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**CELEBRATE 27 YEARS
OF REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE;
STRIVE ALL-OUT TO FULFILL
THE TASKS SET FOR 1996**

By Armando Liwanag
Chairman, Central Committee
Communist Party of the Philippines
December 26, 1995

**PROGRAM OF THE NATIONAL
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FOR THE PROGRESSIVE HEALTH SECTOR?**

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CONTENTS

CELEBRATE 27 YEARS OF REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE; STRIVE ALL-OUT TO FULFILL THE TASKS SET FOR 1996	1
---	----------

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PROGRAM OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT	31
---	-----------

Part I: Background to the Program	32
--	----

Part II: The 12 Points of the NDF Program	49
--	----

WHICH MEDICAL ETHICS FOR THE PROGRESSIVE HEALTH SECTOR?	80
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**By Armando Liwanag
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On behalf of the Central Committee, I wish to convey the warmest greetings to all the Party cadres and members on the occasion of the 27th anniversary of the reestablishment of our beloved Party under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

We congratulate you for the overwhelming and resounding victory of the second great rectification movement. The very act of launching and sustaining the rectification movement since 1992 constitutes a great victory. We have brought the unity and capabilities of the Party and the people to a new and higher level of waging revolutionary struggle in accordance with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and along the general line of new-democratic revolution.

We have won brilliant victories in the ideological, political and organizational fields in the course of carrying out the critical and constructive tasks of the rectification movement. As a result of the rectification movement, our Party is revitalized and further strengthened to perform all the fundamental tasks in the national-democratic revolution and to take advantage of the ever worsening crisis of the domestic ruling system and the world capitalist system.

We have reaffirmed the basic revolutionary principles of the Party as the advanced detachment of the proletariat and identified, criticized, repudiated and defeated the major errors of revisionism, subjectivism and opportunism that have undermined and weakened the Party and the revolutionary mass movement.

Under the leadership of the Party, the Filipino people and all the revolutionary forces are more than ever determined to fight the US-Ramos regime and the entire ruling system of comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class which are in the service of the US, Japanese and other imperialists.

We are determined to carry out the rectification movement through to the end. In the forthcoming year, we shall be making still greater strides in carrying out the tasks of the rectification movement. The Central Committee enjoins the entire Party to be guided by the assessment and the tasks defined last July. Since then, the Party has made advances.

RESOUNDING VICTORIES OF THE RECTIFICATION MOVEMENT

The Party has won a great ideological victory by upholding, defending and promoting Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as its theoretical weapon to combat revisionism and various forms of subjectivism and opportunism within the Party and to frustrate the anticommunist ideological offensive of the imperialists, the local reactionaries and their special agents.

As a result of the rectification movement, a high level of ideological unity in accordance with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism has been attained. There is common understanding among Party cadres and members that a strong ideological foundation guarantees the victory of the new-democratic revolution and consequently the socialist revolution until communism is reached.

The process of ideological building has proceeded vigorously through the summing-up and analysis of revolutionary practice, the criticism and repudiation of revisionist and subjectivist currents previously circulated by the renegades.

The Party is now increasingly putting the stress on criticizing the remaining influences of erroneous currents and conducting social investigations, summing up and analysis of current work and comradely criticism and self-criticism. The long-running major errors of the renegades and incorrigible opportunists have been amply identified, criticized and repudiated and the worst of the renegades have been thoroughly defeated through criticism and repudiation as well as through their own self-exposure.

Under the guidance of the rectification documents issued by the Central Committee, lower Party organs and units within their respective scope have undertaken collective summing-up and analysis of experience and have conducted criticism and self-criticism. The Central Committee has circulated for study a number of the rectification

documents drawn up by organs lower than itself and some of these have been published in *Rebolusyon*.

At various levels, the Party is in the process of deepening and raising to a new and higher level the study of its revolutionary experience. Those who lag behind are encouraged to catch up. Those who are ahead are advised not to become complacent. There is no end to the process of study and further study. It is a constant process of widening and deepening knowledge on the basis of revolutionary practice.

The Central Committee is urging lower organs and units to look into internal causes of errors and damage even as the rectification documents it has issued look into the causes of major errors at higher levels. There is a dialectical relationship between the responsibility of higher and lower Party organs.

The living study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought through the summing-up and analysis of our revolutionary experience and through the study of the rectification documents have appropriately run ahead of the formal study courses. In fact this living study must enrich and enliven the formal study courses.

The primary study course of the Party is earnestly being propagated in combination with the special courses in the line of work of the Party members. The works of the great communists and other study materials are being translated, reproduced and distributed and are being read by Party cadres and members. All Party cadres and members are encouraged to read and study these materials even before taking a higher formal Party course. Some Party organs and units have run ahead with the intermediate and advanced study courses. In due time, these courses shall be undertaken more widely.

The organs concerned are working hard to overcome previous delays in the training of instructors and preparation of study materials for the Party courses. We are determined to accelerate work in this regard. We commend the regional Party committees and the Party units among the youth and women for taking initiative in conducting study courses at various levels.

The Party has frustrated the ideological offensive of imperialism and the local reactionaries and has carried out a counteroffensive. Through a resolute two-line ideological struggle, the Party has ferreted out and done away with the revisionists and incorrigible opportunists. Furthermore, the ideological struggle has been extended to one against

anticommunist petty-bourgeois grouplets which have long been in cahoots with the incorrigible opportunists and revisionist renegades.

The Party has brilliantly proven the need for the vanguard role of the proletariat in the ever raging anti-imperialist and class struggle. It has continued to integrate in its program the solutions to problems concerning human rights, development, environment, women, youth, ethnic minorities, peace, civil society and the like which the anticommunist petty-bourgeois grouplets wish to use against the Party and the new-democratic revolution. These grouplets have been instigated and financed by imperialist funding agencies to wage an anticommunist campaign.

In the international communist movement, the Party enjoys a high standing because of its resolute stand for Marxism-Leninism against modern revisionism, its achievements in the revolutionary struggle and its current rectification movement. In the international arena, the Party has taken an outstanding role in upholding Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the socialist cause and is combating modern revisionism and the anticommunist ideological offensive of the imperialists. In the spirit of proletarian internationalism it modestly offers its revolutionary practice and ideas in exchanges and critically learns from other parties and movements.

The Party learns from the full scope of the basic teachings and experience of such great communist thinkers and leaders as Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao and puts the main stress on learning the basic principles and the basic achievements in socialist revolution and construction in the past and studying how to bring about the resurgence of the world proletarian revolution and the anti-imperialist movement.

We have integrated more firmly the universal theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism with the concrete conditions of the Philippines and our concrete revolutionary practice. The Party has won a great political victory by reaffirming and sharpening the analysis of Philippine society as semicolonial and semifeudal and resolutely carrying out the new type of national-democratic revolution, under the leadership of the proletariat and with a socialist perspective.

The Party has defeated the "Left" and Right opportunist lines that have originated from a misinterpretation of the character of Philippine society, especially that of the economy. It has successfully warded off various kinds of imperialist-inspired and antiquated petty-bourgeois

notions for derailing the revolution and capitulating to and collaborating with the imperialists and the local reactionaries

The Party is requiring Party cadres and members to conduct social investigation as the basis of revolutionary work on varying scales. We are thereby deepening and sharpening our analysis of Philippine society and revolution. Both the "Left" and Right opportunists have dogmatically and uncritically adopted models and ideas from abroad.

In their obsession to rationalize their urban-basing, the "Left" and Right opportunists have respectively espoused urban insurrectionism and reformism as the leading factor in the revolution and in common ascribed to the fascist dictatorship of the US-Marcos regime the achievement of having industrialized and urbanized the Philippines to such an extent as to "invalidate" the protracted people's war.

In fact, the fascist dictatorship aggravated and deepened the semifeudal and preindustrial character of the economy. And the population of Metro Manila and the provincial cities rose from 19.8 percent in 1960 to only 21 percent in 1990. Employment in the import-dependent industrial sector has fluctuated around 15 percent. In the manufacturing sector in particular, it has dropped from 12.1 percent in 1960 to 9.7 percent in 1990.

The revolutionary class line of the Party in the new-democratic revolution entails upholding and realizing the class leadership of the proletariat, relying mainly on the peasantry, winning over the urban petty bourgeoisie as a basic revolutionary force and the national bourgeoisie as an additional positive force and taking advantage of the splits among the reactionaries in order to isolate and defeat the enemy, now the US-Ramos regime.

The Party firmly wields armed struggle and the united front as weapons of the revolutionary struggle. Armed struggle is the principal form of revolutionary struggle. It is the weapon for overthrowing the counterrevolutionary state. The legal struggle is the secondary form of struggle but it is important and indispensable for advancing the revolutionary armed struggle.

The Party resolutely adheres to the strategic line of protracted people's war. It is the line of encircling the cities from the countryside and accumulating strength in the countryside until it is possible to seize the cities.

The New People's Army has been reoriented, retrained and redeployed in order to create an ever widening and deepening mass base

for extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare within the stage of strategic defensive in the people's war. In every guerrilla front, the center of gravity has no more than 30 percent of the Red fighters and dispersed units comprise no less than 70 percent, with squads typically covering entire municipalities and subdividing into armed propaganda teams.

The typical guerrilla front now covers a congressional district or its equivalent and has a total force of a company of the NPA. The center of gravity is a platoon, serving as the headquarters force or rallying point of the Party and the NPA. The rest of the company of the guerrilla front is dispersed more widely than the components of the center of gravity in order to carry out mass work.

Some guerrilla fronts have expanded beyond their size in 1992 and in varying scope have recovered the mass base and areas previously lost as a result of the "Left" opportunist line of premature regularization, urban insurrectionism and militarism, previously promoted by the central leadership's line of "strategic counteroffensive" and the Mindanao Commission's "Red Area-White Area" line. Other guerrilla fronts have decelerated the decline of their mass base. At the same time, new guerrilla fronts have arisen for the first time or reemerged from areas lost previously for more than five or even ten years.

To expand the mass base, the armed propaganda teams engage in a series of activities like utilizing contacts, conducting social investigation, forming people's organizing groups and appointing the barrio organizing committees. To consolidate the mass base, the armed propaganda teams form the mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth, women, children and cultural activists; guide the representatives of mass organizations to elect the barrio revolutionary committees and form the working committees to undertake various functions of government; encourage mass campaigns and train the militia and the self-defense units.

The number and frequency of NPA tactical offensives are gradually increasing. For some time, the long-running damage on the mass base and consequently the stress on mass-base building in the rectification movement have tended to decelerate tactical offensives. But rebuilding the mass base is the prerequisite to launching tactical offensives that we can win and sustain. For this reason, the NPA has deliberately let the enemy forces punch the air in certain areas and at certain times. At the same time, the reactionary regime and bourgeois mass media have

blacked out information about our successful tactical offensives in order to conjure the illusion that the revolutionary forces are waning.

An outstanding politico-military campaign waged by the NPA, which cannot be ignored by the reactionary press, is the implementation of the policy of the Party to ban logging for export in Mindanao and other areas. But generally, the reactionary press has ignored the NPA actions related to the suppression of bad elements in the course of expanding and consolidating the mass base and carrying out the land reform campaign.

In the urban areas, the legal democratic mass movement is surging forward. The mass organizations of workers, urban poor, women, youth, teachers, cultural workers, human rights activists, health workers and other sectors have revitalized and further strengthened themselves. Their multisectoral and sectoral alliances have launched mass campaigns along the national-democratic line against the ruling system of the US-Ramos regime.

Mass protest actions are expanding and intensifying. These take up the basic issues against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism and the specific policies that aggravate the oppression and exploitation of the people. As in the revolutionary armed struggle, the tactics of the united front are employed in the legal democratic movement and are utilized in order to mobilize the broad masses of the people.

The patriotic and progressive forces are prepared to celebrate the centennial of the old democratic revolution of 1896 up to the revolutionary resistance against the US war of aggression starting in 1899. They put the stress on the revolutionary essence of the old democratic revolution and its continuity with the anti-imperialist and antifeudal new-democratic revolution in contrast with the reactionary stress on June 12, 1898 proclamation of "independence" under the "noble protection" of the United States.

The economic and political crisis of the ruling system is so grave that any specific issue is likely to arise and galvanize the people into mass actions at any time. The outrage over the execution of the migrant worker Flor Contemplacion and the general plight of overseas Filipino workers have brought out hundreds of thousands of people to the streets in Metro Manila and other cities in order to condemn and isolate the US-Ramos regime.

The broad masses of the people in Metro Manila and more than twenty provincial cities have repeatedly conducted mass actions on such issues as the impositions of US-controlled international agencies (IMF, World Bank and WTO), the repression and exploitation of the working people, the increase in taxes in the form of the expanded value-added tax, the rising price of fuel, the shortage of rice and other staple food and so on. The mass protest actions in Negros island have been outstanding.

There is an increasingly effective coordination between the urban and rural mass movement and the legal and illegal forms of struggle. From the urban-based legal mass movement the Party is generating a great number of advanced mass activists, developing an increasing number of them to become Party members and encouraging a significant number of the workers and educated youth to join the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside.

The most important development in the legal democratic movement is that the Party cadres and mass activists are in the main working at the grassroots level and are engaged in solid mass organizing as the basis of mass campaigns. In turn, the mass campaigns serve to draw in the spontaneous masses for solid organizing.

The practice of absorbing the Party cadres and the most advanced mass activists in urban-based bureaucratic offices and becoming dependent on resources from above or from funding agencies has been vigorously criticized and repudiated. The legal democratic movement relies on the masses. The imperialists and local reactionaries are unwittingly aiding the revolutionary movement by financing and further corrupting their special anticommunist petty-bourgeois agents who are in turn being exposed as negative example and being driven off from local areas by the revolutionary forces.

The Party has deliberately reduced the existence and operations of armed city partisans in Metro Manila and some other cities to stress the need for the development of the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside and to prevent the revisionist renegades who have become enemy spies from jeopardizing their security. In the redeployment, the operation of armed city partisans shall be directed by responsible command based in the countryside and priority shall be given to assignment of armed personnel who cannot be easily identified by the enemy.

The Party has won a great organizational victory in the course of the rectification movement by upholding the principle of democratic centralism, combating bureaucratism and ultrademocracy, recruiting the Party candidate-members from the ranks of the advanced mass activists in the *urban and rural mass movement and tempering the Party and the masses in revolutionary mass struggles.*

The Party is solidly national in scale and is more than ever deeply rooted among the masses of workers and peasants. Both the legal mass movement and the armed revolutionary movement manifest and sustain the strength of the Party. The revolutionary mass activists augment the strength of the Party cadres and members.

The Party is determined to increase the proportion of Party members who are of worker and peasant status. This is in line with the revolutionary character of the Party. It is in response to a great need. The incorrigible opportunists and revisionists in the past sabotaged the Party's line of recruiting members mainly from the working people.

At the same time, there is a great need to attract the educated youth to the Party. An increasing number of them have joined the worker cadres in responding to the call for educated youth to serve in the people's army and do rural work. The Party is always open to individuals from the urban petty bourgeoisie who wish to remould themselves and become communists.

The Party has successfully streamlined the organization of its cadres and members and put them closer to the masses. Unnecessary layers of organization have been done away with. The leading organs of the Party outside Manila-Rizal are now required to closely link with the appropriate command of the people's army. The Central Committee is redeploying Party cadres and resources from relatively strong Party organizations to those lagging behind or previously damaged by the long-running opportunist currents and wrecking operations of the revisionist renegades.

All the fourteen regional Party organizations are financially self-reliant and many of them can deliver a part of their surplus to the Central Committee for general purposes and for assisting the regional Party committees in two regions where the counterrevolutionary opportunists did some serious damage. In all regions, mass work is basically self-reliant and is laying down the basis for the revitalization and reinforcement of the cadre personnel and armed strength.

The Party has become far more healthy and strong after the removal of the handful of incorrigible revisionists, opportunists and renegades as well as the few centrists who maliciously muddled right and wrong and espoused the unity of proletarian revolutionaries with the renegades. These few anti-Party elements have exposed their counterrevolutionary character and have followed the path of anticommunism, treason and criminal degeneration.

They have formed one grouplet that is flagrantly Trotskyite and attached to reactionary politicians. Its armed gangsters have misappropriated the name ABB and is engaged in extortion, union-busting, kidnap-for-ransom, killing for hire and intelligence work for the enemy. Another smaller grouplet also harps on anti-Stalinism and bourgeois democracy. It is directed by the principal criminals in Kampanyang Ahos and by enemy agents. Both grouplets are directed and manipulated by intelligence agencies of the US and Manila governments and collaborate with earlier anticommunist petty-bourgeois grouplets.

If the revisionist renegades and liquidationists had their way, the Party would have changed its character and disintegrated as in the case of many parties abroad. But the Party has been able to repel their malicious scheme and has used them as negative example in the course of the rectification movement. Unwittingly, they have helped the Party to reaffirm basic revolutionary principles and further strengthen all revolutionary forces.

Discipline and inner democracy are both flourishing within the Party. The summing-up and analysis of revolutionary experience and the concomitant comradely criticism and self-criticism lead to the definition of tasks to be carried out. Within the organs and units, the Party cadres and members begin their comradely discussions with the desire for unity, engage in the struggle of ideas on the basis of the facts and proceed to a new and higher level of revolutionary unity.

TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THE DOMESTIC CRISIS

The new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war can take full advantage of the chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system, especially because this crisis is further taking a downward course. The US-Ramos regime is the instrument of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class and is utterly

subservient to the foreign monopolies both directly and through multilateral agencies like the IMF, World Bank and the WTO. The ever worsening crisis of the ruling system is inextricably connected with the ever worsening crisis of the world capitalist system.

It is a foregone conclusion that the Medium-Term Development Plan (Philippines 2000) of the US-Ramos regime is not going to change the agrarian and semifeudal character of the economy. So many parts of the country have been declared as industrial zones, yet no basic industries are being established. Only in a few enclaves are there some enterprises engaged in labor-intensive fringe-processing of semiconductors, garments, shoes, toys and the like for reexport.

Under the policy of import-liberalization, the earlier enterprises of repackaging and reassembling foreign manufactures for domestic consumption are in the process of being wiped out. In fact, in terms of output and employment, manufacturing is decreasing. As during the Marcos regime, there is a flurry of energy projects and infrastructure-building. But this is on a smaller scale despite the rapid deterioration of existing energy facilities and infrastructures during the last 15 years.

