factions within the ruling system.

It can be expected that the corruption and other wrongdoings of the regime will be exposed as the contradictions among the reactionaries intensify in connection with the 2016 presidential elections. So far, however, the self-proclaimed presidential candidates do not offer any assurance that there will be any significant change in the character of the elections and in the ruling system. The elections will be preconditioned in the main by the big campaign financiers, the political dynasties, use of government resources and manipulation of the automated electoral system.

The revolutionary movement is set on exposing the electoral system as a farce and denouncing the worst political forces and candidates in the service of US imperialism and the local exploiting classes. At the same time, it can take advantage of the contradictions among the reactionaries, employ the policy and tactics of the united front in

electoral matters, raise the issues most important to the people and promote the program and objectives of attaining a just and lasting peace. As such, the most patriotic and progressive parties and candidates are in a better position to garner more seats in the reactionary parliament and local government.

From year to year, the Aquino regime has vowed to destroy the armed revolution under the US-designed Oplan Bayanihan and has shown lack of serious interest in peace negotiations with the National Democratic Front of the Philippines. At this point, it is clear that the reactionary armed forces cannot destroy the armed revolution even if the regime commits gross and systematic violations of human rights and even if it can occasionally carry out dramatic arrests and attacks.

The Aquino regime is definitely far worse than the Arroyo regime in imprisoning far more people on trumped-up multiple charges of rebellion and common crimes in violation of the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law and the Hernandez political offense doctrine. It has also detained 14 political consultants of the NDFP in violation of the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees. The Aquino regime is fundamentally as bad as the Arroyo regime in allowing illegal detention, torture, extrajudicial killings, forced evacuations, landgrabbing from the peasants and repression of workers and their trade unions. The gross and systematic human rights violations under Oplan Bayanihan have exposed the regime's claims to peace and development as a farce and have pushed the people and revolutionary forces to intensify the resistance in various forms and ways.

From year to year, the Party has accumulated all-sided victories in carrying out the general line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war. Despite the bellicose position of the regime towards the armed revolution, the NDFP, like the Party, is well aware of the worsening crisis of the ruling system and continues to explore the possibility of peace negotiations in order to

attain realizable goals for the benefit of the Filipino people.

The Aquino regime has boasted that it has more military forces to deploy against the people, the Party and the New People's Army in Mindanao as a result of a peace settlement with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front. In fact, 60% of the reactionary armed forces are reported to have been already deployed against the forces of the NPA in Mindanao. While the NPA in Mindanao continues to wage all-out armed resistance, the Bangsamoro people are also determined to push forward their revolutionary armed struggle so long as their right to self-determination and ancestral domain is not respected.

Since the US military bases were kicked out of the Philippines in 1992 as a result of the decision of the Philippine Senate not to renew the US-RP Military Bases Agreement, the US has persistently sought to reentrench its military forces in the Philippines under various pretexts such as joint military exercises, interoperability training, civic action, medical aid, disaster relief and antiterrorism.

In the process, it has wangled the Mutual Logistics and Support Agreement and Visiting Forces Agreement by which it can land its military forces on Philippine territory and maintain forward stations. Now, it has gotten the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement by which it can have military bases under the guise of Agreed Locations within Philippine military bases and reservations. These are in clear violation of the 1987 Constitution, particularly the provision banning foreign military bases. This provision is a product of the people's struggle against the US and the Marcos fascist dictatorship.

The Aquino regime has used the maritime dispute of the Philippines with China in order to betray the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Philippines by allowing the US military bases to be reestablished and the US military forces to further entrench themselves in the Philippines in connection with the US strategic pivot to East Asia.

The US has been an unapologetic aggressor against the Philippines and the Filipino people since 1899. It cannot be relied upon to defend the Philippines against China as a potential aggressor. The US has far greater interest in relations with China than in those with the Philippines. It has already admitted that it will not defend the Philippines against China and has in fact raised no objection to China's seizure of the Panatag Shoal and certain islets and reefs within the Spratly island group.

Under the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, the Philippines has rights over its exclusive economic zone and extended continental shelf in the South China Sea. The best that the Filipino people can do in the long run is to uphold national sovereignty, realize people's democracy, carry out economic development through land reform and national industrialization, achieve social justice and promote international solidarity for peace and development.

By having genuine national independence and industrializing its economy, the Philippines can make its own modern means of defense and can make full use of diplomacy against any threat or aggression by a foreign power. The Filipino people can look forward to a new and brighter future of socialism by waging and winning the people's democratic revolution against imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

Victories and tasks of the Party in ideological, political and organizational work

The protracted crisis of the world capitalist system and the chronic crisis of the ruling semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system have inflicted terrible suffering on the people in terms of exploitation and oppression and have incited the people to hope for revolutionary change. The Party has responded to the people's desire for revolution

by intensifying ideological, political and organizational work in order to further develop the revolutionary forces and the revolutionary mass movement.

The work has resulted in significant and brilliant victories. Over the past several years, the Party has made significant advances in various fields of revolutionary work. It has led commands of the New People's Army in breaking new ground in sustained expansion and maintaining initiative in waging extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare and frustrating the enemy's campaigns of suppression. It continues to accumulate significant victories in building people's militia units and unleashing mass initiative in waging armed struggle.

Party cadres are leading in the establishment of organs of political power with ever-widening scopes of authority and responsibility. Land reform campaigns and struggles are waged in ever-expansive areas. Implementation of land reform continues to advance to higher levels, addressing problems of building cooperative forms of production, preventing the emergence and dominance of rich peasants, building socialist relations and raising production and economic planning while waging people's war.

The clamor for the ouster of the US-Aquino regime continues to gain ground as the democratic mass movement advances. The people continue to gain strength as they expose and oppose the rottenness, puppetry, brutality and mendacity of the ruling regime. There is ample basis for the mass movement to advance considerably in the next year or two.

Even as the Party leads in accumulating advanced experiences in pushing forward the revolutionary movement, it also leads in addressing the backlogs confronting forces in other fields of revolutionary work.

The Communist Party of the Philippines must be able to expand and strengthen itself substantially in the next year or so in order to be able to carry forward the revolutionary struggle to new heights.

As the advanced detachment of the proletariat, the Party upholds firmly and seeks to further develop and propagate the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM). It makes sure that Party cadres and members complete the formal basic, intermediate and advanced study courses of the Party within reasonably short periods. The formal courses are necessary for understanding Marxist-Leninist-Maoist basic principles and methods of thinking.

The formal study courses of the Party are a guarantee that the Party is guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and that the Party rank and file are inspired by it and are a definite measure of how much the Party is doing to raise the level of proletarian consciousness among its cadres and members. Everyday, Party units across the country organize scores of study meetings in both the urban and rural areas.

Party organs, units and individual members are encouraged to study revolutionary theory and practice beyond the prescribed time and content of the formal study courses. Written texts of classic MLM writings as well as theoretical papers produced by the Party are easily available, especially with the help of the internet. The CPP Education Department has also produced simplified texts and audio-visual aids in various Philippine languages for the benefit of comrades who have less training in reading long texts in a foreign language.

Cadres at all levels of the Party must skillfully apply Marxist-Leninist-Maoist methods of thinking to analyze their work, identify problems and come up with resolutions. Party leaders should sum-up their work periodically in order to ensure that the level of work in their field is raised to the next level. The laws of development dictate that Party cadres must guard against stagnation and work to periodically bring the level of their work to new heights.

Revolutionary theory must be used as a dynamic tool in conducting social investigations, policy researches, summing up experiences and planning to solve concrete problems and define tasks in the revolutionary struggle. Major issues of national and international significance must be tackled in the light of the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Work and theoretical conferences to discuss and

resolve urgent questions that impact the conduct of revolutionary work in the different spheres and areas must be organized and undertaken.

The Party remains ever vigilant and is determined to wage incessant battle against the pernicious influence of subjectivism, modern revisionism, reformism and opportunism. No matter how brilliant its victories and achievements, the Party has always stressed the absolute need for remaining humble and self-critical in order to keep on advancing forward.

The general line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war has advanced from victory to victory. It has defeated every strategic plan of the US and local reactionaries to destroy the people's just cause of national liberation and democracy. The US-instigated Marcos fascist dictatorship not only failed to stop the armed revolution but even served to goad the people to join it. The Party and the people have defeated every strategic campaign plan unleashed by the Marcos and post-Marcos regimes to suppress the revolution. Oplan Bayanihan is already a proven failure even before the end of the US-directed Aquino regime. The Party continues to wisely, skillfully and successfully wield the revolutionary armed struggle and united front as weapons.

Under the absolute leadership of the Party, the New People's Army has emerged as the strongest revolutionary army ever built in Philippine history. It has followed the strategic line of protracted people's war, encircling the cities from the countryside and accumulating strength until conditions are ripe for the seizure of the cities on a nationwide scale. The armed struggle is integrated with the agrarian revolution, which involves minimum and maximum levels of implementation, depending on the given circumstances in a locality. It is also integrated with the building of the mass base through the creation of organs of political power and mass organizations of various classes and sectors of the people in the countryside.

The Party is determined to complete the strategic defensive stage of the people's war and to reach the threshold of the strategic stalemate as soon as possible. The call for the advance towards the strategic stalemate has boosted the morale of the Party, the people's army and the people. They are enthusiastically doing their part in the fulfillment of the requisites for reaching and developing the stage of the strategic stalemate, such as the expansion and consolidation of the Party membership, NPA units and guerrilla zones and the intensification of the people's war in order to seize more arms, temper the revolutionary forces in struggle, merge or integrate guerrilla fronts into stable base areas wherever possible and gain greater popular support, more territory and more resources.

All commands and units of the NPA are capable of frustrating and defeating any attack of the enemy. However, to master and use strategy and tactics well in actual battles and to maintain flexibility and initiative especially against concentrated and prolonged enemy counter-guerrilla offensives require a high degree of determination and internal cohesion, a good amount of experience, knowledge about the enemy and ourselves, good judgment, and above all, deep and close links with the masses and skillful mobilization and use of mass support. And whenever the reactionary army makes a concentrated attack on any NPA command or unit, all other NPA commands and units are conscious of their obligation to intensify their own offensives to take advantage of the enemy overstretch and give relief to their comrades in arms under attack.

The people's war continues to break new ground in several regions in Mindanao. Since the start of 2014, the AFP has been strategically deploying large numbers of troops in Mindanao in an attempt to stem the rising tide of armed struggle. The escalating attacks of the enemy, however, have been frustrated by the NPA Red fighters who are fighting heroically, resolutely, skillfully and victoriously. The NPA has largely maintained the initiative and must continue to carry out extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare in order to thwart the enemy's plan to put a halt to the advance of people's war.

In other regions, NPA commands at the regional and subregional levels have succeeded in launching coordinated armed campaigns consisting of several small tactical offensives combined with a few headblows against the enemy. They are raising their capability to sustain these coordinated tactical offensives over a period to gain the initiative and frustrate enemy plans.

All in all, the people's war is developing unevenly in the various regions across the country and among subregions and fronts within a region. Some areas are confronted with problems of advance such as the training of commanders to effectively lead NPA platoons, companies and battalions, raising the capability and initiative of people's militia units and commands, expanding and consolidating local Party sections, raising production and developing socialist relations in land reform areas, building inter-village or municipal-level mass organizations and organs of political power, further revolutionizing the basic mass organizations, developing civil defense systems and sustaining education, medical and economic services during times of war.

Others need to address problems at the intermediate or basic levels which have hindered efforts to build critical mass strength and sustain the momentum of advance to a higher level. This includes ensuring the sustained expansion and consolidation of NPA units and striking the correct balance between military work and mass work. This also concerns the proper deployment of NPA forces and building people's militia units to ensure coverage of guerrilla zones without overstretching NPA units and ensuring their capability to rapidly concentrate sufficient numbers to launch tactical offensives or conduct defensive maneuvers against operating troops of the enemy.

At every given level of development, the Party ensures that armed struggle develops apace with agrarian revolution and mass base building. This can be ensured by conducting periodic summing-up meetings to draw lessons and map out plans to advance the three aspects of people's war.

The Party's central leadership is taking prompt and significant measures to address the disparities in the development of people's war by mobilizing available capabilities and resources and developing various means of cooperation in order to support and boost the efforts of less advanced Party units and NPA commands.

In wielding the weapon of the national united front, the Party relies mainly on the worker-peasant alliance and strives to unite all patriotic and progressive forces of the toiling masses and the middle social strata against imperialism and reaction. The principal expression of the basic alliance is the absolute leadership by the CPP of the NPA, which is largely a peasant-based army. This alliance is also expressed in the support of the urban-based mass movement comprised largely of workers and allied classes for the antifeudal struggles in the countryside; and conversely, in the efforts of the peasant mass movement to link up with the anti-imperialist and democratic mass struggles in the cities.

In allying itself with the peasantry, the working class applies the policy and tactics of the antifeudal united front. 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 despotic sections of the landlord class.

In order to further isolate the enemy, the Party may under given circumstances broaden the united front to take advantage of splits among the reactionaries but must always maintain its independence and initiative.

The Party mobilizes the people through mass campaigns based on national, class and sectoral interests. Economic struggles are combined with and consciously raised to the level of political struggles in order to continuously broaden the reach among the masses while increasingly developing their militancy and political consciousness and leading their activity toward the correct revolutionary direction. The policy and tactics of the national united front are employed to bring together the organized forces led by the Party, the allied forces and the spontaneous masses. The progressive

movement has accumulated vast and rich experience in developing massive and powerful mass movements centered in the urban areas.

Land reform and other mass campaigns are waged in the countryside to maintain and develop the participation of the peasant masses and other people in the democratic revolution. These campaigns are the reason for being of the revolutionary mass organizations and organs of political power and are key to expanding and consolidating the mass base. If they are neglected and the mobilization of the masses gets narrowed down to supporting the material needs of the full-time guerrilla units, the mass base stagnates and weakens and the mass organizations, organs of political power and local Party organizations often succumb to bureaucratism and other disorganizing tendencies.

On a wide range of issues, the patriotic and progressive forces wage mass campaigns in the urban areas in order to build up their independent strength especially among the workers, semiproletarians and urban pettybourgeoisie and take full advantage of all opportunities to reach the greatest number of people within the shortest time. The urban mass movement should be good at open and legal means of propaganda, organizing and mobilization while building a deep, resilient and expansive underground backbone.

It should also be especially good at using the policy and tactics of the national united front in order to bring together the organized forces led by the Party, the allied forces and the spontaneous masses.

Ever worsening conditions compel the people to wage bigger and more widespread mass struggles one after another. The urban mass struggles are bound to surpass the intensity of the mass struggles of the past three decades as the various sectors unite to advance the common demand for a national minimum wage, for wage and salary increases, for job security, lower prices and increased public spending for social services.

The ever worsening forms of imperialist economic plunder and

military interventionism heighten the Filipino people's patriotic fervor and determination to advance the struggle for national freedom.

The students and intellectuals must be mobilized in a big way in order to wage a propaganda war against the political, ideological and philosophical line promoted by the apologists of imperialist neo-liberalism. The Party must lead in efforts to study the history of US colonization and aggression in order to fire up the spirit of patriotism among the current generation of youth.

The necessity of waging an anti-imperialist study movement and propaganda offensive is underscored by the need to intensify the struggle to demand the abrogation of such lopsided military agreements as the EDCA, VFA and MDT, end US military presence and attain justice for crimes committed by US troops against Filipinos. This is also underscored by the need to counteract the aggressive imperialist propaganda being waged in preparation for the APEC meeting in Manila next year whose objective is to project illusory economic miracles and gloss over the grave hardships and oppression of the Filipino people after three decades of liberalization, deregulation, privatization and denationalization.

