



**On the  
Communist Party  
of the Philippines,  
2000-2022**

**jose maria sison**

**sison  
reader  
series**

**6**

**julieta de lima  
editor**



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On the CPP and the Philippine Revolution

**Jose Maria Sison**

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***On the Communist Party  
of the Philippines  
2000 - 2022***

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***Sison Reader Series  
Book 6***

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**Julieta de Lima  
Editor**

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## Preface

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

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

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

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

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

In general, there was little to inherit from the CPPI in terms of useful Party literature and in terms of an effective Party organization from the level of the branch to the central committee or the political bureau leading the revolutionary movement. Up to his arrest in 1964, Jesus Lava was isolated from the masses and mass movement and was merely hiding underground.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Jose Maria Sison**  
**Utrecht, The Netherlands**  
**November 20, 2021**

## ***Mobilize the Broad Masses of the People to Deliver the Death Blow to the Estrada Regime***

Statement on the 32nd Anniversary of the Party

December 26, 2000

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

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

We render today the highest tribute to Comrade Armando Teng, member of the Central Committee, Political Bureau and Executive Committee and secretary of the Southern Luzon Commission of the Party, who recently died of illness, and to all our revolutionary martyrs and heroes. And we convey our warmest congratulations to all the Party cadres and members, the Red commanders and fighters of the New People's Army (NPA), the allies in the National Democratic Front (NDFP) and the broad masses of the people for all the victories scored in the past year.

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

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

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

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

### ***The culpability of the Estrada regime and the entire ruling system***

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

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

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

In less than half of his six-year term, he has been impeached by the House of Representatives and is now on the dock in the Senate trial for gross acts of bribery, graft and corruption, betrayal of public trust and culpable

violation of the 1987 constitution. The people are outraged and are engaged in nationwide mass actions to oust him or compel his resignation. The consensus in the broad united front of organized forces is to remove him from power for immorality, corruption, incompetence and repressiveness.

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

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

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

The mantra of all the reactionaries is to "compete globally." But the Philippine economy has nothing to export but raw materials, semimanufactured reexports and contract workers. These are now squeezed by global oversupply and recessionary trend. Even the export of men and women is under growing pressure by economic and legal restrictions abroad, due to the general stagnation and crisis of overproduction of the world capitalist system.

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

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

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

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

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

The budgetary and trade deficits are mounting. At the same time, international credit is drying up. The reduction of interest rate during the first two years of the regime has been unsustainable. Local public borrowing is

accelerated and inflation is consequently soaring. The crisis of the domestic ruling system is inextricably connected to the worsening crisis of overproduction in the world capitalist system. Every type of goods is now overproduced relative to the shrinking global market. This has been constricted due to the effect of the "neoliberal" policy of pressing down the wage and living conditions of the working people.

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

In the Philippines, the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the middle social strata suffer acutely the intolerable rigors of mass unemployment, the fall of real incomes, inflation, depreciation of the peso, the mounting tax burden and the breakdown of infrastructure and social services. Even the upper class and upper-middle class are complaining of the rising costs of their import-dependent conspicuous consumption. Thus, they are scandalized by Estrada's frenzy of providing mansions and limousines to his many wives.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

undue interference by Lacson even in military promotions, corruption in supply contracts and delayed payment of salaries to the rank and file outside PAOCTF. The Federation of Retired Commissioned and Enlisted Soldiers (FORCES) and several underground groups of active military and police officers have arisen to call for the resignation of Estrada. They urge the active military and police officers to withdraw support from him and respect the people's right to assemble. A big number of military and police officers are increasingly manifesting their opposition to Estrada and Gen. Lacson and are in a position to neutralize them.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the preceding year, under "Oplan Makabayan" and related campaign plans, the regime launched massive military campaigns of suppression against the revolutionary forces nationwide, with emphasis on three to five regions at every given time. It has carried out large attacks on the camps or areas of the MILF in a futile effort to whip up Christian chauvinism, paint itself as strong and divert public attention from the corruption scandals. But the NPA has victoriously carried out brilliant guerrilla tactical offensives against the soft points of the enemy, while wisely evading militarily superior units of the enemy. The army of the MILF has also adopted the tactics of guerrilla warfare and is likewise dealing deadly blows on the enemy.

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

months.

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

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

### ***Urgent task of overthrowing the Estrada regime***

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

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

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

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

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

The Party strives to exercise leadership and maintain independence and initiative by pursuing the long-term program of new democratic revolution even as it cooperates with a broad range of allies by carrying out with them the urgent task of removing the Estrada ruling clique from power. The upsurge of the legal mass movement complements the intensification of armed struggle as the main form of struggle.

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

The revolutionary forces have a clear understanding of the immediate and long-term objectives of the mass movement. There is no confusion among them about the modes of action to be taken in the urban and rural areas.

The "Left" and Right opportunists who in the 1980s held high positions and spread confusion within the Party have long deserted to the side of the enemy. The "Left" opportunists had the illusion that they could actually bring down the entire ruling system with the Marcos ruling clique through urban insurrection or rural militarism cum urban insurrection. Now, they are open psywar and intelligence agents of the enemy like Romulo Kintanar, Arturo Tabara and Benjamin de Vera. Filemon Lagman and other Trotskyites still pretend to be more "Left" than the Left by demanding the immediate resignation of all reactionary officials in a futile attempt to split the broad united front and deflect the concentrated fire on the Estrada ruling clique.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In maintaining and strengthening the broad united front, we must consciously apply the revolutionary class line consisting of the following: 1. The working class must have the leadership through the Communist Party of the Philippines. The underground party must exercise leadership by using correct methods and style, especially in the urban areas.

2. The basic alliance of the working class and peasantry must be strengthened. The mass movement must strengthen the trade union movement in the urban areas and the armed revolution in the countryside.

3. The alliance of progressive forces must put into full play the forces of the urban petty bourgeoisie. The mass movement must bring about further political education, organization and mobilization of the urban petty bourgeoisie in concert with the toiling masses.

