

AUG 29 1997

UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES LIBRARY
FILIPINIANA SECTION

REBOLUSYON

Theoretical and Political Journal
of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of the Philippines

**CARRY THE RECTIFICATION
MOVEMENT THROUGH TO THE END
AND ADVANCE THE REVOLUTIONARY
CAUSE IN AN ALL-ROUND WAY**

**By Armando Liwanag
December 26, 1994**

**THE THREE-YEAR PLAN
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF THE PHILIPPINES
(AUGUST 1992 TO AUGUST 1995)**

Number 1
Series 1995
January-March
English Edition

Number 1
Series 1995
January-March
English Edition

CONTENTS

CARRY THE RECTIFICATION MOVEMENT THROUGH TO THE END AND ADVANCE THE REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE IN AN ALL-ROUND WAY 1

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

- I. Uphold and Defend Marxist-Leninist Theory and Practice 2
- II. Ever Worsening Crisis of the Ruling System 29
- III. Ever Worsening Crisis of the World Capitalist System 43
- IV. Tasks of the Party 50

THE THREE-YEAR PLAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES (August 1992 to August 1995) 55

Approved by the 10th Plenum of the Central Committee
and Adjusted by the Political Bureau in December 1993

Articles and communications may be sent directly to the Editorial Board of *Rebolusyon* or coursed through any organ or unit of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

Published by the Central Publishing House, Luzon, Philippines

CARRY THE RECTIFICATION MOVEMENT THROUGH TO THE END AND ADVANCE THE REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE IN AN ALL-ROUND WAY

MESSAGE OF ARMANDO LIWANAG
CHAIRMAN, CENTRAL COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES
DECEMBER 26, 1994

Let us celebrate the 26th anniversary of the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines. Let us renew our determination to serve the people and to advance the revolution. Let us honor our martyrs and heroes for their example of hard struggle and self-sacrifice and rejoice over the victories that our Party has won.

Our Party has resolutely, militantly and successfully performed its historic role of being the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-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 U.S.-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 great 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 in 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.

I. UPHOLD AND DEFEND MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY AND PRACTICE

Our Party has raised higher the level of its strength in an all-round way through the rectification movement and has waged a more resolute and militant revolutionary struggle against the enemy. It has scored great achievements ideologically, politically and organizationally under the guidance of the basic rectification documents issued by the Central Committee and in accordance with

the three-year plan for 1992-95 decided by the Central Committee in 1992 and reviewed and adjusted by the Political Bureau in 1993.

Upon the initiative and under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, the entire Party has upheld and defended the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, has reasserted the proletarian revolutionary line among the Party cadres and members against the bourgeois counterrevolutionary line and has carried forward the general line of national democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat.

Raise the Level of Ideological Unity!

More than ever before, there is a sharper clarity of basic principles, line and policies. There is a higher level of ideological unity arising from the study of the positive and negative aspects of concrete revolutionary practice over a long period of time. As a result, all loyal Party cadres and members are carrying out their revolutionary tasks with ever greater resolve, enthusiasm and militancy. In contrast, the ringleaders of the incorrigible subjectivists and opportunists have totally exposed themselves as opportunist traitors.

The definitive documents and directives issued by the Party Central Committee in the course of the rectification movement are being seriously studied throughout the Party. These guide the central staff organs and the regional Party committees in summing up their experience, identifying their achievements and shortcomings, in making criticism and self-criticism and carrying out their tasks with renewed vigor and rising determination.

The rectification movement has been deepened and enriched by the summing up of experiences and criticism and self-criticism from one level to another, covering the period from 1980 to the present. The process has been dialectical, with lower leading organs and organizations providing more facts and insights than before and higher organs taking advantage of the expanded information and analysis from below and providing wiser and more accurate guidance than before.

In celebration of the 100th birth anniversary of Mao Zedong, the chairman of the Party Central Committee has presented in concise form our Party history in its first quarter of a century of existence. This has encouraged all regional Party committees and organizations to review and analyze their revolutionary experience from the beginning under the guidance of basic revolutionary principles. They are grasping how the revolutionary movement grew in strength step by step before the incorrigible subjectivists and opportunists could impose their counterrevolutionary bourgeois line and lead the revolution astray in areas under their authority and influence.

So far, as should properly be the case, ideological work has been most extensive and intensive in the 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 U.S.-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 petty bourgeois.

The text of the basic Party course has undergone improvement under the Education Department of the General Secretariat. The entire Party is enthusiastically conducting the basic Party course as well as the general basic mass course on Philippine society and revolution. The basic Party course stresses the proletarian revolutionary line and the spirit of serving the people and encompasses the basic character of Philippine society and revolution, the strategic line of protracted people's war, Party building and the socialist perspective.

The Party considers ideological work as the most important kind of work. The Central Committee and the regional committees are determined to put more personnel, effort and resources in ideological work. It was under conditions of diminishing and disappearing Marxist-Leninist theoretical and political studies that the subjectivists and opportunist charlatans were able to creep into the leadership of the Party and to spread anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist ideas under the guise of "innovating on", "adjusting", "refining" and "creatively applying" Marxism-Leninism and to aim for the complete liquidation of the Party through ideological sabotage.

Were it not for the rectification movement, the Party and the revolutionary movement would have been destroyed from within by the accumulation of grave errors of subjectivism, revisionism and opportunism and finally by the accelerated efforts of the opportunist traitors to discredit the Central Committee, stop the rectification movement, take over the Party completely and destroy its proletarian character. As a result of the rectification movement, the Party and the revolutionary mass movement are revitalized and advancing along the correct line. Instead of being able to liquidate the Party, the opportunist traitors have only succeeded in exposing their counterrevolutionary and anticommunist character by shamelessly

echoing the anti-Stalin and anti-Mao slogans from the propaganda machine of the imperialist ideological offensive.

In the course of their ideological and political degeneration, the former "Left" opportunist advocates of military adventurism and urban insurrectionism and the former Right opportunist advocates of liquidating the Party with their unabashed petty-bourgeois concept of the united front have joined the puny and anarchic ranks of rabid 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 petty bourgeois-led though anti-imperialist revolutions as countermodels to the proletarian revolutionary

character of the great socialist revolutions in the former Soviet Union and China.

Obsessed with their anticommunist and counterrevolutionary work, the opportunist traitors continue to boast that they will form a "new" party with a hodgepodge "new thinking" that combines the stale anticommunist ideas of Gorbachovism, Trotskyism, nationalism, populism, liberalism, anarchism and social-democracy. They are now egged on and financed by local and foreign anticommunist agencies to form pseudo-Left and pseudoprogressive organizations and to use the repeal of the antiskewering 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 U.S.-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, U.S. 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 U.S.-Ramos regime that the Philippines is still a nonindustrial country to be turned into a "newly-industrialized country" by the year 2000. They also sing with the regime the

imperialist tunes about "environment-friendly sustainable development" against national industrialization and "empowerment of the people" through foreign-financed NGOs and anticommunist social movements under the imperialist and local reactionary states. It is clear that the opportunist traitors follow the class leadership of the bourgeoisie in their wishful thinking and the worst of them are in the pay of the psychological warfare and intelligence agencies of the enemy.

In the course of the rectification movement, the Party has reaffirmed the revolutionary class line, which involves the following: the class leadership of the proletariat, the basic alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry, the progressive alliance of the toiling masses and the urban petty-bourgeoisie, the alliance of the positive forces which include the middle bourgeoisie, taking advantage of the splits among the reactionaries to isolate and destroy the power of the enemy, the regime or clique that is most reactionary and most servile to imperialism.

In consonance with the democratic character of the Philippine revolution at this stage, the Party pursues the revolutionary antifeudal class line in the countryside. It relies mainly on the poor peasants and farm workers, wins over the middle peasants, neutralizes the rich peasants and takes advantage of the split between the enlightened and the evil gentry in order to isolate and destroy the power of the despotic landlords.