The Party calls on the Filipino people to intensify their struggle to oust the Aquino regime and amplify their just demand to hold it accountable for all its crimes against the people. The Filipino people must wage ever-intensifying mass struggles in order to muster enough strength to force Aquino out of power.

The ruling regime and system want the people to go through the elections as a means of transitioning to a post-Aquino regime. As in 2010 and 2013, US imperialism will be mobilizing its machinery for political intervention to ensure that the automated elections of 2016 will favor its chosen candidate.

It is through the process of arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses that mass activists and mass organizations arise and grow. The mass movements in both urban and rural areas train, temper

and develop the mass leaders and activists. The Party recruits as candidate members the most advanced activists who undergo revolutionary mass education and accept the Party Constitution and the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution. It is a matter of course and reflective of social reality that the candidate members are recruited from the ranks of workers and the educated youth in the urban areas and the peasantry in the countryside.

The Party membership is deeply rooted among the toiling masses of workers and peasants and is of national scale. Even then, there is uneven development in the Party organization. The Party membership needs to be increased so that there is greater leeway for deploying Party cadres and members where there is an absence or scarcity of them, especially in the countryside.

In expansion areas, experienced cadres can combine with the locals who are desirous of revolution. The educated youth who are Party members and mass activists have integrated themselves with the toiling masses by learning from them their conditions and needs and finding out firsthand what way they can serve the people on the revolutionary road.

There should be no illusion that the ongoing peace negotiations with the reactionary government will soon lead to comprehensive agreements on social, economic and political problems as basis for a just and lasting peace. The biggest obstacle in the peace negotiations is the antinational, anti-democratic and antipeople character of the reactionary government and its current officials who regard the negotiations as the means for the capitulation and pacification of the revolutionary forces and the people.

What is good about the peace negotiations is that the NDFP is able to broadcast the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution and help bring about the victory of the revolution in the long run or before then help bring about truce and cooperation with a government that is not led by the Party but which adopts patriotic and progressive policies to deal with the severe crisis brought about by imperialism and reaction.

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In the meantime, the Party and the people have no choice but to persevere in the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords. The crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system inflicts terrible suffering on the people but generates awareness of the need to wage armed revolution for the national and social liberation of the people.

Summary of urgent tasks of the Communist Party of the Philippines

As the crisis of the ruling semicolonial and semifeudal system deepens, the tide of revolution rises ever higher. The Communist Party of the Philippines must continue to take advantage of the favorable conditions to advance the revolutionary movement to greater heights. The leadership and entire membership of the CPP must hold fast to the following tasks:

1. Resolutely and vigorously strengthen the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally in keeping with its role as the vanguard of the Philippine proletariat and revolution. We must be good at employing proletarian theory, including the lessons we have culled from our own revolutionary practice, as guide in analyzing and solving the current problems we face in carrying out our revolutionary tasks.
2. Lead the Filipino people in condemning the Aquino regime for its puppetry, corruption, exploitativeness, brutality and mendacity. It must support the people's struggle to oust the Aquino regime as a step towards the overthrow of the entire ruling system or before the rise of a patriotic and progressive transition government. We must continue to effectively, promptly and militantly articulate and advance the sharpest critique of the regime's schemes, frustrate and defeat its attempts to deceive and coerce, as we arouse and mobilize the people in massive protest actions and campaigns. The Filipino people's rich experience in past struggles against, and ousting corrupt, puppet and repressive regimes clearly shows the futility of mere regime change and the need for revolution to overthrow the entire social system.

3. Intensify and advance the people's war towards the stage of the strategic stalemate along the general line of the people's democratic revolution. It must seize and control the initiative by launching more frequent and sustained tactical offensives with occasional blows to the head of the enemy. It must generate plans to expand the NPA and the people's militia, increase their firepower and raise their capability in terms of military tactics and techniques. It must completely defeat the AFP's Oplan Bayanihan. The Party wields absolute leadership over the people's army as it launches guerrilla warfare to accumulate strength and weaken the enemy nationwide on the basis of an ever expanding and deepening mass base.

4. Expand and consolidate the revolutionary mass base in the countryside. It must ensure the rapid expansion in the number of full-fledged mass organizations. It must raise the capability of the Party cadres and activists to expand and consolidate the basic Party organizations, the mass organizations, the units for self-defense and civil defense, the organs of political power and its programs for education, public health and land reform.

5. Wage widespread campaigns for land reform and other mass struggles in the countryside. Mobilize the peasant masses in big numbers in inter-district, provincial, inter-provincial or region-wide mass struggles.

6. Expand and consolidate the urban-based mass organizations. It must aim for a dramatic expansion in the number of organized workers and students as key to the expansion of other democratic movements. It must develop the capability to wage coordinated mass struggles on a nationwide scale. It must wage various mass movements on a wide range of issues to advance national independence and democracy. It must launch and intensify an anti-imperialist study movement and propaganda war.

7. Adopt and employ the policy and tactics of the united front to reach and mobilize the people in their millions against foreign monopoly capitalism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

8. Support the struggle of the national minorities for self-determination, democracy and affirmative action. It must defend the rights of minority people against the transgression of foreign mining companies and plantations and against the brutal campaigns of the military to drive them away from their ancestral land.

9. Support the overseas contract workers and other overseas Filipinos.

10. Uphold and promote proletarian internationalism among communist parties of the world and anti-imperialist solidarity among all peoples of the world. We must actively contribute to the resurgence of proletarian revolutionary parties as well as the broad anti-imperialist movement, especially in taking advantage of the protracted global depression and crisis of monopoly capitalism to advance proletarian and peoples' struggle and unity.

Issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party
of the Philippines on December 26, 2014

Generate revolutionary resistance in response to global and Philippine crises

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2015

On the 47th anniversary of its reestablishment under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism on December 26, 1968, the Communist Party of the Philippines celebrates with the Filipino people its accumulated and current ideological, political and organizational victories. It is determined more than ever to lead and advance the Philippine revolution along the general line of the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war.

As the advanced detachment of the proletariat, the Party leads the current stage of the revolution and the consequent stage of socialist revolution. On this day, we salute and honor the tens of thousands of Party cadres and members, the thousands of Red commanders and fighters of the New People's Army, the tens of thousands of people's militia members, the hundreds of thousands of self-defense unit members and the millions of mass activists who have achieved victories through their arduous struggle, hard work and sacrifices. We accord the highest honor to the revolutionary heroes and

martyrs by drawing inspiration from them and by waging an ever fiercer struggle for national liberation and democracy.

We have fought and defeated a series of brutal regimes directed by the US and the local reactionaries to destroy the Party and the revolutionary movement. These regimes include the 14-year Marcos fascist dictatorship and the successive regimes pretending to be democratic but in fact representing the same oppressive and exploitative classes.

We have frustrated the latest reactionary regime of big compradors and landlords, the US-Aquino regime, in its objective of destroying or reducing the New People's Army to inconsequence. Its US-designed Oplan Bayanihan failed in its aims despite the deployment of 70% of its combat battalions against the revolutionary forces.

Instead of inflicting strategic damage to the NPA, the deployment of 24% of enemy combat forces in Eastern Mindanao has resulted in the intensification and advance of the people's war in this area. The inspiring example of the revolutionary forces and people of Eastern Mindanao and the intensification of tactical offensives elsewhere have served to strengthen and advance the people's war nationwide.

The adversaries and detractors of the revolution prate mockingly that the people's war has not yet succeeded in seizing the presidential palace in Manila. They seek to obscure the fact that the revolutionary people's government of the workers and peasants has arisen in the countryside and is steadily spreading. The organs of democratic political power have a mass base running into millions and enjoy the support of tens of millions outside of the guerrilla fronts. They govern a large part of the country and carry out programs of mass education, land reform, production, health, cultural upliftment, self-defense and justice.

The conditions for advancing the Philippine revolution are excellent. The crisis of the world capitalist system is ever worsening. The capitalist powers continue to fail in lifting the global economy from crisis and depression. They keep on passing the burden of crisis to

the people thus aggravating the economic and financial crisis as well as escalating inter-imperialist contradictions bringing about widespread conditions of state terrorism and imperialist wars of aggression. The Philippines is one of the few countries in which the illusion of economic growth is conjured from time to time by large inflows of portfolio investments. But whenever this money flows out, the country suffers an abrupt economic downturn.

The economic, social and political crisis in the Philippines is fertile ground for the advance of the revolutionary movement. The people suffer the heavy burden of escalating oppression and exploitation. They are thus driven to protest and rebel.

The crisis conditions provide ample tinder for the revolutionary party of the proletariat to spark a major upturn in the people's revolutionary resistance. The CPP and all revolutionary forces must lead in carrying out an all-out effort to expose the increasing inability of the ruling system to rule in the old way, and to arouse, organize and mobilize the people to wage mass struggles and take the road of revolution.

In performing its revolutionary role and duty in the Philippines, the Party demonstrates to the proletariat and peoples of the world that the road of revolution is available against imperialism and all reaction. The US-instigated neoliberal economic policy of unbridled greed, the recurrent and worsening economic crisis and the increasing use of state terrorism and wars of aggression have laid the basis for an unprecedentedly widespread revolutionary resistance.

Protracted crisis of world capitalist system deepens and worsens

Under monopoly capitalism, especially under the US-instigated economic policy of unbridled greed, the drive to extract higher profits by squeezing wages and adopting higher technology inevitably leads

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to, and further aggravates, the crisis of overproduction. The use of finance capital, particularly the expansion of money supply and credit in an attempt to override the crisis, raises the profits and asset values of the monopoly bourgeoisie, bails out the banks and the big corporations, artificially raises consumption and boosts military production ahead of the recovery of civil production and employment. But it generates bigger financial bubbles resulting in worse financial crises on top of the worsening economic crisis.

The world capitalist system is in the throes of a general crisis, involving the recurrence and worsening of economic and financial crises. The 2008 financial meltdown has resulted in a global depression that is comparable in duration and severity to the Great Depression of the 1930s. Slight upturns do occur but are followed by longer downturns in country gross domestic products (GDPs) and the world gross product. The official figures for these, like the current estimated rate of global economic growth of 2.8% for 2015, are bloated by government deficit spending, public debt, financial market transactions and private spending that do not raise employment and incomes.

Production and employment continue to fall or stagnate in industrial capitalist countries and worse in the underdeveloped countries. Governments in industrialized countries engage in financial bailouts for the benefit of the big banks, investment houses and favored defense industries. They wantonly expand money supply and credit. Faced with budget deficits, they adopt austerity measures, including sharp cutbacks on social spending, reduction of government employees and deep cuts in workers' wages.

Total global outstanding debt (including household, corporate and government debt) has grown by 62% in eight years, from US\$142 trillion in 2007 to an estimated US\$230 trillion by end-2015. It has become impossible for debt of such magnitude to ever be repaid with total global GDP of only around US\$60 trillion whose growth is slowing down. The US and China are showing stress from the massive weight of the public debt, yet, the European Union (EU) is

following the same path of quantitative easing (wanton printing of money without equivalent newly produced value). Global public debt, largely incurred by several imperialist countries with high deficits, is set to become the biggest ever financial bubble. This is set to burst anytime soon and is bound to cause unprecedented devastation.

The global growth rate of employment dipped to an average 1.2% annually in the 2007-2014 period, compared to the 1.7% in the previous 1991-2007 period. Unemployment and underemployment continue to rise, both in the urban and rural areas, especially in Africa, the Middle East, Southern Europe, and Latin America. Asian countries officially show low rates of unemployment, but these are due to high rates of so-called informal employment or odd-jobbing that comprise up to 85% of total employment in some countries. Most megacities of the Third World have a low degree of industrialization and teem with millions of people—mere odd-jobbers suffering slave-like conditions under irregular and short-term hirers.

The disparity in global wealth distribution has increasingly widened. The wealthiest big bourgeoisie constitutes less than 1% of the world's population but owns nearly 50% of the world's total wealth. Ninety percent of them are based in North America and Europe. They enjoy lower tax rates and amass superprofits from plundering public assets and human and natural resources of foreign countries. Poverty is becoming rampant even in the developed countries, with the working class receiving less income and less social benefits and the middle class shrinking. The peoples of the underdeveloped countries suffer far worse conditions of poverty.

The US and other imperialist powers are stepping up war production in compliance with the crisis-driven demands of monopoly firms in the defense industry as well as in pursuit of the objective of keeping and expanding economic territory and geopolitical interests. The protracted and worsening crisis of monopoly capitalism is generating chauvinism, racism, religious

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bigotry, fascism, state terrorism, proxy wars and wars of aggression. The US, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) member states and Zionist Israel remain the principal aggressors and are the most aggressive in provoking and undertaking military actions to weaken their adversaries in West Asia (Middle East), Central Asia, Africa and on the borders of Russia.

There is no end in sight for the general crisis of monopoly capitalism and the trend towards bigger wars, especially because the imperialist powers cling to the neoliberal economic policy. All attempts to moderate or lessen the areas of economic and military conflict, through such international forums such as G7 and G20 summits, United Nations (UN) and Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development processes, treaty-mandated conferences such as World Trade Organization (WTO) , Rio+20 and annual climate talks, and other big-region mechanisms such as Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation, have failed and have resulted in more gridlocks.

The unipolar world dominated by the US after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War has gradually given way to a multipolar alignment of conflicting trade and economic blocs and their corresponding political-military alliances. US imperialism has practically undermined itself by outsourcing consumer manufactures, expanding military expenditures, and financializing its economy. But it continues to maximize its remaining clout in the International Monetary Fund, World Bank and WTO. In a vain attempt to keep its dominant position in global finance and trade, the US is aggressively pushing to impose the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) Agreement on its EU allies and adopting the same approach with its Pacific Rim allies through the Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP) Agreement. It is using secretive talks, backdoor deals, blackmail and double-talk to have the TTIP and TPP agreements passed, despite their flagrantly repellent pro-US big corporate biases.

After the ruling revisionist cliques in the former Soviet Union and

China fully embraced capitalism, in the years of 1989-1991, the US and its allies had no choice but to accept the entry of Russia and China into the club of the global capitalist elite. While the capitalist powers collude in exploiting and oppressing the Third World, the new players have asserted their own interests and have thus aggravated the crisis of the world capitalist system and the inter-imperialist contradictions.

While coping with its own internal crisis and stabilizing itself with high oil earnings for a while, Russia, under Putin, has managed to protect and expand its own economic and geopolitical interests within the Commonwealth of Independent States and with other neighboring states along the borders with EU. In recent years, it has dealt with and contained the successful US subversion of western Ukraine and installation of a fascist pro-US puppet regime in Kiev. The aggressive war unleashed by the Kiev puppet regime against the ethnic-Russian people's republics in Novorassiya and Crimea has resulted in the latter voting to rejoin Russia.

The US persists in carrying out provocations against Russia, such as seeking to subvert it, together with other ex-Soviet states, expanding the NATO to its borders, undermining the ties between it and EU states, imposing sanctions and suspending/excluding it from the G-8. Russia in turn has consolidated its western flanks by setting up the Eurasian Economic Union (EEU) with four other former Soviet republics. It has also extended its own inroads of influence to the West by exerting major diplomatic roles in Central Asia and Middle East affairs, particularly in Syria and Iran, and by offering economic cooperation to the worst crisis-stricken EU countries. Most importantly, it has strengthened its bilateral economic and security relations with China.