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

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

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

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

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

The anti-Estrada Right includes the forces that represent the reactionary classes of big compradors and landlords, regard Estrada as an intolerable liability to the ruling system and wish to replace him in order to strengthen the ruling system. Such forces can remain in the broad united front for as long as their contradictions with the Estrada ruling clique are not resolved through the ouster of the latter.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Party has announced repeatedly that in accordance with its own line it does not deploy units of the New People's Army to join the legal mass actions in the urban areas because the proper role of the NPA is to intensify armed tactical offensives in the countryside. Active and retired military and police officers have also called for the

resignation of Estrada and have declared that they would respect the right of the people to assemble and express themselves. It is therefore possible, as in the dying days of the Marcos fascist regime, to prevent the Estrada ruling clique from using the military and police forces against the rising masses.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### ***Prospects after the ouster of Estrada***

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

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

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

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

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

GRP-NDFP peace negotiations and resume said negotiations.

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

The continued aggravation of the basic problems of the people by the new regime and the worsening of the social and economic crisis of the ruling system will generate graver political crisis. As fast as that regime bares its antipeople, antinational and antidemocratic character, the revolutionary resistance of the people will intensify and a broad united front against it will certainly arise. The imperialist banks, firms and multilateral lending agencies (IMF, World Bank, WTO, etc.) will further make impositions that put their puppet in an untenable position. The worsening crisis of the world capitalist system will result in the worsening crisis of the domestic ruling system and will render futile any attempt of the new regime to appease, deceive or intimidate the people.

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

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

The Communist Party of the Philippines is ideologically, politically and organizationally prepared to confront the new ruling clique as this assumes the role of being the enemy of the people. The strength accumulated by the revolutionary forces and the people in the course of fighting the entire ruling system and overthrowing the US-Estrada regime will be available against the new ruling clique. The crisis of the moribund ruling system will not end but will worsen. It will continue to favor the advance of the new-democratic revolution.

# ***Hail the Rising Revolutionary Forces and the Upsurge of the Mass Movement***

**Statement on the 33<sup>rd</sup> Party Anniversary, December 26, 2001**

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

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

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

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

## ***The rising revolutionary forces and mass movement***

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The mass base is built by forming the democratic organs of political power, the mass organizations of

workers, peasants, women, youth, children and cultural activists and the working committees to assist the overall committee of self-government and by carrying out the campaigns for mass education, land reform, higher production, self-defense and militia training, health and sanitation and so on.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### ***Favorable global conditions for the revolution***

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

Since then, the worsening economic crisis of the world capitalist system and the US-led wars of aggression

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Bush regime is using the September 11 attacks on the twin towers of the World Trade Center and Pentagon as the pretext for making a so-called global assault on terrorism. It is whipping up a hysteria to push military production, wars of aggression and curtailment of democratic rights in both the US and abroad.

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

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

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

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

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

The intensification of any of these contradictions will tend to inflame the other contradictions. Under these

circumstances, it is decisive for the subjective forces of the revolution in various countries to strengthen themselves, step up their mass work and carry out mass struggles for national liberation, democracy and socialism against imperialism and all reaction.

### ***Vulnerability of the ruling system and every ruling clique***

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

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

Under the Ramos regime, the country went fast into import-dependent low value-added semimanufactures (electronic components, garments, shoes, toys and the like) and into private construction propped up by large amounts of private credit convertible into public debt. The crisis of overproduction in semimanufactures and private construction with excessive foreign credit devastated the Southeast Asian economies in 1997.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The regime has ridiculed the pleas of the workers and government employees for wage and salary adjustments and the demand of the landless peasants for genuine and thoroughgoing land reform. The base for removing

Macapagal-Arroyo from power or frustrating her 2004 electoral plans is developing.

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

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

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

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

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

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

It is the duty of the Communist Party of the Philippines to lead and build the New People's Army for the ultimate revolutionary goal of overthrowing the reactionary state and likewise to develop various forms of united front for mobilizing the broadest range of forces and the greatest number of people against the enemy in order to carry forward the new democratic revolution.

### ***Strengthen and sharpen the weapons of the Philippine revolution***

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

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

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

We must adopt and carry out a plan to recruit more Party members from the mass movement of workers, peasants, women, youth and professionals. Thus, the Party can maintain and enhance its close links with the masses. We must attract to the Party the most advanced activists and attend promptly to their Marxist-Leninist education and trial work as candidate members of the Party.

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

We must continue to employ the people's army for integrating the revolutionary armed struggle, land reform

and mass base-building. The Party must exercise leadership over the commands of the people's army. It must build party units within units of the people's army.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Statement on the 34<sup>th</sup> Party Anniversary. December 26, 2002**

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

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

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

Let us strive to win ever greater victories in the new-democratic revolution against US imperialism and the local reactionary classes. Let us sum up our experience, evaluate our strengths and weaknesses and carry out the tasks of the Party as a whole and those of the organs and units to which we belong. Let us raise our revolutionary struggle to a new and higher level.

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

## ***Imperialist crisis and war of terrorism***

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The rapid extraction of profits from the working class and peoples of the world and the accelerated concentration and centralization of such profits in a few imperialist countries under the slogan of "free market"

globalization have served to decrease the income and purchasing power of the working people and to contract the global and national markets.

Since the 1989-91 period, Japan, Germany and the former Soviet bloc countries have been conspicuously caught in the vise of economic stagnation and prolonged periods of recession. But in most of the 1990s, the US still appeared to be the irrepressible engine of growth that was expected to ultimately pull up the other centers of capitalism and the rest of the world capitalist system.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Within the imperialist countries, there is mass discontent among the workers and petty bourgeoisie who now suffer mass unemployment, reduced wages and erosion of social benefits. Popular resistance is developing against imperialist war and fascism, chauvinism and racism. The monopoly bourgeoisie is trying to obscure its responsibility for the crisis by seeking to split the proletariat and shifting the blame to immigrants and foreign countries. Communist parties in imperialist countries are being challenged to convert imperialist wars into civil wars.

### ***Depression and repression***

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

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

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

Foreign loans needed for covering trade deficits are in short supply. In the meantime, the amount required for debt service keeps on increasing. Like Estrada in the recent past, Macapagal-Arroyo keeps on begging Japan for infrastructure loans in order to be able to show some semblance of economic activity. But such loans in fact further burden the economy as they come with ever-heavier conditionalities and as they are prime target of bureaucratic corruption.