There is certainly no land reform. There is merely a proliferation of signboards, declaring certain areas as agrarian reform communities. In fact, the process of land concentration in the hands of the few has accelerated. The most exploitative forms of tenancy are rampant. In the frontier areas, the corporate, bureaucratic and military landgrabbers continue to forcibly deprive the poor and middle peasants and indigenous people of what is left of their land.

The current reactionary regime makes scarce pretense of land reform. It has confiscated or canceled a great number of the certificates of land transfer (CLTs) and emancipation patents distributed by previous regimes. It has encouraged landlords to convert their rice and corn lands into other types of crop land exempted from its bogus agrarian reform program.

The socioeconomic crisis is rapidly worsening. And yet the US-Ramos regime is poised to claim a growth rate of more than 6 percent in the gross domestic product (GDP). This includes estimates of consumption, investment, government expenditures and exports as well as pure fabrications of production increases (including that in agricultural production despite the scandalous shortage and large importation of rice, sugar and fish).

Agricultural production for domestic consumption and export and mineral ore production for export are the main productive activities of the Philippine economy. The industrial sector is import-dependent, consumption-driven and lacks a foundation in heavy and basic industries. The economic value of import-dependent and low-value added manufacturing is exaggerated. It employs less workers than the old import-substitution manufacturing, pays far lower wages and yields a low net export income.

Foreign trade and budgetary deficits are ever growing. The reactionary government continues to beg for foreign loans. Foreign debt is now admitted to be more than US\$40 billion. In the worsening of the financial crisis, the reactionary government has rapidly increased the tax burden on the people, local public borrowing and foreign borrowing. It has gone so far as to become dependent on the most speculative type of foreign capital and on the sale of state assets, including prime land, major enterprises and public utilities to the foreign monopolists.

The funds flow into the hands of foreign monopoly capitalists, big compradors, landlords and the bureaucrat capitalists at the expense of the working people and the middle social strata. At the expense of social services, like education and health, such coercive apparatuses of the state as the military, police and paramilitary forces also continue to enlarge their share of the reactionary government's annual budget.

The problem of unemployment is worsening and is concealed by the statistics of the reactionary government. In the system of random sampling, one who says that he has worked for one day is now considered employed for the entire year. The unemployed and underemployed are mostly classified as workers in "elementary forms" of occupation in the service sector. By overestimating the proportions of the service and industrial sectors, the reactionary government minimizes the share of the agricultural sector in terms of output and employment.

Some five to six million of the unemployed in the domestic economy have been exported as cheap labor. The foreign exchange income from this, now estimated at US\$6 billion to US\$7 billion, is officially regarded as a major component of the gross national product. The export of cheap labor has scored higher foreign exchange income than that of any of the fringe-processed reexports, agricultural crops or

mineral ores. But nearly all of this income goes into consumption of the families of the migrant workers.

The actual high inflation rate is cutting down the income of the people. Prices are rising fast due to the breakdown of production and the scarcity of rice and other basic goods, the rising cost of importing producer and consumer goods and the corporate and bureaucratic upward manipulation of fuel prices. There is no escape for anyone from the inflation and the expanded value-added tax built into the prices of all commodities.

The most serious and credible estimates of those who fall below the poverty line range from 75 to 80 percent. The impoverished have no way out of poverty and misery as the economy continues to deteriorate. The land frontier which traditionally absorbed the surplus labor has disappeared since the late '60s. Thus, there has been a large buildup of rural and urban odd-jobbers.

The US-Ramos regime is intensifying exploitation and oppression through a deliberate policy of favoring the imperialists and local reactionaries and unleashing the military, police and paramilitary forces against the working people.

The workers are being forced to accept lower wage and more miserable living conditions. Unions are being busted. Strikes are banned and labor leaders and strikers are physically attacked and killed. Existing collective bargaining agreements are being violated on a wide scale. Foreign and domestic employers are encouraged to prevent unionization and relocate to so-called industrial zones where the "no-union, no-strike" policy is brazenly implemented. The shanties of workers, odd-jobbers and other urban poor are often the target of military-police zoning operations and demolition campaigns.

In the countryside, brutal military campaigns are conducted, whether the people's army is there or not. The objective is to grab the land from the peasants and the ethnic communities. The land is grabbed for corporate farming, integrated forest management, mining concessions and so on. The enemy onslaughts include aerial bombardments, artillery fire, rifle fire and arson. In the course of these, the peasants and indigenous people become the victims of looting, torture, rape and massacre.

The barbarities of the US-Ramos ruling clique can only incite more people to join the revolutionary armed struggle and to overthrow the entire ruling system. In the urban areas, the legal democratic movement

is also surging forward to denounce the system and make demands for revolutionary change.

US imperialism and the local reactionaries have claimed that there is democratization after the fall of Marcos and the reestablishment of the pre-1972 reactionary institutions and processes. It was precisely after the fall of Marcos that military campaigns of suppression like Lumbat Bitag I, II and III, far more brutal than any under the Marcos regime, were launched by the post-Marcos regimes. Fascism has persisted but has been camouflaged since the fall of Marcos.

General Fidel Ramos has been the chief puppet of US imperialism, the chief representative of the local reactionaries and the pivot in the continuity of fascist repression, even under the figurehead presidency of Aquino. The joint class dictatorship of the comprador bourgeoisie and landlord class continues. The political descendants of the Marcos dictatorship are still colluding and competing in ruling the Philippines and have coopted or marginalized most of the anti-Marcos reactionaries.

It is clear that under the low-intensity conflict scheme of US imperialism, the brutal military campaigns of suppression against the revolutionary movement have been complemented by psychological warfare. The most dangerous of this psywar is not the deployment of "special operation teams" (SOT) and death squads but the operations of those special ideological and political agents assigned to destroy the Party and revolutionary movement from within.

One set of these agents spread the line that after the fall of Marcos there is democratization, at first by the forces of "elite democracy" and then by those of "popular democracy" through a legal struggle for reforms. They have harped on the line that human rights violations are on a decline and that these are committed by both the counterrevolutionary and revolutionary forces. They claim all would be well if the revolutionary armed struggle were "de-emphasized" or stopped.

Another set of agents spread the line that the revolutionary forces had better win within a short period of time through urban insurrectionism and militarism and by securing foreign military assistance or else the armed revolution would stagnate, retrogress or become futile. They were awed by the enemy's strategic offensive and tactics of "gradual constriction". And yet they played into the hands of the enemy as they

damaged the mass base, went into self-constriction and pushed the NPA units into a purely military situation.

The two sets of enemy agents have been directed by US and Philippine psy-war agencies. This is well verified by the fact that the principal agents have sought to destroy the Party and the revolutionary movement from within and have openly and shamelessly continued to engage in the grossest and most vicious type of anticommunist propaganda.

Unfortunately for these renegades and traitors, the Party has frustrated, exposed and repudiated them. They have chosen to openly betray and attack the Party at the time that General Ramos is president. In contrast, the revolutionary unity of the Party and the masses in political consciousness and militancy shines resplendently against the crisis-ridden and grievously factionalized ruling system.

Due to the worsening socioeconomic crisis, there is the worsening political crisis of the ruling system. The contradictions among the reactionaries are intensifying. Even as the reactionary factions unite against the people, they compete among themselves for political power and the spoils of office.

In the 1995 elections for legislative and local executive offices, Lakas-NUCD-UMDP (Lakas ng Tao-National Union of Christian Democrats-United Muslim Democratic Party) or Ramos' coalition and Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino (LDP) united in order to beat their opponents. They even colluded in electoral cheating under Oplan Dagdag-Bawas. But soon after the elections, the leaders of both political formations betrayed each other.

Ramos of Lakas-NUCD-UMDP engineered the ouster of Sen. Edgardo Angara of LDP as Senate President in order to pave the way for legislative actions aimed at realizing his own autocratic ambitions. Ramos wishes to amend the 1987 constitution in order to extend his rule as president beyond the limit of six years and eliminate certain guarantees formally provided by its bill of rights.

Aside from pushing for constitutional amendments that may be made by a congress acting as a constituent assembly, the Ramos regime is pushing the so-called Antiterrorism Bill, which is far more antidemocratic and repressive than the repealed Antisubversion Law. It seeks to curtail the freedom of expression, regard publications against the regime as criminal, restore the death penalty for political offenses and seize the properties of those accused of terrorism.

Ramos is hellbent on accumulating emergency powers without having to declare martial law. He used the fuel crisis in the past to get the emergency power allowing him to dispense with the public bidding for contracts with state corporations and to enrich himself through secret negotiations with big business. He has encouraged the worst of business practices and he seeks emergency powers under the guise of trying to control such practices. But in fact his objective is to suppress workers' rights. He has also allowed the criminal syndicates to flourish under the direction of police and military officers. And yet he is poised to use the issue of rampant criminality to justify emergency power and the suspension of democratic rights.

At the beginning of his presidential term, Ramos appointed Vice-President Joseph Estrada as chairman of the Presidential Anti-Crime Commission (PACC) in order to make him responsible for an impossible task, coopt him and choose the time and method for eliminating him as a political rival. The most brazen criminal syndicates are run by the reactionary military and police officers, including those in the PACC. Military and police officers also handle the criminal gangs headed by Conrado Balweg, Filemon Lagman, Arturo Tabara and "businessman" Romulo Kintanar.

While the most outrageous crimes of murder, robbery and kidnapping outrage the entire nation, both Ramos and Estrada cover up the responsibility of military and police officers and at the same time they maneuver and countermove as they blame each other for the failure to solve the crime problem. The generals who were flagrantly involved in the massacre of the Kuratong Baleleng gang and the disappearance of the loot have been exculpated.

As social turmoil is raging, Ramos wishes to misrepresent himself as desirous of peace and stability. Upon the prompting of US imperialism, he has sought to reconcile with anti-Ramos factions in the Armed Forces of the Philippines, like the ones bearing the names Reform the Armed Forces Movement (RAM), Soldiers of the Filipino People (SFP) and Young Officers' Union (YOU).

The reconciliation among factions of the same counterrevolutionary force is carried out under the long running "Armacost formula" for reuniting the AFP after the split necessitated by the overthrow of Marcos. But more significant than the so-called general peace agreement, which condones and amnesties the criminal responsibilities of the coup plotters, is the defection of Brig. Gen. Raymundo Jarque to

the NDF and NPA by way of exposing the rottenness of the reactionary state and the continuing tendency of the AFP to disintegrate.

The Ramos regime is also drumming up its peace negotiations with the Moro National Liberation Front. So far, there has been no settlement because such make-or-break questions as the process of composing a provisional autonomous government, integration of armed forces, sharing of tax revenues and the like remain unresolved.

In case the MNLF completely capitulates to the Ramos regime, the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) and such groups as those of Abu Sayyaf are poised to seize the initiative in fighting the Manila government. The MILF is now reputed to be better armed and better organized than the MNLF. The Manila government has shifted 20,000 troops to the areas of the Moro people in reaction to the MILF show of strength and in anticipation of the MNLF refusing to follow the baton of the US-Ramos regime.

The peace negotiations between the National Democratic Front and the Manila government formally opened in Brussels last June 26, with the Belgian government as host. But these have been unilaterally suspended by the Manila government after violating the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees by continuing to detain NDF consultant Sotero Llamas. The broad masses of the people see clearly the unjust and unreasonable position of the Manila government. The NDF is fully justified in letting the talks remain unresumed.

So as not to create false illusions and confuse the people, the NDF and the revolutionary forces which it represents have always made it clear that they resolutely pursue the line of struggle for national liberation and democracy against the imperialists and the local reactionaries and that the peace negotiations are but one more form of legal struggle that is subordinate to the revolutionary armed struggle and to the legal mass movement.

It is only in one respect that the peace negotiations conducted by the NDF negotiating panel is superior to other forms of legal struggle: that these allow the revolutionary forces and organs of political power to face up to the Manila government as an equal across the table under international norms and to accumulate points for the international recognition of the status of belligerency of the revolutionary movement under the laws of war.

Irrespective of the progress of the peace negotiations or the lack of it, the revolutionary forces and the people are building a new

revolutionary state in more and more areas in the countryside to supplant the old reactionary state even as this is still entrenched in the cities. The revolutionary armed struggle and the legal democratic movement against the US-Ramos regime and the entire ruling system must ceaselessly progress.

So long as social conditions remain semicolonial and semifeudal, there is fertile ground for the protracted people's war along the general line of the national-democratic revolution. The need for people's war is more urgent because of the ceaseless anticommunist military onslaughts in the countryside and the repressive policy and measures being taken against the people in both urban and rural areas.

Had it not been for the "Left" and Right opportunist errors for so long, the armed revolutionary movement would have made solidly founded and steady advances. However, even defense secretary General Renato de Villa has had to admit before a senate committee hearing in July 1995 that the NPA has recovered many areas in the countryside since 1993 as a result of the rectification movement.

In the long past, not even the relatively more stable position of the ruling system before 1972, the persistence of US military bases and heavy doses of military aid, the Marcos fascist dictatorship from 1972-86 and colossal amounts of foreign loans could deter or cause the defeat of the self-reliant revolutionary movement.

The position of the domestic ruling system is far more unstable and weak than ever before. It is beset by a crisis arising from its distinct nature and from its dependence on the world capitalist system which is also stricken by crisis. The imperialists are preoccupied by domestic, regional and global problems.

Foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism themselves weaken the domestic ruling system to the core. The broad masses of the people resist the intensifying exploitation and oppression. The pouring of more billions of pesos into the coercive apparatuses of the state serves only to further weaken the system.

The reactionary military and police remain factionalized and are plunging into a vortex of corruption and criminality. The armed movements for self-determination of the Moro people are now larger than ever before. Most important of all, the rectification movement has made the New People's Army and other revolutionary forces led by the CPP more consolidated and stronger for protracted people's war. The

subjective forces of the revolution are in a good position to take full advantage of the favorable objective conditions.

TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THE WORLD DISORDER

The new-democratic revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines can take full advantage of the ever-worsening crisis of overproduction of the world capitalist system and the new world disorder raging on an ever widening scale in the wake of the end of the cold war between US imperialism and the now defunct Soviet social-imperialism.

The objective conditions in the world tend to favor the waging of the protracted people's war in the Philippines. So desperate is the US-Ramos regime about the crisis of the domestic ruling system that it readily welcomes the US demand for "access rights" of US military forces in the Philippines and is now maneuvering to pave the way for the return of the US military bases by making provocations in the Spratly island group and drumming up China as the threat to the Philippines and the ASEAN region.

The US and other imperialists are preoccupied with worsening domestic problems, with the growing contradictions among them and with various civil wars and other armed conflicts flaring up simultaneously in the world. Rather than the self-reliant armed revolutionary movement, it is the domestic ruling system that is in dire straits because of its constant dependence on foreign military and other assistance from the imperialists.

The process of concentration and centralization of capital by the supermonopolies are proceeding at an unprecedentedly high speed. Under the slogans of privatization and corporate retooling, the supermonopolies are using state monopoly capitalism and high technology to accelerate the concentration and centralization of capital in their hands.

The result is massive destruction of productive forces in entire national economies, including those of industrial capitalist countries, former revisionist-ruled countries and underdeveloped countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The much-touted East Asian economies, engaged in low-wage sweatshop production for export, are adversely affected by the current crisis in the industrial capitalist countries which are their principal markets.

Social turmoil is on an unprecedentedly wide scale. Civil wars and other types of armed conflict have been raging in Europe, particularly in the former Yugoslavia, especially Bosnia, and the former Soviet Union, as in Chechnya, in Central Asia, in South Asia, in East Asia, in Africa and in Latin America. Well-organized and spontaneous mass protests are intensifying and spreading in the industrial capitalist countries and elsewhere in the world.

The national economies of all the industrial capitalist countries have plunged to a new level of stagnation and are expected to stagnate further in the forthcoming year. The centers of world capitalism, the United States, Japan and the European Union are currently registering growth rates lower than those of last year (1994). As usual, growth rate figures are bloated by the most nonproductive accounts in the service sector. The lesser industrial capitalist countries are falling deeper into a state of depression.

The United States is straining to retain its position as the economic and military leader of the world capitalist system. As it tries to solve its colossal debt and deficit problems without drastically reducing military expenditures, it cuts back on domestic social programs and causes social unrest among the workers, the people of color, women, youth and pensioners. The high-tech retooling of the industries is killing jobs, causing large inventories of unsold goods and forcing losing firms into bankruptcy, mergers and sellout. And yet the unemployed are misrepresented as parasites unwilling to work and feeding on social welfare. As in the rest of the industrial capitalist countries, the migrant workers are blamed for taking jobs away from the local workers.

The United States is upsetting the balance of its relations with other capitalist powers as it tries to reverse its industrial decline, improve its export competitiveness and spread the burden of expenditures in security alliances and military "peacekeeping" operations, in furtherance of its hegemonic schemes. At the same time, it unites with its imperialist allies in utilizing the US-led international agencies (UN, IMF, World Bank, WTO, OECD, G-7, etc.) to exploit and oppress the proletariat and people of the world.

The United States is consolidating its own national market and its nearest regional markets, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the whole of Latin America. These threaten to undercut in the US market the export-oriented economies in East Asia. At the same time, the United States is pushing its exports everywhere in the

world. It has spearheaded the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum to further ensure that the ASEAN Free Trade Agreement (AFTA) stay within US control and preempt the Japan-instigated East Asia Economic Cooperation (EAEC) proposed by Malaysia. It leaps over its West European trade rivals in dumping goods in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

The United States has used the devaluation of the dollar as weapon for promoting its exports and putting Japan and the European Union at a disadvantage. At the same time, it has maneuvered itself into taking the main burden and risks — in the name of NATO, instead of the UN — in Bosnia and picking up seemingly advantageous bilateral security agreements with as many as six states, including some successor states of the former Yugoslavia and former Warsaw Pact members, Hungary and Rumania, as "partners for peace". The Russian contingent is under the command of the NATO and in effect the United States.

On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II and the United Nations, it is appropriate to observe that Japan and Germany have won in economic terms through the cold war and through the UN what they failed to win by aggression in World War II. However, after 50 years of overconsumption and footing the military bill, the United States is trying to revive its industrial production for export and spread the costs of policing the world in the interest of monopoly capitalism.