Reassert Armed Struggle as the Principal form of Revolutionary Struggle!

The Party has reasserted that the principal form of revolutionary struggle is armed struggle, that the strategic line is to encircle the cities from the countryside over a protracted period of time, and accumulate enough strength to be able to seize the cities ultimately and that the armed struggle must be integrated with genuine land reform and mass-base building within the context of the national-democratic revolution, under the leadership of the proletariat and with a socialist perspective.

Through the rectification movement, the Party has successfully clarified the general line of national democratic revolution through protracted people's war. Following the guidance and example of the Party Central Committee, all regional Party organs and organizations have summed up their experience, engaged in criticism and self-criticism and carried out practical measures in order to counteract and overcome the long-running grave errors and damage as a result of the "Left" opportunist line of "strategic counteroffensive", urban insurrectionism and military adventurism as well as of the Right opportunist line of making urban-based legal struggle the principal or sole form of struggle.

Party units, Red commanders and fighters have undergone politico-military training mainly and essentially to provide them with the revolutionary orientation that the people's army is under the absolute leadership of the Party and is the people's instrument for smashing reactionary political power in the countryside, establishing the organs of political power, expanding and consolidating the mass base, supporting the land reform campaign and accumulating victories in the countryside until the urban citadels of the enemy are ripe for the strategic offensive.

As a result of the rectification movement, Party members and Red fighters have a sharpened comprehensive and profound understanding of the necessity of developing the protracted people's war in strategic stages and of carrying out extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare with an ever expanding and deepening mass base in the current stage of the strategic defensive. They reject urban insurrectionism as the lead factor as well as the premature formation of larger army units which become divorced from the masses and are unsustainable. They reject any line which constricts and destroys the mass base and allows the enemy to copy, even if artificially, the strategy and tactics of people's war. The "Left" opportunists went for what the enemy wanted them to do, lose the mass base and fight in a purely military situation, so that his "war of quick decision" (strategic offensive) and "gradual constriction" would become effective.

The Party has redeployed the unsustainably large NPA formations, including two battalions and all the companies previously in absolute concentration so that more guerrilla fronts with a sound mass base can arise. In every guerrilla front, 70 to 75 percent of the Red fighters are dispersed in squads, each of which can cover a guerrilla zone roughly equivalent to a municipality and can subdivide into armed propaganda teams to cover a certain number of barrios under favorable conditions, when the enemy is not concentrating his forces on such barrios. At the same time, there is a center of gravity consisting of no more than 30 percent of the Red fighters who are in relative concentration and do mass work within a limited radius that allows instant and effective command, control and communications.

The sum total of Red fighters in a large guerrilla front can be a company; in a medium one, an oversized platoon or in a small one, a platoon. In due time, each guerrilla front should have a sum total of one company. In any case, there is the necessary existence and coordination of the center of gravity and the dispersed units. To maximize the advantages and minimize the disadvantages of guerrilla warfare, the guerrilla forces are mastering the flexible tactics of dispersal, concentration and shifting. The small dispersed units (squads or armed propaganda teams) are tasked to do more mass work and likewise to be vigilant against being put in a purely defensive position.

The focus of the rectification movement has been to reorient, reorganize and retrain the Red fighters and to expand and consolidate the mass base since 1992. As a result, the people's army has been able to significantly increase the number of tactical offensives nationwide since 1993. Successful tactical offensives are increasing at a rate higher than in the period of 1989-1992. The ratio of successful tactical offensives to total number launched approaches 100 percent in sharp contrast to the low ratio and the low absolute number of tactical offensives in the period from 1987 to 1992.

The NPA pursues the line of launching only the tactical offensives it can win and avoiding battles that it cannot win. It attacks the enemy, using the element of surprise. It gains knowledge of the weak points

of the enemy and keeps him blind and deaf by relying on an ever expanding and consolidated mass base. The NPA retains its capability to concentrate one, two or three platoons to launch a major tactical offensive. At the same time, most of the guerrilla squads are dispersed most of the time to do mass work nationwide. In the face of any strong long-term enemy campaign of encirclement and suppression, the NPA can shift its main units in order to be able to fight on exterior lines even as its smaller secondary units may be able to move in and out of enemy encirclement.

The Party is leading mass work in the countryside. Mass work involves propaganda and agitation among the peasant masses, organizing the organs of political power and the peasant association and other types of associations and carrying out land reform and other types of mass campaigns for the benefit of the people. The expansion and consolidation of the mass base have reversed the decline from 1988 to 1992. The scope of rural mass work covers thousands of barrios in hundreds of municipalities and scores of provinces.

In doing mass work, the Party and the NPA consolidate the old retained areas, expand to new areas and recover areas lost due to "Left" opportunism, the arbitrary anti-informer campaigns and prolonged enemy campaigns. Great success has been achieved in consolidating and expanding the mass base of the armed revolutionary movement. The most brilliant achievements are in consolidating old retained areas, variably recovering 50 to 100 percent of certain lost areas in various regions and in expanding to new areas.

As a result of painstaking mass work and solid organizing demanded by the rectification movement and the people, the revolutionary mass organizations of peasants, workers (when present), fishermen, women, youth, children and cultural activists and the provisional organs of political power (barrio organizing committees - BOC) and regular organs of political power (barrio revolutionary committees - BRC) which are formed along the united front line have increased by a great number from the level of 1992.

In guerrilla base areas, the former appointive BOCs have graduated into the stage of BRCs upon the election of its members by the people in the barrio or by representatives of the mass organizations, after the formation of a comprehensive range of mass organizations as the base of such a committee. The BRC is supported by the mass organizations and the entire people and has working committees for handling further mass organizing, public education, self-defense, land reform, production, finance, health and sanitation, arbitration, cultural activities and other important functions.

The key mass campaign in the countryside is the Party's minimum land reform program on a wide scale, involving the mobilization of the peasant masses. This is to reduce land rent and interest rates by 50 percent or any other reasonable percentage of the previous level, increase wages of farm workers, improve the prices of products at the farm gate and raise production in agriculture and sideline occupations through the family and rudimentary cooperation. Only when possible, necessary and defensible is there land confiscation from the despotic landlords for redistribution to the landless tillers and the restitution of the land from the landgrabbers to their rightful owners. The possibility of land confiscation for free redistribution arises in the guerrilla base areas, especially in areas remote from the military forces of the enemy.

The land reform campaign is carried out mainly by the peasant association, under the leadership of the Party and with the support of the people's army. Other types of mass campaigns involve public education and culture, training in self-defense, health and sanitation, promotion of women's rights, protection of the environment, production and raising material support for the people's army. The backward villages are being transformed into political, economic and cultural bastions of the revolution through the mass movement.

The political education, organization and campaigns of the people create the self-reliant and invincible foundation of the people's war. To be self-reliant, the revolutionary forces rely on the contributions of the people and on production specially designated for supporting the revolutionary forces. The people can make material and financial

contributions because they increase their income through land reform and improvement of agricultural productivity. In addition, taxes are collected from enlightened elements and sections of the exploiting classes that follow the laws and regulations of the people's democratic government. Furthermore, the people's army in authorized actions confiscate weapons and resources from the enemy.

The revolutionary movement repudiates the poison long spread by the opportunist traitors that insurrectionary gangs and prematurely enlarged military units can survive, prosper and win victory quickly beyond their given capabilities by depending on external military and financial support from the Soviet Union and pro-Soviet parties and other foreign entities, and by engaging in criminal gangsterism. After being frustrated in their line of strategic counteroffensive, military adventurism and urban insurrection, the big opportunist traitors who were able to sneak into the central organs of the Party and who reigned over the "general command" of the NPA, the standing group of the Visayas Commission and the executive committee of the Manila-Rizal Party committee are now engaged in private business (some of them with money stolen from the revolutionary movement) or employed in foreign-funded NGOs and various offices of the reactionary government, including the psy-war and intelligence agencies of the enemy.