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

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

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

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

The economic crisis has resulted in a severe political crisis. Several factions within the ruling system as well as within the ruling coalition are in bitter rivalry. The national pie available for bureaucratic looting has become so small that the tendency of the ruling clique to monopolize the loot provokes whistle blowing even within the ruling coalition.

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

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

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

Even if she is not removed from office by popular uprising, she would become debilitated and isolated before the 2004 elections. Many believe that she has already disqualified herself from public campaigning in 2004 as a

result of the extremely brutal military offensives that her regime has launched against the people.

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

It has acceded to the US-RP Mutual Logistical Support Agreement, which comes on top of the US-RP Military Assistance Agreement, the Mutual Defense Pact and the Visiting Forces Agreement. US military forces can enter Philippine territory as they please and occupy any part of it for any length of time under such pretexts as fighting terrorism, training exercises, civic action and what else.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### ***Rising revolutionary mass movement***

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

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

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

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

economy.

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

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

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

The claims of the enemy that we have lost the struggle because there are no more big socialist countries to finance our revolutionary efforts are simply ludicrous. We regard as absurd the shallow misrepresentation of the revisionist regimes as socialist and as sources of inspiration or financial support. As a revolutionary party of the proletariat such as ours, we have long upheld Marxism-Leninism against modern revisionism and have followed the principle of self-reliance in our revolutionary struggle.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

liberation.

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

We have twice employed the broad united front to overthrow a ruling clique in the Philippines, the first in the antifascist movement against Marcos and the second in the anti-corruption movement against Estrada. We can avail of the broad united front to overthrow the Macapagal-Arroyo ruling clique before 2004 or make it lose the 2004 presidential elections.

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

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

### ***Strive to win ever greater victories***

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In confronting the Macapagal-Arroyo regime, we have again an opportunity to further develop the broad united

front, with the objective of overthrowing the regime or making it fail in the 2004 presidential elections. The current volatile crisis situation in the Philippines provides us with the favorable conditions for advancing both the armed struggle and developing the united front.

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

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

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

# ***Boldly Advance the Philippine Revolution Amidst Worsening Global and National Crisis***

**Statement on the 35<sup>th</sup> Anniversary, of the Reestablishment of the Party, December 26, 2003**

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

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

The victories that we have won are fully paid for by hard work, struggle and sacrifices. In this regard, we praise all Party cadres and members, Red commanders and fighters, the mass activists and the entire people for all their revolutionary efforts. We express our highest praise to the revolutionary martyrs and heroes. The Party has proven itself as the advanced detachment of the revolutionary proletariat in the Philippines and as the force leading the Philippine revolution by upholding Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, by carrying out the general line of new democratic revolution through protracted people's war and by expanding and consolidating the Party organization under the principle of democratic centralism.

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

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

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

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

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

## ***Growing Party strength***

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

We continue to be inspired by the First Great Rectification Movement launched in 1967 and the Second Great Rectification Movement launched in 1992. Both rectification movements have strengthened and re-strengthened the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally. The First Great Rectification Movement criticized and

rectified major errors since 1930 and led to the reestablishment of the Party in 1968. The Second Great Rectification Movement criticized and rectified major errors since 1980 and led to the revitalization of the Party in more than a decade until now.

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

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

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

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

The Party has consistently linked the working class with the peasantry by relying mainly on the poor peasants and farm workers, by winning over the middle peasants, neutralizing the rich peasants and taking advantage of the contradictions between the enlightened and evil gentry in order to isolate and destroy the power of the latter. This is the revolutionary class line of the Party in carrying out the antifeudal democratic revolution, in waging the protracted people's war, in carrying out land reform and in building organs of political power and mass organizations in the countryside.

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

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

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

The enemy has failed to accomplish the objectives of its all-out war policy and its concentration of military forces on 12 selected guerrilla fronts since 2001. The armed revolutionary movement is ever growing and cannot be suppressed. The enemy can concentrate military forces on 12 guerrilla fronts and commit all sorts of atrocities against the people. But in more than 110 guerrilla fronts as well as in new areas, the NPA can further build its strength, conduct revolutionary work and launch tactical offensives.

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

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

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

The Party coordinates the revolutionary forces and people in the urban and rural areas. For this coordination to be carried out, Party organs and units use legal and illegal methods of work. Party groups exist and multiply in legal institutions and organizations, including reactionary ones. The Party always works hard to enable the armed revolutionary movement and the legal mass movement to advance in their respective ways against the ramparts of reaction.

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

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

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

From a revolutionary viewpoint, the Party regards the legal forms of struggle as a way of exposing the rottenness of the ruling system, broadcasting the general line of new democratic revolution, reducing to some extent the oppression and exploitation and, if such reduction were not possible, encouraging the people to think and act in the revolutionary way. The patriotic and progressive mass organizations are the most resolute and militant in conducting the struggle for national independence and democracy.

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

The Party has a nationwide membership in the tens of thousands. It has increased this by recruiting the most advanced elements from the armed revolutionary movement and the legal democratic mass movement. Thus, it

has made closer and deeper more than ever before its close links with the toiling masses of workers and peasants. It is highly conscious of increasing the number of workers and peasants in order to strengthen its revolutionary basis and character.

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

The most difficult and dangerous tasks are in the countryside, especially in the guerrilla fronts. The Party systematically encourages Party cadres and members who are workers and educated youth to join the revolutionary struggle in the countryside. They have the political and technical competence to raise higher the level of work and struggle. Mass activists who desire to become Party members are also encouraged and required to go to the countryside to learn from the struggle there and render service to the people.

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

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

### ***Worsening national crisis***

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Philippine economy has been falling abruptly since the 1997 financial crisis, as a result of the global

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The US has manipulated the puppet and corrupt character of the Macapagal-Arroyo regime in order to dictate

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

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

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

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

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

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

She might still lose the elections despite all the material resources and dirty tricks at her command. But there is no guarantee whatsoever that the winner would be fundamentally different from her. All the major reactionary presidential candidates can run because they get campaign funds and facilities from the exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords and because they pledge servility to US imperialist interests.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### ***Worsening global crisis***

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

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

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

executives, and through the overvaluation of assets under the spell of the high-tech bubble.