China is coping with an economy overheated by excessive public and private construction, overproduction of steel and other industrial products, runaway expansion of money supply and credit (many times worse than that in the US) and other internal troubles of a social and environmental character. These problems put China

at a long distance from the US in per-capita GDP. At any rate, China continues to export surplus capital and expand its overseas operations in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and has launched an ambitious two-pronged strategic link to Europe through the Silk Road Economic Belt (SREB) and the Maritime Silk Road (MSR).

The US maintains a dual policy of colluding and contending with China. But in recent years, it has increased the aspect of contention, with the so-called strategic pivot to East Asia and the US-headed TPP which excludes China. The US strategic pivot to East Asia is designed to block China's projection of its armed forces beyond its borders and to push internal forces towards further expanding privatized capital and bourgeois politics. The US is taking advantage of China's disputes with neighboring countries over South China Sea claims, as well as with Japan over the Daoyu islands in the East Sea. It has maneuvered the Philippines into allowing the reestablishment of US military bases under the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA) and has openly enjoined Japan to revive its militarist posture as a foil to China.

Aside from bilateral agreements, Russia and China have availed of multiple platforms to strengthen their alliance for countering the unwelcome pressures and challenges from the US and its closest allies. In economic terms, the BRICS bloc (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) has consolidated itself as a global alliance with ample resources to counter the US-Canada-EU-Japan axis. BRICS now has its own New Development Bank (NDB), in addition to the China-led Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), with ample resources to counter the IMF-World Bank and undertake large projects, such as SREB and MSR.

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), initiated by China and Russia, has expanded to include eight Eurasian member-states and India and Pakistan. This is in addition to the Russia-led EEU. In geopolitical and military terms, the SCO-EEU combination has the potential to countervail the US-NATO alliance on its western flanks and US-Asian allies on its eastern flanks.

Following the Ukraine crisis of 2014, several long standing hotspots have flared up anew this year in the Middle East and Africa. The occupied Palestinian territories have erupted anew in what may develop as a third intifada against Zionist Israel. The continuing civil strife in Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Libya, Afghanistan, Kurdistan, Sudan and Nigeria have been made more complicated by US interventions. The worst barbarisms are being perpetrated by US-created, trained and armed terrorist groups such as the ISIS (also referred to as IS, the Islamic State or Daesh), which are further funded and coddled by US client-states like Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Israel, Jordan and Qatar.

The imperialist wars of aggression and local and regional armed conflicts have intensified contradictions between imperialist blocs and their regional proxies and allies. These have resulted in unbearable economic and social catastrophes leading to millions of refugees within countries and regions and now surging in large numbers towards Europe. Russia's military support for Syria in the drive against the ISIS, Turkey's shooting down of a Russian combat plane, the Paris terrorist attacks and the retaliatory French-British bombing of Syria, have triggered a dangerous chain of events that could lead to an escalation of war involving imperialist bombs and boots on the ground.

Official GDP statistics are used as basis to claim that certain regions like East Asia and Africa are enjoying high growth rates and a “growing middle class”. But such growth is fuelled by capital flows from imperialist countries, mostly hot money from hedge funds that do not build industrial plants nor promote lasting employment. Instead, these funds go to financial markets and unsustainable economic activities such as construction, real estate, tourism, and telecommunications-based services, and the consequent government tax revenues go to black holes like military expenditures, bureaucratic operations and corruption. All these aggravate the debt problem and deepen and worsen the underdevelopment of the Third World.

Imperialist countries are able to shift the burden of the crisis to the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America because their impoverished agrarian and semifeudal conditions provide the monopoly capitalists with cheap labor and raw materials and lower operating costs. Such conditions are maintained through neoliberal policies promoted through puppet civilian bureaucrats and big bourgeois control of local finance. As a result, entire countries are thrown into widespread social and political turmoil wherein the masses of workers, peasants and other working people suffer intense exploitation and oppression.

A favorite theme of imperialist propaganda is the supposedly fast-growing “global middle class”, with the highest growths seen in Asia, combined with the supposed 50% reduction of global poverty rates compared to 20 years ago. But this is just statistical deception, as the so-called poor, low-income, and middle-class brackets globally have been pulled down to rock-bottom minimums. The middle class in the underdeveloped countries are on more or less the same level as the poverty thresholds in the US. The imperialist propaganda, even if sugarcoated by post-2015 UN promises of further reducing global poverty, cannot hide the expanding and deepening conditions of extreme and systemic poverty, and worsening exploitation and oppression of the majority of the world's toiling masses of workers and peasants. Even in the imperialist countries and so-called emerging or middle-income economies, the crisis and protracted depression have greatly pulled down the working and living conditions of the working class and pettybourgeoisie. The imperialist powers spearheaded by the US, the EU and Japan and their subalterns in underdeveloped countries add the neoliberal policy of unbridled exploitation in the name of “free trade” to the neocolonial foundation of exploitation.

The US is still the chieftain of the imperialist powers. Since the end of World War II, the US has been responsible for the killing of at least 35 million people in wars of aggression and massacres, and for the displacement of far more millions of people due to the mass killings and destruction of social infrastructure mainly by

bombardments. In recent decades, regardless of the ruling party in power, the US has been guided by the neoconservative line of “full spectrum” global hegemony in the 21st century. This line has whipped up fascist lawmaking, state terrorism and wars of aggression under various pretexts such as pursuing a perpetual and borderless “war on terror,” regime change, humanitarian intervention, and even the “war on drugs.” The US rationalizes its aggressive policy by claiming to secure the freedom and wealth of its citizenry. But in fact a major cause of the economic and financial crisis afflicting the American people is the heavy cost of war production, maintenance of more than 800 military bases abroad and wars of aggression.

In recent times, the US and its NATO allies have wantonly targeted and destroyed sovereign states, waging wars of aggression against countries assertive of national independence, such as the former Yugoslavia, Iraq, Afghanistan and Libya and causing the overthrow of anti-US governments such as in Ukraine, Yemen and Venezuela. They continue to make war provocations in Eastern Europe against Russia. They have unleashed wars of aggression against states that control strategic energy sources, raw materials and routes. They use sanctions, blockades and war threats and provocations against so many countries, including Cuba, Venezuela, Syria, Iran and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. They use Zionist Israel, Saudi Arabia, Turkey and rightist armed oppositions and jihadi groups like ISIS and Al Qaida affiliates as attack dogs. They are hostile against the Palestinian and other peoples in the Middle East, Africa, and Central and South Asia. The US is actively pushing Japan, Australia and South Korea to join its war provocations in East Asia.

The US-led imperialist powers have become so driven by militarism and war that they use the same mindset and machinery with impunity against their own peoples at home, especially in the face of rising people's resistance. They have adopted even more reactionary and draconian policies and measures, including outright fascist laws, full-spectrum surveillance, and heavily militarized police actions

against ordinary citizens under the pretext of combating terrorism, common crime, drug use, and other petty offenses.

The innumerable crimes against humanity perpetrated by the US and other imperialist powers are whitewashed by big-bourgeois media which whip up chauvinism, racism, religious bigotry, Islamophobia, terrorist-baiting and war hysteria within the imperialist countries. The aim is to draw away the people's attention from the capitalist roots of the social crisis, quell social discontent and mass resistance and obscure the need for revolutionary class struggle. To win votes, fascist, neo-Nazi and ultra-Rightist political parties wage hate campaigns in the media and allow hate crimes to spread against refugees, asylum-seekers, migrant workers, and even second-generation immigrants especially those of color, victimizing women and youth in particular.

The wars of aggression and big-power terrorism launched by the US and its worst allies and puppets inflict terrible suffering on the people--killing and wounding hundreds of thousands and destroying their homes, livelihood and social infrastructure in orgies of bombing. Thus, the people are driven to wage armed resistance. This continues even after the US and its allies apparently succeed with their aggression and occupation of a country. In fact, they are compelled to phase out their occupation forces due to heavy damages inflicted by the people's resistance.

The US and its allies were able to bring down the Saddam regime in Baghdad, Iraq but the Sunni officers and men under the Baath nationalist leaders regrouped to fight the foreign aggressors and the Shia puppet government. They were also able to bring down the Taliban government in Kabul, Afghanistan but armed resistance has continued not only from the Taliban armed forces but also from other armed organizations that have emerged. Having overthrown the Qaddafi regime by bombing and arming various militia organizations which are now fighting each other, they have found cause for further intervention to the continuing ruination of Libya.

The countries devastated by imperialist wars of aggression and

proxy wars in the Middle East and Africa have become breeding and playing grounds for jihadist organizations, like affiliates of Al Qaida and the ISIS. Despite its propaganda against Al Qaida after 9-11, the US has armed and used Al Nushra, an affiliate of the Al Qaida, to wage war on the Assad regime in Syria. It has also created, trained and supplied the ISIS to punish its own puppet government in Baghdad for becoming too close to Iran and also to wage war on the Assad regime in Syria and open the way for US and NATO intervention there.

The absence of a revolutionary and effective Communist Party in countries attacked by the US and its allies have enabled jihadists to seize the armed political initiative after secular nationalist governments are brought down. Previously in countries such as Iraq and Syria, the Baathists were able to maintain their regimes against threats from the US and Zionist Israel because of support from the Soviet and other revisionist-type communist parties. The absence of truly revolutionary communist parties in Tunisia and Egypt allowed Islamic parties to take power during the so-called Arab spring until the US-bred military bourgeoisie took over.

Wherever the US and its allies unleashed wars of aggression, Communist parties ought to lead the people's revolutionary movement for national liberation. Conditions are favorable for truly revolutionary communist parties to arise and initiate revolutionary armed struggles in other global regions. By waging wars of aggression and proxy wars in the Middle East and Africa, the US undermines itself by going into high military expenditure, overreaching in more than one direction. Thus, it actually loses focus on countries where revolutionary Communist parties are waging armed struggle.

The most exemplary of the armed revolutionary movements are those waging people's war and gaining victories either under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and/or an anti-imperialist program of national and social liberation. The armed revolutionary movements are in the Philippines, India, Palestine, Colombia, Peru,

Turkey, Kurdistan and elsewhere. The Kurdish people and their revolutionary forces have benefited most directly from the current armed conflicts in the Middle East. They fight back the attacks of the ISIS and Turkey in Syria and North Kurdistan and arm themselves in the process as well as establish organs of democratic power.

The exploitation and oppression of the proletariat and the people throughout the world, made more acute by the economic and social crisis, are pushing them to fight back in various ways and forms available to them—from spontaneous and localized protests and strikes, to nationally coordinated strikes and mass campaigns, and all the way to generating broad and sustained people's movements for national and social liberation in the imperialist-dominated underdeveloped countries; and for socialism in the imperialist homegrounds.

Throughout the underdeveloped countries, workers in urban areas, mining districts and special economic zones persevere in the difficult work of building unions and launching trade union struggles. The peasant masses demand genuine land reform and are being mobilized for this purpose. Student-youth are being radicalized in growing numbers, and their protests inside the campus are overflowing into the streets and communities, where they link up with workers, semiproletarians and other sectors. The most advanced workers and students are learning to link up with the peasantry and indigenous peoples in the rural areas.

In the advanced capitalist countries, including the US, EU, Japan, China and Russia, there is a marked rise of people's resistance movements. Among the workers, youth, women, minorities, migrants, and cultural and intellectual workers, there is growing interest and demand for an anti-capitalist or Marxist critique of capitalism and reaffirmation of socialism. In a few countries, such as Greece, Spain, and Portugal, mass movements with a clear anti-capitalist orientation are gaining strength. Despite complex twists and turns, progressive parties and parliamentary coalitions are learning both from positive and negative lessons.

The rate at which the general crisis of the world capitalist system is worsening generates conditions favorable for the rise of genuine revolutionary parties of the proletariat and revolutionary mass movements. So long as monopoly capitalism and reaction persist, there is no end to the epochal struggle of the proletariat and people against the big bourgeoisie. We are still very much in the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. As the crisis of imperialism worsens and deepens, the anti-imperialist and socialist movements will resurge with increasing resolve and vigor.

Worsening crisis of the ruling system and rise of revolutionary resistance

For a while, from 2010 to 2013, the Philippine ruling system appeared to be exempt from the crisis of world capitalist system, if we were to simply look at the rise of the GDP. This was growing at a rate far beyond that of the world economy and was being touted as the highest in Asia in 2013. The content of the growing GDP was obscured. The money flow reflected by the GDP of 7.2% consisted of portfolio investments (hot money) that went mainly to the financial markets (stock, bond and money markets) to the extent of 65%, reducing to only 6% the proportion of money remittances of overseas migrant workers and the income from call center operations. The rest of the total money flow came mainly from government spending for bureaucratic operations, debt service and other counterproductive purposes.

The US deliberately gave the Aquino regime the special privilege of having the Philippines receive a large flow of money from hedge funds. The aim was to conjure the illusion of economic growth, sustain the private construction boom and generate government revenues for boosting military operations and appropriating large doleout funds for the conditional cash transfer and Pamana programs to make the US-designed Oplan Bayanihan successful.

Increased government spending, remittances of overseas contract workers and earnings of business call centers also served to maintain high consumption spending by a small part of the population.

Oplan Bayanihan became a big failure because of its antipeople character, the ineptness and corruption of the regime's civil and military bureaucracy and because of the superiority of the Party's strategy of protracted people's war and the tactics of intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. At the same time, the crisis of global capitalism reasserted itself relative to the Philippines. The flow of hot money began to subside in 2014 when the US announced it would slow down quantitative easing and possibly raise interest rates and because of China's even worse problem of wanton spending and credit for public and private construction.

The much-vaunted Philippine economic growth rate of 7.2% has gone down to 6.1% in 2014 and is expected to go further down to 5.8% in 2015. The World Bank blames slow government spending, negative net exports and the initial impact of El Niño. In fact, the neoliberal economic policy has undermined and reduced production output in agriculture and manufacturing. Manila government figures show that manufacturing has slowed down to 5.9% in the first quarter of 2015 from 7% in the first quarter of 2014. Agriculture continues to decline. Its share in the economy is 10%. The share of manufacturing is 23.2%, which is as low as in the 1950s.

Especially under the US-dictated neoliberal economic policy, one puppet regime after another has rejected national industrialization with genuine land reform as the basic policy for developing and expanding the domestic market. The US-Aquino regime is brazen in rejecting national industrialization. It favors foreign corporations and big comprador operations. It promotes schemes relying on the so-called global value chains and ASEAN integration under the control of the TNCs. The big comprador-landlords in collusion with foreign capital are hell-bent on pushing for an economic charter

change to fully remove constitutional restrictions on foreigners to own lands and engage in all types of small, medium, and large scale economic ventures. This will allow foreign big capitalists to further exploit the country's natural and human resources.

The biggest gainers under the US-Aquino regime are the foreign banks and corporation and the big comprador firms. Their interests are in banking, insurance, real estate development, infrastructures, shopping malls, semi-manufacturing, mining, logging, plantations and the like. Public-private partnerships favor big comprador companies and foreign suppliers in infrastructure and energy projects. As a result, the wealth of the 10 richest Filipinos has risen exponentially from P650 billion in 2010 to P2.2 trillion in 2015. Top-level corruption of the Aquino ruling clique and its business favorites is frequently exposed, with particular instances involving hundreds of millions and even billions of pesos.