Like the United States, Japan and Germany are trying to consolidate their national and regional markets and are utilizing very much the same strategy and tactics to solve the domestic problems of monopoly capitalism at the expense of the proletariat and in favor of their supermonopolies. They are taking advantage of the US need for sharing the military burden by strengthening their own military forces and demanding permanent seats in the UN Security Council.

Japan has not reversed its downward course since the burst of the Japanese economic bubble in 1991. In so short a time, it is moving into heavy public borrowing to revive its economy. But what remains the most apparent problem is the abuse of the private banks long plagued by bad debts. Germany is still under the obvious strain of rising taxes and other costs of reunification. The industries of West Germany previously found some relief by dumping surplus goods into East Germany and farther East. But plant closures and unemployment in East Germany and the unceasing economic deterioration of the former

Soviet-bloc countries have limited the market for German surplus goods.

As in the United States, the fundamental problem in Japan and the European Union is the rapidly rising organic composition of capital and the disemployment of workers. This is exacerbated by shifting labor-intensive processes to countries where labor is far cheaper and importing what is more cheaply produced there. The shift of certain processes to other countries does not result in their development nor solve unemployment there.

In all the industrial capitalist countries, the thrust of state monopoly capitalism is to deliver to the private supermonopolies the profitable state enterprises, bloated contracts, bailouts, tax breaks, subsidies, guarantees for investments and exports and so on. At the same time, social programs are cut back for the benefit of big business in the attempt to cut down budgetary deficits. The tax burden is increasingly imposed on the working people, while unemployment is rising in the general trend of adopting high technology and raising the organic composition of capital.

The political parties of the big bourgeoisie are discredited, especially by corruption scandals and their failure to solve the economic and social crisis. To obscure its responsibility for the rapidly rising organic composition of capital and for the resultant crisis, the big bourgeoisie is whipping up nationalism, neofascism and racism and is spreading the lie that migrant workers and low-wage countries are taking away jobs from the workers of the industrial capitalist countries.

The proletariat and people in the industrial capitalist countries have scarcely begun to fight back against the monopoly bourgeoisie. There is yet no single revolutionary party of the proletariat politically and organizationally strong enough to challenge the capitalist ruling system anywhere. Unionization of workers has either decreased or has been coopted by the big bourgeoisie over the decades. So far, the general strikes in France, combining the workers, students and other people this December, are the most telling protest action against the capitalist ruling system.

The biggest destruction of productive forces in the last five years is seen in the successor states of the former revisionist-ruled countries in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The flagrant privatization of state assets has aggravated the state of depression which has run since the latter half of the '70s. In many enterprises, production has either been

stopped or has plummeted. Unemployment runs rampant. The impoverishment of the people has been scandalously drastic. Even the average lifespan in the former Soviet Union has plummeted from 65 to 57 years.

The breakdown of the economies makes even Soviet neocolonialism and prolonged depression in the Brezhnev period look good. The continuing economic deterioration is due to the unrestrained rapacity of an extremely criminal new bourgeoisie long nurtured by monopoly bureaucrat capitalism since 1956. The monopoly bourgeoisie have legitimized their accumulated private assets, accelerated further privatization of the most profitable state assets and welcomed the dumping of the surplus consumer goods from the West.

The inflow of investments from the West is highly selective, limited and intended for dominating the market. Even the highly speculative portfolio investments from the West have been scared off by the arbitrariness and deceptiveness of the new monopoly bourgeoisie and the rapid impoverishment of the people. At any rate, the foreign exchange inflow from this type of investments is used by the bankrupt government for importing consumer goods.

Many of the former revisionist-ruled countries entirely or partly have retrogressed to third-world socioeconomic conditions. Conditions of civil war and criminal warfare are seething among the bureaucratic cliques. The blatantly anticommunist regimes have been discredited in so short a time. The revisionists are making a comeback with an admixture of social-democratic, neoliberal and nationalist slogans. Even then, the conditions are ever worsening and are conducive to the rise of bourgeois nationalism and military fascism. The same objective conditions are conducive to the reemergence of proletarian revolutionary parties. But these parties have to reckon with decades of revisionist deception and the current powerful forces of capitalism.

The overwhelming majority of the nation states in Asia, Africa and Latin America remain grossly underdeveloped, agrarian and raw-material producing. They are still the worst victims of imperialism and neocolonialism. Since the '70s, they have suffered from the overproduction of raw materials, economic depression, massive unemployment, deteriorating terms of trade, mounting debt burden and a growing net outflow of capital. The overwhelming majority of the population is peasant and impoverished. Even in such large countries as China, India and Brazil, which have acquired either an industrial

foundation or some heavy and basic industries, there is a large population of peasants and rural odd-jobbers in the hinterlands.

In the last 50 years, the workings of imperialism have kept most third-world countries backward and have de-industrialized some. The imperialists have allowed only a few economies (like those of Taiwan, South Korea and Brazil) to develop from an agrarian character and acquire an industrial foundation or a significant amount of basic industries. More countries have acquired an industrial foundation or basic industries due to socialism (China, North Korea and the like) principally and due to bourgeois nationalism (India, Egypt and the like) secondarily. The industrialization of eight or so countries in Asia and Latin America since World War II does not mean the industrialization of the rest of the more than 150 third-world countries whose economies remain backward.

Countries dependent on raw-material production for export have been ruined since the '70s due to the overproduction of raw materials induced by large amounts of foreign loans for their production and infrastructure. After oil production went in full swing in the North Atlantic, even the OPEC lost much of its bargaining power with the industrial capitalist countries and even the Soviet Union could no longer get enough from its oil exports to finance its new monopoly bourgeoisie, its arms race and the vestiges of social welfare.

The socioeconomic conditions of the third-world countries limited to raw-material production for export have continuously deteriorated. The fall of export incomes and the adoption of austerity measures have generated widespread political turbulence, including civil wars and coups and counter-coups between rival bureaucratic cliques. The imperialists and the corrupt bureaucratic cliques use bourgeois nationalism and ethnic, racial and religious differences to mislead the masses and keep them from taking the revolutionary road.

Outside the major industrial capitalist countries, the top 10 percent of the population in lesser capitalist countries and the thin upper crust of that in third-world countries are the market for cars, the latest consumer electronic consumer products and other new glossy articles of consumption. But such a market is already being saturated and the potential market farther afield is constricted by the bitter consequences of the current crisis of overproduction, by the earlier crisis of overproduction in raw materials, by the overextended abuses of state monopoly capitalism, finance capital and neocolonialism and, of

course, by the rising level of underutilized productive capacity and global unemployment.

For quite sometime already, the supermonopolies have been rapidly destroying productive forces and preventing the industrial development of the overwhelming majority of countries in the world. The claim that imperialism has industrialized the entire world and has made the proletariat the biggest class in all or most of the third-world countries is false, counterrevolutionary and even racist, especially when coupled with the claim that the oppressed nations and peoples are taking jobs away from the workers in the industrial capitalist countries. The Philippine situation is typical rather than unique relative to the general run of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America in terms of the socioeconomic and political depredations of imperialism and local reaction.

Tighter integration into the world capitalist system has subjected such huge countries as China and India (which owe their industrial base or heavy and basic industries either to socialism or bourgeois nationalism) to lopsided investments, compradorization and refeudalization. The majority of the people who are in the hinterlands of these countries are in far worse conditions of oppression and exploitation than before the unabashed integration into the world capitalist system. Even the export-oriented sweatshop manufacturing in China's coastal provinces and in the other East Asian economies is now threatened with reduced orders from the industrial capitalist countries.

The portfolio funds from the imperialist countries which have financed high consumption and covered budgetary and trade deficits in East Asia and Latin America since 1983 have flown back to the industrial capitalist countries since the mid-1994 and the collapse of the Mexican peso in December 1994, respectively. Those countries, dependent on this revolving type of investments and much ballyhooed as "emergent markets", are left with serious damage to their economies and with a foreign debt that has been enlarged faster by the sale of public securities than by the official and commercial loans before 1982. The flight of the speculative capital back to the industrial capitalist countries has aggravated the overconcentration of capital in these countries.

Lenin's critique of modern imperialism and theory of uneven development remain valid. Neither Kautsky's theory of ultra-imperialism, the fallacies of "post-industrial society" nor Immanuel

Wallerstein's world system has rendered Lenin outdated. The world is still in the era of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution. So far, socialism has never prevailed over capitalism on a global scale. Worse, the revisionist ruling cliques have betrayed socialism since 1956 and cast off the revolutionary gains made by the proletariat and the people in the first and second stages of the general crisis of capitalism, which resulted in World Wars I and II but which respectively brought about the first socialist state and then several socialist states.

Even as the global victory of socialism over capitalism — foretold by the Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960 as the main fruit of what was conceived to be the third stage of the general crisis of capitalism — has not materialized as a result of revisionist betrayal, the crisis of overproduction of the world capitalist system has aggravated and deepened from the level of relatively mild recessions in the '50s and '60s to the increasingly more severe ones since the '70s, which have resulted in higher and long-lasting levels of unemployment and steady reduction of real income for the proletariat.

From the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the revisionist regimes in Eastern Europe to the 1995 celebration of the victories of the Allied Powers, the US and other imperialist countries have spoken of socialism as the worst plague that has ever afflicted mankind as if monopoly capitalism were not the one that has unleashed World Wars I and II as well as countless acts of bloody wars of aggression and intervention in the course of the cold war.

The world has moved into the worst period of the chronic crisis of moribund capitalism since the end of World war II and imperialism is in the process of unleashing horrors on the people worse than those during the cold war. But the death of capitalism anywhere in the world can only be effected by the revolutionary forces of the people led by the proletariat and by its party. To make revolution, the party of the proletariat makes concrete analysis of concrete conditions in the world and the country where it is based.

The Communist Party of the Philippines regards it as an internationalist duty to wage the national-democratic revolution through protracted people's war. It is thus that the Party and the Filipino people are among those currently at the forefront of the global anti-imperialist struggle for socialism. They are eagerly awaiting and encouraging the proletariat and people of the world to raise to a new and higher level their revolutionary consciousness and struggle in their respective countries.

The Party cadres and members who are assigned to international work and who are either based at home or abroad are guided by proletarian internationalism in accordance with the principles of independence, equality, mutual benefit and cooperation in developing relations with communist and workers' parties and revolutionary movements. They develop relations on the basis of varying scales of mutual understanding in ideology and politics. They encourage Filipino compatriots abroad to organize themselves and to participate in and support the Philippine revolution as well as the workers' struggle in the host country.

In bilateral relations with parties and organizations abroad, the Party engages in exchange of ideas and experience. It attends multilateral forums and seminars for the purpose of discussing ideological and international issues, seeking to develop mutual understanding through consensus and striving to rebuild the international communist movement as well as strengthening further anti-imperialist solidarity.

We uphold Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and therefore criticize modern revisionism and capitalist restoration. But at the same time, we are for developing the anti-imperialist united front in order to take advantage of the growing contradictions between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the proletariat in capitalist countries and in the entire world, between the imperialists and the oppressed nations and peoples, between the old and the new capitalist countries and among the imperialists.

Our Party supports and cooperates with the countries, nations, peoples, parties and movements to the extent that they stand up against the oppressive and exploitative practices of the imperialist states. We recognize the distinction and dialectics between the ideological integrity of the CPP as a Marxist-Leninist party and the necessary political practice of anti-imperialist solidarity. The proletarian revolutionaries must link up with the majority of the people in the world who fight for national liberation, democracy and socialism against imperialism.

OUR TASKS

In conclusion, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines urges all the Party cadres and members to unite more than ever before and raise ever higher the revolutionary capabilities of the

Party and the people in accordance with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, carry the rectification movement through to the end and accomplish the tasks for 1996 as laid down by the July 1995 assessment.

Let us further strengthen the Party ideologically. Let us integrate the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism with the concrete conditions of our country and with our concrete revolutionary practice. Let us repudiate revisionism and subjectivism. Let us use the rectification movement to enliven and revitalize our ideological study and work.

Even if we have already carried out rectification in our respective Party organs and units, let us continue to deepen the summing-up and analysis of our long experience and current work, engage in comradely criticism and self-criticism and clarify to ourselves our general and specific tasks. Let us relentlessly trace, identify, criticize and repudiate the erroneous ideological currents coming from higher levels as well as those arising from our own level of work.

Let us use the rectification documents to enliven and enrich our formal Party study courses at the primary, intermediate and advanced levels. Let us accelerate the holding of these courses and the concomitant translation, reproduction and distribution of the study materials. Let us pay serious attention to Party education among our cadres and members from the ranks of the workers and peasants. All Party organs, units and individual Party members are encouraged to read and study these materials in accordance with the course outlines and syllabi ahead of the formal study courses.

We must forge ahead in criticizing and repudiating the counterrevolutionary ideas masquerading as progressive and emanating from the outside. We must counter the ideological offensive of the imperialists. In the international communist movement, let us continue to be guided by proletarian internationalism and stand for socialism against modern revisionism.

Let us further strengthen the Party politically. Let us continue to heighten and sharpen our understanding of the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society and the general line of new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war. Let us conduct social research and investigation and wage the revolutionary struggle accordingly.

We must resolutely and militantly wage the revolutionary struggle against the US-Ramos regime and the entire ruling system. The Party must lead the people in resisting the ever escalating oppression and

exploitation. We must take advantage of the worsening crisis of the domestic ruling system and the world capitalist system.

Revolutionary politics must be in command of all our work. We must pursue the revolutionary class line and the mass line. The Party must lead the armed struggle as the principal form of struggle and must develop the united front in order to broaden participation in the armed struggle and the legal mass movement.

In the current phase of the strategic defensive stage of our protracted people's war, let us carry out extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on an ever widening and deepening mass base. Let us expand and consolidate our mass base. Let us continue to integrate the armed struggle, land reform and mass base building and develop all these stage by stage.

Let us carry out the legal democratic mass movement more resolutely and more vigorously than ever before. Let us continue to expose and condemn the greedy and brutal depredations on the people by foreign monopoly capitalists and the local reactionaries. Let us continue to raise the people's basic demands for national liberation and democracy. We must engage in solid mass organizing as the basis of mass campaigns. In turn the mass campaigns must lead to solid mass organizing through painstaking mass work.

Let us strengthen the Party organizationally. Under the principle of democratic centralism, let us strengthen our unity in accordance with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the general line of the new-democratic revolution. Under the principle of democratic centralism, let us promote discipline and inner democracy. We must recognize the uneven development of our Party members and from this recognition help each other to raise our revolutionary consciousness and capabilities and our general level of development continually.

We must promptly recruit Party candidate-members from the ranks of the advanced revolutionary mass activists and promptly raise them to full Party membership. Let us fulfill the target of recruiting 10,000 new Party members before the end of 1996.

In the process, let us raise the proportion of Party members from the ranks of the working class and peasantry. Let us also continue to recruit more Party members from the ranks of the educated youth. We must deploy to the countryside more Party members and candidate-members from the ranks of the workers and educated youth.

We must promote self-reliance among all the regional Party organizations and in the entire revolutionary movement. At the same time, the Central Committee must draw personnel and resources from relatively stronger regional Party organizations to strengthen the Party organizations which are relatively weaker or are under intense enemy onslaught.

We are confident that at the end of the forthcoming year, we shall have won greater victories in the ideological, political and organizational fields in order to reach a new and higher level of all-round development in our revolutionary struggle.

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!
Long live the Philippine revolution!
Long live the Filipino people! ♦

PROGRAM OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT

Editorial Note: This Program, together with the Constitution, was adopted by the NDF National Conference of representatives of the NDF allied organizations on July 1 to 7, 1994. From then on, these basic documents of the NDF were circulated and went through a process of ratification which lasted until November 1995. Here we present the NDF Program as ratified by each of the allied organizations, which are as follows:

- *Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP-MLMZT)*
- *New People's Army (NPA)*
- *Revolutionary Council of Trade Unions (RCTU)*
- *Pambansang Katipunan ng mga Magbubukid (PKM, National Association of Peasants)*
- *Kabataang Makabayan (KM, Patriotic Youth)*
- *Makabayang Kilusan ng Bagong Kababaihan (MAKIBAKA, Patriotic Movement of New Women)*
- *Cordillera People's Democratic Front (CPDF)*
- *Christians for National Liberation (CNL)*
- *Katipunan ng mga Gurong Makabayan (KAGUMA, Association of Patriotic Teachers)*
- *Katipunan ng mga Samahang Manggagawa (KASAMA, Federation of Labor Organizations)*
- *Artista at Manunulat ng Sambayanan (ARMAS, Artists and Writers for the People)*
- *Makabayang Kawaning Pilipino (MKP, Patriotic Government Employees)*
- *Makabayang Samahang Pangkalusugan (MSP, Patriotic Health Association)*
- *Liga ng Agham para sa Bayan (LAB, League of Scientists for the People)*
- *Moro Revolutionary Organization (MRO)*
- *Revolutionary Organization of Lumads.*

PART I BACKGROUND TO THE PROGRAM

Crisis and Revolution in Philippine Society

Ours has been a history of long and arduous struggle for national and social liberation. Its most glorious pages have been written in the blood and sweat of the oppressed and exploited people rising up in arms to defend themselves and fight for their rights against foreign and local oppressors and exploiters.

Ours is an unfinished revolution. Today the Filipino people's new democratic revolution, a continuation of the old democratic revolution of 1896, is forging ahead with the task of completing the struggle for national liberation and democracy. It is being waged at a new and higher stage, under the leadership of the working class and having a socialist perspective.

The new democratic revolution is waged by the working class, the peasantry, urban petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie against oppression and exploitation by US imperialism and the local ruling comprador big bourgeois and landlord classes. Its objective is to build the people's democratic state under the leadership of the working class through its party and relying mainly on the basic alliance of the working class and peasantry, aligned with other democratic forces.

Revolutionary tradition

Our forefathers waged hundreds of armed uprisings against the Spanish invasion and colonial rule. The Spaniards could never control the entire archipelago due to the fierce resistance of the people. In fact, our forebears in the greater part of Mindanao and the Cordilleras succeeded in safeguarding their territory.

In 1896, the Katipunan launched a national and democratic revolution renowned as the first victorious anticolonial struggle in Asia. However, the United States intervened, carried out a war of aggression in 1899 and deprived the Filipino people of their national freedom.