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 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 U.S.-Ramos regime. They have putsched their way to the side of the enemy.

Just as the "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 have included the following: that it is the center of revolutionary leadership, that it is the framework for denying and liquidating the leading 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 ratify 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 NDF First National Conference, the principal officers and majority of those elected to the NDF national executive committee in 1990 became the caretaker leadership no longer by virtue of the bogus congress but by virtue of the consensus of the allied organizations in the NDF.

In accordance with the rectification movement from 1992 and with the decisions of its First National Conference, the NDF stands as a united front or alliance of basic revolutionary forces recognizing the leadership of the proletariat along the general line of the national-democratic revolution with a socialist perspective. It is a formal united

front for the revolutionary armed struggle, allowing the independence and initiative of the Party and the absolute leadership of the Party over the NPA. It is not a federation in which the Party is merely a member-organization, subject to the constant mechanical majority of *nonproletarian member-organizations*. The opportunist traitors have been thwarted in their vile attempt to destroy both the CPP and the NDF by maneuvering to collide most of the allied organizations against the CPP and by misusing the name of the NDF against the Party.

Promote the Legal Democratic Movement!

On the central question of seizing political power, which is the principal objective of the national democratic revolution, armed struggle is definitely the principal form of struggle and legal struggle is secondary. To say that legal struggle is secondary in this context does not mean that it is unimportant and dispensable. It simply means that legal struggle is not the sole or main weapon for seizing political power.

The opportunist traitors, both the incorrigible former "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 '60s 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 U.S.-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, 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, domestic feudalism 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 antipeasant policies and measures, the antistudent and antipeople educational policies, the forced mass evacuations, the continued detention of political prisoners, the assassination of urban poor organizers, other human rights violations, the Clinton visit, the ratification of the GATT final act and so on.

What is most significant about the legal democratic mass movement is that it is expanding through painstaking mass work and solid organizing. It is being consolidated not only through organizational but also through intensified educational campaigns. The mass organizations, sectoral and multisectoral alliances undertake mass campaigns self-reliantly by arousing, organizing and mobilizing the people. There is the fundamental departure from ways of the past when there was a one-sided preoccupation with sweeping propaganda and dependence on funds coming from special sources outside the mass movement for busing in rallyists and for 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 (soccems), 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 U.S.-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 in 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 reformist 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. Their foreign-funded work is now part of the low-intensity conflict scheme of the U.S.-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 psy-war 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 U.S.-Ramos regime, reactionary school authorities and the old and new anticommunist groups. It is actively cooperating with the working people and encouraging the educated youth to learn from the masses and serve the people.

The women's movement is steadily growing in urban and rural areas. It is fighting patriarchy in exploitative society and is developing its strength. In the course of the struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, women struggle for and gain equal footing with men. They combat sexism in reverse as espoused and utilized by certain types of bourgeois feminists to separate the

women's movement from the national democratic movement and make them collide.

Teachers in both public and private schools are revitalizing their movement. They are the largest professional group in the country and receive the lowest compensation. They do not only demand the improvement of their socioeconomic condition but also the promotion of a national, 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 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 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 U.S.-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 U.S. control of the reactionary armed forces, the U.S.-Japan control of regional security, the U.S. military access to Philippine territory and the forward deployment of U.S. 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 the local exploiters because these 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 of genuine peace advocates is 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 offices constrained by the anticommunist policies of foreign funding agencies and anticommunist prejudices of a handful of "solidarity" anarchists who are divorced from their own proletariat and people.

Because of its successful leadership of the Philippine revolution and its steadfast commitment to proletarian internationalism, the Party enjoys high prestige in the international communist movement and in the broad anti-imperialist movement abroad. As proven by the messages of comradeship and solidarity on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of its reestablishment, the Party maintains relations with more than a hundred parties, organizations and movements in all continents of the world.

Build the Party Organization under the Principle of Democratic Centralism!

In the course of the rectification movement, the Party has upheld the principle of democratic centralism and has promoted both discipline and inner Party democracy. In accordance with its sworn duty, the Central Committee has kept in mind that the essence of centralism is the correct ideological and political line and has provided

effective leadership on the democratic basis of the conscious and active support of the lower Party organs and organizations.

There has been a lively and fruitful dialectical relationship between centralized leadership and the 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, Political Bureau and Executive Committee and the General Secretariat have been strengthened on the basis of the ideological, political and organizational consolidation of the lower Party organs and organizations, down to the local Party branches and Party groups in the local chapters of mass organizations. The principal process for all-round consolidation has been the rectification movement, involving the reaffirmation of basic revolutionary principles, summing up of experience, criticism and self-criticism and the tasks correctly set at all levels of the Party.

Among the central staff organs, the National Organization Department has resolutely and actively played a key role in assisting the Central Committee and 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 their "centrist" collaborators.

The implementation of the plan to increase nationwide Party membership by 10,000 from 1992 to 1995 is mainly the responsibility of regional and lower Party committees. As they are being activated and consolidated, through the mass movement, the existing Party membership base can recruit into the Party a great number of new candidate and full members. The main thrust in recruitment is to increase the proportion of Party members from the proletariat and other working people and thereby deeply base the Party among them.

There is a new wave of Party recruits by the thousands nationwide. They are drawn from the ranks of the most advanced mass activists who have long or recently been in the resurgent mass movement. It is possible to recruit a large number of Party candidate-members and

full members because of the accumulation of 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 peasant 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 the 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 to 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 for 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 and tried to whip up factionalism and splittism, more than 90 percent of the Party membership remained loyal to the Party and the Central Committee. There were Party members who did not as yet comprehend fully the long-running counterrevolutionary bourgeois line of the opportunist traitors who insisted on being still within the Party and on being engaged merely in ideological debate even as they were clearly and vehemently attacking the basic revolutionary principles of the Party and conducting factional caucuses and campaigns of slander against the Party center and the entire Party.

The opportunist traitors became totally discredited when they declared autonomy and separation from the Party in 1993, tried in vain to form a "national coordinating board" to fight the Party and collaborated openly with anticommunist forces and brandished anti-Stalin and anti-Mao slogans. However, they left behind their agents within the United Front Commission to whip up centrism and denial of the two-line struggle in 1993 and 1994. This prolonged the wrecking operations of the opportunist traitors in a few institutions and organizations with a predominantly urban petty-bourgeois membership under the UFC.

Centrism has been resoundingly defeated. A distinction is made between the malicious elements who have used centrism to serve the opportunist traitors and the honest elements who have vacillated because of 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 on their crimes, misrepresented the Party and the Party center to the rank and file and persisted in their errors and crimes.

Even as they practised bureaucratism in their independent kingdoms, the opportunist traitors and the incorrigible opportunists practised 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 U.S. intelligence, who together with Ricardo Reyes has been 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 U.S.-Ramos regime.

Under its rules of organization, the Party has meted out the necessary and appropriate disciplinary measures against the opportunist traitors and incorrigible opportunists. 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 to the barbarities instigated by some of the opportunist

traitors in previous campaigns of anti-informer hysteria, the Party strictly adheres to the principle of due process and has 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 instructive 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 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.

II. 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 U.S.-Ramos regime is implementing policies to keep the people within the bounds of the

system and to deepen and aggravate both the socioeconomic and political crisis.

The Philippines is one of the worst victims of neocolonialism. It is called the basket case of East Asia. It suffers from an all-round loss of independence and from socioeconomic degradation due to the persistence of the big comprador-landlord state and the economic and financial manipulation of the imperialists. The economic policies of the Philippine reactionary government are dictated by the transnational monopoly firms, their commercial banks and their multilateral agencies—including UN agencies, the Group of Seven, OECD, IMF, World Bank, Asian Development Bank and the GATT/WTO.