Social inequalities have worsened amid increasing unemployment rates, decreasing real income of the working people and even the middle social strata, soaring prices of basic commodities, social services and public utility charges (especially transport, electricity and water).

The drastic fall of semiconductor production and other semimanufacturing as a result of global market contraction starting in 2008 has pushed up unemployment rates and further depressed wage levels. So far, more than ten million Filipino contract workers have left the country pushing their luck in unfamiliar lands and cultures under harsh working and living conditions, low wages and neglect by the Philippine government.

A two-tiered wage system is now being implemented under RA 6727 in which Tier 1 or the "floor wage" replaces the minimum, while Tier 2 or the "productivity wage" is set by individual firms. Short-term contractualization and flexible working arrangements continue to keep workers as temporaries and part-timers. Contractualization of workers runs as high as 90% of the labor force in many factories, service and commercial enterprises juxtaposed with a rapidly

shrinking percentage of regulars who are either retrenched or reduced as contractuels.

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So-called tripartism allows the employers and government to put workers in a corner and defeat trade union demands. So-called self-regulation and voluntary compliance are rampant capitalist practices legitimized by the state. Working conditions are dismal and hazardous. The most basic health and safety regulations in the workplace are widely violated in the name of creating an “investment-friendly climate”. A glaring example of the vicious collusion between capitalists and bureaucrats and their criminal disregard for the workers’ welfare is the Kentex tragedy where more than 70 workers perished. Aggravating these are state policies such as Republic Act 6715 (Herrera Law), Wage Rationalization Law, Regional Wage Boards, “no union, no strike” enterprises, “end of contract” and other anti-labor acts. These have aroused the working class to widen and fortify their ranks, develop not only trade unions but revolutionary unions and other workers’ associations in the factories and in the workers communities. In some regions, the Party has led and supported successful struggles of exploited and oppressed regular and contractual workers in several factories and plantations.

The Philippines has an agrarian semifeudal economy but it has lost food self-sufficiency, particularly with regard to rice and corn production, due to the neoliberal economic policy of allowing rice and other food imports to swamp the market and discourage local production. At the same time, large plantations have been devoted to such export-oriented crops as rubber and oil palm and large tracts of land allocated for bioethanol production. Eventually, rice and other food imports have become more expensive amid dwindling local food production resulting in the further impoverishment of the peasant masses.

The Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program (CARP) and the CARP-Extension with Reforms (CARPER) have ended last year without having solved the problem of landlessness. Most of those

who received certificates of land ownership awards (CLOA) have become unable to pay the amortization of the land to the Land Bank or have suffered family illness and crop failures forcing them to sell their land to rich peasants or money lenders. Government has resorted to various legal machinations and maneuvers to dispossess beneficiaries of the awarded land. The government and landgrabbers collude in reclassifying rice and corn land to other types of land exempt from land reform. This has become an effective scheme to evict farmers and divest them of their lands. Many huge landed estates previously subject to land reform remain undistributed to beneficiaries as a result of the landlords' legal maneuvers. In the case of Hacienda Luisita, the landed estate remains undistributed notwithstanding a Supreme Court decision, epitomizing the Aquino-Cojuangcos' contempt of legal institutions and arrogant display of big-landlord-bureaucrat-capitalist power. Land is rapidly being reconcentrated into the hands of landlords as well as local and foreign agricorporations.

Sixty-six million Filipinos are living on PhP125 or less a day. Poverty is most widespread in the countryside. With land frontier exhausted since the end of the 1960s, the excess population in the countryside has tended to move towards the cities and swell the urban poor slums. In 2010-2014, the Aquino regime appropriated PhP178 billion to the Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program (4Ps) or Conditional Cash Transfer for doleouts to poor households. This huge amount of money has failed to significantly reduce or even alleviate poverty. Hundreds of millions of pesos are dissipated through bureaucratic corruption. A hefty sum of PhP62.7 billion, almost twice the previous average annual allocation has been allocated for this program for 2016.

The Philippines is artificially buoyed up by a huge external debt of US\$75 billion as of June 2015, almost three times as large as the US\$27 billion foreign debt left by the Marcos fascist regime. Trade deficits have risen and have been covered by further foreign borrowing. Total public debt has risen to PhP5.847 trillion as of end July 2015. Of this amount, domestic debt has reached PhP3.89

trillion. Government deficit spending has exacerbated the rise of the local public debt.

The underdevelopment, widespread poverty, mass unemployment and the worsening crisis of the Philippine economy spur social unrest and revolutionary resistance. The workers are outraged by the neoliberal drive to push down their wages, draw them down to the level of short-term contractualization as temporaries and part-timers, and suppress their democratic rights, especially their right to unionize and strike. Trade union leaders are being murdered to intimidate the entire working class.

The peasant masses have continued to suffer ever worsening conditions of feudal and semifeudal exploitation given the series of patently bogus land reforms over the past 50 years. The swindling political agents of the landlord class have now dropped their pretense at land reform with the end of CARPER. The peasant masses and the indigenous people suffer exploitation and oppression the most. Land reconcentration is occurring at the levels of the small, middle and big landlords. The worst of the big landgrabbers acquire the largest tracts of land with the active assistance of the reactionary government for the purpose of, or in connection with real estate development and speculation, plantations, mining and special economic zones.

The peasant masses are waging various forms of struggles to fight for and assert their land rights. They are waging campaigns to reduce land rent, lower rates of usury, raise the wages of agricultural and farmworkers, raise production and farmgate prices, lower rentals on farm tools and equipment, set up cooperatives and engage in mutual help. In some regions, occupation of abandoned and contested lands are being undertaken. Peasant organizations have launched nationwide protest campaigns with marches and peasant chains.

The indigenous peoples' right to ancestral domain is being viciously attacked. In attempts to grab land, the government aids the foreign and local land grabbers by subjecting the peasants, including the

indigenous people, to Oplan Bayanihan military and psywar operations. In AFP press releases, military operations are deceptively referred to as peace and development operations. Long neglected by the reactionary government, the people in the hinterlands have on their own put up schools and other social facilities. These are now being occupied and destroyed by the military troops and paramilitary groups of Oplan Bayanihan in the course of landgrabbing for the benefit of the foreign corporations and big compradors engaged in mining, logging and plantations. Local leaders and educators are being murdered. The people have refused to be intimidated and have fought back. They have gone on long marches from Mindanao and the Cordillera to rally the entire nation against the oppressors headed by Aquino.

The restless students and the out-of-school youth are launching militant mass actions against rising tuition fees, lack of jobs after graduation, the commercialization of education (including state colleges and universities), the imposition of the K+12 system to produce a docile work force for foreign and local exploiters, the reduction of public funds for the public school system and the increase of public fund for the military, police and intelligence equipment and operations.

The entire Filipino nation is appalled at the gross and systematic violations of human rights being perpetrated by the US-Aquino regime in carrying out Oplan Bayanihan.

The masses of worker and peasants continue to strengthen their unity with the urban pettybourgeoisie who suffer from grossly low incomes, shortage of job opportunities in the country, pressures to seek jobs abroad and are scandalized by the corruption of the ruling clique and high bureaucrats in general. The middle bourgeoisie has long been disgusted by the hostility of the US-Aquino regime to the cause of industrialization and indifference to demands for support to small and medium enterprises.

The US-Aquino regime is now extremely isolated. The possibility of Aquino being overthrown by a people's uprising, however, has been

dissipated by the onset of the electoral struggle for the presidency in 2016. The bourgeois allies of the toiling masses and the dominant Church have lost interest in a people's uprising to overthrow him unless he commits another serious crime or blunder.

Even then, Aquino remains isolated by the exposure of so many scandals including pork barrel corruption under such headings as PDAF, DAP, off budget accounts, special funds and so on, the failure to provide timely and sufficient resources for the relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction of communities devastated by super typhoon Yolanda, the designation of Gen. Alan Purisima (while suspended on corruption charges) as overall commander of the bungled Mamasapano operation, the appointment of corrupt officials to high positions on the basis of personal friendship, the special delivery of state contracts to business cronies and others.

He also faces even bigger and more serious accountabilities, such as the rabid implementation of the neoliberal economic policy, gross and systematic human rights violations, and the aggravation of social inequality and injustices, unemployment and poverty.

The US-Aquino regime has utterly failed to destroy or reduce the New People's Army to inconsequentiality through Oplan Bayanihan and related political maneuvers. It has failed to exhibit good governance. Instead, it has been thoroughly exposed as corrupt and incompetent. It has done nothing but aggravate and deepen the semicolonial and semifeudal conditions of underdevelopment and poverty.

Since 2010, the Aquino regime has made false promises to the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) in order to engage it in an indefinite ceasefire and have more military forces to deploy against the NPA. But the regime has failed to pass the Bangsamoro Basic Law (BBL) and has exposed itself for having taken the MILF for a ride.

Despite the ceasefire of the Manila government with the MILF, the NPA and other revolutionary forces in Eastern Mindanao have been

able to overcome the increased deployment of enemy forces in their areas. In the meantime, the frustrations of the Bangsamoro over the intensified armed suppression in Mamasapano and other Moro areas, as well as the mutilation and nonpassage of the BBL offer the possibility for a more extensive and intensive armed resistance by the Bangsamoro.

The US-Aquino regime thought that it could rally the entire nation to its side by opposing China's encroachments in the West Philippine Sea and that it would be able to accuse and isolate the CPP-led forces as pro-China despite their long running criticism of the Dengist restoration of capitalism in China. But the Party and the revolutionary forces and people it leads have stood up for national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The CPP has condemned China's unjust claim of undisputed sovereignty over 90% of the South China Sea and in particular the grabbing of Panatag Shoal and the reclamations in the Spratlys—all in violation of the sovereign rights of the Filipino people over the exclusive economic zone and the extended continental shelf in accordance with the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea. It has also condemned the Aquino regime for allowing Chinese state and private corporations to maintain and increase their business interests in the Philippines in the form of 40% share of the national power grid, large mining operations, plantations, financial firms, hotels, shopping malls and so on.

While supportive of the Philippine case against China before the International Tribunal on the Law of the Sea and the Arbitral Tribunal, the Party has condemned the Aquino regime for using the maritime dispute to allow the US to reestablish military bases within "agreed locations" under the EDCA and to encourage Japan to intervene militarily in the Philippines.

If the international tribunal decides in favor of the Philippines, China would have to give up its baseless claims of owning 90% of the South China Sea and change its tack in the international community and towards the ASEAN countries. The US would have

no justification for establishing military bases in the Philippines under the pretext of protecting the Philippines from China. Thus, the patriotic and progressive forces and the entire Filipino people should be able to develop economic relations with China for advancing national industrialization instead of perpetuating and aggravating the underdevelopment of the Philippines.

The presidential electoral campaign circus has gone to town with disqualification suits, criminal charges and rumor mongering galore. This reflects in a concentrated way the contradictions of political factions among the reactionaries.

The ruling Liberal Party candidate Mar Roxas is well known as an exponent of neoliberal economic policy, a Wharton boy, a loyal representative of the big compradors and landlords servile to the US. He does not care about persuading the working people to trust him, except by superficially trying to mimic their hard work in photo snapshots. He is isolated by even bigger and more serious accountabilities, such as the rabid implementation of the neoliberal economic policy, gross and systematic human rights violations, and the aggravation of social inequality and injustices, unemployment and poverty.

Despite the huge amount of public and private funds already mobilized to support his campaign, Roxas rates low in poll surveys because of his close association with Aquino and the widespread perception of his own performance as inept. He is actually ridiculed for vowing to continue the Daang Matuwid policies of Aquino.

In trying to win over votes, all other major presidential candidates try to champion certain demands of the ordinary people, like ending top level corruption in government as well as rampant common crimes, engaging in industrialization to create jobs and so on.

The Party and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) are pleased that all five major presidential candidates in the 2016 elections are committed in varying degrees to the resumption of the NDFP-GPH formal peace negotiations.

Davao Mayor Rodrigo Duterte has been the most vocal and most forward in announcing his proposal to the NDFP for a coalition government and offer of a number of cabinet positions, and in indicating the patriotic and progressive grounds for a just peace. However, Sen. Grace Poe has run ahead of him in comprehensively defining the grounds for electoral alliance with the Makabayan Bloc including upholding national sovereignty and territorial integrity, respect for human rights, national industrialization and genuine land reform.

There will be serious consequences if any of the major presidential candidates were to be disqualified or arrested with Roxas being perceived as extremely favored by his foreign and local patrons.

The most astute observers have declared that no matter how the poll surveys and even the actual voting go, what will decide the presidential elections will be the CIA and Aquino control of the automated electoral system to be run by Smartmatic-TIM which can be pre-programmed to “elect” officials as in the 2010 and 2013 elections. That a dubious foreign corporation is given a pivotal role in a national elections constitutes a flagrant and shameless violation of the people’s sovereignty.

The Party and the NDFP do not endorse any candidate, party and coalition in the electoral process of the reactionary system. They are outside of this system. But they do study and analyze how to regard and relate to the candidates, parties and coalitions within the ruling system, before, during and after elections, in connection with the civil war, in order to benefit the people and the peace negotiations.

It is good that there is the Makabayan Bloc which strives to pursue a patriotic and progressive line in carrying out the electoral struggle and seeking further alliances within the ruling system. The voting strength of the Makabayan Bloc is far bigger than the capability of Iglesia ni Cristo on a nationwide scale and is capable of electing patriotic and progressive candidates at various levels.

Even as the Makabayan Bloc and progressive party list groups

concentrate on the electoral struggle, the various mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, youth, students, teachers, health workers, lawyers, artists, writers, human rights activists and other sectors should carry on with their own campaigns on burning issues and long-term issues in the national democratic mass movement. After all, the electoral struggle involves a few months every three years while the mass movement runs daily from year to year to arouse, organize and mobilize the masses for various forms of struggle.

The crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system provides the favorable objective conditions for the development of the subjective forces of the armed revolution. The Party leads the proletariat and the broad masses of the people along the general line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war. It commands the New People's Army to carry out the armed struggle and integrate it with the agrarian revolution and mass base building.

The worker-peasant alliance is strengthened in the course of the protracted people's war. And the organs of political power constituting the people's democratic government are established in the countryside. The revolutionary mass organizations are built and mobilized to support the organs of political power and to contribute their strength to the building of the national united front under the auspices of the NDFP. The subjective forces of the revolution and their alliances are being developed through struggles on a daily basis while the reactionaries have the illusion that their system will forever last so long as they have periodic elections.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is firmly and effectively leading the Philippine revolution

The Communist Party of the Philippines is firmly and effectively leading the Philippine revolution because it has correctly adopted the

ideological line of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the general political line of people's democratic revolution and the organizational line of democratic centralism and accordingly carries out ideological, political and organizational work.

In ideological building, the Party has made available to Party cadres and members a large collection of classic and current Marxist-Leninist-Maoist study materials. These serve as texts and references for the basic, intermediate and advanced courses of the Party. It is always emphasized that grasping revolutionary theory and principles makes a cohesive and disciplined Party. It is emphasized even more that the theory and principles must be applied on the history and current circumstances of the Filipino people and the Party.

The Party has consistently used its Constitution and Program and Amado Guerrero's *Philippine Society and Revolution* for the basic Party course. It updates and augments these with new basic documents, analyses of current events and sustained works issued by the Party Central Committee through *Ang Bayan*. It has also issued works that serve the intermediate and advanced course. Among these are documents of the First and Second Great Rectification Movements and Armando Liwanag's *Stand for Socialism against Modern Revisionism*.