The Filipino people valiantly fought against the vastly superior US military force. To impose its rule on the whole Philippines, the United

States combined barbaric repression with a policy of deception and cooptation to crush the patriotic resistance.

The factionalist and sham *ilustrado* leadership of the 1896 revolution capitulated to the new colonizers. This leadership, which represented the local exploiting classes, became the agents of the imperialist master. To them the new master doled out economic and political favors.

Through a colonial pattern of production and trade, the country's economy was tied to that of the United States. The Philippines served as a source of cheap raw materials and an importer of finished products. This immensely benefited the big compradors and landlords but stunted domestic industrialization and perpetuated a backward agricultural economy.

All throughout, the toiling masses of workers and peasants fiercely opposed US colonial rule. They waged struggles for the realization of their national and democratic aspirations.

At the beginning of the decade of the '30s, the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) was founded as the advanced detachment of the working class and gave direct leadership to the worker-peasant movement in 1930 through its main organizations, *Katipunan ng mga Anakpawis* (Association of Workers) and *Katipunang Pambansa ng Magbubukid ng Pilipinas* (National Association of Philippine Peasants). However, just a few months after the CPP was founded, the US imperialists and their local puppets, inherently fearful of a revolutionary strengthening of the working class, declared it illegal. Its mass leaders were arrested and worker and peasant organizations directly led by the CPP were banned.

Nonetheless, the people's resolute resistance did not wane. In 1932 the Socialist Party of the Philippines (SPP) was founded and gave the peasant movement new vigor. In the face of the growing threat of Japanese fascist invasion, the CPP was recognized as legal and its detained leaders freed in order to participate in the Popular Front. In 1939, the CPP and the SPP formed the merger party. The alliance of radical workers and organized peasants grew in strength.

When the Japanese fascists invaded the Philippines, the merger party rallied and mobilized the people to wage vigorous guerrilla warfare against the invaders. The *Hukbong Bayan Laban sa Hapon* (Hukbalahap) led by the CPP-SPP merger played a major role in the armed resistance in Central Luzon. Because of their armed power, the

people here were able to set up local resistance governments and carry out land reform.

But, owing to the purely anti-Japanese line and subsequently the misleading slogan of "peace and democracy" taken by the merger party, the revolutionary forces and people were unprepared for — and were thus unable to resist — the violent restoration of the rule of the US imperialists and their landlord-comprador big bourgeois puppets. Consequently, the people lost the armed political power they had built in some parts of the countryside.

Neocolonial rule

The grant of bogus independence in 1946 represented a major shift in US imperialist strategy towards neocolonial rule. This was a reaction to the relentless clamor of the people for national independence and the upsurge of national liberation movements throughout the world. State power was entrusted to a succession of puppets in order to conceal the continuing US imperialist domination and control.

The United States took advantage of the nation's distressed condition after the war to force unequal treaties upon the fledgling neocolonial republic. These treaties allowed the US to freely exploit the country's economic resources, control the reactionary armed forces, to keep large military bases on Philippine soil and exercise political hegemony.

Under the canopy of seemingly democratic institutions, political dynasties and power blocs representing landlord-comprador interests and operating through a two-party system held sway throughout the country. They dictated the reactionary course of Philippine politics, blocking the avenues for the democratic classes to be represented in government and preventing much needed social change.

The year 1950 saw the resurgence of the armed struggle waged by the *Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan* (HMB) under the leadership of the merger party. This was met by a large-scale and bloody counterrevolutionary campaign directed by the Pentagon and the US Central Intelligence Agency. The peasant associations, militant trade unions and other people's organizations were brutally suppressed. The counterrevolutionary campaign of the US and local ruling classes won the day because the revolutionary forces had been weakened by the unrectified "Left" and Right opportunist errors and disorientation of the Lava leadership of the old merger party.

The entire decade of the '50s was a period of intense repression. Strident anticommunism and unbridled worship of things American prevailed. But patriots and progressives led by Claro Mayo Recto and elements from the national bourgeoisie conducted anti-imperialist propaganda and agitation from the late '50s to the early '60s.

US imperialism and the local ruling classes of big compradors and landlords collaborated in pacifying the people through electoral circuses, foisting illusions of democracy, and through such token reforms as the fake land reform programs of the Magsaysay and Macapagal administrations.

The Philippines became embroiled in US wars of aggression against national liberation movements in Asia. US bases in the Philippines were used as launching pads for the deployment of US military forces to the Korean peninsula in the '50s and Indochina in the '60s and '70s. The puppet regimes even dispatched Filipino soldiers to support US aggressive policy in the interest of US monopoly capitalism.

But crisis was brewing within the neocolonial order. Poverty was on the rise. The policy of import-substitution in the '50s, which was heavily dependent on foreign sources of raw materials and machinery, only managed to bring about a very superficial import-dependent kind of manufacturing and a worsening of the trade imbalance.

The US and the IMF took advantage of this situation to impose a policy of decontrol and devaluation at the start of the '60s. Nascent Filipino industries stagnated or collapsed. The colonial pattern of trade became even more firmly entrenched.

Foreign capital made greater inroads into the Philippine economy and sapped it through heavy capital repatriation. Ever increasing balance-of-payments deficits led to growing dependence on foreign loans. Inflation reared its ugly head.

By the late '60s, the land frontier was exhausted. The settlers were rapidly overtaken by traditional and new landlords. In the absence of industrial development, the excess population in the countryside flowed to the cities to compete for odd jobs and worsened unemployment.

The Philippine crisis deepened as successive puppet regimes adopted the development strategies and programs imposed by US imperialism through the International Monetary Fund and World Bank.

Revolutionary upsurge

In the decade of the '60s the national-democratic movement was again on the upsurge. Mass discontent was on the rise as a result of the grave crisis of the ruling system. The propaganda and organizing efforts of the newly rising proletarian revolutionaries, together with a few veterans of the old merger party, gradually bore fruit.

The progressive mass movement also drew inspiration from the valiant struggle of the Vietnamese people against US aggression and the general development of national liberation movements in the third world, the widespread protest movement abroad against the US war in Vietnam, the cultural revolution in China, and the growth of student and intellectual radicalism in the West and in Japan.

In Manila and other urban centers of Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao, the patriotic movement among students and intellectuals sparked and spread over such issues as parity rights, US bases, nationalization of the retail trade and Philippine involvement in the US war of aggression in Vietnam.

The workers' movement was invigorated. The end of the '60s also witnessed the massive outbreak of workers' strikes and the reintegration of revolutionary ideas and activists in the labor movement after nearly two decades of dominance by yellow trade-unionists.

In the countryside, the struggle for land rights and against the abuses of the landlords developed. National-democratic propaganda reached broadening sections of the peasant masses. The intensity of the struggle against the landlords impelled the peasant masses to arm themselves.

On the other hand, the remnants of the old people's army came under the control of the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique. However, loyal commanders and fighters were so influenced by the propaganda movement in the cities that they sought to link with the revolutionary youth organizations.

Armed activities of the Lumads in Agusan, Bukidnon, Surigao and other Mindanao provinces also erupted against landgrabbing, unbridled logging by foreign and local concessionaires, and abuses of their armed guards.

Towards the end of 1968, the Communist Party of the Philippines was reestablished. It set forth the general line of the people's new democratic revolution under working class leadership and with a socialist perspective. Within the first quarter of 1969, the New People's

Army in turn was founded under the absolute leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

The Party and the people's army raised the banner of protracted people's war for the overthrow of the bankrupt ruling system, and immediately began laying the foundation for the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside and the revolutionary underground movement in the cities while further strengthening the legal democratic mass movement.

In the same period, some Moro intellectuals and a number of traditional leaders started to call for struggle against national oppression and the assertion of their right to self-determination. They started organizing, launching militant actions and preparing for armed struggle.

A series of protest actions led by militant youth and student organizations erupted in Manila from January to March 1970. It gained renown as the First Quarter Storm of 1970. It spread to the big cities and towns in various parts of the country. This powerful political and cultural movement projected the key issues of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism into the national consciousness. It propagated the call for a national-democratic revolution on an unprecedented scale and ushered in a new high tide of revolutionary struggle and militancy of the Filipino people.

Fascist dictatorship

As the chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal system intensified and the broad masses of the people clamored for revolutionary change, Marcos imposed martial law in September 1972. Upon the instigation of US imperialism, a fascist dictatorship was established to stem the revolutionary tide and to rescue and prolong the ruling system.

The exploiting classes could no longer rule in the old way. Through naked armed force and terror, the Marcos clique did away with whatever democratic processes and forms still existed. The patriotic and progressive forces as well as those sections of the ruling classes not belonging to the Marcos faction became the targets of repression. The fascist dictatorship built up an enormous military machinery and propaganda apparatus to maintain fascist rule.

Intensified militarization gave rise to unparalleled violations of the people's democratic rights. More than 6 million people were driven

from their homes and farms. More than 150,000 were killed and tens of thousands were arrested, detained and tortured.

The fascist decrees and the Marcos constitution overthrew the gains of the people's anti-imperialist struggle, such as the prohibition against alien ownership of land and restrictions on foreign investments in the country. Every area of the economy was opened up to imperialist plunder and control, and imperialist privileges were not only retained but multiplied several times over.

The massive entry of multinationals into the banking industry was facilitated. Foreign agro-corporations were allowed to take over large tracts of agricultural land. An example was the approval of the RP-Japan Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation which paved the way for the second Japanese invasion — this time economic — of the Philippines. National industrialization was further blocked.

The Marcos fascist clique made full use of its monopoly of state power to engage in large-scale plunder of the national treasury. The dictator and his immediate family, relations and cronies, built economic empires through outright thievery of government resources and grabbing of private assets of political rivals.

The Marcos clique succeeded, not in bailing the nation out of crisis, but in driving it to complete ruin. The foreign debt grew to immense proportions, opening the economy to further imperialist impositions and burdening the people with an enormous debt service. The IMF-World Bank strategy of export-led economic growth firmly bound the country to the world capitalist market with its ups and downs and drew the country further away from genuine industrialization.

Marcos boasted of his bogus land reform program. As the land problem of the peasant masses worsened, the land dispossession of farmers, national minorities and even among Marcos' landlord rivals in politics accelerated.

The landgrabbing operations of foreign corporations and big bourgeois compradors and landlords enabled aliens to engage in agriculture in a big way through Marcos' Green Revolution program. The livelihood of the peasantry deteriorated. The unbridled exploitation of the country's natural wealth gave way to immense destruction of the environment.

The socioeconomic conditions of the masses deteriorated as inflation raged and unemployment spread. The overwhelming majority, including substantial sections of the middle classes, were consigned to

poverty. Hundreds of thousands were driven to work abroad, only to be subjected to a more intense kind of wage slavery, racial discrimination and sexual abuse.

Urban blight became a phenomenon in the nation's capital and other major urban centers with the continuing exodus of landless rural poor to the cities. Prostitution and organized crime flourished on the soil of social decay.

People's war

The chronic and ever worsening crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal system engendered people's war even before the formal declaration of martial law. This crisis meant the intolerable oppression and exploitation of the people. With the blatant rise of fascist tyranny, the people's armed resistance expanded and intensified.

Under the leadership of the Party, the people gradually overcame the climate of fear and culture of silence created by the Marcos dictatorship and increasing sections of the oppressed classes and sectors dared to fight back and learned manifold ways to resist.

The Preparatory Commission of the National Democratic Front was formed in 1971, upon the initiative of the Communist Party of the Philippines. Seeking to provide a firm basis of unity for all popular forces driven underground by the martial law regime, the Preparatory Commission of the NDF issued a 10-point program on April 24, 1973, now acknowledged and celebrated as the founding day of the National Democratic Front. Thousands would eventually join the NDF through revolutionary mass organizations encompassing various classes and sectors.

In the countryside, the revolutionary armed struggle blazed like a forest fire. Guided by the principle of protracted people's war, the CPP and NPA strived to build revolutionary strength in the countryside — at the start in strategic areas of the archipelago and subsequently in secondary areas. The Party took up the related tasks of armed struggle, agrarian revolution and mass-base building.

From mountainous areas, the armed struggle spread to the plains, towns, seaside and even some parts of urban areas. It marched abreast with vigorous peasant mass struggles for the reduction of land rent, interest on loans, increased wages for farm workers and higher prices for farm produce.

Workers' strikes, student boycotts, rallies, protest-art on buildings and streets, alternative newspapers and other forms of open protest became widespread and was in support of the revolutionary armed struggle. The underground movement rapidly grew. Of particular significance was the active participation of church people in the protest movement through open and underground activities. All these, in combination with the accelerated advance of the armed struggle in the countryside, paved the way for the emergence of the gigantic mass actions in the 1983-86 period.

Under extremely favorable conditions, the tactical offensives of the NPA rose to a crescendo in the first half of the '80s. District-size and province-size guerrilla fronts arose. At their core were guerrilla bases where generally the Party and the people's army implemented the minimum program of agrarian reform and built the organs of political power.

In the South, the Moro people organized themselves, built their army and launched mass uprisings and armed rebellion against the dictatorship. The fascist regime launched attacks of genocidal proportions. The Moro people answered by persisting in armed struggle. Meanwhile the NPA was able to organize among the Moro people and to recruit Red commanders and fighters from among them, especially among former members and activists of national-democratic mass organizations.

The Cordillera peoples staunchly resisted government schemes to dislodge them from their ancestral lands. They effectively prevented the implementation of the Chico River dam project and the expansion of Celophol Corporation in Abra (both environmentally damaging). The various peoples of the Cordillera joined in building an armed force and a revolutionary front to fight for self-determination, in unity with the entire national-democratic movement.

A revolutionary movement also developed among other indigenous peoples, especially among the Lumads of Mindanao.

The rapid deterioration of socioeconomic conditions, the intensified contradictions among the reactionaries and the blows of people's war from all quarters severely weakened the fascist dictatorship and forced it into blunders and desperate measures.

The rapidly advancing struggle of the people turned into a storm upon the assassination of Benigno Aquino on August 21, 1983. The antifascist movement further broadened — from the toiling masses, the

petty bourgeoisie and middle social strata, it reached even some sections of the ruling classes. At the core of this movement were the national-democratic forces. A split was triggered even within the regime's most solid base of support, the military.

Amidst the exceedingly favorable conditions and the rapid advance of the revolutionary struggle, the leadership of the revolution got carried away by illusions of quick victory. Military adventurism and urban insurrectionism became amplified and subsequently led to losses and weakening — not strengthening — of the revolutionary forces.

Meanwhile, Marcos became discredited in the international community. He became a problem for US imperialism as its principal puppet in charge of supporting and safeguarding its interests in the Philippines. The US prepared for a change of puppets and eventually let go of Marcos in 1986.

In rural and urban areas, various forms of the people's struggle against the fascist dictatorship grew in strength and intensified. The intense antidictatorship struggle for a while hid the initial damage caused by a worsening disorientation and deviation from the line of people's war which started at the onset of the decade.

The sudden plunge of the economy, the general upsurge of mass protest, the disaffection of most reactionaries and the withdrawal of US support from the Marcos regime came to a head. Finally, the fascist dictatorship was overthrown by a combination of military rebellion and popular uprising in February 1986.

Although the EDSA revolt had a popular base, the leadership was seized by a combination of forces dominated by pro-US reactionaries — the Aquino coalition of traditional politicians, the anti-Marcos sections of the fascist military, the conservative Church hierarchy and anti-Marcos big businessmen and landlords.

In the 1986 snap presidential elections, the advanced sections of the masses strayed off from the main flow of the antifascist mass movement as a result of an erroneous boycott policy. More significantly, the advance of the revolutionary forces was broken as a result of the growing influence of the erroneous line of military adventurism and urban insurrectionism, the confusion wrought by an anti-infiltration hysteria in Mindanao and other areas, and bureaucratism. The people's war was still in the stage of strategic defensive, and the people's army was still small and weak compared to the reactionary armed forces.

Given the balance of forces between revolution and counterrevolution, the US and local reactionaries set the general direction and outcome of the EDSA uprising. But despite the reactionaries' celebration that they controlled the damage to the system by booting Marcos out, they could not stop the exacerbation of the split within the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP). The grave crisis of the ruling system was not solved. Widespread discontent among the people persisted.

The past recycled

The reactionary classes remained in power. In the face of popular demands, the Aquino ruling faction granted a few concessions such as the release of political prisoners, the restoration of formal democratic rights and bourgeois-democratic processes. But the reactionaries lost no time in taking away these concessions step by step.

Big comprador-landlord rule assumed a new face upon the ascension of the Aquino regime. It decked itself out with democratic trappings and waved the banner of "reform and democracy", while preserving intact the fascist state machinery and perpetuating the essentially foreign-controlled, feudal type of traditional politics. Wornout institutions and processes were recycled and many of the Marcos' policies and schemes were continued and even aggravated.

Just like the fascist puppet Marcos and his technocrats, Aquino and her economic advisers looked up to foreign investments and foreign loans as the principal means of economic recovery and progress. Their desperate need for foreign aid made them more slavish in following the dictates of the US-controlled IMF and World Bank. The Aquino regime committed itself to the full payment of the gargantuan foreign debt incurred by the dictator and "economic reforms" favoring foreign capital.

In a similar fashion, the Aquino government bartered national sovereignty and territorial integrity in exchange for the unqualified US support that it hoped would guarantee its survival. The Aquino government sought the retention of the US military bases and troops on Philippine soil beyond 1991, through such deceptive formulas as "gradual phase-out" and "continued US access" to particular facilities. However, in the face of the people's strong opposition, the Senate rejected the proposed new treaty for the retention of the US military bases in the Philippines.

Nonetheless, the previous agreements between the United States and the Philippines, such as the US-RP Mutual Defense Pact, continue to grant the US the right to freely use any part of Philippine territory for its troops under the cover of mutual defense and for launching combined massive military exercises. Furthermore, the US remain firmly in control of the principal pillar of reactionary rule in the country, the fascist AFP. The AFP continues to rely on the US for antipeople and anticommunist indoctrination, logistics, strategic planning, officer training and military equipment.

In the period of the Aquino regime, unemployment worsened. An even bigger number of the country's labor force — the majority of them women — left to seek jobs abroad. The reactionary government became a persistent sales agent of Filipino labor power abroad. And after a few years, Philippine labor export became the largest dollar-earner. On the other hand, Filipino overseas workers suffer more intense exploitation and oppression in exchange for having a source of income.