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

Under the neoliberal policy auspices of "free market" globalization, the world capitalist system has come to a point at which the crisis of overproduction and financial collapses in both the underdeveloped and overdeveloped countries interact with each other and recoil upon each other to cause a contraction of the global market to the detriment of all. The fundamental problem of imperialism is that the monopoly bourgeoisie maximize profits by cutting down employment and incomes of the real producers and ultimately ruining the market for products in the real economy.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Bush regime has used the September 11 attacks as the pretext to aggress against Afghanistan and establish

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Certain governments in the third world have asserted national independence against the grossest hostile acts, impositions and threats from the imperialists. The firmest among them are those that strongly affirm national independence and socialism. There are also those that appeal to the people from a bourgeois nationalist position in order to oppose the worst schemes of the US. A lasting product of the revolutionary movements led by the

proletariat is the decolonization of so many countries since the end of World War II. It is foolhardy for the US to proceed from neocolonialism to recolonization.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### ***Fulfill the new three-year plan***

The daily worsening crisis of the domestic ruling system of big compradors and landlords and that of the world capitalist system generate exceedingly favorable conditions for the advance of the national democratic revolution of the Filipino people under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines. We are confident that

we can fulfill the current three-year plan laid down by our Party Central Committee.

We must realize the following main objectives of the plan:

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

### ***Ideological strengthening***

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

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

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

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

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

### ***Political strengthening***

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

In this regard, we must motivate ourselves with the revolutionary spirit of serving the people. We must arouse, organize and mobilize the masses. We must constantly learn from the people what are their conditions, their demands and capabilities for their own benefit and for the advance of the revolutionary struggle. The Party must continue to integrate revolutionary armed struggle, genuine land reform and mass base building in order to fulfil the main content of the democratic revolution and accumulate in the countryside the strength necessary for seizing the cities on a nationwide scale in the future.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### ***Organizational strengthening***

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

# ***Avail of the Worsening Crisis and Intensify the Guerrilla Offensives to Advance the New Democratic Revolution***

**36<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Statement of the Reestablishment of the Party, December 26, 2004**

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

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

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

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

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

## ***Crisis of the US and world capitalist system***

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

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

The US itself has attracted and borrowed an extremely huge amount of capital in the last more than two decades. US federal government debt today stands at almost US\$7.601 trillion according to US Bureau of Treasury statistics. This debt grows by some US\$2.56 billion per day, at which rate, the US\$8.18 trillion debt limit approved by the US Senate last month would be reached in a little over 226 days or on November 17, 2005. State and local government indebtedness is an estimated US\$1.6 trillion.

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

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

The so-called "internationalization of capital" is a monstrous lie. Capital investments are by and large retained in the imperialist countries and no lasting significant transfer of productive capital is made to the third world countries as the drum beaters of "globalization" proclaim. The essential meaning and main thrust of "free market" globalization is to prevent or destroy national industrial development outside of the imperialist countries. In fact,

the net capital transfer from developing countries to the developed capitalist countries amounting to US\$111 billion in 1998 nearly doubled to US\$193 billion in 2002.

The percentage of total foreign direct investments (FDI) that went to developing countries was only 32.6 percent in 1990-94. This dropped to a meager 15.9 percent in 2000 and rose to 23 percent (US\$158 billion) in 2002 and 30 percent (US\$172 billion) in 2003. However, nearly a third of these—US\$53 billion in 2002 and US\$54 billion in 2003—went to China. If China is excluded, the percentage of world FDI to the rest of the developing countries would only be 15.5 percent for 2002 and 21 percent in 2003.

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

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

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

The Bush regime seeks to stimulate the US economy by stepping up war production and unleashing wars of aggression in order to continually consume and replenish its armament inventory as well as develop new high tech weapons. It is whipping up war hysteria, repression and the trend of fascism in the US and on a global scale by taking advantage of the 9/11 attacks and declaring a permanent and preemptive "war on terrorism."

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

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

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

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

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

the US in Iraq are encouraging the American people to oppose the Bush regime's policy of military intervention and aggression in the Middle East, Central Asia and elsewhere.

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

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

The US has always been resentful of the wave of decolonization after World War II, especially because the socialist countries actively encouraged and supported this. It has always opposed the principles of the Bandung Conference of Afro-Asian Countries and the Non Aligned Movement. It has used neocolonialism in order to negate and undercut the nominal independence of countries that have become semicolonies and dependencies, from being full colonies. Being now the sole superpower, it seeks to entrench further the phenomenon of neocolonialism and is exerting efforts to recolonize certain countries in Africa.

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

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

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

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

### ***Crisis of the domestic ruling system***

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

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

The huge revenue losses and increased expenditures that apparently cause the gargantuan budget deficits are due to the aggravation of the chronic crisis of semifeudal economy brought about by the neoliberal policy of "free

market" globalization. Under this policy, production for domestic consumption has shrunk due to the rising costs of imported inputs and due to dumping of goods by foreign and big comprador firms. The prices of all the raw materials and low-valued added semi-manufactures produced for export by the country are pressed down by global oversupply, resulting in the aggravation of the chronic foreign trade deficit.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Arroyo ruling clique is pushing the worst forms of puppetry and corruption not only in the executive and legislative branches of government but also in the judicial branch up to the level of the Supreme Court. It used money from a US\$50 million slush fund of US, British and Dutch oil monopoly firms to bribe a majority of the justices of the Supreme Court into reversing in the current month the decision earlier taken by the court in January

2004 declaring the mining act as unconstitutional, violative of the provision of the 1987 constitution prohibiting companies with foreign ownership beyond the maximum limit of 40 per cent from exploration, development and utilization of the natural resources of the Philippines.

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

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

In trying to strengthen its power base and to combat the development of a broad united front against it, the regime is instigating military and police officers to carry out massacres in certain provinces selected by US and Filipino military planners, attack peaceful worker strikes and mass protest actions. The long-running series of murders of progressive mass leaders and activists in Mindoro, Mindanao, Bicol, Quezon and elsewhere, of journalists and other media persons, and the massacre of striking workers in Hacienda Luisita is blood on the hands of the Arroyo regime.