The ideological education of Party cadres and members is ever expansive as they are encouraged and instructed to take the intermediate Party course and learn about the revolutions of other peoples in the spirit of anti-imperialist solidarity and proletarian internationalism and finally the advanced Party course which seeks to provide them with sufficient knowledge of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, political economy, social science, revolutionary strategy and tactics and history of the international communist movement.

Those with high formal education are encouraged to read the study materials in advance of or beyond the Party study courses. But the Party has been cognizant of the difficulties of workers and peasants with lower formal education in reading study materials. There are simplified and illustrated materials in print and on video. Teaching

cadres are motivated and trained to explain terms and issues in a language understandable to the workers and peasants. After all, the subject is essentially their oppression and exploitation and their struggle for liberation.

When ideological education is done well and promptly, it results in more knowledgeable and determined Party cadres and members who do their political and organizational work conscientiously, militantly and effectively. Otherwise, all kinds of work suffer. Ideological education is sometimes neglected because of preoccupation with practical work. At other times, there is a predilection for overly long study meetings in big batches of students, which cannot be easily repeated. There may be small or big study meetings, depending on the security situation. Study meetings can be properly scheduled to avoid protracted meetings.

We have observed that central staff organs and regional party organs and organizations that do ideological education well and promptly also do well in all kinds of work. There are no unnecessary delays in the education of the Party cadres and members who proceed to recruit more Party candidate members. Candidate-members promptly become full members within the period of candidature and are encouraged to raise their level of knowledge through Party study courses. Thus, Party cadres and members keep on increasing with the majority being young.

The Party has been successful at carrying out the general political line of people's democratic revolution through the strategic line of protracted people's war against the semicolonial and semifeudal system. The working class serves as the leading revolutionary class in the current stage of the Philippine revolution and the consequent stage of socialist revolution. To win the revolution, it employs three weapons to arouse, organize and mobilize the people and defeat the enemy.

The first weapon is the Communist Party of the Philippines. It is the advanced detachment of the working class, which directs the revolutionary mass movement and coordinates the various forms of struggle. The second weapon is the revolutionary armed struggle,

which is the highest form of struggle because it is for overthrowing the reactionary ruling state and installing the people's democratic government. The third weapon is the united front which brings about several types of alliances to win over the people in their millions and weaken, isolate and destroy the enemy in a revolutionary civil war or a patriotic war against foreign aggression.

The Party is now established on a nationwide scale in both urban and rural areas. In urban areas, it is based among the workers in factories, transport lines and urban poor communities. It is also based among the urban pettybourgeoisie, especially the educated youth, low income professionals and government employees. At the beginning, the proletarian revolutionaries came from the urban areas. As the revolutionary armed struggle progressed in the rural areas, more proletarian revolutionaries emerged from the ranks of workers in mining, logging and plantations, traditional farm workers and poor peasants and the young educated activists from the urban areas.

The Party carries out the strategic line of people's war to encircle the cities from the countryside and accumulate armed and political strength in the countryside until it gains the capability to seize the cities on a nationwide scale. For this purpose, the Party deployed Party cadres and members for work in the New People's Army and the rural communities at first in a few regions and soon enough on a nationwide scale. By 1977, guerrilla fronts of the Party and the NPA covered Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao.

The people's war is effective where revolutionary armed struggle, agrarian revolution and mass base building are integral components under the leadership of the Party through various levels of NPA command. The Party provides all Red commanders and fighters with political-military education and encourages them to win victories in order to build more NPA units with the arms seized from the enemy.

Agrarian revolution is undertaken through the two stages of minimum and maximum land reform. The minimum program is carried out extensively in all guerrilla fronts, consisting of the reduction of land rent, lowering if not elimination of usury, lowering

of rent on tools and equipment, raising production and farmgate prices, setting up cooperatives and mutual-help, etc. The maximum program consists of distributing land for free to the tillers. More than a million peasant families are currently benefiting from both the maximum and minimum land reform program, with tens of thousands of hectares distributed to family beneficiaries nationwide over the past few years.

Mass base building is accomplished by forming the organs of political power (at first the barrio organizing committees and the barrio revolutionary committees) and the mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, youth, children and cultural activists. Municipal and sub-municipal level organs of political power are emerging in several regions. Chapters of the Pambansang Katipunan ng Magbubukid (National Peasant Union) have been organized at the sub-municipal, municipal and up to the district level. The people exercise their sovereignty through elections that are conducted freely, with secret balloting. Militia platoons are formed among the able-bodied for self-defense and for maintaining peace and order.

The general capability of the NPA is still extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. Offensive operations are carried out by small teams, squads, platoons and oversized platoons. In regions most advanced in people's war, the NPA has attained the capability to concentrate companies and even a battalion to carry out the most dramatic offensive operations against mining, logging and plantation enterprises and against field commands of the enemy.

So far, we have not accomplished the much-desired nationwide advance of the NPA from the strategic defensive stage to the strategic stalemate. The delay in achieving the strategic stalemate can be explained by the uneven development of the subjective forces nationwide and by the intensity of enemy reaction to the increasing tactical offensives by the people's army. In criticism and self-criticism sessions and in sustained rectification campaigns, we must analyze what is preventing the people's army from carrying out its main duty

of winning battles against the enemy through raids and ambushes. The first thing to look at is whether the Party is promptly and keenly carrying out the needed ideological, political and organizational work, whether there is stagnation or decrease of Party cadres and members and whether the work is lopsided.

However, all previous calls for reaching the threshold of the strategic stalemate have served to inspire our Party and the Red commanders and fighters to exert their best efforts to win victories in the people's war. As a matter of fact, in a few regions, the NPA has reached a certain level of strength and capacity as to allow greater interplay of initiative, flexibility and planning, wage more intensive and widespread guerrilla warfare, sustain tactical offensives and frustrate prolonged enemy campaigns.

The forces of the Party and the NPA in Eastern Mindanao must be cited for their heroic, wise and victorious example. They have demonstrated that they can grow stronger by fighting back against the most concentrated enemy attacks. Through more than ten years, they prevailed over such vicious enemy campaign plans as Bantay Laya and Bayanihan. One enemy chief of staff after another has been embarrassed by premature claims of victory. In the latest enemy campaign against the NPA in Eastern Mindanao, the premise is that the deployment of 24% of enemy combat forces (27 out of 113 battalions) would result in the defeat of 40% of total NPA strength.

Contrary to enemy expectations, the NPA in Eastern Mindanao has prevailed over its campaigns by taking advantage of the wide gaps in enemy deployment on rough terrain and has inspired the forces of the NPA in other regions of Mindanao and in the Visayas and Luzon to intensify their tactical offensives.

Most of the regional commands have responded to the Party's call to step up tactical offensives on the basis of their own capability and strength and after resolving problems through summings-up and criticism and self-criticism. Regions outside Eastern Mindanao benefited from the relative decrease of enemy forces due to the latter's concentration in Mindanao. In turn, the marked

intensification of tactical offensives nationwide has significantly derailed the enemy's plan to further focus on and destroy the revolutionary forces in Eastern Mindanao. Thus, on a nationwide scale, the NPA has frustrated Oplan Bayanihan's aim of destroying or rendering it inconsequential.

In desperation, the enemy has organized paramilitary units to attack the Lumad indigenous people and murder their leaders. This has exposed the brutal character of Oplan Bayanihan and the US-Aquino regime which serves the interests of foreign companies and big comprador firms in landgrabbing and plundering the rich natural resources of Mindanao.

The Party has developed the closest alliance between the working class and peasantry by carrying out the highest form of struggle in the countryside. This basic alliance of the two largest classes, the most oppressed and exploited in Philippine society, is the foundation of the new democratic revolution, national unity and all possible alliances. To make the alliance of basic revolutionary forces, the toiling masses of workers and peasants join up with the urban pettybourgeoisie. The middle bourgeoisie can also be won over to a patriotic alliance. Even certain sections of the reactionary classes can be won over as temporary and unreliable allies in order to isolate and destroy the power of the enemy.

As the Party expands the united front, it exercises firmness of principle and flexibility in policy and maintains its independence and initiative. The point is to win over the masses in their millions, increase the strength of the revolutionary movement and isolate, weaken and destroy the enemy. The united front is a weapon applicable in various legal forms of struggle as well as in the revolutionary forms of struggle. It is carried out even more effectively because the Party and the people have their people's army that is deeply rooted among the toiling masses of workers and peasants.

It is a function of the united front to develop the cooperation of national and local officials of the reactionary governments in opposing policies and acts of national betrayal by the reactionary

ruling clique and the gross and systematic violations of human rights by the coercive apparatuses of the state. It is also a function of the united front that the Party and other revolutionary forces encourage the critical participation of legal patriotic and progressives forces in the electoral process of the ruling system. It is further a function of the united front to develop close relations with armed movements of the Moro people against the reactionary state. Even the peace negotiations have a potential for promoting an alliance against foreign and feudal domination and laying the ground for a just and lasting peace.

The organizational principle and line of democratic centralism has served the Party well in the maintenance and growth of the Party. The essence of democratic centralism is getting the information and proposals from all Party cadres and members through their leading organs and collective units and concentrating their will and strength for carrying out the urgent and long term tasks of the revolution. Centralism is based on democracy and guides democracy. The minority is subordinate to the majority. The lower organ is subordinate to the higher organ. The Central Committee, with members in different parts of the country has the Political Bureau and Executive Committee to make necessary and timely decisions. Depending on the significance and scale of decisions to be made, the Party holds its Congress and the meetings of the Central Committee, Political Bureau and Executive Committee, accordingly.

The Party continues to maintain and strengthen a nationwide organization, which is deeply rooted among the masses. In certain regions, the increased size and strength of the Party organization manifests the all-round advance of the revolutionary movement. In other regions, there may be major errors and shortcomings which adversely affect the organizational strength of the Party, including lapses in security which are not promptly and effectively corrected and result in the loss of cadres.

By whatever degree or frequency the enemy kills or captures leading Party cadres at whatever level, the leading organs have been able to

replenish and strengthen their ranks with Party cadres and members from within the same region or area. Additionally, Party cadres have been transferred from one region to another to spread lessons from successful revolutionary struggles or reinforce or replenish a leading Party organ that has suffered dislocations and serious losses.

The revolutionary mass movement of various patriotic and progressive classes and sectors have generated highly conscious and militant mass activists who can be recruited immediately as candidate-members and sworn in as full Party members within the period of candidature stipulated by the Party Constitution. The background, bio-data and personality of the Party candidate-members as well as their basic understanding of the Party Constitution and Program are promptly checked and verified. Within their period of candidature, they undergo the basic Party course and perform their assignments in a Party unit.

The Party undertook a serious effort to increase its membership, registering a 33% overall growth. Although significant, greater effort is needed to harvest from the relatively broader mass base. The rate of increase has been adversely affected by disruptions in the mass base due to serious errors and enemy attacks.

The Party organs concerned and the Party branch or group that are responsible for developing Party candidate-members to full members sometimes or oftentimes neglect their duty to ensure the promotion of candidate-members to full Party members within or at the end of the period of candidature. The nonperformance of such duty hinders the continuous organizational growth of the Party. It would be edifying to study the relation of a stagnant or decreasing Party membership to the shrinkage of the mass movement and lack of well-rounded development of revolutionary work.

The Party Central Committee relies heavily on the regional Party committees for the organizational growth of the Party and on Party groups within national mass organization for strengthening central staff organs. It is problematic when a regional Party committee is immobilized for whatever reason and does not make and implement

a periodic plan to educate, deploy and swear in promptly new Party members. It is also problematic when a regional Party committee fails to develop an increasing number of Party members for both urban and rural work and does not fulfil the continuous need in the countryside for Party cadres and members from among the workers and educated youth.

The Party organizations in the urban areas, especially in the National Capital Region, must develop their work in accordance with their two main responsibilities. There is a need to further invigorate the urban mass movement, organize and mobilize in greater numbers the workers, youth and students, women, professionals, urban poor and others, carry out more and larger protest actions, intensify the rifts within the ruling class and further isolate the ruling US-Aquino regime. Cadres and activists arising from and tempered in the mass movement must be deployed continuously and in large numbers to the countryside.

Regional Party committees have based themselves in the countryside. Sometimes some of them fail to give the prompt and proper attention to developing the city-based Party organization and to drawing from the urban areas workers and educated youth to become Party cadres and members. The Party cadres and members of peasant origin always need to be augmented by workers and educated youth cadres for political responsibilities higher than the village level and for command and technical functions higher than platoon level.

There are central, regional, provincial and guerrilla front Party leading organs whose members are of advanced age and frail health. Such organs can be rejuvenated by including more members who are young and in their early middle age. A healthy and vigorous combination of young, middle-aged and senior Party cadres must be maintained in the aforesaid leading organs. While still capable, the senior members can continue with major tasks. Those who are sickly or with frail health must be looked after and properly located for their safety.

Revolutionary tasks of the Communist Party of the Philippines

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The Communist Party of the Philippines and the Philippine revolution have withstood all attacks of US imperialism and the local exploiting classes. This is because the Party has clearly defined and carried out its ideological, political and organizational tasks. The Party must ably carry out such tasks in order to advance the Philippine revolution while the crisis of global capitalism and the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system is worsening and providing favorable conditions.

By all means, the Party must lead and advance the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war. No matter how long it takes, the strategic defensive must advance towards the strategic stalemate. This latter stage must develop for as long as it takes to build regular mobile forces, supported by the guerrilla forces, the people's militia, self-defense units or the mass organizations and the mass movement and prepare all revolutionary forces for the strategic offensive in the future.

The Party must continue to build itself ideologically. This is the first task and always the first requisite of Party building. To neglect it is to allow all kinds of subjectivism to arise, be it empiricism, dogmatism and outright revisionism. Without the constant study and application of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist theory guided by dialectical materialism and based on successful revolutionary practice, subjectivism can take the form of empiricism or basing oneself on experience without any theoretical guidance or direction; and can also take the form of dogmatism or relying on fixed ideas without concrete analysis of concrete conditions and developments.

Without the constant study and application of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist theory, we are liable to mislead ourselves or to come under the influence of the crudest ideology of the bourgeoisie, spread daily and most widely by the mass media, or by the most clever ideology

of the bourgeoisie, generated by academic pedants who deliberately distort the theory and practice of the great communist leaders.

We must continue to study and build on the wealth of theory and practice that the Party has created under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It includes the basic documents of the First and Second Great Rectification Movements, the founding program of the Party, Philippine Society and Revolution, Stand for Socialism Against Modern Revisionism and the articles against neoliberalism, Gorbachovism, Dengism, Trotskyism and various schools and labels of anti-Marxism.

The Party has been able to create a treasury of Marxist literature in the course of successful revolutionary struggle and combatting wrong ideas and major errors within and outside the Party. It constantly applies theory to its practice and raises practice to the level of theory by regularly conducting assessments, summings-up of revolutionary practice, criticism-and-self-criticism, social investigation and class analysis and planning. Since the full restoration of capitalism in revisionist-ruled countries in the years of 1989-91, the Communist Party of the Philippines has stood at the forefront as a revolutionary party of the proletariat loyal to the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and relentlessly carrying out the people's democratic revolution with a socialist perspective. We have a party with a wealth of theory and practice to study in the basic Party course, to compare with previous and current revolutionary struggles in the intermediate Party course and to relate to the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in the advanced Party course.