Aquino's sham land reform did not solve the problems of the peasant masses. It instead worsened the land problem. It deceptively set the system of stock transfer as one form of land reform. It allowed the conversion of agricultural land for the use of comprador big bourgeois and foreign corporations. It has become a program through which big landlords using the voluntary-offer-to-sell scheme robbed the state treasury. The Aquino government did not make any appropriation even if only to maintain agricultural infrastructure. Agricultural support services continued to deteriorate.

The regime's autonomy scheme for the national minorities was no different from that of its predecessor. The scheme allowed continued landgrabbing of ancestral lands and foreign plunder of the ancestral domain. In every major area in the political, economic and military spheres, it gave the "autonomous governments" no authority and powers which are not subject to existing laws, national policies and congressional approval.

Peace talks, but actually only talks for a ceasefire, were held between the Aquino regime and the NDF. The Aquino regime refused to negotiate a genuine political settlement of the armed conflict, but was merely interested in looking for an excuse to unleash all-out war against the revolutionary forces. When the "ceasefire talks" collapsed, the Aquino regime proceeded to launch the biggest, most comprehensive and most brutal "counterinsurgency" campaign in post-war history. As

a result, its record of human rights violations surpassed that of the Marcos fascist dictatorship in some areas.

The "total war" policy against the revolutionary forces and people was brutally carried out. The US "low-intensity conflict" strategy was applied. Fascist terror and militarization continued and intensified in both city and countryside, victimizing and dislocating thousands of peasants and indigenous peoples. The "democratic space" much vaunted by bourgeois populist and other reformist agents of the Aquino regime vanished into thin air.

With every coup attempt launched by ultra-Rightists, the Aquino government became ever more dependent for its survival on the fascist AFP. The Ramos military faction became more powerful in political decision-making. The inability to assert civilian supremacy over the military led to an undeclared state of martial law — as exemplified by the continuance of nonbailable charges of political offense and the reinstatement of "warrantless arrests" reminiscent of Marcos' PCO (Presidential Commitment Order) and PDA (Preventive Detention Action).

The US government continued to decisively influence political, economic and military decision-making processes in the country through a network of politicians, bureaucrats and military officials. It was the principal instigator of the "total war" scheme and took charge of funding, equipping and training intelligence and other requirements.

US imperialism engaged in more and more direct intervention, as the puppet regime increasingly failed to put its act together. It took advantage of its long-held dominance in Philippine affairs, the desperate economic situation of the country, and the deep internal divisions within the bureaucracy and military to realize its strategic as well as tactical objectives in the Philippines.

Though at first riding on the wave of popular rejection of the Marcos fascist regime, the Aquino regime soon became isolated from the people because of its antinational and antidemocratic policies. It set the destruction of the revolutionary movement as its strategic goal but it failed.

The revolutionary forces persevered on the road of armed struggle. The damage and setback as a result of errors and deviations that were exposed, together with the most responsible instigators, had started to be combated and rectified during the latter part of 1988, under the leadership of the CPP.

Big and broad mass protest actions were repeatedly launched against the Aquino rule from 1986 to 1992. This is proof of the people's deep discontent with the worsening crisis under the regime. However, some of these protests were derailed because of insurrectionist errors.

The crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal system could not be checked. Despite the errors and deviations of the revolutionary forces, the people's aspiration for national freedom and democracy remained strong. The conditions for people's war became even more favorable.

The US-Ramos Regime

The rise of the Ramos ruling clique is symptomatic of the ceaseless tendency of the semicolonial and semifeudal society to stagnate, deteriorate and disintegrate.

Here is the West Point-trained chief butcher under the Marcos and Aquino regimes becoming the president himself. He has assumed the position of president, garnering only 23.5 percent of the votes cast, after using the facilities of the reactionary government and huge electoral spending of money from US, Japanese, Taiwanese and other foreign monopoly capitalists.

The pluralism or multipolarization of ruling class politics into more than two parties since the downfall of the Marcos regime has produced a blatantly antinational and antidemocratic president such as the character of General Ramos. At the same time, the regime has brought together and placed at the top of the political system some of the worst elements of the Marcos regime. The erstwhile executor of the fascist dictatorship has consolidated his base in the civilian bureaucracy by positioning in it his most loyal military officers.

The Ramos regime has further rendered inutile the Aquino regime's sham land reform with the implementation of laws that have worsened the land problem and the feudal and semifeudal exploitation of the peasant masses. It has devolved to local government units the classification of land within their respective spheres; allowed foreign investors to lease land up to 75 years, which means virtual ownership of the land; and signed an agreement for the duty-free entry of agricultural products into the country, causing a drop in the prices of the produce of the peasant masses.

The Ramos regime is waving "Philippines 2000" as its Philippine development program. In fact, it is a program to sell off the Philippines and the Filipino people in exchange for foreign loans and investments.

conditional upon the suppression of the people's democratic rights and of the revolutionary movement.

The main objective of the current regime is to pursue the brutal "total war" policy in an attempt to defeat the ongoing national-democratic revolution and people and suppress all resistance to oppression and exploitation suffered by the people.

Complementary to the military campaign of suppression are the psywar tactics of the regime in attempting to misrepresent itself as a seeker of peace, mislead the people, isolate the revolutionary forces and induce the revolutionary movement to split and capitulate.

The main premise of the regime's current economic policy and "Philippines 2000" is the pacification of the revolutionary forces and the people by brute force and the suppression of the democratic rights of workers and peasants. It is also maneuvering to perpetuate itself in power as Marcos did in the name of "constitutional reform", "counterinsurgency" and "economic development".

The antinational and antidemocratic policies of the US-Ramos regime are aggravating the crisis of the ruling system and exacerbating the oppression and exploitation of the people.

Therefore, the people have no recourse but to carry out the national-democratic revolution through people's war until total victory is won and the socialist revolutionary can commence.

The domestic crisis of the ruling system and the crisis of the world capitalist system provide the objective conditions for the growth in strength and advance of the people's revolutionary movement.

Crisis of a disintegrating order

The succession of the Aquino and Ramos regimes to the Marcos regime has given the country no relief from the political and economic crisis. It has only increased the crushing weight of suffering and hardship on the people.

The economy lies prostrate, completely under the dictation of the US-controlled IMF-WB and foreign banks and with no hope of recovery. The country is sinking ever deeper into the debt quagmire. Its productive wealth is being siphoned off through enormous debt service payments and the unrestricted capital repatriation by multinational companies. The deficits in the balance-of-trade and government budget are unequaled in history.

Double digit inflation has ravaged the lives of the people. Impoverishment and unemployment are cutting a wide swath, throwing bigger sections of the middle social strata into the state of destitution — the daily lot of the masses of workers, peasants and all urban and rural poor.

The deepening of the Philippine crisis and the new dimensions it has assumed have made revolutionary struggle and radical social transformation all the more imperative. Exceedingly favorable conditions have been created for waging the national-democratic revolution.

The unjust and oppressive rule of US imperialism and the comprador big bourgeois and landlord classes is being weakened by the internecine conflicts of the reactionary forces and by the persevering and sustained revolutionary struggles of the Filipino people.

The house of the ruling classes is in disarray, wracked by internal strife among rival reactionary factions within and outside the deeply divided military. US imperialism and the Ramos regime are trying to pacify the open and violent fighting among rival factions. But they have failed. The booty to be shared continues to shrink, while the crisis worsens and the people's revolutionary resistance is advancing.

Increasing factionalism and rampant corruption, especially at the highest levels, are rapidly demoralizing the AFP rank-and-file and the officers' corps. The deterioration of the "professional army" is such that entire commands and ranking officers have become involved in big-time criminal syndicates and activities.

US imperialism finds it more and more difficult to realize its counter-revolutionary agenda in the Philippines. It has undermined its own global economic power by throwing neocolonies to penury and indebtedness. The US is being weakened by deficits due to overconsumption and by military overspending and adventures in other parts of the world. Within the Asia-Pacific region, US and Japanese monopoly capitalism are still collaborating in exploiting the people but they are also competing.

Within the country, the revolutionary forces are revitalizing themselves in a thoroughgoing rectification of deviations and errors and rejection of a handful of opportunist traitors who had slipped into their ranks. Revolutionary awareness, which the revolutionary forces are tirelessly propagating among the masses of the people, especially the workers and peasants, is teaching them to take the road of armed

revolution. Even the middle social strata are being pushed to become more critical of and to oppose dominance of the US and its puppets.

Historic leap

So long as the system remains semicolonial and semifeudal, ruled by US imperialism and its local comprador-big bourgeois and landlord agents, the crisis of Philippine society will remain unsolved. This crisis is bound to worsen whether the current Ramos regime remains or is changed by a new puppet regime.

The basic contradictions in Philippine society continue to sharpen — between US imperialism and the Filipino people, and between feudalism and the broad masses of the Filipino people.

Widespread popular discontent over the rule of the exploiting classes as well as the people's revolutionary aspirations for national freedom and democracy have seeped into the entire fabric of Philippine society. Ever broadening sections of the people clamor for radical and comprehensive change. The middle social strata are being roused by the impact of the crisis, the militant movement of the masses of workers and peasants and the influence of progressive currents.

The revolutionary forces are firmly raising the banner of national democracy. They are at the forefront of the people's struggles and are persevering in people's war. Extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on a widening and deepening mass base is being waged nationwide; the minimum program of the agrarian revolution is being implemented; the mass organizations and the local organs of political power are being set up in the countryside; and the legal and open mass movement in the cities as secondary but essential part of the people's war is being advanced.

Notwithstanding the heavy blows inflicted on it by armed counterrevolution, especially the destruction wrought by the "total war" policy, and despite the setbacks, difficulties and limitations that need to be surmounted, the revolutionary movement continues to win significant victories. The rectification movement now being vigorously launched is effecting a higher level of consolidation ideologically, politically and organizationally among the revolutionary forces and is raising their determination and capability to fight the US-Ramos regime and the entire reactionary system. It is bound to reap great victories in the coming years.

In view of all the above, any attempt by any reactionary faction to re-impose outright fascist rule or intensify armed terror in an effort to stem a revolutionary upsurge can only succeed in sharpening national and class contradictions and widening the schism among the ranks of the ruling classes.

The current strength of the revolutionary forces is bound to rise to a new and higher level. The people have the determination to fight for national and social liberation. No matter what US imperialism and its local puppets resort to, they cannot prevent the downfall of the unjust and bankrupt ruling system in the long run.

PART II

THE 12 POINTS OF THE NDF PROGRAM

The National Democratic Front is committed to the Filipino people's revolutionary struggle for the completion of the national-democratic revolution through people's war.

The NDF seeks to promote the unity, cooperation and coordination of all patriotic and progressive classes, sectors and forces in order to fight for national liberation and democracy and overthrow the oppressive and exploitative ruling system.

In promoting national unity, the NDF pursues the revolutionary class line in the united front. This requires the activation and strengthening of the working class leadership, the basic worker-peasant alliance, the basic forces of the revolution which include the urban petty bourgeoisie, and the broad alliance of positive forces of the revolution, including the national bourgeoisie.

At the moment, the NDF is the formal united front of the organizations of the basic forces of the revolution, comprising the working class, the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie. However, the NDF is ever ready and willing to cooperate with all patriotic and progressive forces and individuals that are outside its frame in order to broaden and strengthen national unity and advance the national-democratic revolution and people's war.

The most important responsibilities of the NDF include promoting national unity for the revolutionary struggle within and beyond the current composition of the NDF, making representations and pronouncements on behalf of the revolutionary forces upon their

authorization and paving the way for and supporting the organs of the people's democratic government at various levels.

The principal way to strengthen the NDF is for all the allied organizations within its fold to strengthen themselves through mass work in their respective spheres. In such a way, a powerful mass support for the consultative conferences and leading councils of the NDF at various levels can be formed.

The National Democratic Front hereby declares its 12-Point Program. This we offer to the Filipino people as guide and rallying point in the fight for an independent, democratic, just, prosperous and progressive future.

**1. UNITE THE PEOPLE FOR THE TASK
OF OVERTHROWING THE SEMICOLONIAL
AND SEMIFEUDAL SYSTEM THROUGH A PEOPLE'S
WAR AND COMPLETING THE NATIONAL-
DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION.**

Only the power of a united people, achieved through revolutionary armed struggle and the united front of revolutionary forces, can isolate and destroy the dominance of the US and other foreign monopoly capitalists and the counterrevolutionary state of the comprador big bourgeoisie and landlord class.

The national-democratic revolution that we seek to complete is of the new type. It is led by the working class and has a socialist perspective. Upon the seizure of political power, the new democratic revolution is basically completed and the socialist revolution can commence.

National unity in the revolution can arise and develop only when there is a definite class leadership, which responds to the basic demands of the broad masses of the people and builds a united front that harmonizes their national and democratic rights and interests.

The united front of various patriotic and progressive classes, sectors and forces is the way to build national unity. Its main force is the basic alliance of the working class and the peasantry (including the farm workers and fisherfolk), which are more than 90 percent of the people and are the most oppressed and exploited.

In this regard, we make special reference to the broad masses of the Bangsa Moro, Cordillera and other minority and indigenous peoples as among the most oppressed and exploited in the country.

The urban petty bourgeoisie must be won over to the revolution. It is one of the basic forces of the revolution, together with the working class and peasantry. Further, the national bourgeoisie must be won over. It is one of the positive forces of the revolution, together with the aforementioned classes.

In carrying out the united front policy, it is necessary not only to build the unity of the revolutionary forces but also to take advantage of the contradictions within the reactionary classes. Thus, the widest range of forces can be developed to isolate and destroy the power of the faction that is the most reactionary and most servile to the imperialists at every given time.

In the course of fighting any series of the most reactionary factions and their imperialist masters, the revolutionary forces strengthen their unity with the people and accumulate the strength to overthrow the entire ruling system.

The National Democratic Front is the instrument for building the national united front of all patriotic and progressive forces. At the present stage, however, it includes within its fold only organizations of the basic forces of the revolution, i.e., the working class, peasantry and urban petty bourgeoisie.

It is the policy of the NDF to cooperate and coordinate with all the patriotic and progressive forces that are not within its fold as a formal alliance. The NDF hopes that upon the development of the organs of political power at levels higher than the village level these forces will decide to join the NDF and the people's consultative conferences.

The NDF supports all forms of revolutionary struggle, legal and illegal, aboveground and underground. But its distinctiveness as a united front organization is in being clearly for revolutionary armed struggle.

As a matter of principle, the NDF stands for armed struggle as the main form of revolutionary struggle because only through it can the bureaucratic and military machinery of the reactionary state be smashed and the revolutionary organs of democratic power emerge and develop. Without the seizure of political power, the national and social liberation of the people is impossible.

The legal forms of struggle are important and indispensable. These can be skillfully used to expose and oppose the reactionary state and even spread the revolutionary message to millions upon millions of the people. But these are within the constraints of the reactionary state and

these by themselves cannot dismantle or change the fundamental character of the reactionary state.

The NDF supports the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside and accumulating armed strength until it becomes possible to seize political power in the cities and on a nationwide scale. It upholds people's war, which combines armed struggle, land reform and mass-base building.

The alliance of the working class and the peasantry is forged in the course of the people's war. In the people's army, the party of the working class firmly unites with and leads the Red fighters, the majority of whom are peasants. By implementing revolutionary land reform, the peasant masses are emancipated politically and economically and their trust in the working class leadership is strengthened.

In conducting the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside, the revolutionary party of the working class relies mainly on the poor peasants, together with the farm workers and poor fisherfolk, wins over the middle peasants, neutralizes the rich peasants in order to overthrow the power of the landlord class. In the implementation of the minimum program of land reform before nationwide victory of the revolution, we take advantage of contradictions among the landlords in order to isolate and deal the strongest blows against the big and despotic landlords in power.

This antifeudal united front is within the larger framework of the national united front which is both anti-imperialist and antifeudal. The national united front is also antifascist insofar as fascist repression continues despite the so-called restoration of formal democratic processes.

The NDF recognizes that aside from advancing the revolutionary armed struggle the development of the legal democratic struggle must also be advanced. These two forms of struggle must be coordinated, expanded and intensified.

Through the application of the united front policy, we reach and influence millions upon millions of people to organize themselves and participate in the revolution, thus adding their strength to that of definite organized forces.

The NDF must exercise vigilance against agents provocateur who wish to combine parliamentarism with insurrectionism and engage in provocative actions that tend to make the most advanced forces appear as isolated aggressors and expose them to enemy surveillance and

retaliation. The character of the democratic movement based in the urban areas is legal and defensive.

The NDF must also exercise vigilance against those who likewise play into the hands of the enemy by adopting the purely military viewpoint, regarding the armed struggle as a competition of absolutely concentrated military formations and the masses as political only when spontaneous or unorganized.

The national-democratic revolution has to be won by waging the people's war in stages. To prevent this revolution from being betrayed again by the bourgeoisie, the proletariat through its vanguard party must definitely lead the armed struggle and the united front.

2. ESTABLISH A PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC AND A DEMOCRATIC COALITION GOVERNMENT.

Local organs of people's democratic power have been established and continue to expand throughout the country. These are the beginnings of the new government which the NDF envisions. The NDF supports the establishment and consolidation of these organs of political power. By strengthening the allied organizations, especially those of the basic masses, and by strengthening the unity and cooperation among all progressive forces and elements, the NDF paves the way for the formation of the people's democratic government at various levels.

As total victory of the national-democratic revolution approaches, the working class party as the leading party may set up a provisional revolutionary government as a forward step towards the seizure of power nationwide.

In this regard, the NDF, together with all the other allied organizations, shall assist the working class party in taking the concrete steps to ensure the widest possible base and character of the people's democratic government. A people's consultative conference may be convened, with the NDF acting as one of the major convenors. This would be a conference of representatives of all allied patriotic and progressive classes and sectors. This conference shall form the people's consultative council to prepare for the proclamation of the People's Democratic Republic of the Philippines and support the party of the working class in organizing the new government.

Upon the victory of the national-democratic revolution, a people's democratic republic shall be established and proclaimed. State power shall be seized from the big comprador-landlord rulers and its stability

and revolutionary character shall be ensured by the democratic classes, especially the workers and peasants led by the working class.