Constant State of Economic Depression

The economic policies of the reactionary government are spelled out in terms of dependence on foreign investments and foreign loans, trade liberalization, tax incentives and denationalization for the benefit of the foreign monopolies, guarantees of superprofit 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 meagre 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 U.S.-Ramos regime cannot turn the Philippines into a newly industrialized country by the year 2000. Most of these are Marcos-type infrastructure and energy projects. 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 overproduction.

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 U.S.-Ramos regime has boasted of a rising growth rate of about 5.5 percent in the gross national product from 1993 to 1994. This growth is supposed to be "investment-led". But in fact, the "investments" that bloat the GNP figure include the colossal amount of treasury bills issued at high interest rates, the sale income from the privatization of state firms by foreign interests, the very temporary inflow of speculative capital in the stock market, Taiwanese and Japanese investments in real estate, the estimated remittances of overseas contract workers, the foreign credit for extremely expensive energy-generation projects and so on.

The economists of the reactionary government admit that about half of total foreign investment is speculative capital directed toward the stock market and government securities at high interest rates and the other half goes into direct equity, especially real estate development, takeover of profitable state enterprises,

telecommunications, energy projects and so on. The financial situation of the Philippines is volatile because the speculative capital in the stock and bond markets can be withdrawn as quickly as it comes in.

A higher GNP growth rate does not mean better economic conditions in the Philippines so long as it means the retention of the agrarian and semifeudal character of the economy, with no basic industries and no genuine and thoroughgoing land reform. The Philippine GNP remains small, yielding in the abstract an average per capita annual income of some US\$600, which in fact includes the huge percentage appropriated by the imperialists and the local exploiting classes. The highest one percent and ten percent of the population have increased their share of the national income at the expense of the lower 90 percent whose share has decreased. More than 76 percent of the population live below the poverty line.

The foreign trade deficit reached the record level of US\$6.2 billion at 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 unemployment 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 source 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 for plantation workers and P97 for agricultural workers outside plantations.

The U.S.-Ramos regime is deliberately using the exceedingly high rate of unemployment to further press down the real wage levels of those who are employed, to deprive them of job security, social insurance and other hard-won rights and to break up the trade unions. Trade unions cover only 12 percent of the 25.5 million officially described as employed and underemployed. However, only 584,000 workers are covered by collective bargaining agreements (CBAs). The antilabor policy of the regime is premised on attracting foreign investors in so-called export-oriented manufacturing with cheap and docile labor. It promotes "labor-only contracting", uses several

devices of state intervention (compulsory arbitration, assumption of jurisdiction, temporary restraining orders, etc.) to break strikes and unions and provides no-union and no-strike guarantees over extensive areas — given such fancy names as "industrial estates" and export-processing zones — throughout the country and encourages all employers to employ workers on a series of six-month contracts (labor contract system) or on a piece-rate system.

In the absence of national industrialization and land reform, oddjobbers have swollen Metro Manila and such provincial cities as Cebu and Davao. Rural poverty is increasingly being shifted from the countryside to the urban areas in the form of expanding slum districts. In the countryside, conditions of feudal and semifeudal exploitation have worsened on a widening scale. The small proportion of farm tenants who opted in the past for the system of fixed rent are losing leasehold rights and the right to amortize the land that they till because of rising costs of consumption and production. The regime baptizes barrios as agrarian reform communities but offers nothing more than the fancy name and unfulfilled promises of technical and credit support. As the rural population grows on the limited agricultural land, the rural oddjobbers constitute the largest reserve army of labor in the country.

The U.S.-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 the 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 U.S. 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 of 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 U.S.-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 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 U.S.-Aquino regime and now the U.S.-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 U.S.-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 U.S. preference for democratic pretenses and the sure resistance from domestic forces. In the meantime, Ramos has been assigned by his U.S. 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 U.S. 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 and III, because there are proletarian revolutionary cadres and Red commanders and fighters who have adhered to the correct line and have taken advantage of the ever worsening crisis of the ruling system. Through the rectification movement, the Party, the NPA, the NDF and the other revolutionary forces are now better armed ideologically, politically and organizationally to fight the enemy. They have withstood and beaten back both the frontal attacks by the barefaced enemy as well as the outflanking attacks by the enemy's special ideological and political agents.

From year to year, the enemy has tried to achieve what it calls strategic victory over the NPA. Encouraged by the splittist activities of the opportunist traitors in 1992-93 and then by their open anticommunist attacks in 1994, the reactionary armed forces launched massive offensive campaigns under Lambat Bitag III on several guerrilla fronts but dismally failed to attain its objectives. In 1994, the enemy continued to carry out large-scale campaigns of suppression in selected parts of the country and use small-unit operations in many parts of the country.

The false claims of the enemy about having reduced the armed strength and territory of the revolutionary movement are belied by the fact that the reactionary government continues to increase expenditures for the military, police and paramilitary forces and

refuses to heed the popular clamor for the reduction of these forces and their withdrawal from offensive positions against the guerrilla fronts and the people. The officials of the reactionary armed forces have acknowledged that they cannot turn over 12,000 of the 40,000 barrios in the country to the Integrated National Police even if required to do so in 1994 under the law creating the Department of Interior and Local Government.

The constant false claim of the enemy is that the armed strength of the NPA decreased from year to year from the level of 25,000 HPR in 1987. The NPA never reached this level at any time because of the "Left" opportunist errors. Actually, the enemy is now worried that the NPA is expanding and consolidating its mass base and on this basis is increasingly launching extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare. Even as the U.S.-Ramos regime, the opportunist traitors, the anticommunist petty bourgeois and the reactionary press engage in a chorus about the so-called dwindling of the NPA armed strength, what counts is the actual expansion and consolidation of the mass base and the intensification of guerrilla warfare.

The Ramos regime is ever desperate for increased U.S. military assistance. In exchange for this, the Ramos regime has invoked the U.S.-R.P. Mutual Defense Treaty of 1951, the U.S.-R.P. Military Assistance Pact of 1948 and the U.S.-R.P. access agreement of 1992 to formally pave the way for the prepositioning of U.S. military personnel and weapons on Philippine territory under the so-called R.P.-U.S. 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 U.S. troops and equipment in the military camps of the reactionary armed forces is supposed to be in line with the U.S. policy of forward deployment against enemies in the Asia-Pacific region and as far as the Middle East. At the same time, U.S. military forces are being prepositioned 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.

III. EVER WORSENING CRISIS OF THE WORLD CAPITALIST SYSTEM

The Philippines shares the lot of underdevelopment and depression with the overwhelming majority of countries in the world. These countries include those of the third world, including extensive areas of huge countries like China, India and Brazil which have some basic industries, and most of the former Soviet bloc countries, including extensive parts of the former Soviet Union, especially in Central Asia and the Caucasus. They suffer from neocolonial exploitation, depressed prices of their raw-material exports and an intolerable debt burden.

The high technology in the hands of the supermonopolies has accelerated the crisis of production and has made it unprecedentedly severe and prolonged. Worldwide effective consumer market demand continues to fall behind productivity as a result of massive unemployment and social welfare cutbacks, growing poverty and misery among the people even in the industrial capitalist countries and much more so among the people in most countries of the world, which are underdeveloped. There is sharpening contradiction of the forces and relations of production globally.

The crisis of overproduction generated by high technology for superprofits and by the abuse of every conceivable financial instrument is sharpening the competition among the monopolies within the industrial capitalist countries and among the global centers of capitalism. However, even as they compete with each other, the global centers of capitalism are united against the proletariat and people of the world and shift the burden of crisis to them. They use the Group of 7, the OECD, the IMF, World Bank, GATT/WTO and all other multilateral agencies under their direction to impose on all other countries their exploitative policies on investments, trade, credit, currency and other economic issues.