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

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

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

The US and the worst of its puppets are scheming to amend the 1987 constitution for the purpose of putting in provisions to erode the civil and political rights of the Filipino people, remove the remaining national restrictions on foreign investments and eliminate the prohibitions on foreign military bases and foreign combat troops and the entry, transit and stationing of nuclear, biological, chemical and other weapons of mass destruction.

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

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

this, to paralyze and eventually terminate these negotiations.

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

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

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

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

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

The incorrigible rabid puppetry of the regime and the scheme of the US to ultimately scuttle the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations are so clear. The Filipino people and all revolutionary forces need to stand up and fight against the escalating vicious campaigns of psywar and violent suppression. We must be resolute and courageous in intensifying the revolutionary armed struggle and the other forms of struggle.

### ***The growing forces of the Philippine revolution***

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

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

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

The successful ideological work of our Party involves propagating materialist dialectics and strengthening our Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method in dealing with problems of theory and practice. In addition to work and study meetings by Party organs and units, our Party undertakes primary, intermediate and advanced courses of study in order to guarantee the development and advance of the consciousness of all our Party cadres and members from one level to another.

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

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

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

The outstanding achievements of our Party in ideological work are buttressed by victories in political work in the Philippines amidst the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system. The crisis makes obvious the urgency of the need for people's war and social revolution and provides the fertile conditions for the growth of the revolutionary forces.

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

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

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

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

We have undertaken land reform as the main campaign to fulfill the main content of the democratic revolution and thus gain the active participation and support of the peasant masses. We vigorously carry out the minimum land reform program and lay the basis for the maximum program. We continuously build the mass base. This includes the organs of political power and the mass organizations of various types.

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

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

The NPA is building the regional centers of gravity, using the guerrilla fronts as the wide base in every region.

These centers of gravity provide security for central and regional cadres and are the base for directing mass campaigns of various types on a regional scale and launching tactical offensives bigger than before (the size of one, two or three platoons) by combining regional and guerrilla front units.

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

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

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

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

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

The revolutionary forces of the people can grow in strength as the broad united front gather the force of a typhoon capable of overthrowing the regime. When the overthrow occurs, the balance of forces might not yet permit the revolutionary forces to take power into their hands. But they shall have become stronger than ever before and the ruling system of big compradors and landlords shall have become weaker than ever before.

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

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

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

### ***Avail of the crisis and intensify guerrilla offensives***

The Communist Party of the Philippines must take advantage of the crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system to advance the revolution. It must vigorously condemn the viciously oppressive and exploitative character of the US imperialists and their local puppets. It must arouse, organize and mobilize the people to wage the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The CPP must develop the broad united front for further isolating, weakening and eventually overthrowing the Arroyo puppet regime. Such a united front can be developed on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance, the alliance of the progressive forces and the alliance of the patriotic forces, which must continually be strengthened through the various forms of mass struggle.

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

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

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

Legal democratic struggles serve to expose and isolate the Arroyo regime by encouraging the building of a broad united front and rallying the masses in great numbers. Outdoor and indoor mass rallies must be undertaken. Progressive members of Congress can also contribute their share. Even the peace negotiations can provide a forum and a platform for ventilating issues, programs and courses of action to both the organized and the unorganized masses. But we must be ever vigilant to the treachery and cruelty of the US and puppet regime. In the course of the struggle to oust the Arroyo regime, the revolutionary forces must continue to expose and denounce the shameless puppetry of the Arroyo regime and its dependence on US imperialism and the total bankruptcy of the ruling system. At the same time, we must stress to the people that ousting the Arroyo regime will not suffice to overthrow the ruling classes and the semifeudal and semicolonial system. We must take advantage of the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system and the growing isolation of imperialism, especially US imperialism, by intensifying the revolutionary armed struggle and other forms of struggle. Thus, we shall be able to contribute further to the building of a broad front of anti-imperialist solidarity and the international communist movement and foster mutual support and cooperation among revolutionary parties and people's organizations all over the world. US imperialism itself will continue to escalate military intervention in the Philippines, lord over the local ruling system, exploit and oppress the Filipino people after the ouster of Arroyo. But it will have to contend with a growing armed revolution that it has tried and failed to defeat over the decades despite its military and economic superiority. The revolutionary forces and people led by the CPP have won great victories and have grown in strength against tremendous odds since 1968. The time will surely come when they can overpower and overthrow the entire ruling system, thereby basically complete the new democratic revolution and begin the stage of socialist revolution.

# ***Continue to Intensify Nationwide Tactical Offensives and Further Strengthen All Revolution-ary Forces***

**37<sup>th</sup> Anniversary statement of the Communist Party of the Philippines, December 26, 2005**

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

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

Let us pay our highest respects to our revolutionary martyrs and honor them for their dedicated service to the people, their high sense of self-sacrifice and all their contributions in advancing the revolutionary struggle. They inspire us to win ever-greater victories. Let us continue to intensify the nationwide tactical offensives and further strengthen all revolutionary forces.

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

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

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

The crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system has so deepened and aggravated that the contradictions among the reactionaries have increasingly become more violent. The reactionaries are unable to rule in the old way as those in power and those out of power threaten each other with armed force. The broad masses of the people and the revolutionary forces are intensifying all forms of struggle for basic reforms and revolutionary change.

## ***Relentless worsening of the global capitalist crisis***

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

Three billion people or half of humankind live on US\$2 a day. The overwhelming majority of the people of the world live in abject poverty, despite the fact that with the available technology and with only one per cent of the world gross domestic product, global poverty can be eradicated. But the world capitalist system requires that the

monopoly bourgeoisie must exact their superprofits from any going level of production and circulation of goods as well as from the manipulation of finance capital. Thus, the foreign debt of the underdeveloped countries has continuously increased beyond the level of US\$3 trillion.