The new government shall take the form of a democratic coalition government which promotes and translates into reality the people's will and interests, especially those of the exploited classes. Within this government, autonomy shall be assured for the Bangsa Moro, Cordillera peoples, Lumads and other indigenous peoples and so shall appropriate representation and voice be assured for other oppressed sectors.

With the support of the people's consultative council, the smooth and orderly transition to peaceful conditions and the quickest possible healing of the wounds of war shall be ensured. Measures shall be adopted to ensure that all productive enterprises immediately resume and expand their production. Civil service personnel of the overthrown government — except those accused of serious crimes — shall be encouraged to continue at their posts and serving the public.

Thoroughgoing democratic reforms shall be initiated and all the people's forces shall be unified and mobilized against those who continue to resist. At various levels, the people's consultative conferences and councils and the mass organizations shall support the organs of democratic power at various levels.

The participation of the entire people in the affairs of the state and in decision-making processes shall be ensured. Such participation shall include the political parties and mass organizations of all patriotic and progressive forces. The working class party leading the government shall enjoy multiparty support, although the key principle in organizing and developing political processes shall be the people's direct participation in state affairs. Bourgeois pluralism shall not be allowed to undermine, weaken or destroy the people's democratic state.

A fair and equitable system of justice as well as a system of conciliation and settling contradictions among the people shall be established. Judicial procedures will ensure a fair hearing by an impartial tribunal at all levels of government. The right to due process shall be upheld.

The people's courts shall try those accused of grave crimes against the people (especially human rights violations and corruption) and punish those who have been found guilty of such crimes. Subject to due process, it shall have the power to order the confiscation of ill-gotten wealth and expropriation of property amassed by the traitors, bureaucrat capitalists, big compradors and landlords.

Severe punishment shall be meted out to those found guilty of the most serious offenses. Those who deserve leniency shall be given political education and, as soon as possible, be given opportunities to become productive members of society under the new dispensation.

In accordance with the social revolution, the political and economic rights of members of the exploiting classes shall be restricted in order to prevent them from undermining the new social system and recovering their political and economic power over the working people.

Soon after total victory, the election of a constituent assembly to draft the constitution of the People's Democratic Republic (PDR) shall be held. After the ratification of the Constitution, general elections shall be held.

In its Constitution and practice, the PDR shall have the character of a republic that is a united front of all democratic classes, founded on the worker-peasant alliance and led by the working class. All power of the PDR resides in the people, who have the sovereign power to elect their officials and to recall them from office.

The development of a democratic style of leadership, forging firm links with the proletarian and semiproletarian masses and upholding the interests of the majority and the entirety shall be continuously and closely given attention. Officials shall be obliged to adhere to strict standards of honesty and service to the people and the revolution. Campaigns shall be launched to improve mass supervision over officials and to combat bureaucratism.

The bill of rights shall guarantee the people's basic freedoms and shall surpass that in the bourgeois liberal constitution by prohibiting the oppression and exploitation of the people by the imperialists and the reactionary classes of big compradors and landlords.

While providing conditions under which believers and nonbelievers can work together in building a free and democratic society, the policy of the separation of Church and state shall be implemented.

State power shall be exercised through a system of people's congresses at various levels, the highest being the National People's Congress. The system of people's congresses shall adopt a system of genuine universal and equal suffrage, irrespective of nationality, race, sex, creed, party affiliation, or education. This system gives full expression to democracy with full powers vested in the people's congresses at all levels.

There shall be a centralized system of administration but with decentralization of functions that are better performed by lower levels of government. The central leadership of the government shall base itself upon and interact with the lower levels of government in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism.

3. BUILD UP THE PEOPLE'S ARMY AND A PEOPLE'S DEFENSE SYSTEM.

The New People's Army is necessary in order to bring about and guarantee the national and social liberation of the people. It is the main instrument of the entire Filipino people for destroying the reactionary state and establishing a government that will truly serve the interests of the people.

The NPA has grown in strength and has extended its areas of operation because it is led by the CPP which ensures that the gun is always under the command of revolutionary politics. Thus, another basic condition for the development of the people's army is ensured: the whole-hearted support of the masses. It has gained the trust and confidence of the masses because it upholds their national and democratic interests, promotes agrarian revolution and helps them establish local organs of political power. The NPA not only upholds democratic principles in its relations with the masses but also practices democracy within its ranks. Thus, unity is forged between the army and the people and between officers and men on the basis of revolutionary principles and democratic processes.

Guided by revolutionary principles and by its own strict code of conduct and discipline, the NPA has always strived to avoid harming the lives and property of civilians in the course of its military operations. It also treats enemy captives humanely and extends medical attention to the wounded among them to the extent possible.

The NDF welcomes international norms and guidelines and adheres to the provisions of Protocol II of the Geneva Conventions as well as other humanitarian laws whose aim is to protect noncombatants. In the course of the ongoing civil war in the Philippines, the NDF is seeking diplomatic recognition of its inherent status of belligerency.

Upon the attainment of victory, the NPA shall be under a ministry of national defense and shall have ground, naval and air forces. There shall also be police forces and a people's militia under a ministry of public security.

The basic tasks of the revolutionary people's armed forces are to safeguard the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country and to defend the gains of the revolution and the Filipino people from internal subversion and external aggression. To this end, the revolutionary army as well as the people shall constantly be in a state of vigilance and readiness to repel any act of intervention and aggression from foreign forces.

The people will play the key role in defending the gains of the revolution. With revolutionary consciousness and militancy, they will be the surest guarantee against internal subversion and external aggression. Thus, there shall be no need to maintain a huge standing army.

The national police force shall be drawn from the local police and militia forces that have defended and protected the people in the course of the revolutionary war. Militia units shall be improved where they have already been formed in the course of people's war and shall be formed in places where they do not yet exist. Special consideration shall be made in the areas of the Bangsa Moro, the Cordillera peoples and other indigenous peoples.

Because time-tested revolutionaries shall be firmly in command of the people's army, former enemy officers and men who have joined the revolutionary cause before total victory or who have not committed any serious crime may be allowed to stay in the military service on a selective basis. However, they shall all be required to undergo revolutionary education.

Aside from military tasks and mass organizing, the people's army shall perform tasks in other spheres, such as production, environmental renewal and relief work in times of disaster. It shall be a revolutionary school for its regular members and for the youth who shall be required to render military training service for a certain reasonable period of time.

4. UPHOLD AND PROMOTE THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

The Filipino people's struggle for democratic rights has been waged together with their struggle for national liberation. The Malolos Constitution of 1899, which crystallized the aspirations of a free Philippine nation, included a bill of rights which guaranteed civil liberties to the people.

When US imperialism destroyed the first Philippine republic, it also suppressed the people's democratic rights. In resuming the fight for independence, the people raised the demand for democracy in terms of land reform and civil liberties. The puppet Commonwealth regime never carried out genuine land reform and allowed the exercise of civil liberties only within the confines of ruling class politics and working for the US grant of independence.

A bill of rights was incorporated into the 1935 constitution but in fact the people, especially the toiling masses, were denied the exercise of democratic rights. Not only the Marcos fascist dictatorship but all other regimes under the puppet republic have made false promises about land reform and made a mockery of the bill of rights.

In the course of the struggle against the fascist dictatorship, the struggle for democratic rights gained more profound meaning and scope, drawing strength from our people's militant and heroic struggles against the Marcos regime's wanton abuse and violation of civil and political rights.

Subjected to powerful popular pressure for democracy, the Aquino regime framed a constitution which gives formal recognition to a bill of rights more extensive than that provided by any previous Philippine constitution. But the exercise of democratic rights is negated by the continuing national and class oppression and by the maintenance of the fascist structures built under the Marcos dictatorship.

The total war policy of the Aquino regime resulted in widespread gross violations of human rights, even surpassing the record of the Marcos dictatorship in many areas. Now, we are confronted with a regime whose chieftain has been responsible for these violations during the time of both Marcos and Aquino.

History's lesson is clear. The fundamental individual freedoms as well as expanded human rights in the political, social and economic spheres can only be realized and can only flower under conditions of national freedom and class freedom for the oppressed classes. These freedoms will only thrive for so long as a vigilant people are ready and willing to fight and die for them.

Upon the establishment of the people's democratic republic, the people's democratic rights, especially those of the most oppressed, shall be promoted, expanded and guaranteed. The main substance of democracy shall be realized through genuine and thoroughgoing land reform. The freedoms of the people shall be guaranteed by a democratic

bill of rights and by the actual national and social liberation of the people.

The basic democratic rights include the fundamental rights to free speech and free press; to freedom of thought and expression; to freedom of religious belief and practice; to free choice of domicile and movement. These also include the right to free association and assembly; to strike; and to *universal suffrage through secret ballot*.

Every individual shall have the right to due process; protection against arbitrary arrest; guarantees against torture, solitary confinement and other inhuman forms of detention and punishment; right against self-incrimination and right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty; right to equal protection of the law and the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus.

The right to universal and free education, delivery of basic services, including health care, shall be guaranteed under the new government.

Effective guarantees in the Constitution and other political and institutional mechanisms shall be adopted to prevent the resurgence of autocracy, tyranny, military rule and other antipeople regimes. The people's right to revolt against an oppressive and tyrannical regime shall be recognized.

The right to own the means of production and consumption that are obtained through land reform, honest labor and entrepreneurship, skill, inventiveness and intellectual merit shall be guaranteed. The right to intellectual property shall likewise be guaranteed. The right to own the means of production carries with it the social responsibility to use such means for the common good and should not mean the unbridled exploitation of other people.

Full employment shall be guaranteed. The people shall be assured of gainful employment, livelihood and job security. No one shall be denied the right to work and equal pay due to nationality, creed, minority status, gender or sexual preference, or civil status. The right of the workers to form unions and participate in the management of enterprises shall be assured.

Academic freedom shall be guaranteed. Cultural workers, in particular, will be assured the freedom of expression.

The rights of the Bangsa Moro, Cordillera peoples and other indigenous peoples to their ancestral lands and the natural resources in these lands shall be recognized and guaranteed. The indigenous peoples shall be assured of participation and representation in the economic,

political and social life and institutions of the nation, and their culture shall be accorded due respect.

Women's rights in all fields of endeavor shall be recognized and protected. No discriminatory laws on the basis of race, ethnicity, gender, belief, age, physical condition or civil status shall be allowed to exist.

5. TERMINATE ALL UNEQUAL RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER FOREIGN ENTITIES.

The United States and other foreign monopoly interests have long used various laws, treaties and agreements to violate the national sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Philippines and to interfere in the country's internal affairs. The puppet regimes of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class since 1946 to the present have been criminally answerable for the preservation of the ruinous relations with the US and other foreign entities.

The subservient investment laws and onerous loan agreements and such unequal agreements as the US-RP Military Assistance Agreement, the US-RP Mutual Defense Agreement, the Quirino-Foster Agreement and the RP-Japan Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation shall be terminated. New treaties, agreements and arrangements — based on the principles of mutual benefit and noninterference in each other's affairs — shall be negotiated.

As a rule, direct investments and profit-making assets of the US, Japan and other big foreign capitalists, especially those in the vital and strategic industries, shall be nationalized. Where necessary, the manner of compensation as well as any exemptions to this policy shall be the subject of negotiations, based on the national interest. However, those enterprises that have been actively used for counterrevolutionary purposes shall be subject to outright confiscation.

Foreign loans that overburden and sabotage the Philippine economy, deepen the country's underdevelopment and direct local resources into unproductive channels shall be canceled or renegotiated, when possible, to do away with their obnoxious features and arrive at terms beneficial to the country.

The US military bases have been dismantled but US military forces retain access to military facilities and to the Philippines territory. Such access shall be prohibited.

The reactionary armed forces continue to be dependent on US strategic planning, officer training, supplies and so on. The people's army shall never be allowed to be dependent on or subservient to any foreign power.

No foreign power shall be allowed to set up military bases on Philippine soil or use Philippine territory as a launching base for military operations abroad. The passage through or entry of foreign military nuclear-powered vessels into the country or the emplacement of nuclear weapons within the national territory shall be strictly prohibited.

All forms of foreign intervention and interference in the country's internal affairs shall be opposed and resisted.

**6. IMPLEMENT GENUINE AGRARIAN REFORM,
PROMOTE AGRICULTURAL COOPERATION,
RAISE RURAL PRODUCTION AND EMPLOYMENT
THROUGH MODERNIZATION OF AGRICULTURE
AND RURAL INDUSTRIALIZATION AND ENSURE
AGRICULTURAL SUSTAINABILITY.**

The current minimum land reform program involves the reduction of land rent and abolition of usury, and the setting up of mutual aid and labor exchange systems among the peasantry. In this connection, the wages of farm workers and the prices of agricultural products at the farm gate have also been improved.

For the last more than 25 years, the revolutionary movement has carried out this minimum program in ever-widening areas in the countryside. Even at this stage, far-reaching economic, political and social changes are being effected, including a substantial improvement in the livelihood of the peasantry.

The advance of the revolution has also made it possible in certain areas for land to be confiscated from landgrabbers and cruel and despotic landlords and to be redistributed to peasants; for unjust debts to be canceled; for some peasant cooperatives to be organized; and for appropriate technologies to be introduced.

After nationwide victory of the revolution, it shall be possible to carry out the maximum land reform program, which involves the confiscation of landlord property and the equitable distribution of the land to the landless tillers at no cost to them.

Comprehensive agrarian reform shall be completed under the people's democratic republic. It shall encompass all arable land, aquaculture, livestock and grazing lands with due consideration to ancestral lands of the Bangsa Moro and indigenous peoples.

Beneficiaries of land reform and other owner-cultivators shall be given support services and incentives to increase production and incomes in agriculture and side occupations.

Agricultural cooperation shall be vigorously promoted and shall run ahead of mechanization. The process of cooperativization and mechanization shall be accomplished in stages and in connection with the development of industry.

Rich peasants shall be allowed to retain their land, provided they rely on their own labor power rather than on hired labor to cultivate the land.

Landlords who do not oppose land reform and who cooperate with the people's democratic government shall be given adequate means of livelihood to ensure that their families lead a decent life.

Modern plantations owned and controlled by transnationals or their business allies among the big comprador landlords shall be taken over by the state. These capital-intensive and large-scale farms shall be run by the state or cooperatives of agricultural workers.

Capitalist farm-owners who have supported the revolution shall be allowed to cooperate with the state in the task of raising agricultural production and modernizing agriculture. However, farm workers in those enterprises shall form unions, participate in management and be assured of improved working and living conditions and a just share in the surplus generated.

Major refining, processing and marketing of agricultural products shall be undertaken by the state enterprises and agricultural cooperatives in accordance with the type of crop, its relative importance to the national economy and the people's livelihood, other factors specific to the product, and capabilities of the sector concerned.

While local processing and marketing of a wide variety of agricultural products by individual households shall be encouraged, appropriate mechanisms shall be instituted to prevent such enterprises from exploiting the peasants and farm workers under any guise, from engaging in hoarding and speculation, and from imposing monopolistic prices.

Production of farm equipment and tools, seed varieties, fertilizers, pesticides, and other agricultural inputs, and consumer products suited

to local conditions shall be promoted. Industry shall be required to serve the producer and consumer needs of the working people, mainly the peasant masses.

Support services such as technical assistance, irrigation and distribution of water resources, credit, marketing and storage facilities shall be provided. The state shall rely on the cooperation of the peasant organizations and cooperatives.

Livestock production, fishing and aquaculture shall be developed and producers, especially the small ones, shall be encouraged to form cooperatives or associations and given state assistance.

The depletion, pollution and destruction of marine resources perpetrated mainly by transnational firms and foreign fishing fleets shall be stopped. These resources shall be protected, rehabilitated and developed to benefit Filipino fisherfolk in particular and the people in general.

Programs to raise productivity and improve agricultural management and technology shall be instituted. These shall include research on and development of appropriate agricultural technologies and crop diversification.

Ecologically sound farming practices shall be promoted to ensure that agricultural production will be sustainable.

Agricultural development programs and appropriate technologies to be adopted shall give due consideration and recognition to conditions of rural women and shall enhance their capabilities in agricultural production as well as lessen the burden of household work.

Agriculture shall become the base of the economy, providing food and other necessities to the people as well as raw materials for industry.

With increased incomes from agricultural and nonagricultural production, rural communities will provide an expanding market for goods produced by domestic industry.

The state plan for rural industrialization shall utilize the expansion of rural markets and agricultural modernization to increase manufacturing activities in the rural areas and create greater employment opportunities there.

7. BREAK THE U.S.-BIG COMPRADOR-LANDLORD DOMINANCE OVER THE ECONOMY, CARRY OUT NATIONAL INDUSTRIALIZATION AND BUILD AN INDEPENDENT AND SELF-RELIANT ECONOMY.

In the course of the new democratic revolution, prior to the nationwide seizure of political power, the revolutionary forces shall advocate national industrialization and shall take concrete measures to support the production and distribution of goods by Filipinos. These measures involve creating favorable conditions for the Filipino entrepreneurs and imposing restrictions on foreign monopoly capitalists.

Immediately after the nationwide seizure of political power, capital and landed assets of the foreign monopoly capitalists, the bureaucrat capitalists, the big compradors and landlords shall be nationalized.

The state on behalf of the entire people shall take the commanding heights of the economy by taking over the ownership and operation of the vital and strategic enterprises, the main sources of raw materials and the main lines of distribution.

The public sector of the economy shall also include the agricultural and industrial cooperatives. There shall also be joint state-private enterprises. At the same time, concessions shall be given to national capitalists and other smaller private owners of the means of production.

The firm principle and direction of the economy shall be socialist but some transitory measures from capitalism in definite parts of the economy shall be undertaken.

An independent and self-reliant economy shall be built, led by a program of national industrialization and based on an agriculture that has undergone land reform.

National industrialization shall break up the present colonial pattern of investments, production and trade based mainly on the export of agricultural and extractive raw materials, the importation of finished goods and capital, and the reexport of reassembled or repackaged imported manufactures.

With the development of agriculture, the large amount of agricultural surplus which used to be appropriated by a parasitic landlord class shall become available for supporting the needs of industry. The growth of agricultural production will provide the food and raw material requirements of industry, increase the purchasing power of the rural

population and thus expand the domestic market for consumer and producer goods.

Under the new economic system, raw materials such as logs, coconuts, sugar, metal ores and the like shall be processed domestically.