The crisis of overproduction continues to wrack the world capitalist system even as the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) has made an upbeat estimate of a general average growth rate of 2.8 percent in gross domestic product (GDP) of its 25 member-countries before the drastic currency devaluation of Mexico, which is its 25th member. The estimated increase in the growth rates of a minority of countries is at the expense of the overwhelming majority of countries which have plunged into a deeper state of depression and involves a relative rise and temporary fluctuation from previous recessionary levels in the industrial capitalist countries.

While a slight recovery is being claimed for the industrial capitalist economies, there is widespread prognosis that another slowdown is in the offing. Even among the OECD countries, the general tendency of profit rates to fall continues for entire national economies. The stock and bond markets continue to decline. And the trillions of dollars of speculative capital which were shifted from the industrial capitalist countries to the so-called emerging markets in East Asia and South America in 1992 have moved about like a destructive hurricane in 1993 and 1994 and finance speculators are now at a loss where to put them next after the financial devastation of Mexico.

The unemployment rate remains high at 11.6 percent in the OECD countries, despite various methods used in camouflaging unemployment. According to the official tally, a total of 35 million are unemployed in the industrial capitalist countries. The weakest of the industrial capitalist countries register rates of unemployment approaching 20 percent of their work force. The trend continues for the supermonopolies to kill jobs by adopting ever higher technology, declare higher profits or lessen losses by killing jobs and for governments to cut back on social welfare and privatize state firms and public services and thereby throw people out of job.

According to the OECD estimate, the United States scores the highest GDP growth rate with 3.9 percent. Japan appears to be coming out of recession, with about 1 percent GRP growth rate. There is growing competition between the United States and Japan

in shared markets due to U.S. efforts at expanding its own manufacturing and exports. The United States is also pushing its exports into Japan as the U.S. continues to incur huge trade deficits (more than US\$60 billion at yearend) with the latter. U.S. leverage on Japan is strong because the U.S. consumer market remains among the largest for Japanese products, the U.S. retains control over patent rights in electronics and other high technology and over sources of fuel and other raw materials and continues to dictate the terms of security in the Asia-Pacific region. Germany remains the powerhouse of Europe, with a growth rate of 2.8 percent, as it dumps goods from its industrial plants in the West on the former East Germany and the other former Soviet bloc countries.

Outside the OECD, China scores the highest with a GNP growth rate of 11.5 percent but it is afflicted by an inflation rate of 25 percent and lopsided development. The economy suffers from the effects of the restoration of capitalism. "Export-oriented" manufacturing is overemphasized. The new big bourgeoisie keeps on enlarging its share of the national income and indulges in overconsumption, while the workers, peasants and middle social strata are increasingly being impoverished. More than 90 percent of the people are in worse conditions of poverty than before the Dengist betrayal of socialism. There is widespread social unrest in China due to the high rate of unemployment, low wages of workers even in the coastal provinces, arbitrary dismissals, loss of job security, nonpayment or delays in payments to peasants for their produce, inflation, arbitrary levies and corruption. Chinese officials themselves admit the degradation of state industries and agriculture.

GDP growth rates in Hongkong, South Korea, Malaysia, Singapore, Taiwan and Thailand average 7.6 percent; in South and Central America 4.4 percent; and in the Czech Republic, Poland and Slovakia, 3 percent, 4 percent and 3.5 percent, respectively. Together with the coastal provinces of China, these countries are favored as assistants of the global centers of capitalism (United States, Japan and Western Europe) in their investment and market strategy. The United States is bound to further increase its exports to East Asia and

decrease its orders for consumer manufactures 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 a 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 a huge debt burden and has no exports comparable to those of Mexico. In the current world economic situation, the U.S.-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 U.S.-led war of aggression under the U.N. 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 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 U.S. 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 Indochina, 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 U.S. military aggression. The United States apply the carrot and stick on them and try to induce them to change policies. There are other countries like Iraq and Libya which defend their national independence against imperialism and are also under the rigors of economic embargo and political pressures.

The new world disorder is being generated by the ever-worsening economic crisis of the world capitalist system. Violent conflicts are occurring on an unprecedentedly wide scale in the countries exploited by foreign monopoly capitalism and economically depressed since the late '70s. These take the form of coups and counter-coups between bureaucratic cliques, civil wars among reactionaries, ethnic and religious conflicts, spontaneous mass protests, uprisings and revolutionary wars.

Even in industrial capitalist countries, there is rapid polarization due to the economic crisis and the discredit of the traditional parties of the big bourgeoisie. There is an upsurge of concerted mass actions by workers, youth, women and other people. At the same time, chauvinism, neofascism and racism have reemerged, chiefly directed against the migrant workers. In the absence of any strong revolutionary party of the proletariat, the big bourgeoisie is still able to rotate bourgeois politicians in government despite popular dissatisfaction with every set of them soon after election.

The main arena of violent conflicts is the underdeveloped and depressed countries where the peoples and nations are intolerably oppressed. So far, the imperialists and the local reactionaries have manipulated most of the armed conflicts and kept their character regressive, often strongly motivated by ethnic and religious differences. This is due to the absence or weakness of Marxist-Leninist parties of the working class. But there are revolutionary wars, like those in the Philippines, Peru, Cambodia, Kurdistan, Colombia, Guatemala and a part of Mexico, in Chiapas.

The most bitter kinds of armed conflict have been in Bosnia in the wake of the breakup of Yugoslavia, in Chechnya in Russia, Georgia, Azerbaijan in the Caucasus, Tadjikistan in Central Asia, in Sri Lanka in South Asia, in Rwanda, Burundi, Somalia, Liberia and Sudan in black Africa, in Algeria in North Africa and in Palestine and Lebanon. The heaviest death toll has been in Rwanda, with a million killed in massacres and epidemic, and in Bosnia with about 300,000 killed. In the whole world, there are now scores of millions of refugees displaced by armed conflicts.

As the crisis of the domestic ruling system and the world capitalist system worsens and the U.S. 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 U.S. military assistance and intervention the Philippine reactionary government could not suppress the armed revolutionary movement, now the U.S.-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 petty-bourgeois in the world has been blunted by the severe crisis of the world capitalist system and the new world disorder. 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.

IV. 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 fulfill 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, bureaucrat capitalism and specifically now against the U.S.-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 revisionists and 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 proceeding 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 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 a socialist perspective. We must arouse, organize, and mobilize the masses against the enemy, the U.S.-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 a self-reliant revolutionary struggle.

We must carry out revolutionary armed struggle as the main form of struggle. Revolutionary politics must be in command of armed struggle and all other kinds of activity. We must widen and deepen the rural mass base in order to wage extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare in the stage of strategic defensive against the enemy. We must further integrate the armed struggle with genuine land reform and mass-base building through the organs of political power, mass organizations and mass campaigns.

We must launch armed tactical offensives according to our capabilities. We must conduct only the offensive operations that we can win. In the forthcoming year, the positive results of the rectification movement must be demonstrated in the higher frequency and wider scope of our guerrilla warfare.

We must wage the legal struggle as the secondary but important and indispensable form of revolutionary struggle. We must develop the solid mass base for mass campaigns. It is necessary to spread the influence of the revolutionary movement through sweeping propaganda and mass campaigns. But these must be preceded, coincided and followed by solid mass organizing. The most important form of the legal struggle is the building of the mass organizations

and the mass campaigns along the national-democratic line on the outstanding issues against the enemy.

In both revolutionary armed struggle and legal struggle, the policy and tactics of the united front must be carried out in order to broaden the ranks of active participants and supporters. We must draw revolutionary strength from all patriotic and progressive classes, strata, sectors and organizations in accordance with the revolutionary class line of the Party.