Higher technology is supposed to enhance the social character of production. But the private character of appropriating the fruits of labor has sharpened more than ever under the neoliberal economic policy of imperialism. Under this policy, monopoly capitalism is misrepresented as "free enterprise" and "free market" and the monopoly capitalists reap superprofits and accumulate capital by brazenly using the state to deliver to them productive and financial resources and state contracts and to cut down the incomes and social benefits of the proletariat and other working people.

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

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

The economic imbalances and the falling rate of profit in their home countries have driven the multinational firms further to penetrate overseas markets. Thus, they have put up there more assembly plants for cars, home appliances and some basic industrial products and for the marginal but labor-intensive processing of semiconductors, garments, shoes, toys and the like in the sweatshops of China, India, Southeast Asia and elsewhere. The monopoly bourgeoisie is responsible for stagnating and degrading their own economies and thereafter seeking to maximize profits by putting up plants abroad. But it blames the underdeveloped client countries for the loss of jobs in the imperialist countries and drums up chauvinism and racism against the migrant workers who generally take the bottom jobs.

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

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

Under the auspices of "free market" globalization, the plunder, underdevelopment and poverty of the majority of countries have been aggravated. The concentration and centralization of both productive and finance capital in the global centers of capitalism (the US, Japan and the European Union) have been accelerated. Since the 1980s, the US has drawn in the most capital from abroad, especially from its imperialist allies and the oil-producing countries, and has thus become the biggest debtor in the world. At present, the US foreign debt is US\$8.5 trillion. This has been used to generate financial speculation in stock, securities and corporate mergers, overvalue corporate assets and finance the growing trade deficit caused by the heavy importation of consumer goods (especially

from Japan, South Korea, Taiwan and China).

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

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

Since then, the shrinking global market for consumer electronics, home appliances, cars, structural steel, planes and so on has cramped the economic growth of the US and other imperialist countries. The few underdeveloped countries producing semimanufactures for export have been far more devastated. But the most devastated are the majority of underdeveloped countries dependent on the export of raw materials. These suffer from the ever widening budgetary and trade deficits, mounting debt burden and are forced to raise taxes even under conditions of economic depression and make further cutbacks on expenditures for even the most basic social services.

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

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

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

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

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

pay less attention to its domestic social problems and to the requirements of maintaining hegemony in so many other countries.

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

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

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

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

The US uses the Group of 8, the OECD, the IMF, World Bank, WTO, the UN Security Council and multilateral and bilateral military alliances to expand and reinforce its hegemony in various parts of the world and at the same time maintain its alliance with other imperialist powers against the people of the world. But the imperialist powers are bound to align and realign themselves against each other when the crisis of the world capitalist system becomes far more serious than it is now, the US is weakened by its own unilateralist arrogance and imperial overreach, the various imperialist powers and the so many countries and governments take divergent positions and courses of action, and the revolutionary forces take the initiative to strengthen themselves and advance.

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

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

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Cuba, Venezuela and Zimbabwe are among the staunchest in

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Party is active in relating to and cooperating with Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties and progressive mass organizations. These are developing in various countries of the world to fight for national liberation, democracy, socialism and world peace against imperialism and all reaction. They are striving to promote the strategic line of protracted people's war as the way to fight and ultimately defeat the imperialists.

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

### ***Rotten regime in a rotten ruling system***

The semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system in the Philippines is in a chronic crisis. The semicolonial aspect refers to the indirect rule of US imperialism through puppet officials, from the national level downwards. The semifeudal aspect refers to the domestic class dominance of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class. The oppression and exploitation inflicted on the Filipino people by foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic

feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism has caused the ruling system to be in a constant process of rotting. The objective conditions are fertile for building the subjective forces of the revolution and mobilizing the broad masses of the people.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The tax burden is being increased under conditions of economic depression. The coverage of the value-added tax has been expanded and increased by 20 per cent. The depression of the economy is manifested not by official statistics but by the actual high rate of mass unemployment, the continuing layoffs and closure of factories, the

sinking real incomes of working people and middle class, the soaring prices of basic commodities due to scarcity and higher import costs, the endless oil price hikes and higher charges for the ever deteriorating services of public utility firms (especially electricity, water and transport). The increase of beggars and street children in urban areas and the excessive number of farm workers and oddjobbers in the rural areas reflect the worsening conditions of poverty.

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

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

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

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

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

The political crisis of the ruling system has rapidly worsened since the surfacing of the hard evidence that Arroyo connived with the Commission on Elections, especially an election commissioner, and certain senior military officers in fixing the vote count in her favor and in reversing the count of winning votes for the late Fernando Poe, mainly in the Visayas and Mindanao. The related issues of electoral fraud and illegitimacy of rule have triggered the people's outrage and have inflamed the cheated opposition parties and frustrated candidates. Within the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) and the Philippine National Police (PNP), a significant number of officers and lower personnel are enraged over the rapid promotion of pro-Arroyo officers who are notorious for corruption, human rights violations and complicity in electoral fraud.

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

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

The Lakas-CMD coalition of parties is openly supporting Arroyo. But she tends to depend more and more on her small party (Kabalikat ng Mamamayang Pilipino or KAMPI) and on her own trustees in the government. She has been abandoned and denounced by a number of her cabinet appointees and by Senate president Drilon who was previously her supporter. Former president Fidel Ramos and House speaker Jose de Venecia (key leaders of LAKAS-NUCD) have supported Arroyo against the opposition but have at the same time publicly advised her to ease herself out of the presidency by the middle of 2006 through an amendment of the constitution that would allow a shift to the parliamentary form of government.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

military and police and the worst of the human rights violators.

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

### ***Party situation and achievements***

The Second Great Rectification Movement (SGRM) has enabled the Party to grow stronger from year to year in an all-round way. We 503 have won brilliant victories in ideological, political and organizational work. These have established a sound basis for the fulfillment of our ongoing Three-Year Plan. This Plan has resulted in significant achievements and has been extended to 2006 in order to achieve greater results.