Through state planning, the balanced and well-proportioned development of heavy industry as the leading factor, agriculture as the base of the economy and light industry as the bridging factor for immediately producing basic consumer goods for the entire people and the producer goods needed by agriculture shall be assured.

Basic and heavy industries shall be built for the production of base metals, basic chemicals, energy, petrochemicals, capital equipment and precision instruments. The development of these industries shall be programmed in accordance with the availability of resources and shall be at a rate that does not impose heavy burdens on the people, especially the peasant masses.

Light industries in the following areas shall be given priority: food, beverage and dairy industries; aquaculture and fisheries; textile and garment industries; housing; agricultural equipment; water and sanitation systems; chemical and pharmaceutical industries; electronics and telecommunications; and shipping, railway and other transport systems.

Monetary and fiscal policies shall be adopted to ensure the effective utilization of domestic savings and scarce foreign exchange for national industrialization, and agricultural cooperativization and mechanization.

The imperialist-controlled IMF and similar institutions shall not be allowed to dictate economic policy. No foreign loans with conditionalities that are adverse to national interest and economic development shall be incurred.

The revenues of the state shall come mainly from the state enterprises, joint state-private enterprises and cooperatives. A progressive system of taxation shall be applied on private enterprises.

There shall be a strict policy of not engaging in unnecessary and unproductive projects. Campaigns against bureaucratic waste or overspending shall be launched. An appropriately sized armed forces, supported by an active and dependable people's militia and by the youth in military training shall be maintained for safeguarding and defending the state and the nation.

Trade and other forms of economic relations with all countries shall be promoted on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. Whenever

necessary, barter or counter-trade with such countries as are willing and able to do so may be availed of.

Foreign investments and loans shall be availed of only if these provide the country with the least costly access to needed technology, products and markets as defined by specific economic plans. These shall not be allowed to lead to a chain of "reforms" which would take the country off the road of socialism and restore the economic and political power of the bourgeoisie.

High premium shall be given to the development of the country's capabilities in science and technology. Towards this end, an appropriate amount of the national budget shall be allocated to scientific and technological research programs geared towards building up the country's science and technology infrastructure: research and development in the basic and applied sciences; upgrading existing indigenous technologies; adapting technology advances in other countries and ensuring an adequate supply of skilled and competent scientific and technical human resources.

Economic enterprises shall have access to results of scientific and technological research in order to translate these into greater opportunities for economic development, employment and higher incomes as well as for the general well-being of the people. The active participation of productive enterprises and people's organizations in science and technology development shall be encouraged and stimulated.

A comprehensive and balanced national policy for the country's natural resources and their all-round exploration, conservation and development shall be pursued. A healthy natural environment shall be secured and improved.

National industrialization shall be pursued with due regard to the protection and efficient utilization of the country's renewable and nonrenewable resource base. A policy of environmental protection, pollution control and sustainable development shall be implemented.

Economic planning shall be instituted to prevent destructive imbalances in the economy and to promote well-balanced growth among heavy industry, light industry and agriculture, and between capital accumulation and consumption.

A proper mix between centralized, regional and local development shall be maintained so that the benefits of economic progress may be spread out geographically.

Economic planning under the people's democratic republic shall ensure the active participation of all democratic classes at various levels and shall take into account the domestic resource and technology base as well as the operations of the market.

The participation of cadres, workers and experts in the management of enterprises shall be a state policy. At the same time, the cadres and experts shall participate in working on the floor together with the workers.

The people play the key role played in building the economy. In this regard, the full development of the country's human resources shall be promoted and the policy of exporting labor shall be discarded. Overseas Filipinos shall be encouraged to return to their motherland and contribute their knowledge, skills and resources to the speedy reconstruction and rehabilitation of the country.

With its rich and abundant natural resources and a large industrious and educated population, the country shall achieve economic and social progress once the fetters of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism are completely broken.

8. ADOPT A COMPREHENSIVE AND PROGRESSIVE SOCIAL POLICY

Government neglect in the delivery of basic services to the people is most keenly felt by the masses, especially those in depressed areas in urban centers and in the countryside.

At present, some of the basic services needed by the people are being provided by the revolutionary forces in the guerrilla fronts through campaigns and programs such as those in literacy, health care, and productive activities.

It is anticipated that, upon the overthrow of the reactionary government, inflation, scarcities of some goods, production breakdowns, speculation and other ills attendant to the decline and final collapse of the puppet regime will be carried over into the early years of the new government.

In this regard, swift and decisive steps shall be taken to control and solve these problems by judicious use of political power and by reviving production and delivery of social services as soon as possible as the new state goes through a period of reconstruction and rehabilitation. The full recovery and subsequent development of the economy shall provide the

conditions for the full implementation of the policies of the new government regarding the delivery of social services.

A social policy aimed at redistributing the benefits of economic growth with priority given to the toiling masses of workers and peasants shall be adopted. It shall promote social justice and enhance the dignity and quality of life of the people. Social services shall become an integral part of the long-term economic and social development of the nation.

As a social policy, the workers' capability to participate in the management of the enterprise they work in shall be developed. Trade unions shall function to safeguard workers' rights, improve working and living conditions and push measures of general welfare.

The provision of social services shall be led by the government. However, people's organizations and agencies, private institutions, firms and individuals shall be mobilized in the work of reconstruction and rehabilitation and the delivery of social services. The churches shall also be encouraged to participate in this regard. The social services system shall promote self-reliance and people's participation.

The new health care system shall emphasize preventive services for the people. Special attention shall be given primary health care, strengthening full participation in people-based programs which are effectively linked to hospitals and other medical support systems. Effective and appropriate medical technology as well as an integrated health infrastructure, especially in rural areas, will be developed and promoted. The utilization and development of both traditional and modern Western medicine shall be promoted.

Steps shall be taken to rationalize the education, distribution and development of health personnel geared to the country's needs — not to the foreign market — as well as to redress the imbalances between health services in the urban and rural areas. Health science education shall be geared towards developing competent and socially-oriented health personnel.

The people's energies and resources shall be harnessed in order to establish the necessary infrastructure for such needs as nutrition, family planning, maternal and child care, day care nurseries, occupational health and safety, environmental sanitation, pollution control and disaster relief.

A national, scientific, people-oriented system of education shall be established with due consideration to individual competency and

attitude. Universal and free education shall be made available. A national program for continuing nonformal and adult education on literacy and numeracy and appropriate skills training for production shall also be drawn up.

Comprehensive artistic, sports and recreation programs shall also be undertaken to promote the people's well-being. These shall be extended to the basic levels of our society to give the people ample opportunities for their all-rounded physical and mental development, wholesome recreation and general well-being.

A comprehensive program for urban renewal shall be developed and implemented. Its main components shall include a mass-based housing program, adequate public services such as electricity, safe water supply and sanitary household disposal systems, recreation facilities, efficient mass transport and communications systems and pollution control.

The problem of urban congestion will be addressed through such programs as the development of the rural economy and uplifting the social and cultural life of the population in the countryside.

Mechanisms shall be instituted to protect consumers; develop a national drug industry and other vital segments of the health care system; ban the entry of hazardous technologies and products; assure the highest standards in the practice of professions in basic services; and impose sanctions on any entity whose irresponsibility results in injury or death.

The social security system shall be restructured towards improving support for those unemployed or incapacitated by illness, disabilities or age. Special attention shall be given to families of martyrs and veterans of the national-democratic revolution. The welfare of the handicapped, the aged, orphans and children shall be given special attention.

The rights of children, especially their protection from abuse and neglect, shall be guaranteed. Policies and measures shall be adopted to solve the problems of children of the streets and who are abandoned, addicted to prohibited drugs, victims of prostitution and sexual violence as well as those of single mothers.

Displaced people shall be encouraged to return to their places of origin or to new areas where they can be gainfully employed. Demobilized soldiers shall be given ample opportunities to work and earn decent incomes.

9. PROMOTE A NATIONAL AND PROGRESSIVE PEOPLE'S CULTURE.

Centuries of foreign and feudal rule have built up a culture of subservience, blind imitation of foreign things and backward thinking, a culture which has made foreign and feudal exploitation and oppression palatable or unrecognizable.

A cultural revolution is necessary to develop the consciousness that impels the people to fight and overthrow their oppressors, and in the process, give birth to a national and progressive people's culture.

Decades of waging this cultural revolution have instilled among the people a stronger sense of nationhood and purpose and imbued them with the spirit of standing up against oppression and injustice. It has etched into the popular consciousness progressive and revolutionary ideas, looking forward to an independent, democratic and just society.

In both cities and countryside, revolutionary and patriotic artists have created various art forms (literature, visual arts, theater arts, music, etc.) expressing the conditions and aspirations of the people. Art and literary creation, popularization and raising of standards must be a continuing process.

The forces of the NDF are advancing the cultural revolution as an integral part of the people's war, mass base building and development of various mass movements in the countryside and cities in the entire course of the national-democratic revolution and shall continue to do so in the subsequent period of socialist revolution and construction.

Literacy and education programs are being carried out among various classes and sectors of society, especially the workers and peasants, to liberate them from ignorance, superstition and the lies and half-truths propagated by the imperialists and the local ruling classes.

Revolutionary and progressive trends are being strengthened among church people so as to strengthen their unity with the Filipino people's revolutionary struggle.

Under the new people's government the culture that corresponds to and promotes the new social order shall be developed. A national, scientific and popular culture shall be vigorously propagated.

It is national because it upholds and defends the sovereignty and independence of the Filipino nation and combats colonial mentality and subservience. It expresses a distinct Filipino character and embodies the richness of the cultures of various regions and areas, including those of

the Bangsa Moro, the peoples of the Cordillera and other indigenous peoples in the country.

It is scientific because it upholds the scientific outlook and methodology, and opposes feudal thinking, superstition and ideas which keep the Filipino people in a world of ignorance and unfounded beliefs, values, practices and prejudices that breed resistance to revolutionary and liberating change.

Popular because it emanates from, and serves the interests of, the broad masses of the Filipino people, reflects their conditions and expresses their needs and aspirations, and combats prevailing decadent, bourgeois and feudal, anti-people and anti-women values embodied in cultural forms and their introduction and propagation.

In the light of such a culture, the new government shall foster the principle of popular participation in public affairs and strengthen the spirit of public service.

The new people's culture shall be fostered and promoted through the educational system, the arts, the mass media, and direct campaigns among the people. In this regard, ownership of educational, cultural and mass media institutions shall be freed from foreign control and private monopoly. However, people's organizations and professional guilds may own and operate cultural and mass media facilities. The freedoms of speech, press and expression shall be guaranteed.

Education, being the primary responsibility of the state, shall be accessible to all Filipinos. Free education shall be ensured at the primary and secondary levels, while appropriate subsidies for tertiary education shall be provided. Private educational institutions shall be allowed, provided these are administered according to the program of public education, and shall eventually be assimilated into the public education sector.

Extensive literacy and educational campaigns shall be carried out to raise the cultural level of the people in areas that have lagged behind because of past disadvantages. Institutions of formal and nonformal education will be restructured and shall undertake the translation, publication, and massive dissemination of low-cost books, other reading materials and other teaching media. The content of the curricula will be reoriented to make them more relevant to the needs of the nation and the people.

A program of parental education shall be implemented to combat feudal, bourgeois and patriarchal beliefs and practices in raising the

family in order that parents can promptly instill revolutionary consciousness among their children.

The development of the creative arts (literature, visual and graphic arts, music, dance, film and the theater) and the growth of centers for *artistic experimentation and innovation shall be supported*. The adoption of a popular orientation, social relevance and revolutionary content and the development of creativity and quality of form in the arts shall be encouraged to help enhance their contribution to the social and cultural liberation of the people.

Science and technology education shall be propagated and research centers for basic science and technology shall be set up. The direct and active participation of productive enterprises in science and technology development shall be promoted and encouraged.

Filipino shall be developed and popularized as the national language. Local languages and dialects will continue to be used and developed and made to contribute to the development of Filipino even as these continue to develop on their own.

The diversity of cultures among the various ethnolinguistic communities shall be respected and fostered. Affirmative action shall be taken to rectify institutionalized oppression and discrimination.

Accounts of our history shall be rewritten from the Filipino people's point of view, highlighting their role in the making of history. Past distortions of our history as written by the imperialists and the local ruling classes to serve their interests shall be rectified.

Our national cultural heritage shall be preserved and honored as a source of our people's dignity and pride. The smuggling and trade of national cultural treasures shall be prohibited and campaigns shall be launched for the repatriation of national cultural treasures abroad.

Cultural exchanges of artists, writers, educators, scientists, scholars and others shall be encouraged, in the spirit of learning from one another and adopting those ideas and things that serve the needs of the nation and the people.

10. UPHOLD THE RIGHTS OF THE BANGSA MORO AND THE CORDILLERA PEOPLES AND OTHER INDIGENOUS PEOPLES TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND DEMOCRACY.

For more than three hundred years of Spanish colonial rule, the people in southern and central Mindanao who have come to be known

as the Bangsa Moro, the peoples of the Cordillera mountain range and other indigenous peoples living in mountainous and hilly areas waged a heroic and sustained resistance to colonialism and imperialism.

It took vastly superior force of arms combined with the bribery and cooptation of many of their leaders and the undermining of their system of livelihood and traditional institutions before they could be subdued and drawn into the ambit of colonial rule. But these compatriots of ours have managed to continue their resistance in various ways, repeatedly rising in revolts and preserving a distinct culture.

Under the puppet neocolonial republic, the local ruling classes and their US masters marginalized these compatriots even further and treated them as inferior peoples. They became victims of institutionalized discrimination and oppression, massive landgrabbing and widespread armed terror and abuse. The Marcos fascist dictatorship multiplied these crimes a hundred times over by acts of genocide against the Moro people and widescale dispossession of the Cordillera people and other indigenous peoples of their ancestral lands.

The Moro people fought back, launching one uprising after another — an armed resistance which rapidly developed into a fullblown struggle for self-determination. The Cordillera peoples likewise rose in armed resistance, which they integrated into the revolutionary struggles of the entire Filipino people. Other indigenous peoples joined the national-democratic struggle.

The NDF upholds the right of the Bangsa Moro, the Cordillera peoples and other indigenous peoples to self-determination. They have the right to decide their own destiny, to free themselves from national exploitation, chauvinism and discrimination, to achieve democracy, to rule themselves and to pursue social progress in an all-round way and in accordance with their specific conditions.

This principled stand is in line with the NDF's aspiration to build a Philippines where there is unity, equality and brotherhood of all peoples and nationalities and to forge a nation that is founded upon real independence from imperialism, democracy for the people, and genuine autonomy for the Bangsa Moro, the Cordillera peoples and other indigenous peoples.

The right to self-determination includes the right to secede, especially under conditions of national oppression. The Bangsa Moro had raised the banner of secession in its struggle against the US-Marcos dictatorship. Under a democratic Philippines where the equality of

peoples and nationalities is guaranteed, the Bangsa Moro shall be encouraged to take the valid and viable option of a genuinely autonomous political rule.

The right to self-determination of the Bangsa Moro, the Cordillera peoples and other indigenous peoples shall be affirmed upon the establishment of the people's democratic government. Genuine autonomous rule and their rightful representation and participation in the central government shall be guaranteed. Their claims to ancestral lands shall be fulfilled with due recognition of historical realities and their long-standing grievances shall be redressed. They shall be guaranteed equal political, economic and social rights, and their way of life shall be respected.

Genuine autonomy would mean authentic and full guarantees for self-governance within the framework of the People's Democratic Republic of the Philippines, a structure of government that ensures the full participation and decisive say of the people of the autonomous areas on all matters affecting their lives, recognition of their right to ancestral land, priority in employment and economic opportunities, returns from the economic development of their areas mainly accruing to them to hasten their social progress, and respect for their tradition and culture. Outside the autonomous areas, they shall be entitled to significant representation in the national people's congress and to proportional representation in organs of power in their respective areas at various levels.

The social, legal, religious and cultural traditions of the Bangsa Moro, the Cordillera peoples and other indigenous peoples shall be respected. At the same time, they shall be encouraged to interact with the richly diverse cultures in the Philippines.

With the strengthening of revolutionary and progressive trends among the national minorities, the central government shall be able to help the autonomous areas and people therein to develop according to their decisions and specific conditions. They shall be given all the necessary support to enable them to advance and progress together with the rest of the nation.

II. ADVANCE THE REVOLUTIONARY EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN IN ALL SPHERES.

Women suffer from distinct forms of oppression stemming from patriarchy that has been aggravated and deepened by feudalism, colonialism, capitalism and imperialism.

Women bear various forms of hardship, degradation and discrimination, apart from the oppression and exploitation they suffer as part of society's work force. Their role in production and the economy of the nation is undervalued, their participation in the community is hampered and they are bound to household work.

As workers in the manufacturing, commercial and service industries, they are subjected to the most vicious forms of wage slavery and sexual harassment.

In the main, peasant women suffer wage discrimination or receive no wages at all for work in the fields, although under reactionary laws they are supposed to enjoy equal rights to ownership of land. Usually the land certificate or title is in the name only of the husband. Debts from landlords are still paid in kind through the labor or servitude of daughters.

Women professionals suffer from discrimination in terms of job opportunities and promotions. Many of them are forced to seek employment abroad as domestics and menial workers only to experience intense exploitation, racial discrimination and sexual abuse. Women are also regarded as commodities in a sex industry that has grown in scandalous proportions.

Women are still generally discouraged, if not outrightly excluded, from exercising their right to participate in decision-making in the home, in social processes and in government, since they are expected merely to echo the views of their male partners.

The struggle to free our nation and society is intertwined with the struggle to liberate the women. Only by overthrowing foreign and feudal rule, and later on, smashing other social structures that buttress patriarchy, can the basic conditions for the liberation of women be established.

Only by taking up the cause of the emancipation of women — motivating, encouraging and supporting our women as they unshackle themselves from the bondage of the home, tradition and current prejudices — can the revolution fully unleash the mighty force of

women in the task of liberating our nation and society. The liberation of women is thus a key component in the liberation of the entire nation.

The revolutionary movement consciously provides the conditions for the large-scale active participation of women in all spheres of the struggle. But the pervasiveness of patriarchy makes it incumbent on all revolutionaries to combat its manifestations even within the revolutionary movement.

Under the new society, patriarchy will not disappear overnight. But the condition for greater social, economic and cultural freedom will arise to accelerate the movement for the full liberation of women.