3. We must adhere to the principle of democratic centralism, promote discipline and inner Party democracy, and avoid both bureaucratism and ultrademocracy. We must propagate the correct line of the Party as decided by the central leadership of the Party.

We must strengthen the organs of leadership at all levels. We must streamline the Party organization in order to allow a great number of Party cadres and members to do basic Party work at the grassroots. We must promote to the leading organs those Party cadres that have a good record of adhering to the correct line and doing mass work.

We must increase the membership of our Party by the thousands in order to accomplish greater tasks for the revolution and the people. This is also the way to render useless the level of information drawn by the enemy from the opportunist traitors. We must encourage a greater number of Party cadres and members to work in the New People's Army and among the masses in the countryside.

In the countryside there is the crying need for Party cadres who are workers and educated youth. We must continue to reverse the flow of Party cadres from the countryside to the cities in the '80s 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.

THE THREE-YEAR PLAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

AUGUST 1992 TO AUGUST 1995

APPROVED BY THE 10TH PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
AND ADJUSTED BY THE POLITICAL BUREAU IN DECEMBER 1993

Introductory Note

The Three-year Plan (August 1992 to August 1995) was approved by the Central Committee (CC) in its 10th Plenum. It was reviewed and adjusted by the Political Bureau in December 1993 after an assessment of the Party situation in the course of the rectification movement. The general structure and flow of the original document has been retained as far as possible.

The amendments principally involve the following:

- explanation of the fighting tasks in confronting the anti-Party campaign of the opportunist traitors;
- further explanation in the introduction of the general circumstances of the rectification movement;
- clear reference to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as the Party's theoretical guide;
- highlighting of the tasks of mass work in advancing the people's war; and
- postponement of the period set for the implementation of certain principal tasks mainly due to added tasks in confronting the anti-Party campaign.

Only the Introduction and Section I of the Plan are being published.

INTRODUCTION

Conditions in the country are ever more favorable for further advancing the people's democratic revolution. A firm understanding of this truth is important to a firm understanding of the line of people's democratic revolution. No revolutionary must tire of repeatedly conveying and explaining this to the masses so as to stress the correctness and necessity of pursuing the people's democratic revolution.

In the past more than one decade, we were not able to continuously use the extremely favorable objective conditions to our advantage in advancing our people's war and raise it to a higher level. This was due primarily to the grave errors and deviations in the Party's line, policies and basic principles. Military adventurism and insurrectionism, instead of achieving their desired objective of hastening the decisive victory of the revolution, brought about unprecedented losses to the revolutionary forces and were taken advantage of by the enemy in its counterrevolutionary scheme of seeking to destroy the Party and the people's army.

Instead of correcting their errors and submitting themselves to the second great rectification movement and the decisions of the CC's 10th Plenum, the main proponents of military adventurism and insurrectionism launched a counterrevolutionary campaign of demolition in their attempt to stop the rectification movement, split and destroy the Party and hinder the advance of the people's democratic revolution. With the frustration of their vicious scheme, these traitors to the Party and the revolutionary cause proceeded to openly propagate reformism, parliamentarism, revisionism, liquidationism and capitulationism, like the Lava-Taruc clique after it was repudiated by the Party and the revolutionary movement in the first great rectification movement attendant to the reestablishment of the Party.

Were it not for the first great rectification movement and the exposure and repudiation of the Lava-Taruc's bankrupt line of parliamentarism, revisionism, capitulationism and liquidationism, it would have been impossible for the Party to reestablish itself and to

revitalize and restrengthen the Philippine revolution. If the current rectification movement were not conducted to expose and repudiate the bankrupt line of parliamentarism, revisionism, capitulationism, factionalism, splittism and liquidationism of the opportunist traitors headed by Tabara, Kintanar, Reyes and Lagman, the Party and the revolutionary movement would not be able to overcome the grave losses and weaknesses brought about by past deviations and errors.

The second great rectification movement has frustrated the ambitious maneuvers of the enemy within and outside the Party, the people's army and the united front. The opportunist traitors have been roundly defeated in their demolition campaign which they arrogantly launched in September 1992 after the successful holding of the CC's 10th Plenum. The U.S.-Ramos regime's Oplan Lambah-Bitag has also been roundly frustrated in its objective of achieving a strategic victory in 1993 against the armed people's revolution.

It is of utmost importance that we achieve complete success in advancing the second great rectification movement. Let us firmly grasp the lessons drawn from summing up our revolutionary experience in the past decades from the time of the reestablishment of our Party under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Let us reaffirm the basic principles and rectify errors. Let us lay particular stress on acquiring a firm understanding of the lessons from the intense struggle on the line and from the life-and-death struggle against the all-out attempt of the opportunist traitors to destroy the Party.

So long as the ideological, political and organizational line of the Party — exercising the leading role of the proletariat in the Philippine revolution — is correct and firm, the revolution will certainly advance and continuously weaken the reactionary rule of U.S. imperialism and its local puppets until it is finally overthrown.

Under the correct leadership of the Party, the people's democratic revolution will certainly advance with greater vigor. Let us persevere in the protracted people's war, the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside and the all-round and stage-by-stage accumulation of strength until we reach the stage of strategic

offensive at which we can smash the reactionary state and seize political power in order to build the people's democratic government and immediately embark on the socialist revolution and construction throughout the country.

The U.S.-Ramos regime, as the current ruler of the reactionary state and principal puppet of U.S. imperialism, is the principal target of the revolutionary struggle. Ramos is a president elected on a minority vote, heading a system in grave crisis and with access to less financial, economic and military assistance from abroad than his predecessors.

Opportunities are rife for rapidly exposing and isolating the U.S.-Ramos regime and for steadily broadening and strengthening the anti-imperialist, antifeudal and antifascist movement.

I. OUR TASKS

This three-year plan was drafted on the basis of the tasks set in the document of rectification, "Reaffirm our Basic Principles and Rectify Errors" and the policies adopted by the CC's 10th Plenum.

The objectives of our three-year plan are as follows:

1. Rectify the errors, deviations and weaknesses. Pursue the correct course, reverse the trend towards contraction and weakening of the Party and the revolutionary forces which it leads and strive to achieve greater strength and all-round progress in the course of the struggle.

2. Advance the national-democratic revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. Expose, oppose and isolate the U.S.-Ramos regime. Firmly and creatively advance the people's war on the correct course.

3. Achieve more victories in a widening advance of the revolutionary forces with sufficient breadth and depth in the countryside and in the cities and, on this basis, raise their level on the one hand and further weaken the enemy and the ruling system on the other.

Our principal tasks are the following:

1. Rectify errors and further strengthen the Party comprehensively.

1.1 Solid ideological work and consolidation of the Party are absolutely necessary for accomplishing its political tasks.

1.2 Firmly grasp and comprehend the Party's major victories and problems. Rectify the deviations and errors that have violated our basic principles and disregarded the painstaking establishment, struggle and sacrifices of our Party, our people and our revolutionary martyrs.

1.3 Study Marxist-Leninist theory and combat subjectivism, including the trends of dogmatism, empiricism and revisionism. Implement the 3-level formal courses on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought: primary, intermediate and advanced. Propagate and encourage constant collective and individual study outside formal courses and the corresponding process of struggle, and mode of Party life. Raise our collective experience and practical knowledge to the level of theory. Continuously develop the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method. Raise consciousness of our line and policies throughout the Party.

1.4 Uphold the Party's antirevisionist line. Continue to propagate theoretical, historical and sociopolitical works regarding the socialist revolution and revisionism in order to broaden and deepen the knowledge and understanding of our Party cadres and members.

1.5 Uphold democratic centralism and resolutely combat bureaucratism, ultrademocracy, sectarianism, factionalism, splittism and other such deviations from democratic centralism. Actively practice inner-Party democracy under the guidance of the Party's basic principles and within the structures and bounds of the Party, especially through all-round basic Party life. Enhance both discipline and freedom within the Party.