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

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

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

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

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

The dogmatists adopted as model or paradigm the petty-bourgeois led people's uprising against the autocratic Somoza regime in Nicaragua and were beside themselves in blaming the line of protracted people's war for supposedly delaying the victory of the revolution. Their impetuosity led them to inflict serious damage on the revolutionary movement and even to commit serious crimes against the Party and the people. The empiricists proposed taking out the proletarian leadership from the national united front and carrying the sedan chair for bourgeois leaders as their own easy way to power. They based themselves in foreign-funded NGOs. And they fell prey to the influence of Gorbachovism and other anticommunist petty-bourgeois trends of thought.

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

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

The Party resolutely pursues the general line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war against the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class, which are subservient to US imperialism. The leading force of the revolution is the working class whose advanced detachment is the Party. The main force is the peasantry, which is the majority class in the Philippines and whose demand for land is the main content of the revolution.

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

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

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

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

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

The NPA is currently engaged in extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. The middle phase of the stage of strategic defensive in the people's war is now being

developed. Since September 13, the NPA has launched more than 200 tactical offensives nationwide. These have resulted in the capture of a significant number of high-powered rifles and inflicted hundreds of casualties (both killed and wounded) on the enemy. The offensives include ambushes, raids, arrest operations and sniping. The objectives include seizing weapons, punishing, interdicting and harassing the enemy. Depending on the target and objective, companies, oversized platoons, platoons, squads and teams carry them out with flexibility according to plan or guidelines.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The NPA arouses, organizes and mobilizes the peasant masses to carry out land reform. In general, the land reform being carried out is of the minimum kind. It involves the reduction of land rent, control of interest rates,

raising the wages of farm workers, improving the prices of farm products at the farm gate and promoting agricultural production and sideline occupations. However, actions are taken to cause the restitution of land taken away from the peasants through sheer landgrabbing or through the nullification of emancipation patents, land transfer certificates, certificates of land ownership amortization and stock distribution agreements.

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

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

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

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

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

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

We have increased our Party membership nationwide and deepened our roots among the toiling masses of workers and peasants. We have recruited members from the ranks of the educated youth (who in the main originate from the urban petty bourgeoisie) in order to avail of their professional and technical expertise and allow them to remold themselves as proletarian revolutionaries and serve the people. Batches of workers and educated youth have been deployed from urban areas in order to serve in the NPA and in rural communities. They develop rapidly to become proletarian revolutionaries by participating directly in the revolutionary armed struggle and in rural mass work.

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

The Party upholds the principle of democratic centralism. This means centralized leadership based on democracy and democracy guided by centralized leadership. There is freedom to express ideas, views and opinions at every level and from one level to another on issues before and in the course of taking a decision. But once taken, a decision has to be followed by every Party member. Iron discipline is necessary to concentrate will and strength

for advancing the people's cause against the enemy. Nevertheless, every party member has also the right to reserve his opinion and to ask from the responsible organ concerned for reconsideration of a decision on the basis of new development in the situation.

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

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

### ***Urgent fighting tasks of the Party***

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Instead, the Arroyo regime and its imperialist masters have sought to destroy the revolutionary movement and to press the NDFP into capitulation by using the "terrorist" label and escalating human rights violations, like the kidnapping, torture and murder of party-list officials, priests, human rights advocates, lawyers and journalists who are merely suspected of being linked to the revolutionary movement. The Arroyo regime has been arrogant in thinking that it can actually annihilate the revolutionary movement with the use of US military training and gadgetry for the puppet troops. In response, the Party has directed the NPA to seize the initiative by launching tactical offensives against the so many exposed weak points of the enemy. However, if the broad united front succeeds in overthrowing the Arroyo regime and if there is an ample number of patriots and progressives in a transitional governing council, the NDFP would be willing to resume the peace negotiations with the GRP and to propose truce and alliance for the purpose of confronting the three evils of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

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

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

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

*Founding and Development of the Communist Party of the Philippines*

May 5, 2006

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***I. Background on the Philippine working class***

In the second half of the 19th century, a germinal modern industrial proletariat emerged in the colonial and feudal Philippines under Spain. The machines for modern industry and commerce were imported. The workers were in rail transport, shipyards, communications, power generation, construction, warehouses, printing, tobacco processing, brewery, cordage, tobacco processing, sugar refining, leather processing and the like. The formation of the Union de Litografos y Impresores de Filipinas (the union of printers) and then the labor federation, Union Obrero Democratica (UOD) in 1902 signified a progression from the gremios or guilds of artisans and wage-earners of the previous century to modern trade unionism.

The Filipino founder of the UOD, Isabelo Reyes, had returned to the Philippines in late 1901 after having been imprisoned in Barcelona from 1897 onwards for anti-colonial activities but later released by the Spanish authorities to do some anti-US propaganda campaign in Europe from 1898 onwards. He was knowledgeable about the various social and political movements and trends in Europe and brought home radical literature, including some works of Marx. But he was most influenced by petty-bourgeois nationalism and anarcho-syndicalism. He considered the formation of the trade union movement as the way to build the nationalist movement against the new colonial power, the US

As a modern imperialist power, the US aimed at developing a semi-feudal economy in the Philippines, absorbing surplus goods and surplus capital from the US but limited to producing more agricultural and mineral raw materials for unequal trade with the US. It did not industrialize the Philippines, although it increased the proportion of the modern proletariat by about 10 per cent as a result of the improvement of transport and communications, the opening of mines, establishment of modern plantations, increased private and public construction, metal fabrication and increased production of pharmaceuticals, beverages, home-use products, textile, leather products and so on. The proportion of the peasantry decreased by some 10 to 15 per cent but the basic agrarian character of the economy remained. The peasant decrease meant the increase of the working class and urban petty bourgeoisie.

More than the yellow trade union leaders who merely followed the baton of the company bosses, the patriotic and progressive trade union leaders were aware of the radical and trade unionist currents abroad, especially in Europe and the US. They had notions of socialism as the way to end exploitation and to bring about the benefits of material progress to the working people after the realization of national independence. But they were at best well-versed in the ideas of nationalism and liberalism in the tradition of the French revolution. Although no Marxist study circles existed in the Philippines in 1917, the most advanced labor leaders and many workers heard and welcomed the earth-shaking salvos of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Crisanto Evangelista, the prospective founder of the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands (CPPI) still belonged to the Nacionalista Party when he was included in the Independence Mission to Washington as representative of Philippine labor in 1919. He had extensive discussions about the Bolshevik revolution with the leaders of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). But there is no historical evidence that he had any serious meeting with the members of the left wing of the Socialist Party of America who were then engaged in forming the Communist Labor Party and the Communist Party of America, the earliest antecedents of the Communist Party of the USA (CPUSA).