A massive education program for both women and men shall be undertaken regarding the revolutionary emancipation of women and concrete measures to correct these inequities against women in various spheres of life.

Pervasive values and discriminatory practices against women, including all forms of sexism, shall be actively opposed. Physical and sexual violence and exploitation against women and children shall be punishable.

Full participation and democratic representation of women in government, economic organizations and social institutions shall be promoted.

Through constitutional guarantees and legislation, affirmative action shall be promoted in the recognition and protection of women's rights in all fields of endeavor. All laws that discriminate against women shall be repealed. No one shall be denied the right to work, and the right to equal pay for work of equal value, and the right to own property on the basis of civil status and gender or sexual preference.

Democratization in the family shall be upheld in order to eliminate the feudal or autocratic control over the wife and the children and to strengthen their voice in decision-making within and outside the home towards their active participation in the liberation of the women and the entire people.

Appropriate mechanism shall be provided for the just resolution of marital discord, including the right to divorce. Women's rights over their bodies and reproductive functions shall be guaranteed. Single parents shall likewise be entitled to benefits enjoyed by married parents.

Women shall be provided programs, support structures and mechanisms to break the bonds of their social confinement and

isolation. Support programs for abused and abandoned women, maternal health care, safe means of contraception and skills development shall be undertaken.

12. ADOPT AN ACTIVE INDEPENDENT AND PEACEFUL FOREIGN POLICY.

The National Democratic Front is exerting every effort to contribute to the strengthening and broadening of the international anti-imperialist united front and garner the broadest possible international support for the revolutionary movement of the Filipino people.

In representation of the revolutionary forces, especially the organs of political power, the NDF is seeking diplomatic recognition in accordance with the fact that the revolutionary movement in the Philippines is a co-belligerent in a civil war and not a mere insurgent force.

At the same time, we are vigilant to the domestic and international dangers related to engaging in any talks with the Manila government.

In the wake of the disintegration of revisionist-ruled regimes and the ascendance of the single superpower hegemony of US imperialism (often acting in the name of the United Nations and international cooperation), the NDF is of the view that the increased oppression and exploitation of the people of the world and the worsening crisis of neocolonial societies will eventually lead to a new and higher level of social revolution on a global scale. The revolutionary movement of the Filipino people currently plays a special role of holding high the torch of armed revolution against imperialism, neocolonialism and reaction.

The world capitalist system is in an unprecedentedly severe crisis of overproduction. This is devastating to the neocolonial puppet regime in the Philippines. This generates the favorable conditions for the armed revolution. The people's revolutionary struggle has been as self-reliant as the neocolonial puppet has been overdependent on its imperialist patrons.

Our people's war is part and supportive of the worldwide struggle against imperialism and reaction being waged by the proletariat and people, national liberation movements, revolutionary parties and progressive states. Our struggle contributes to their victories, just as theirs help advance our revolutionary movement. The Philippine revolutionary forces can best contribute to the cause of national liberation, democracy, socialism and peace worldwide by winning our own revolutionary struggle.

We wage people's war self-reliantly but we also need expanded international support — moral, political and material — from the peoples and revolutionary forces abroad, in the face of the ceaseless and escalating US support for the armed counterrevolution. Direct US intervention is increasing and the threat of US aggression is ever present.

Those who extend support to the Philippine revolution are true friends of the Filipino people. We are grateful for such support and we receive it in order to further strengthen the revolutionary movement and fight more vigorously than ever before for the national and democratic rights of the people.

After the nationwide seizure of political power by the revolutionary movement, imperialist rule and aggression will continue to be a main problem of the Filipino people and the world's peoples. Our task of strengthening and broadening a worldwide anti-imperialist united front shall remain a primary and continuing concern. It is within this frame that the people's democratic state shall pursue an active, independent and peaceful foreign policy.

We shall vigorously reject and defend the new government against all forms of foreign intervention and interference in the country's internal affairs.

We shall seek to develop close and warm relations with third world and socialist countries as well as establish diplomatic and economic relations with capitalist countries on the basis of mutual benefit. We shall support the just aspirations and struggles of other peoples, especially anti-imperialist movements, and actively participate in the movement for the establishment of a just international economic order.

We shall support the new government's establishment of diplomatic and economic relations with all countries, irrespective of ideology or social system. In developing these relations, we uphold the principles of mutual respect for each other's sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, mutual benefit, and the peaceful resolution of inter-state conflicts.

We shall work with states in Southeast Asia and Asia-Pacific to help create conditions in which each state can develop itself in peace. We shall push for the realization of the zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in Southeast Asia, where nuclear weapons and foreign military bases are prohibited.

The rights of all migrant Filipinos shall be protected and their problems of Filipinos abroad shall be addressed. The rights of all foreigners temporarily or permanently residing in the Philippines shall also be respected.

We shall adhere to the UN Charter and shall oppose the use of the United Nations for the purposes of imperialism, neocolonialism and reaction. We shall support any resolution or initiative in the international community that enhances the sovereignty, independence and equality of nations, and that defends and promotes world peace and progress. ♦

WHICH MEDICAL ETHICS FOR THE PROGRESSIVE HEALTH SECTOR? *

A. The concept of medical neutrality

"Medical neutrality" (MN) has been invoked by progressive health workers since the latter part of the 1980s as a means to defend themselves, their organizations and their patients against political and physical attacks under the "total war" policy of the Aquino and Ramos regimes. Internationally, the current use of MN can be traced to the internal armed conflicts in Central America, particularly in El Salvador, where internationalist health professionals, foreign solidarity groups and local human rights organizations exposed systematic and grave violations of medical ethics on the part of the government forces.

"Medical neutrality" however is a term one will look for in vain in all of the conventions on international humanitarian law (IHL) in force. It is an ambiguous and imprecise term: it suggests a focus on the duty of medical personnel to perform their wartime functions without discrimination, where the more essential objective is in fact the desire and the need for medical personnel, medical facilities and patients to be protected from the effects of war. (1)

Indeed, the MN concept covers two distinct things:

1. The Code of Medical Ethics: By virtue of the Hippocratic oath, Nightingale's pledge, the International Code of Medical Ethics of the World Medical Association and the like, every individual health professional is sworn "not to allow considerations of gender, race, class, nationality, religion or political belief to intervene" between him and his patient. This is called the principle of non-discrimination. Formulated in another way, all patients "shall receive, to the fullest extent possible and with the least possible delay, the medical care and attention required by their condition. There shall be no adverse distinction among them founded on any grounds other than medical ones."

Other elements of medical ethics require doctors to respect life absolutely; to serve with conscience and dignity and without prejudice; to treat the health of the patient as the principal concern; to respect the

* This is a slightly edited version of the article which appeared in *Pulso ng Bayan* Educational Series No. 86.

secrets patients reveal; and to honor the knowledge of medicine, never using it inhumanely, even when threatened.

It is clear that for this part of the definition, the term "medical ethics" is the more correct one as compared to medical neutrality.

2. International Humanitarian Law (the four Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the two Additional Protocols of 1977): This body of law pertains to international or internal armed conflicts, in which it imposes respect and protection for medical personnel and medical units for specific cases (wounded, sick, prisoners of war, hors-de-combat, etc.) and for vulnerable population groups (children, civilians, etc.).

The term neutrality is inappropriate to describe the above, and was in fact abandoned and even specifically rejected at an international conference on IHL as early as 1906. The eminent Professor Renault, member of the French delegation, argued that in times of war, "to say that doctors are neutral would suggest that they are indifferent with respect to the conflict that sets the fate of their country at stake: they are, in actual fact, enemies, albeit enemies with a special task, and protection and special immunities must be accorded them precisely to enable them to perform that task". Instead of medical neutrality, he proposed to speak of the duty to respect and protect the objects and persons in question. (2)

B. The political content of medical neutrality

The code of medical ethics, which all health professionals are duty-bound to uphold, is largely based on simple humane considerations in the attitude of an individual health care provider vis-a-vis an individual patient. In some parts, however, the bourgeois or petty-bourgeois class position of health professionals is apparent, thus rendering the content conservative. Examples are the exaggerated stress on medical confidentiality, which can become a means for doctors to exercise power over their patients; and the absolute respect for life, which entails rejection of any kind of abortion or euthanasia.

The conservative essence of medical neutrality is undeniable when it comes to international humanitarian law. This is an international set of rules negotiated by nation-states, and has thus unavoidably been subject to considerable compromise. The mere fact that most states, including the most reactionary ones, have acceded to IHL makes it very improbable that the content would be pro-people or progressive. More importantly, IHL reflects in its conception and implementation the

prevailing balance of forces in the world, which has always been in favor of the bourgeois classes and imperialist forces. It is therefore important to analyze the world situation in which the relevant portions of IHL came into being.

The Geneva Conventions were laid down in 1949, a few years after the end of the Second World War. As the only unscathed victor, US imperialism dominated the world. But it was also faced with a gradually strengthening and expanding bloc of socialist countries and national liberation movements. In this period of building Cold War tensions, the US and the minor European capitalist powers resorted to multilateral institutions to ensure their dominant position: The United Nations organizations (political), the NATO (military), and the IMF, World Bank and GATT (economic). The major international human rights covenants of that time, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Geneva Conventions, must be seen as part of this strategy.

In 1977, when the Additional Protocols were inked, the third world was in a somewhat better position, after the victorious liberation struggles in Indochina (Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos), Southern Africa (Mozambique, Angola) and elsewhere, and with the success of the OPEC strategy to raise the oil prices. But at that time the Soviet bloc had since long turned revisionist and in fact preferred cooperation with the West ("detente") over solidarity with the struggling third world peoples. This preempted possible gains that could have been attained by the progressive forces in the international arena, against a temporarily weakened imperialist bloc.

As an illustration we can cite two examples from Protocol II (pertaining to internal armed conflicts) that are in favor of ruling regimes and biased against national liberation movements:

- * Unlike in the Geneva Conventions pertaining to international armed conflicts, nowhere is there any reference to "the contracting parties" in Protocol II. This avoidance of naming revolutionary movements, insurgent or rebel groups involved in armed conflicts as a contracting party was deliberate, for otherwise such movements or groups could claim equality before the law and therefore a status of belligerency.

- * The "duty of medical confidentiality" and some other provisions of Protocol II were made "subject to national law", which means that Marcos' Presidential Decree 169 and Aquino's Executive Order 212,

which compel health professionals to inform the authorities of any case of gunshot wounds or other grave injuries, could still be interpreted as in accordance with the letter (albeit not with the spirit) of Protocol II.

As regards implementation of IHL, this is both ineffective and selective, once more depending on the power relations involved. Although they may pay lip service to IHL, states systematically and seriously violate these laws, often without the international community so much as moving a finger. A case in point is Israel, that has violated and continues to violate the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention in the Occupied Territories of Palestine.

Finally the question may be asked: who needs international humanitarian law? Should internationally accepted legal covenants be our main yardstick in assessing and criticizing the ruling regime and its repressive apparatus? Wouldn't customary law, standard humanitarian norms and conduct not be as valuable and meaningful and at the same time much closer to the world and culture of the basic masses we wish to serve?

C. The international use of medical neutrality

In El Salvador, the national liberation movement FMLN enjoyed a status of belligerency since 1982, which meant the IHL and particularly Protocol II were applicable. Thus the adherence to, and possible violations of these covenants should properly have been monitored by international bodies. Nevertheless, it was the supposedly progressive Comision de Derechos Humanos de El Salvador that addressed perceived human rights violations committed by both sides in the conflict.(3)

In this respect it is useful to point out that large parts of the Salvadoran movement had been seriously afflicted by pacifism, legalism, NGO-ism and outright capitulation to US imperialism. Since the mid-'80s the FMLN entered into peace negotiations with the Salvadoran regime, which finally led to what amounts to a negotiated surrender in early 1993. These serious reformist trends have probably played a role in the Salvadoran's inappropriate use of MN as well.

In a conflict in another part of the world, the Palestine Human Rights Information Center monitors and documents exclusively the violations of human rights and medical neutrality by the Israeli authorities in the Occupied Palestinian Territories. Typical here is that the applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention (pertaining to cases of foreign

occupation) is denied by Israel, and that the pertinent laws are systematically violated by Israel without protest from the international community.(4)

The private international relief agency *Medecins Sans Frontiers* (MSF, or *Doctors Without Borders*) also adheres to the MN concept, and even extrapolates this to become neutrality per se or impartiality in any conflict. They go further still and advocate "active neutrality", which leads them to the concept of "humanitarian intervention" in sovereign states without their consent, thus going beyond the boundaries of national and international law.(5) Supposedly in response to the people's "legitimate right to humanitarian assistance", they in effect often act as the shock troops of imperialism's renewed interventionism in the Third World (e.g. in Iraq, Somalia, Rwanda).(6)

In 1991 an international conference on "Violation of Medical Neutrality" was held in Maastricht, the Netherlands. Instead of arriving at a unity about MN, the conference participants could not even agree on the concept of medical neutrality itself. The conference organizers pointed out three recurrent themes in the discussions:(7)

1. The ambiguity of the term MN led some to interpret this as an a priori impartiality in conflicts something that is clearly not derived from the code of medical ethics and that has no legal basis in IHL.

2. Some wanted to go beyond the objective of "humanizing the war", towards entirely eliminating war — something that clearly goes beyond the use of IHL.

3. Some wanted to broaden the concept of MN to include e.g. the basic right to health, the state's responsibility in providing health care, etc.

D. The political use, misuse and abuse of medical neutrality in the Philippines

Since a few years, some elements in the leadership of the Medical Action Group (MAG) have appeared to subscribe to the three varying misconceptions on "medical neutrality" that surfaced in the 1991 international conference. They have gradually substituted political for medical neutrality, taking an "impartial" position in the ongoing armed conflict "that sets the fate of our country at stake".

A good example of this is MAG's statement on what it prefers to call "the Surigao tragedy": an NPA ambush in Surigao del Sur on February 15, 1992, in which 39 AFP soldiers were killed.(8) For MAG this

"tragic incident ... reminds us of the human costs of the war". But how significant are the temporary and relatively limited "human costs of war" compared to the century-old and all-pervasive human costs of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, to the human costs of "peace" under the prevailing system? Considering this, should we simply aim at "humanizing the war", or rather at humanizing society through structural change?

Further, MAG asks "the contending parties ... the AFP and the NPA to uphold and respect at all times Protocol II". This formulation clearly places the two sides on an equal level of responsibility, without differentiating the interests that each represents, thus glossing over which side truly represses and violates the people's rights.(9) Worse, in "calling for an impartial investigation...., especially on the reported participation of children in the ambush", MAG puts the blame onesidedly on the NPA, which was accused by the military of having used children combatants in the ambush — a completely baseless claim for which no evidence whatsoever was presented. Moreover, if Protocol II is considered applicable to the Philippine armed conflict (the Philippines is a signatory to Protocol II, and in December 1990 the NDF declared to abide by Protocol II), the task of monitoring the implementation from the side of the NDF does not belong to local but to international human rights groups. More importantly, the NDF then assumes responsibility for dealing with possible violations in accordance with its own legal and judicial rules and procedures.(10)

It is interesting to note that Health Secretary Flavio also uses the "medical neutrality" concept. After the National Immunization Day (NID) he exclaimed that "health is neutral" and that "health knows no ideology".(11) However, in a glossy DOH brochure full of pictures of military helicopters and military men in full battle gear, AFP officials openly say that the NID has been very useful in their "counterinsurgency" campaign.

MAG seems to agree with this joint DOH/AFP pacification campaign: "Efforts of DOH for immunization and health care as a peace-building activity is [sic] laudable". For MAG the only problem in Philippine society seems to be militarization: "The remedy really is simple: stop total war and repair the damages through psychological rehabilitation ... immunization, health care and ceasefire may help..."(12) This amounts to a pacifist position in the service of

counterrevolution, as the basic problems of Philippine society are no longer mentioned, let alone confronted.

In the current Philippine setting, the MN concept (not necessarily the term itself) may be applicable only among the progressive health sector in the advocacy and lobbying for such antifascist measures as the repeal of EO 212, and in tactical struggles in defense of the people's right to health and for the protection of health workers (e.g. demanding a stop to the harassment of health workers, demanding safe passage for medical teams to far-flung areas).

E. The Revolutionary Code of Medical Ethics

Finally, the NPA has developed its own Revolutionary Code of Medical Ethics. Based on the principle of serving the people, the code dwells on the correct revolutionary attitude of a medic towards his patients, towards other medics, and towards enemy patients. Although the NPA's Three Rules of Discipline and Eight Points of Attention contain even higher standards of humanitarian conduct, Protocol II can play a complementary role in the efforts to further "humanize the war." (13)

That revolutionary forces adhere to a code of medical ethics and other human rights instruments is no wonder. Liberation movements can only survive and develop when they succeed in establishing close links with the people, which requires a very correct behavior vis-a-vis the local population. The *raison d'être* of liberation movements and people's organizations as well as their chances of survival and victory are closely linked to their systematic implementation of humanitarian law and humanism in the broadest sense. (14)

F. Conclusion: Collective medical ethics and the political responsibility of health workers

Collective medical ethics (vis-a-vis the people as a whole or specific population groups) should be clearly distinguished from the individual medical ethics of the Code (vis-a-vis individual patients).

Every individual health professional or group of health workers has the right unless restricted by law to determine a target population on which he/she wants to concentrate his/her medical services. ("Restricted by law" refers to those countries usually with progressive regimes where geographical and sometimes social distribution of health professionals is regulated by the state, such as in Cuba.) In other words,

a health professional has all the right and it is the most logical thing to do to prioritize his potential groups of patients according to geographical, social, political or other criteria, such as constraints in time, personnel, material resources, etc.

Within this prioritized target group(s), of course the Hippocratic oath and other elements of medical ethics remain in force vis-a-vis every individual patient. Individual medical ethics are also at all times upheld even vis-a-vis patients outside the priority groups, in case of emergency or for any patient actually seeking medical attention. And this even if they are considered part of the enemy camp in case of armed conflict.

The choice made by particular health professionals or health NGOs and POs of their priority groups is indicative of their collective medical ethics. If that choice is to work for the oppressed and exploited basic masses in their struggle for societal change, this would be the most principled application of collective medical ethics, and much more valuable than any individualist medical ethics or dangerous misconception of medical neutrality. ♦

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