We must have a plan to systematically carry out the three levels of Party study courses in order to strengthen ourselves ideologically. The more Party members who can finish the basic Party course during the period of candidature, the greater the number of Party personnel who can be relied upon to perform revolutionary tasks in the mass movement. The more who can finish the intermediate Party course and the advanced course as soon as possible, the more

we can have cadres who can be in the leading organs of the Party and other revolutionary forces.

We must efficiently provide the basic Party course to all Party candidate-members. The courses can be given to small groups of five to ten participants anywhere in any room or under the sky and to bigger groups with better cover or more security precautions in areas of armed conflict. All Party members must be encouraged to read and study the materials on their own even before taking a course. The study materials are easily available even in the internet. At every level of Party education, study materials must be simplified and accompanied by illustrated or audio-visual aid in various Philippine languages for the benefit of study participants who have less formal education. In addition to regular Party courses, Party units at all levels must diligently hold study sessions on such topics and articles as are useful for carrying out their revolutionary tasks, especially updates and Party analyses in *Ang Bayan* and other Party publications.

Theoretical education is meant to inculcate revolutionary principles and dialectical materialist methods of thinking and acting. There is no point in studying theory if it does not lead to a more comprehensive and deeper understanding of the general line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war, the recognition of friends and enemies of the revolution among the classes in the Philippine society, the use of such revolutionary weapons as the Party, the people's army and the united front; and the arousal, organization and mobilization of the masses for the seizure of political power.

The Party must ensure that the broad masses of the people are aroused, organized and mobilized in their millions through the mass organizations of various classes and sectors along the general line of people's democratic revolution as well as on the basis of specific class and sectoral interests. Periodic social investigation and class analysis must be conducted conscientiously at all levels in order to determine and grasp the concrete conditions on which the correct approach, tactics and methods for arousing, organizing and mobilizing the

masses must be based. A major factor behind the longstanding shortcomings in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the workers and failure to recruit them into their vanguard Party in large numbers has been the failure to keenly understand how neoliberal economic policies have aggravated the crisis of semifeudalism and concretely impacted on the trade unions and workers' movement. Consequently, the correct and effective tactics and methods of work for countering the neoliberal onslaught and hurdling the obstacles put up by the capitalists and the state are not firmly grasped and implemented.

As the party of the working class, the Party is deeply interested in the trade union movement and in developing therein a strong core of proletarian revolutionaries. There is a need to overcome economism and legalism and develop new tactics for the workers' strike movement and various types and forms of arousing and organizing the workers and carrying out massive and widespread workers' strikes with broad support from other sectors and from abroad. The trade unions must be turned into revolutionary unions, undertaking socialist education, developing proletarians conscious of their class and historic mission, raising economic struggles to political struggles, and keen to and undaunted by the schemes and attacks of its class enemies under the neoliberal regime.

The Party seeks to forge a strong alliance with the peasant masses and to realize agrarian revolution as the main content of the democratic revolution. Through the protracted people's war, the Party must integrate revolutionary armed struggle, agrarian revolution and mass base building. The New People's Army must be built as the principal weapon in carrying out the highest form of struggle for seizing political power. All Red commanders and fighters must undergo politico-military training and learn to fight by fighting. To gain the support of the peasant masses, the Party and the people's army must carry out the minimum and then the maximum land reform. They must build the organs of political power and the mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth, children and the cultural activists.

The Party must build the revolutionary united front for armed struggle. It must base this on the worker-peasant alliance which is best formed in connection with the people's war. The alliance must be expanded into an alliance of basic revolutionary forces which includes the urban pettybourgeoisie. This social stratum has such a strong influence in Philippine society that it can swing public opinion in favor of the revolution. The basic revolutionary forces must be expanded into a national united front that includes the national bourgeoisie.

Aside from accomplishing the alliance of all patriotic forces, the Party must take advantage of the splits among the reactionaries. It must have temporary even if unstable alliances with the lesser reactionaries in order to weaken, isolate and destroy the worst reactionaries as the enemy. In alliances with the national bourgeoisie and some of the reactionaries, the Party must maintain its own independence and initiative in order to preempt betrayals and surprise attacks at the expense of the revolutionary cause.

Alliances with the national bourgeoisie and with sections of the reactionaries can best be forged when the Party has an effective armed force and a strong mass base. These are respected by such allies and result in relations that are cooperative and fruitful in the interest of the people and the revolutionary cause.

The Party has been flexible enough to apply the united front policy on the electoral struggle within the reactionary ruling system. It has also gone so far as to undertake peace negotiations with the enemy ruling clique on the premise that truce and alliance is possible against foreign and feudal domination. But so far the crisis of the ruling system has not yet moved any ruling clique to forge a truce and alliance with the revolutionary movement. So far, every ruling clique since the signing of The Hague Joint Declaration of 1992 has chosen to use the peace negotiations to split the revolutionary movement and cause it to surrender. In this connection, the Party must continue to preclude any confusion or capitulation by constantly reminding the revolutionary forces and the people that

the aspiration for a just and lasting peace can only be attained by fulfilling the people's demand for national freedom and genuine democracy. Indeed, there can be no peace agreement without addressing the roots of the civil war with basic social, economic and political reforms.

The Party must continue to uphold the organizational principle of democratic centralism. It is democracy guided by centralism and centralism based on democracy. The revolutionary will and capabilities of the Party membership is concentrated in Party congresses and elected leading organs operating under the principle of democratic centralism.

The Party of nationwide scale must be deeply rooted among the masses. It must expand and consolidate itself in order to accomplish greater victories in the revolutionary struggle. At various levels, we must have a recruitment plan for the purpose of Party expansion and an educational plan for the purpose of Party consolidation.

To expand the Party is to recruit more candidate-members from the mass organizations and the people's army. To consolidate the Party is to promote promptly the candidate members into full Party members by finishing the basic Party course within the period of candidature and to further activate them in the Party units to which they are assigned. Those who are already Party members are encouraged to get the intermediate and higher Party courses. The increase of Party members must result in the expansion of the revolutionary mass movement and the recruitment of a bigger number of candidate members than ever before.

The Party members must arise from or be deployed in various forms of mass organizations and various forms of struggle. The Party must fulfil the high demand in the people's army for Party members and mass activists who are of worker origin and educated youth. The urban-based mass activists can choose to fulfil the requirements of Party candidature either in the urban or rural areas. There must be an increasing number of Party members arising from or being deployed to the ranks of the workers, peasants and Red fighters.

Party leading and staff organs from the central level to the district level must see to it that the Party organization develops in both urban and rural areas and that there is a constant flow of young Party cadres and members from the urban to the rural areas so that certain political, professional and technical competencies can be transferred. When the Party in the countryside is isolated from the urban areas for a long while, senior Party cadres of more than 60 years at the regional level become predominant.

The length and style of work or study meetings of Party leading organs must be reformed. Meetings must be well prepared. Drafts are prepared in advance and the motions are collected also in advance. The presidium must see to it that all important matters are deliberated and decided within time limits. It is bad leadership to let meetings run for weeks and months and rob the attending cadres of precious time for work in their respective areas. It is also bad for security because the large amount of food and other supplies and the number of security personnel can be easily detected by the enemy.

The Party leading organs from the Central Committee to the provincial committees must have a three-thirds composition of senior, middle-aged and young cadres. The balance can be maintained by consistently promoting cadres to expand the number of committee members and increase the number of leading committees relative to the expansion of the Party and Party work. Senior cadres can opt to retire and, health permitting, be assigned as advisers to the committees to which they previously belonged. The Party must honor the comrades who retire and must provide them with sufficient security and health care.

There is a large number of overseas Filipinos. They are mostly migrant workers who have undergone secondary and tertiary education. They are also professionals working for international institutions and firms. They are also immigrants and permanent residents or even citizens abroad, especially in North America, who remain loyal to their motherland, and wish to support the revolutionary struggle of the Filipino people. They should be drawn

to patriotic and progressive Filipino mass organizations. And the Party should organize within these mass organizations. At the same time, the overseas Filipinos can join non-Filipino institutions and organizations in the host country.

The Party must develop relations of proletarian internationalism with Communist parties and workers' organizations abroad. The NDFP must develop relations of anti-imperialist solidarity with national liberation movements abroad and with anti-imperialist governments. The progressive mass organizations based in the Philippines and abroad must develop solidarity relations with all anti-imperialist and democratic forces abroad.

The Party, the NDFP and progressive mass organizations must encourage and rally the Filipino people at home and abroad to stand with the peoples of the world in struggle for national liberation, democracy and socialism against imperialism and reaction. The Philippine revolution is for the benefit of the Filipino people but it also contributes to the advancement of the struggle of humankind for greater freedom, democracy, development, social justice, cultural upliftment and international solidarity and peace. At the same time, the Filipino people are always grateful for the support they obtain directly and indirectly from the revolutionary struggles of other peoples.

Message of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines on the 47th anniversary of its reestablishment issued on December 26, 2015

Unite and strengthen the Party! Lead the national democratic revolution to greater heights!

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2016

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) joins all Party members and cadres, Red fighters and commanders of the New People's Army, all revolutionary forces and the entire Filipino people in celebrating the 48th anniversary of the Party's reestablishment on December 26, 1968. Let us extol all heroes and martyrs of the Philippine revolution who have selflessly served the people.

The Filipino people continue to wage and intensify their national democratic struggles amid the domestic and international crisis. For nearly half a century, the Party has led the Filipino people in waging their revolutionary struggles. They have together accumulated immense victories.

The Party is poised to lead the national democratic revolution to greater heights over the next few years and onwards to victory. It embraces and tirelessly studies Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in order to apply its theory and principles to sum-up our experiences, grapple with the current conditions and lay out the revolutionary path of advance.

The Philippines is mired in a global and domestic crisis

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The entire world is mired in crisis. There are no exceptions. All capitalist countries are caught in the global quagmire of capitalist overproduction, financial crises, economic decline or stagnation. Likewise, the underdeveloped countries continue to suffer from foreign debt overload, trade deficits, rising prices of food and basic commodities, foreign plunder and environmental disasters. All over the world, people suffer from acute unemployment.

The neoliberal policy regime is increasingly isolated and discredited in the face of the protracted depression of the US and world capitalist system since 2008. It has utterly failed to bring about the reinvigoration of the capitalist system. In the past year, the capitalist world was rocked by upheavals such as the sharp fall of the China stock market in January and the Brexit (exit of the United Kingdom from the European Union). In the US, big capitalist Donald Trump is set to withdraw from the TPP and TPIP “free trade” talks and venture on his declared “US-first” policy to further boost US protectionism.

The neoliberal policies have brought about widespread destruction of productive forces, especially of the working class who are experiencing worsening forms of capitalist exploitation in all countries, including the highly industrialized capitalist powers. Various sections of the monopoly bourgeoisie are seeking a new approach to the crisis including a return to some sort of Keynesian economics.

The Philippine semicolonial and semifeudal system has been wallowing in a continuing and deepening crisis.

The productive classes of workers and peasants are mired in poverty and socio-economic difficulties as they suffer from chronic mass unemployment, low wages, contractualization and other oppressive labor policies, landlessness and landgrabbing, environmental plunder, rising costs of living and more frequent and more destructive natural

calamities. The reactionary government fleeces the people with burdensome taxes while social services continue to deteriorate amid budget cuts, rampant corruption and state neglect.

Foreign monopoly capitalists, big bourgeois compradors and the landlord class continue to accumulate wealth and profit. They exploit workers especially in highly oppressive labor enclaves as well as centers of so-called "business outsourcing." In the countryside, they exact feudal land rent from land monopoly.

They control vast tracts of plantation land operated directly by foreign-controlled agro-corporations and indirectly through so-called "contract-growing" agreements. The exploiting classes collaborate with bureaucrat capitalists to benefit from control of state funds and contracts.

The Filipino people are fed-up with the rotten ruling system. They seethe with revolutionary rage. They aspire to end the system of exploitation and oppression and are ever ready to wage revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the Party.

Tasks for advancing the revolution

In waging 48 years of revolutionary struggle, the Party has developed nationwide strength and prestige. It has struck deep roots among the toiling masses of workers and peasants, as well as among other the urban pettybourgeoisie. It establishes links with the middle bourgeoisie and has formed tactical alliances and cooperation with some disenchanted sections of the ruling classes. The Party exercises leadership of the New People's Army and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP), as well as the growing number of local organs of political power representing the embryo of the people's democratic government.

The Party must further consolidate and strengthen itself ideologically, politically and organizationally in order to bring forward the national democratic revolution to greater heights. Using Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the Party must sum-up its experiences in order to identify and rectify its errors and shortcomings and carry out criticism and self-criticism.

We must focus efforts at completing the three-level study course of the Party. The task of leading study meetings should not be limited to cadres in education departments but must be shouldered by the biggest possible number of cadres. There must be a greater number of decentralized than centralized educational discussions and study meetings.

Ensure that candidate members of the Party complete the five-to six-day Basic Party Course prior to becoming full members, that is, within six months for recruits from the basic classes, one year for those from the pettybourgeoisie and so on. The Intermediate Party Course must be completed by all Party members within a year of their full membership, and the Advanced Course, within two years.

The Central Committee will issue the necessary materials and guidelines to help accomplish these targets.

The Party must firmly pursue the policy of boldly expanding its ranks without letting in a single undesirable. It can accelerate the recruitment of new Party members by developing the anti-feudal mass movement as well as rapidly expanding of the New People's Army. At the soonest possible time, we must eliminate the backlog of activists who can be recruited as candidate members, as well as of candidate members who can be recruited as full members.

Within the year, all Party branches must plan out to build new branches by expanding to new barrios, factories, schools or colleges and communities, as well as by increasing the number of new NPA platoons. Ensure that all Party branches assemble all full members to approve an annual ideological, political and organizational plan and elect its executive committee.

The Party must further strengthen its leadership of the people's war by firmly directing the New People's Army in waging revolutionary armed struggle. The Party draws lessons, both positive and negative, from the successful advance of the revolutionary armed struggle in Mindanao, in order to address the stark imbalance between the development of the people's war in Mindanao, on the one hand, and the stagnation in Luzon and Visayas.

The Party and concerned commands of the people's army are intent on urgently resolving the overdispersal of NPA units in squads or teams in some regions in the counterproductive effort of covering a wide area with limited forces.

By deploying the strength of the people's army with the platoon as the basic unit and with front, interfront and regional centers of gravity, we shall increase the NPA's capacity to exercise initiative and flexibility, have a sufficient core of Party cadres to ably lead the political and military work of the NPA, raise the morale of Red fighters and the masses, and enable them to carry out a slew of other tasks in waging agrarian revolution and base building. We can also accelerate the recruitment of new Red fighters and the formation of new platoons in order to cover wider areas of operation.

The Party must closely guide the NPA in developing the proper balance in its vertical and horizontal forces with the aim of conducting extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. The Party through the operational commands must wield the strength of the people's army at every given moment and given level, and develop the interplay and mobilization of forces in order to cause the wave upon wave advance of the people's war.

The local Party organizations in the countryside must be developed further. The Party must enable its local section committees to assume more responsibilities in leading Party branches in barrios and communities and in launching mass campaigns in order to unburden the NPA units and enable it to carry out its principal task

of waging armed struggle. At the same time, the local Party section committees must develop its own armed units, both militias and full-time NPA units.

We must consolidate our mass base by actively carrying out anti-feudal and anti-fascist mass struggles from the barangay to the municipal, district and even provincials levels; and waging anti-imperialist struggles against big plantations and mining companies. We must invigorate political and cultural work among the masses, step-up the expansion of mass organizations, build the organs of political power and accelerate the recruitment of new Red fighters.