1.6 Develop the correct style and methods of work. Closely link theory to practice, adhere to the principle and practice of democratic centralism, maintain close links with the masses, and conduct regular criticism and self-criticism sessions to improve work, rectify errors and strengthen Party unity. Uphold the spirit and style of "simple living and resolute struggle".

1.7 Strengthen basic level work and basic Party life. Every Party member must belong to a basic Party unit and actively participate in basic Party work (education, propaganda, recruitment). No Party cadre of whatever rank is exempt from being a member of a basic Party unit.

1.8 Expand the Party membership and strengthen basic Party life ideologically, politically and organizationally. The increase of Party members is the necessary result of the expansion and consolidation of the mass base. Develop the composition of Party units at various levels through recruitment from among the ranks of workers and intellectuals.

1.9 Build a strong, unified and wise Party central leadership. Implement a regular and definite system of meetings, collective study, assessment, criticism sessions and lively exchange of information.

1.10 Combat bureaucratism. Simplify the Party structure both in the cities and in the countryside. Dissolve unnecessary staff organs; give priority to the deployment of cadres to basic-level work. Rectify such bad practices as protracted meetings, endless debates and long papers eating up time better spent on confronting important problems and on following up and leading the forces and the work at the basic level.

1.11 Combat ultrademocracy. Clarify anew the flow of democratic centralism and the jurisdiction and the authority of organs at various levels. Combat petty-bourgeois liberalism and individualism in handling organizational matters.

1.12 Combat factionalism, splittism, liquidationism and capitulationism. Expose and isolate the opportunist traitors and repudiate the bankrupt lines which they continue to peddle and which serve the counterrevolutionary designs of the U.S.-Ramos regime.

1.13 Strictly implement the rules and safeguards against anti-infiltration hysteria. Make sure that the entire membership and the masses are well educated on the principles and methods of the revolutionary system of justice and the rules of the people's revolutionary government. Moreover, maintain vigilance to prevent bad elements, careerists and enemy agents from creeping into the

Party. Complete the review of the anti-infiltration campaigns launched in various regions in the past.

1.14 Protect the security of the Party. Implement the policy on countryside-basing of national organs and territorial commissions and regional committees, except that of Manila-Rizal. Deploy to the countryside urban personnel and cadres who are already identified and being hunted by the enemy. Broaden and deepen the underground movement by relying on the mass base and good political work.

2. Persevere in people's war, develop extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare with the support of an ever expanding and deepening mass base.

2.1 Advance the people's war extensively and broadly while consolidating. Lay stress on reaching more people and wider areas. Build more guerrilla fronts. Increase and strengthen the NPA by building more platoons as the standard formation.

2.2 Sharpen our policy and improve our methods of doing mass work; pay close attention to expanding and consolidating the mass base as the key link in the revitalization of the revolutionary movement. Strengthen the Party units and increase people's army units devoted to expansion and consolidation at the basic level and the localities. Deploy here the biggest possible number of cadres and mass activists and closely train and guide them to be good at grasping the principles and methods of taking the mass line, solid organizing, the antifeudal line and struggle, advancing various types of mass campaigns, combining various types and forms of organization and struggle, and organizing basic Party units. Sum up experiences in building the mass base in the countryside.

2.3 Expand and strengthen the basic mass organizations in the countryside according to the antifeudal class line and through solid organizing. Combine the legal form of mass organizations with the traditional and legal forms in order to maximize the tactics and capability of conducting the mass movement in the face of the enemy offensive. Gain competence in conducting revolutionary dual tactics, in protecting security and maintaining the clandestine movement, and

in broadening our links with and support from progressive elements in the urban areas.

2.4 Propagate and systematize the implementation of the minimum program of agrarian reform and the policies and methods of improving the livelihood of the masses in the countryside. Combine this with other mass campaigns in education, organization, politics, production, health and others in order to expand and consolidate the rural mass base comprehensively and develop the political, economic and cultural requisites steadily for advancing the people's war.

2.5 Build the organs of political power at the barrio level on the basis of a relatively wide consolidated area, the strength of the basic antifeudal alliance, the gains in advancing the agrarian revolution, the confidence of the basic masses in relating and cooperating with the middle forces and the military victories within the area. Organs of political power at the municipal level should be built on the basis of the gains in building the organs of political power at the barrio level and shall be decided at the regional level in consultation with the central leadership of the Party. Develop the capability of Party members and the mass activists in the locality in running the organs of political power so that they can properly combine with the full-time forces of the Party and people's army operating in the area.

2.6 Combat reformism and economism peddled by the opportunist traitors, the popdems, the socdems and the legal institutions that claim to abide by our policies but in fact tie themselves to the dictates of the funding agencies and disrupt the smooth flow of our mass work, destroy the unity of the masses and dismantle the basic mass organizations and the Party branches in areas where they have projects. Actively fight and struggle against the ideology and politics of the opportunist traitors, the popdems and the socdems and do not allow them to enter our areas. Immediately expel them from our areas, which for various reasons they had been able to penetrate and launch their projects when it has become clear that these are harming our mass work.

2.7 Strive to bring back under our leadership the NPA officers and men and the basic mass organizations deceived and misled by the

opportunistic traitors. Immediately subject to reeducation and the rectification movement those elements whom they have influenced. Avoid armed confrontations with armed units deceived and misled by the opportunistic traitors if they have not been thoroughly exposed and if the misled forces have no blood debts; and begin the process of encouraging these NPA forces to bring themselves again under the absolute leadership of the Party. Immediately expel from our guerrilla zones and fronts any ringleader, together with cohorts, who work and sow intrigue against the Party. Arrest any rabid Contra who seeks to wreak havoc and instigate mutiny against the Party and people's army within our guerrilla zones and fronts. A separate memorandum regarding this has been issued.

2.8 Propagate and develop units of the people's militia in order to encourage the participation of the masses in the task of fighting enemy operations, supporting offensives of the guerrilla units and keeping revolutionary peace and order.

2.9 Ensure the absolute leadership of the Party over the NPA. Consolidate the NPA units by undertaking thoroughgoing ideological and political work. Repudiate such erroneous concepts as full-time NPA combat units should be separated or freed from mass work and production; the purely military viewpoint and tendencies; military adventurism; and commandism.

2.10 Simplify the army command structure from the front level upward in order to have more cadres for redeployment to basic-level work. Do away with unnecessary rungs and duplication of staff units but maintain cadres at the appropriate level to attend to the most important services such as training, keeping track of the military situation, explosives and ordnance, and medical work.

2.11 The company formation may be maintained at the regional or large guerrilla front level on the basis of the overall status of the horizontal forces and cadre, personnel and logistical capability. However, make sure that those deployed to the company in a region does not exceed one-third of the total number of fighters and automatic rifles in the area. So as not to be tied to a limited area and become a burden on the masses and on Party resources, the

company must be dispersed into platoons and squads within a definite radius when not on tactical offensives or on military training.

2.12 Review and improve on the NPA training courses according to the principle of extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare, painstaking mass work absolute leadership of the Party, and building the people's army; and subsequently increase training guided by these courses.

2.13 Launch only those tactical offensives that we are capable of winning on the basis of our political strength by focusing on weak points of the enemy and by using a much superior concentration of forces and the element of surprise. Bleed the enemy by inflicting thousands of wounds on his body combined with well chosen hard headblows from time to time. Enemy formations attacking and undertaking protracted military operations in our areas must be made to pay dearly. Learn and gain competence in such guerrilla tactics as concentration, dispersal and shifting according to the situation and the work, and luring the enemy in deep.

3. Develop the revolutionary mass movement in the urban areas by advancing the interest of the masses there and serving the armed struggle and movement in the countryside, and drawing millions of people in the cities to the national-democratic revolution.