Through territorial and work conferences and other methods, the Party actively ensures the summing up and sharing of positive and negative lessons of Party organizations and undertakes the exchange of experiences of Party cadres and NPA commanders in order that the advanced experiences in some regions help accelerate revolutionary work in other regions.

The enemy has failed to suppress the advance of the revolutionary armed struggle in Mindanao despite sustained all-out military offensives since 2014. It will certainly fail in stopping the further advance of the NPA throughout the country.

Even as the people's war advances in the countryside, the mass movement of workers, student-youth and other democratic sectors must vigorously move forward in the cities to amplify the call for a national democratic revolution, support the people's war and fight for the democratic interests of the people.

Despite all-out efforts by the big capitalists and reactionary state to dismantle the unions of workers or prevent them from forming unions, the workers are ever eager to organize themselves and wage strikes and mass struggles to demand wage increases and an end to the flexible-employment schemes that subject them to extreme exploitation. In the face of worsening exploitation of workers, mass strikes are bound to erupt in the country in the coming years.

The peasant masses and minority people are waging mass struggles against landgrabbing and expansion of plantations, as well as against military abuses in the countryside. They must advance in nationwide mass struggles to demand land reform and oppose militarization of their communities. They have launched marches and caravans going to Manila to raise their protests. Urban-based democratic forces must generate all-out political, organizational and mass support for their struggles to draw national and international attention to their plight. They can also organize caravans to the rural areas in order to mobilize thousands from the cities to support the struggles in the countryside.

The Party calls on the activists among the student-youth to wage a cultural revolution to resist the continuing onslaught of imperialist ideology and colonial brainwashing through the dominant bourgeois mass media and the social media, as well as through computer games and various imperialist-sponsored trainings, scholarships and programs. Activists must carry out painstaking efforts at arousing, organizing and mobilizing the student-youth.

The Party urges the intellectuals to study the national democratic program and Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as tools for scientific inquiry and analysis and engage in social organizing and political activism. The Party urges the student-youth and other intellectuals to conduct social and class investigation among the toiling masses in order to study and help expose their concrete conditions.

The Party invites the best and the brightest among the student-youth to join the New People's Army and serve in the people's war. Their integration with the workers and peasant masses in the people's army forges one of the most powerful creative force in history.

Prospects of alliance and struggle with the Duterte regime

At around the start of his term in July, Rodrigo Duterte, GRP president, presented himself as a “socialist” and the first “Leftist president.” He has had long friendly relations with the revolutionary forces in Mindanao and had expressed willingness to address the roots of the armed conflict. From a list of recommendees prepared by the NDFP, Duterte appointed Left personages from the national democratic mass movement to his cabinet and other government agencies.

Accordingly, the Party issued a policy of alliance and struggle, as an expression of the willingness of the revolutionary forces to forge cooperation along the patriotic and democratic aspirations of the people. At the same time, the Party is fully aware that key positions in his government remains in the hands of the Right. In particular, the reactionary armed forces remains firmly in the command of pro-US generals.

Thus, it is not altogether surprising that Duterte has blown hot and cold over his earlier grand declarations of an independent foreign policy. For several times now, he has announced his intention to abrogate the EDCA or the VFA only to backtrack soon afterward. He has also approved of the plan for the US military to conduct more than 250 military exercises in the Philippines next year, including the annual Balikatan exercises after having declared several times that US troops must be out of Philippine territory.

In terms of economic policy, he has largely relied on top managers and bureaucrats who are known exponents of the neoliberal prescriptions of the US-led International Monetary Fund-World Bank-World Trade Organization which perpetuated the worst of the neoliberal policies of the past regimes. The government's main economic managers and planners remain obsessed with attracting foreign investments by lowering wages and allowing foreign entities

to own and operate large enterprises in the country. They repeatedly declare the need to do away with the constitutional limits on foreign ownership. Duterte himself seems to have set his sights on building the infrastructure for large labor enclaves that will integrate with China's Factory Asia blueprint.

Duterte has allowed the AFP to continue its armed operations in the countryside under Oplan Bayanihan. Not only do these trample on the spirit of the reciprocal ceasefire declarations, these have also brought about rampant cases of human rights abuses. There is also widespread condemnation of police and vigilante killings instigated by Duterte in his "war against drugs."

There is bound to be much uncertainty regarding the prospects of an alliance between the revolutionary movement and the Duterte government. There will be increasing instances of sharp differences and struggle as the people become increasingly restive over their worsening socio-economic plight. They are fully-justified in advancing the national democratic struggle and demanding an end to the pro-imperialist, anti-people and anti-democratic policies.

The Party continues to support the peace talks and other means for possible agreement with the Duterte government on cooperation to realize basic patriotic and social reforms.

Indeed, the earlier enthusiasm over the NDFP-GRP peace negotiations has considerably waned because Duterte has refused to release all political prisoners through a presidential amnesty proclamation despite promising twice and agreeing to do so in the first round of peace talks. Also, armed units of the AFP continue to be deployed in NPA guerrilla zones and guerrilla bases to conduct counterinsurgency intelligence and psywar operations resulting in widespread military abuses.

The unilateral ceasefire of the CPP and NPA has become increasingly untenable. Continuing Oplan Bayanihan operations, in particular, is forcing the NPA to engage in evasion maneuvers. There are bound to be armed skirmishes as the AFP conducts armed

provocations. Thus, the termination of the CPP's unilateral ceasefire declaration becomes inevitable.

Nonetheless, the Party and the NDFP remain open to forging a bilateral ceasefire that would take effect simultaneous with the release of all political prisoners. The Party looks forward to the next round of talks on January 18-23 to be held in Rome, Italy.

The revolutionary forces estimate that negotiations on socio-economic reforms and political and constitutional reforms can be completed in one or two years. This will give the Duterte government and the NDFP at least four more years to implement the agreements and help improve the situation of the people.

Issued by the Central Committee, Communist Party
of the Philippines on December 26, 2016

Unite the Filipino people to resist and overthrow the fascist US-Duterte regime

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2017

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines conveys its warmest greetings to the Filipino people and the entire membership of the CPP on the occasion of the 49th anniversary of the Party's reestablishment on the theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the general political line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war.

We salute all Party cadres and members for strengthening the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally, for successfully leading the New People's Army in advancing the people's war, for broadening the National Democratic Front, the revolutionary mass organizations and the local organs of political power, and for steadfastly marching at the head of the broad masses of the people in fighting for genuine national independence and democracy against the reactionary rule of the big bourgeois compradors and landlords subservient to US imperialism.

We pay the highest honors to all heroes and martyrs who have made the greatest sacrifice in order to advance the cause of the national democratic revolution. We recognize as well the contributions of so many veteran cadres and members who continue to dedicate their lives for the people's revolutionary struggle.

The Filipino people are currently confronted with the Duterte regime's fascist tyranny, all-out war and headlong push toward a fascist dictatorship under the guise of a fake federal setup. Duterte and his militaristic minions are hell-bent on unleashing the full force of state terrorism to destroy the people's revolutionary and progressive forces and all resistance to his brutal puppet and reactionary rule.

The Party and revolutionary forces are resolved to resist and defeat the worst fascist onslaughts of Duterte through people's war, all-out mobilization of the exploited and oppressed masses and by building the broadest possible united front of all patriotic, democratic and positive forces and elements. The Party and revolutionary forces are optimistic that with arduous struggle and relentless hard work, they can overcome Duterte's fascist rampage and accumulate the all-rounded strength required to overthrow his fascist puppet rule and advance the revolutionary people's war to a new and higher level.

We are looking forward to mark the Party's 50th anniversary next year with even bigger and more momentous victories in the ideological, political and organizational fields. We will take the opportunity to look back at the Party's glorious history and celebrate the Party's heroic and indefatigable struggle as a way of looking forward and charting the future path of the national democratic and socialist revolutions in the country.

The Filipino people are suffering gravely under the Duterte regime's fascist tyranny, all-out economic liberalization and bureaucratic corruption. The entire Party and all revolutionary forces must exert vigorous effort to unite the Filipino people in a broad united front to resist and overthrow the fascist Duterte regime as they did the Marcos dictatorship and the Estrada regime.

I. Build the broadest united front to overthrow the US-Duterte regime and its rule of fascist terror

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The Filipino people hold the US-Duterte regime responsible for perpetrating gross violations of human rights and other crimes through the use of state terrorism, imposing martial law in Mindanao and ordering the military to "flatten the hills" in unleashing an all-out war of suppression.

The regime unleashed a wave of mass murder under its so-called war against drugs with an estimated 13,000 killed in one year alone, surpassing the number of killings under the 14-year Marcos dictatorship. It carried out the brutal siege of Marawi City which was pounded by US-directed aerial bombardment and heavy artillery causing the massive destruction of people's lives, homes and civilian infrastructure.

It carries out attacks against the toiling masses of peasants and workers, as well as against the Bangsamoro, Lumad, Cordillera and other national minorities. There are mounting cases of killings, massacres, illegal arrests and torture. There are unmistakable indications that Duterte's death squads have grown bigger and have been deployed nationwide and embedded within the police and military organizations.

The regime subjects civilian communities in the countryside to armed occupation, food blockades, military-imposed curfews and other forms of population and resource control, as well as drone surveillance, aerial bombings and shelling. Rural community schools and other socio-economic initiatives are Red-tagged and attacked by the military. Close to half a million people have been displaced from their homes as a result of AFP operations.

Duterte is obsessed with imposing a military and police approach to suppress the mounting clamor for fundamental social change amid

the seething socio-economic problems besetting the Filipino people. He made a complete turnaround from his earlier declaration of being a socialist and "the first Leftist president" in the country. He has totally reneged on his promises of sweeping reforms and of uplifting the lives of the impoverished masses.

The Duterte regime imposed its armed might on the Bangsamoro people through the Marawi siege and continuing deployment of large numbers of fascist troops in other Moro areas to carry out the armed suppression of Moro resistance. By doing so, Duterte wants all Moro groups to submit themselves to his watered-down Bangsamoro Basic Law or to his plan of a pseudo-federal government.

Duterte is completely discredited for its failure to fulfill its promise of solving the illegal drug problem within the first six months. Worse, it has been exposed that his relatives (including son Paulo and son-in-law Carpio) and associates are involved in the smuggling and distribution of illegal drugs.

Duterte issued Proclamation No. 360 terminating the peace negotiations with the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) and thus, rejecting further efforts under his rule toward a negotiated solution to the long-running civil war. He subsequently issued Proclamation No. 374 to proscribe the CPP and NPA as terrorist organizations under the RA 10168 (The Terrorism Financing Prevention and Suppression Act of 2012). Duterte has willfully and maliciously followed the baton of the US imperialists who have long made use of including the CPP-NPA in its "terror list" to further justify military intervention in the Philippines.

The resort to terror tagging is a futile attempt to discredit and attack the Filipino people's revolutionary forces and their age-long aspiration for national freedom and social justice. It also aims to cover-up the state-sponsored terrorism wreaking havoc on the lives and livelihood of the people. It sets the stage for a ruthless clampdown against the legal democratic and progressive forces. It is also an overt threat against all forces who are supportive or

sympathetic to the Party and people's revolutionary government or are deferential to its authority.

Duterte's vicious attacks against the Party and the national democratic forces aims to consolidate the support of the US government and AFP for his tyrannical rule. It serves his strongman ambitions of establishing a fascist dictatorship.

He perpetuates and practices corruption by making use of public funds to consolidate his rule and monopolize political power. The House of Representatives is a veritable rubber-stamp with Duterte's super-majority in place. The Senate is not much better in exercising independence or its much-touted role as a "fiscalizer." He has threatened the chief justice with impeachment to keep the supreme court toeing the line. Plans are afoot to railroad the revision and supplantation of the 1987 constitution next year through a constituent assembly to establish a pseudo-federal form of government where he will sit on top and at the center. The most detested plunderers and political dynasties as well as highly discredited politicians (Arroyos, Marcoses, Estradas and the like) are looking forward to be installed as ministers or officers of Duterte's federal government project.

Duterte has exposed himself thoroughly as a tyrannical chief executive of the oppressive and exploitative semicolonial and semifeudal system. He is basically no different from previous reactionary puppet rulers, and in some ways, has proven himself much worse especially in terms of brazen use of fascist terror and gross disregard for human rights.

He is set on all-out liberalization of the economy in accordance with US imperialist imposition. He plans to take advantage of scrapping the 1987 constitution to push for the complete removal of constitutional provisions protective of economic sovereignty, national patrimony and Filipino entrepreneurs. . He has railroaded a new tax law which aims to increase government revenues by PHP 600 billion by imposing a heavier tax burden on workers and peasants through increased excise taxes on sugar-sweetened drinks, liquefied

petroleum gas (LPG), diesel, kerosene, gasoline and other oil products, coal and other consumption goods and services. This is bound to cause further impoverishment of the toiling masses as the cost of living spiral up and real wages plummet.

Duterte's avowal for free land distribution was mere lipservice. There are now increasing number of cases of land use conversion where peasant tillers and farm workers are evicted from their lands in favor of real estate and ecotourism projects and expansion of corporate plantations. Tens of thousands of peasants are denied control of their land by deceptive agribusiness venture agreements with big capitalist plantation owners.

The Duterte regime has perpetuated the policy of privatization under which the people continue to suffer from deteriorating public health, education and transportation, spiralling costs of communications, public conveyance, water, electricity and other utilities. The much lauded free tuition law is threatened with budget cuts to state colleges and universities.

The Duterte regime is increasing allocations for the military to fund the formation of at least ten more battalions of combat troops and the purchase of new weaponry. In addition to definite allocations to the defense department, the Office of the President controls billions of pesos of discretionary and intelligence funds preferentially used for the military at the expense of more basic needs of the people.

The Filipino people abhor the Duterte regime for its false promises of reform and utter contempt of the toiling masses, for its subservience to the US imperialists after making false patriotic pretensions, for claiming to denounce corruption but using public funds to line the pockets of his loyalists and extend privileges to favored oligarchs and for perpetrating a campaign of death and destruction in complete disregard of human rights.

The Filipino people, therefore, demand an end to the fascist, puppet and corrupt Duterte regime. The people have the sovereign right to resist and overthrow an oppressive and tyrannical regime. They are

fully justified to exercise this right as they did in getting rid of the Marcos and Estrada regimes.

Demonstrations are being mounted more frequently including those of Lumad, Bangsamoro, Cordillera and other national minorities exposing military abuses. There is a growing peasant movement to occupy and cultivate idle lands. Mass struggles have been carried out by workers, homeless people, jeepney drivers, students and other sectors. Duterte's plans and maneuvers to establish a fascist dictatorship have been met with increasing mass demonstrations over the past few months. These are dress rehearsals for bigger protest demonstrations to come.

II. Duterte's fascist tyranny gives people more reason to wage national democratic revolution

Ruthless fascist tyranny and all-out economic liberalization under the US-Duterte regime give the Filipino people all the more reason to wage a national democratic revolution with a socialist perspective. Anti-people and pro-imperialist policies of the Duterte regime exacerbate the oppression and exploitation of the toiling masses under the semicolonial and semifeudal system.

This system is characterized by complete lack of national freedom, economic backwardness, ever worsening forms of exploitation and oppression and all-pervasive bureaucratic corruption under the rule of reactionary classes of big compradors and landlords. All the worst facets of the semicolonial and semifeudal system have deteriorated over the course of more than 70 years.

Generation upon generation of Filipinos suffer from national humiliation and indignities inflicted by the US imperialists. They trample on Philippine sovereignty and prevent the country from

attaining genuine national independence and economic development. The country is made to endure unequal treaties which give the US military extraterritorial rights on Philippine soil, a grave insult against every freedom-loving Filipino.

The country has been condemned to serving as a source of cheap natural and human resources. The local economy is backward, agrarian and non-industrial and is dependent on imported goods. Hundreds of thousands of hectares of land are controlled by big plantations devoted to pineapple, banana, oil palm and other crops for export. Millions of hectares of land remain in the hands of big landlords who rely on feudal and semifeudal exploitation of peasants and farm workers and where production remains largely small-scale and backward. The Filipino people are denied the right to make use of the country's mineral resources for domestic industrialization and manufacturing as these are extracted and taken away by foreign mining companies.

What local manufacturing exists is merely semi-processing and assembly of imported components which serve as an adjunct of the international production chain of foreign big corporations. There is no industrial base to speak of, much less of industrial production which address the needs of the domestic economy.

Economic productivity has been on a general decline, and at an increasingly rapid rate since the 1980s. Decline in manufacturing and agricultural productivity has made the economy ever reliant on imports of foreign consumer goods, which in turn, stymies domestic production.

Unemployment and underemployment rates continue to rise despite efforts to reduce the number through statistical sleight of hand. The acute shortage of available jobs compel thousands of Filipinos to leave the country daily to seek employment abroad where many suffer slave-like conditions and grave forms of abuse.

Under the semicolonial and semifeudal system, the Filipino people suffer more and more from landlessness, unemployment, slave

wages, rising cost of living, widespread poverty, hunger, disease and an overall deterioration of socio-economic conditions.

Decade upon decade, the prevailing conditions of the vast majority of Filipinos have decayed. The Filipino people are strongly motivated to wage a national democratic revolution because they seek to put an end to their grievous sufferings. Drawing inspiration from the anticolonial resistance of their forebears, the Filipino people are determined to achieve national liberation or complete freedom to determine the country's destiny independent of US imperialist dictates and towards socialism.

The national democratic revolution aims to achieve social liberation and economic freedom. It aims to carry out land reform to address the main democratic demand of the peasantry, who comprise the biggest economic class in the country. There has been no genuine land reform in the Philippines over more than 100 years under US colonial and neocolonial rule. Whereas, upon the establishment of a people's democratic government, land reform in the Philippines can be completed in a couple of years.

Combined with land reform, the national democratic revolution aims to carry out national industrialization to modernize the economy and raise national productivity to enable it to provide the people food, water, clothing, shelter, medicine and other basic necessities, as well as respond to the people's needs for energy, transportation, communications and cultural upliftment. The NDFP's draft of the Comprehensive Agreement on Socio-Economic Reforms (CASER) gives a detailed roadmap of such a plan.

The national democratic revolution aims to establish a people's democracy and put an end to the rotten political system of the reactionary classes and its elite system of political parties dominated by ruling class dynasties and warlords. The people aspire to establish a people's democratic government. It is essentially a united front government or a coalition of such democratic classes as workers, peasants, the middle and pettybourgeoisie. It is under the leadership of the working class and has the NPA as its main armed

force. It defends and upholds the people's civil, political, economic and cultural rights.

The seeds of the people's democratic government have long been sown and are sprouting in the form of people's committees in rural areas from the village level up to the municipal level. A growing number of these committees have been elected by people's assemblies.

III. The Party and the people's democratic revolution continue to accumulate strength

For almost five decades now, the Communist Party of the Philippines has persevered in leading the Filipino people in waging a people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war upon its inception, growth and advance. It has made great strides and accumulated highly significant victories. It has overcome continual all-out counterrevolutionary attacks by the local reactionary classes with the support of the world's most powerful imperialist power.

The Party has accumulated a treasure trove of valuable experiences and lessons both positive and negative in the past 49 years that we should fully and wisely use to vigorously advance the armed struggle to a new and higher level. It now has a much firmer understanding of the specific characteristics and requirements of every region and interrelationships between regions and major islands in fighting and defeating every counterrevolutionary armed offensive launched by the enemy. Party cadres should be good at learning from their own experiences and from the most advanced experiences from other fronts, units, and regions. We continue to seek lessons from the long history of revolutionary struggle of the Filipino people as well as the successful revolutions especially in China and Vietnam.

Adapting the strategy of protracted people's war to local conditions and particularities of an archipelagic country, the Party has self-reliantly developed the New People's Army from scratch in 1969 to a nationwide army of several thousand Red fighters, organized into platoons and companies with an arsenal of both modern high powered rifles and indigenous weaponry. At every stage, the Party integrates armed struggle, agrarian revolution and base building.

The people's democratic revolution has outlasted all past puppet administrations who tried and failed to destroy the revolutionary movement by launching counterrevolutionary strategic offensives one after another. In the past five years, it has steadily accumulated strength by seizing the initiative in frustrating the enemy's war of suppression, especially in the Mindanao regions.

The Party is carrying out rectification to overcome such problems as military conservatism, guerrillaism, failure to persist in developing and mastering the platoon as basic formation and building the vertical forces to steadily build up annihilative capability, overdispersal of forces into teams and squads over long periods leading to passivity and excessive vulnerability to annihilation and disintegration especially in conditions of intense enemy operations, and weak grasp of building company-sized guerrilla fronts and interconnected company-sized guerrilla fronts that are required for ensuring the wide and deep mass support for intensified and sustained guerrilla warfare. In the past year, the overall number of Red fighters continued to grow despite temporary setbacks in some areas.

The Filipino people and their revolutionary forces under the NDFP and the people's democratic government are co-belligerents with the reactionary state in the civil war that has raged in the past several decades. While waging people's war, the NDFP has engaged its adversary in peace negotiations in the past 25 years with the aim of forging agreements to resolve the roots of the armed conflict.

The Party is deeply rooted among the masses. It has thousands of branches and sections in rural villages, factories, universities and school campuses, urban communities, offices and among the mass

organizations of workers, peasants, the semi-proletariat, national minorities, youth, women, small professionals and others.

In the past year, the Party's membership swelled by several thousand new members and cadres. There is also a notable expansion in the number of Party branches and Party-led revolutionary mass organizations and mass activists. The entire Party is inspired by the successful 2nd Congress held last year which further strengthened its unity and determination to advance the national democratic revolution to even greater heights and which updated its basic documents and elected a new leadership.

The Party steadfastly adheres to the interests of the oppressed and exploited classes of workers and peasants and forges the basic alliance primarily by building the New People's Army, waging agrarian revolution and building local organs of political power. It further builds a progressive alliance with the pettybourgeoisie and a patriotic alliance with the national bourgeoisie. It takes advantage of splits among the reactionaries in order to isolate and target the most reactionary faction.

The Party continues to assiduously study and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism on concrete conditions in the Philippines. It constantly carries out social investigation and class analysis to grasp the concrete conditions and emerging trends and phenomena in the Philippine mode of production and the alignment and relations of class forces. The Party carries out criticism and self-criticism in order to rectify errors and overcome shortcomings.

Under the Party's leadership, the people's democratic revolution has successfully moved forward against the international current of great, albeit temporary, setbacks and reversals in socialist revolution, as a result of the Soviet-centred modern revisionist betrayal from 1956 onwards and imperialist neoliberal political and ideological offensive from the 1980s onwards.

The Party supports international anti-imperialist unity and cooperation among people's organizations amid the increasingly

insoluble global capitalist crisis of overproduction and the worsening conditions of the toiling masses and middle classes in both the global capitalist metropolis and in the vast international countryside of backward countries. At the same time, the Party continues to promote Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and international proletarian unity.

IV. Aim to win ever greater victories and advance the revolution

The Central Committee calls on the entire membership of the Party to brace for more difficult struggles ahead amid the increasingly ruthless war being waged by the US-directed Duterte regime against the Filipino people and their revolutionary forces. At the same time, we must aim to win ever greater victories by continuously going deep among the people and rousing them to resist and wage all forms of struggle against the fascist tyranny.

The Party and all revolutionary forces must unite the Filipino people and lead their struggles against the fascist US-Duterte regime. The revolutionary forces must continue to inspire and embolden the people in order to resist the Duterte regime's fascist terror.

The national democratic mass movement has twice proven in the past that it can cause the overthrow of a reactionary regime by mounting demonstrations of hundreds of thousands or millions of people and combining with various social and political forces to isolate the reactionary clique and compel the military and police to withdraw support. By unleashing brutal attacks and gross violations of human rights, the Duterte regime is inciting the people to fight back, mount demonstrations and wage all forms of antifascist struggle.

The Party and the national democratic forces must lead campaigns and struggles to link the antifascist resistance against the Duterte regime with the people's anti-imperialist and antifeudal struggles. They must expose and denounce Duterte's subservience to US imperialism and campaign for an end to US military presence and intervention in the country. They must also call for an end to neoliberal policies in mounting workers' struggles against contractualization and for wage increases, in advancing the movement of homeless people to occupy idle housing projects, in the struggle of jeepney drivers against corporatization of transport services and so on. They must expose the big foreign mining and plantation interests that are behind the ruthless fascist suppression against peasants and national minorities. At the same time, they must continue to vigorously wage land reform struggles nationwide demanding the dismantling of haciendas and the scrapping of so-called agribusiness venture arrangements and similar arrangements which deny peasants ownership and control of land.

The revolutionary forces are keenly aware that the removal of the Marcos (1986) and Estrada (2001) regimes did not amount to a social revolution but allowed the national democratic forces to expand and gain strength. Similarly, by waging antifascist, antifeudal and anti-imperialist struggles against the US-Duterte regime, the Party and all revolutionary forces must be able to expand manyfold its reach and membership. In particular, the New People's Army must be able to recruit more and more Red fighters as the Duterte regime clamps down more and more on legal avenues of democratic expression and struggle and give the people no other recourse but to join the armed revolution.

The NPA must intensify guerrilla warfare throughout the whole archipelago, launch tactical offensives against units of the AFP, PNP and attached paramilitaries, as well as punitive operations against the worst plunderers and corrupt officials, political and crime associates, and death squads of the Duterte regime.

We must frustrate the plan of the US-Duterte regime to defeat the NPA before the end of 2018. It aims to do so by concentrating its attacks first in the guerrilla fronts in the eastern and other Mindanao regions and then on Luzon and Visayas.

We will surely frustrate the counterrevolutionary plan of the US-Duterte regime as we did in the past puppet regimes. We must firmly lead the NPA in seizing the initiative, be good at planning, and in achieving fluidity by applying the guerrilla tactics of concentration, dispersal and shifting.

The various levels of command of the NPA from the national down to the guerrilla front must be able to direct and coordinate the guerrilla units and areas under their responsibility so that each and every unit and area is guided and encouraged to actively fight and contribute, according to their actual situation and ability, to delivering repeated annihilative and telling blows against fascist forces where and when they least expect them while constantly pushing the enemy to overstretch, expose its weak parts and lose focus. Every guerrilla unit and area must know and do its part in order to fight and defeat the enemy's win-hold-win campaign strategy.

There can be different types of coordination in order to carry out countercampaigns of annihilation and attrition at the interregional, regional and subregional levels, particularly in wide areas with thousands of barrios and hundreds of thousands of mass support covered by interlocking guerrilla fronts.

Other regions outside of Mindanao will do their utmost to carry out widespread campaigns of annihilation and attrition based on their strength and capability, build more platoons and companies, expand boldly the number of guerrilla fronts, and grow in strength and get prepared when the enemy decides to bring their focus on them.

The NPA should develop partisan and commando units to conduct sabotage operations against the enemy communications system, military hardware, intelligence system and supplies and punitive

actions against specific targets in the urban areas, such as notorious human rights violators, corrupt officials, drug lords and other chiefs of criminal syndicates..

We must make the most of victories in tactical offensives, in political work and other spheres by systematically employing the gains to further strengthening the disposition and development of platoons and companies, horizontal and vertical forces and company-sized guerrilla fronts. We must always pay attention to the correct balance between consolidation and expansion and be good at advancing wave upon wave to intensify and advance guerrilla warfare in a sustained manner.

Duterte seeks to use sophisticated weapons provided by the US military. We must study these weapons, their capabilities and limitations, in order to adapt to them defensively and offensively. At the same time, we must plan to destroy or seize these weapons to use against the enemy.

While we carry forward the task of uniting the Filipino people to wage resistance against the Duterte regime, let us look forward to marking the 50th anniversary of the Party's reestablishment next year. Let us do so by continuing to fulfill the tasks specified in the three year (2017-2019) program promulgated by the Central Committee in its first plenum after the Second Congress.

Let us fulfill our targets for Party recruitment by applying the principle of boldly expanding without letting a single undesirable in. Let us build more Party branches in ever bigger number of factories, rural villages, urban communities, universities and so on. Strike deep roots among the people, uphold their interests and lead their struggles.

We must tirelessly conduct ideological consolidation. Concrete plans must be drawn up to fulfill targets for completion of the three level Party course. Let us regularly sum-up our experiences at various levels and in different areas of work.

Let us train more and more Party cadres and promote young cadres by conducting a thorough and comprehensive study and training program. Leading committees must initiate to conduct work conferences (on military work and army building, implementing the minimum and maximum program for land reform, waging antifeudal mass campaigns, mass work and base building and so on) to regularly sum-up our work and draw lessons from positive and negative experiences.

We must continue to deploy an increasing number of Party cadres from the working-class and young urban intellectuals to the New People's Army to serve as Red commanders and political guides of our ever growing number of guerrilla platoons and companies. Activists who are being persecuted and hunted down by the military and police can avail of the security of the NPA. We must expand, strengthen and deepen the revolutionary underground mainly among the basic sectors and middle forces in the cities.

The Central Committee instructs all leading committees to plan to mark the 50th anniversary of the Party next year. Let us take effort to recognize all the heroes and martyrs of the Party and the Philippine revolution. Let us carry out a cultural campaign to celebrate the accumulated victories of the Philippine revolution. Let us take the opportunity to sum-up our Party's entire history of 50 years, as well as our recent history of 25 years in order to chart the course for advancing the people's democratic revolution in the coming years.

Let us conduct a study campaign to reaffirm our adherence to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. There must be a campaign to study and review the classical writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao, as well as other great communist teachers. Let us mount a campaign to mark the 200th birth anniversary of Karl Marx and continue to celebrate the centennial of the October Revolution. Let us study the concrete experiences in building socialism and how it was reversed through by modern revisionist betrayal. Let us study the grave capitalist crisis and how a socialist revolution remain the only solution.

The reactionaries and counterrevolutionaries taunt the Party for yet being unable to achieve complete victory after close to fifty years of waging a people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war. They obscure the fact that the ruling semicolonial and semifeudal system in the Philippines continues to decay and rot. It is moribund and must be completely terminated through a national democratic revolution.

By wielding its current strength and accumulated victories, and taking advantage of the objective domestic and international conditions, the Party is bound to accelerate its growth and achieve bigger victories in the years to come.

Overthrow the fascist US-Duterte regime!

Down with imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism!

Long live the people's democratic revolution!

Long live the Filipino people!

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Advance on the road of people's democratic revolution!

Fight for the socialist future and the ultimate goal of communism!

Issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party
of the Philippines on December 26, 2017



**ANNIVERSARY
STATEMENTS
(1992-2017)**

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

2018