3.1 Repudiate insurrectionism and firmly grasp the correct orientation in the urban struggle: principally legal and defensive and in support of the armed struggle and antifeudal movement in the countryside. Gains of the urban movement and struggle can be measured by the increase in number of people drawn to participate in mass actions and join our mass organizations, the intensification of the political crisis of reaction and the increase of support for the movement in the countryside.

Combat the notion of rushing to create an explosion of urban uprisings through artificial militarist and agent-provocateur methods and effecting "general paralyzation" and large confrontations beyond our capability, in combination with populist politics and overemphasis on so-called coalition tactics in the desire to immediately draw the spontaneous masses to an insurrectionary position.

Uphold comprehensive and painstaking accumulation of revolutionary strength in the urban movement towards an upward swirl of interaction with the armed movement in the countryside — in a continuous but gradual strengthening of the revolution and weakening of reaction.

3.2 Expand, deepen and guarantee the continuous sweep of agitation-propaganda, organizing and direct leadership of the masses at the basic level. Consolidation and solid organizing should not fall far behind expansion and sweeping organizing. We can launch various forms of legal struggle if we have priorly undertaken solid organizing of the masses at the basic level. Through the mass organizations, we can mobilize the people in great numbers and launch various forms of democratic action in places of work, communities, assembly halls, streets and office compounds of the reactionary government.

We must launch campaigns of agitation-propaganda, education, and mass struggles on sectoral and multisectoral issues in connection with the grave socioeconomic crisis, against the antipeople and counterrevolutionary policies, programs and schemes of the U.S.-Ramos regime and against U.S. imperialism. National and regional level organs can from time to time set the stress of mobilizations, depending on the current sociopolitical situation in the country.

Immediately, we can line up the following issues around which propaganda-agitation and mobilization of particular classes/sectors and of the people can revolve:

- wage/salary increases and improvement of working conditions for the workers
- oppressive labor laws, especially "labor-only contracting", no-union and no-strike policy in industrial centers
- rising cost of education, commercialization of education, DEC 2000, and other issues among students
- genuine land reform and the government's fake land reform; land conversion, so-called integrated socialized forestry program (ISFP) or CARP-D, "low-income upland community development program (LIUCDP); the medium-term agricultural development

program (MTADP); "agrarian reform communities" (ARC); low wages and high prices of fertilizers, pesticides and landlord-comprador usury; and suppression of peasant movement and intensified militarization in the countryside, for peasants and farm workers

- low salary, the salary standardization law, the local government code, and suppression of the rights and freedom of teachers and low salary of government employees.

- rising prices of commodities; rising oil and gasoline prices; rising prices of electricity and water; extreme poverty and unemployment; peso devaluation; gigantic foreign debt; bloated government budget with huge a percentage appropriated for foreign debt service, intelligence and defense and pork barrel for bureaucrat capitalists; governmental corruption or cheating; Philippines 2000 or the medium term Philippine development plan (MTPDP) and all other issues attendant to this plan; release of political prisoners; militarization and violation of human rights; and unjust agreements and treaties with the United States on the issues of "access rights" and "mutual defense"

3.3 Continue to expand and strengthen the workers' unions under Party leadership, as well as other types of mass organizations for workers and the urban poor.

3.4 Further expand and revitalize the youth and student movement and the propaganda movement for the national-democratic struggle.

3.5 Conduct partisan operations with a higher level of selectivity and in a way that these do not damage the legal and defensive character of urban struggle and do not override the contradictions among the reactionaries. Streamline and simplify the organization of armed city partisan forces, and require a 2-year experience of countryside deployment and regular stints for their personnel and officers. Except for a few, those chosen and trained as armed city partisan personnel shall not be removed from production and mass work, shall be concentrated only when needed in special operations and shall be ready at any time to shift to the countryside when necessary.

4. Develop the revolutionary united front on the basis of the revolutionary class line, against the worst reactionary faction, and

actively encourage and take advantage of splits among the reactionaries.

4.1 Develop united front tactics in order to broaden support for the armed struggle and the legal democratic movement.

4.2 Build the NDF as a clandestine united front for armed struggle among the basic forces of the revolution. It is the most advanced and the most consolidated united front organization under the leadership of the working class for accomplishing the two-stage Philippine revolution.

4.3 Broaden various levels of bilateral and multilateral relations and cooperation with other progressive organizations, groups and elements in the legal movement.

4.4 Widen revolutionary work within reactionary institutions.

4.5 Induce and take advantage of splits among the reactionaries by isolating and defeating the most reactionary faction at every period. The Party policy is to defeat the reactionary factions one-by-one and in the process strengthen the revolutionary movement.

4.6 Expose the futility of reactionary elections. At the same time use the opportunities presented during reactionary election campaigns to propagate the national-democratic line and encourage progressive parties and candidates to uphold the interest and struggle of the people. This is in line with our revolutionary dual tactics against counterrevolutionary dual tactics.

4.7 Uphold the line of a just, lasting and liberating peace on the issue of peace negotiations with the reactionary government. Uphold the pursuit of the people's democratic revolution as the guarantee for achieving a just, lasting and liberating peace while remaining open to the possibility of formal peace negotiations with the reactionary government.

Expose the counterrevolutionary scheme of the U.S.-Ramos regime to use peace talks for the purpose of undermining and weakening the revolutionary movement. Maintain vigilance and combat such schemes as local ceasefires, dialogues and surrender to the reactionary government. Stand firmly for and uphold the line of

bilateral talks only at the national level, in an appropriate venue outside the country and with a foreign third party.

Expose the U.S.-Ramos regime's counterrevolutionary scheme of using the opportunist traitors to deceive the people and undermine the revolutionary movement by misrepresenting the wish of the opportunist traitors to surrender to it as being the stand of the Party, the people's army and the NDF in connection with the deceptive peace process that the regime flaunts. Expose also the regime's use of the opportunist traitors in trying to foment splits and to undermine the revolutionary movement through psychological warfare and bloody intrigues.

5. Uphold the principle of proletarian internationalism and the anti-imperialist line in our international relations. Broaden links and cooperation with all Marxist-Leninist and anti-imperialist forces abroad. Expand organizing among compatriots abroad.

Expose and oppose the counterrevolutionary scheme of the opportunist traitors to undermine our solidarity work abroad by spreading intrigues and disinformation against the Party, the people's army and the NDF while peddling revisionism, Gorbachovism and anticommunism.

These urgent revolutionary tasks must be implemented and accomplished thoroughly, resolutely, vigorously, with full determination and willingness to face difficulties and sacrifices. The rectification movement as decided by the Central Committee shall be implemented within this three-year plan while at the same time advancing the struggle against the U.S.-Ramos regime.

For foreign subscriptions, please fill in the form below and send it to the **NDF International Office, Postbus 19195, 3501 DD Utrecht, The Netherlands**. Send your payment to: **NDF, Rabobank 39.44.28.102**.

PLEASE SEND ME _____ YEAR(S) SUBSCRIPTION TO **REBOLUSYON**.

ENCLOSED IS _____.

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION RATES (INCLUDES BANK CHARGES):

- | | |
|--|---------|
| • EUROPE | US\$ 45 |
| • NORTH AMERICA, JAPAN, AUSTRALIA, SOUTH KOREA,
SINGAPORE, TAIWAN, HONGKONG (<i>SURFACE MAIL</i>) | US\$ 45 |
| • NORTH AMERICA, JAPAN, AUSTRALIA, SOUTH KOREA,
SINGAPORE, TAIWAN, HONGKONG (<i>AIRMAIL</i>) | US\$ 50 |
| • OTHER COUNTRIES | US\$ 30 |

NAME _____
(PLEASE USE BLOCK LETTERS)

ADDRESS _____