In most of the 1920s, Evangelista and other progressive leaders of the working class movement preoccupied themselves with striving to unite the trade unions and labor federations in the Congreso Obrero de Filipinas (COF). It was only in 1925 that they established the Partido Obrero (Workers' Party) on the basis of the trade union movement and the peasant movement. It became the occasion for the patriotic and progressive labor leaders, who were in the majority in the COF, to distinguish themselves from the yellow labor leaders. But the Partido Obrero was not yet a Marxist vanguard of the working class.

Filipinos love to congratulate themselves for having carried out the first bourgeois-democratic revolution in Asia. The Philippine Revolution of 1896 was indeed well ahead of the Chinese revolution of 1911, the Indonesian uprising of 1926 against Dutch colonialism, Indian independence and so on. But certainly the Filipinos have to salute the Indonesians for having established the Communist Party of Indonesia in 1920 and the Chinese, the Chinese Communist Party in 1921, much ahead of the establishment of the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands in 1930. Like all other communist parties, the CPPI came into being upon the congruence and interaction of objective conditions and subjective factors.

## ***II. The Communist International vis-à-vis the Philippines***

The Third International or the Communist International (Comintern) was established by its First Congress in Moscow on 2-6 March 1919. It brought together 52 delegates of 36 communist and socialist parties, organizations and groups. It was the logical and necessary consequence of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which made Russia the center of the world proletarian revolution. It was in clear repudiation of the bankrupt opportunist and revisionist line of the Second International, which had turned the social democrats into social-chauvinist and social-pacifist subalterns of imperialism in capitalist exploitation, colonialism and waging aggressive war.

The program of the Comintern optimistically declared that the imperialist system was breaking down and that there was ferment in the colonies, among the former dependent small nations, insurrections of the proletariat, victorious proletarian revolutions in some countries, dissolution of imperialist armies, complete incapacity of the ruling classes to guide the destinies of the people. It pointed out that the chaos could only be overcome by the largest class, the productive class. It expected the working class to create genuine order—a communist order—by destroying the rule of capital, making war impossible, abolishing state frontiers, changing the entire world into one cooperative community, and realizing the brotherhood and freedom of the peoples.

The great Lenin challenged the delegates to the Congress of Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the East in Baku on November 22, 1919: "You are representatives of communist organizations and communist parties of various Eastern peoples. I must say that the Russian Bolsheviks succeeded in forcing a breach in the old imperialism, in undertaking the exceedingly difficult, but also exceedingly noble, task of blazing new paths of revolution, whereas you the representatives of the working people of the East have before you a task that is still greater and newer. ... The period of awakening of the East in the contemporary revolution is being succeeded by a period in which all the Eastern peoples will participate in deciding the destiny of the whole world, so as not to be simply an object of the enrichment of others. The peoples of the East are becoming alive to the need for practical action, for every nation to take part in shaping the destiny of all mankind."

In his "Draft Theses on the National and Colonial Questions" for the Second Congress of the Comintern on June 5, 1920, Lenin declared: "...the Communist International's entire policy on the national and colonial questions should rest primarily on a closer union of the proletarians and the working masses of all nations and countries for a joint revolutionary struggle to overthrow the landowners and the bourgeoisie. This union alone will guarantee victory over capitalism, without which the abolition of national oppression and inequality is impossible."

Lenin further wrote, "With regard to the more backward states and nations, in which feudal or patriarchal-peasant relations predominate, it is particularly important to bear in mind: first, that all Communist parties must assist the bourgeois-democratic liberation movement in these countries, and that the duty of rendering the most active assistance rests primarily with the workers of the country the backward nation is colonially or financially dependent on".

In the "Theses on the National and Colonial Questions" it adopted in July 1920 during its Second Congress, the Comintern proclaimed: "All communist parties must support by action the national-revolutionary movements in colonial countries. The form which this support should take should be discussed with the communist party of the country in question, if there is one. This obligation refers in the first place to the active support of the workers in that country on which the backward nation is financially, or as a colony, dependent." The Program of the Comintern would subsequently include the following: "The Communist Parties in the imperialist countries must render systematic aid to the colonial revolutionary movement, and to the movement of oppressed nationalities generally."

In its 5th Plenum in April 1925, the Comintern approved its first resolution on the Philippines. This urged the

American communists to support the liberation movement in the Philippines and to encourage the formation of a Communist Party from the revolutionized trade union and peasant movement as well as that of a national-revolutionary mass party from all groups actively campaigning for national independence. Through the Communist Party of the USA (then known as the Workers Communist Party up to 1930), the Comintern would take the task of encouraging and assisting the organization of the communist party in the Philippines.

The Filipino workers themselves would have to organize their own party, taking into account objective conditions and subjective capabilities. Since its Second Congress in 1920, the Comintern had adopted terms of admission which required that all decisions of the Comintern are binding on all affiliated parties but at the same time enjoined itself and its Executive Committee to take into account the diversity of conditions in which the various parties have to fight and work and to adopt decisions binding only on matters in which such decisions were possible.

### ***III. Initial contacts with the Comintern and American communists***

The Comintern established a number of revolutionary organizations of working people. These included the Red International of Labor Unions (or RILU or its Russian abbreviation Profintern) which was organized in 1921 and the Peasants' International (or Krestintern) in 1923. Subsequently, subsidiary offices of these were established in China in order to cover the Far East and Pacific area.

Under the auspices of the RILU, the Conference of the Pacific (Oriental) Transport Workers was held in Canton, China on June 18-24, 1924. Five Filipino delegates were able to attend. To enable them to attend, the American Communist named Alfred Wagenknecht (otherwise known by his alternate names as William Elliot or Mateus Girunas) brought the invitation to the Philippines, made a survey of the labor organizations and arranged the trip of the chosen delegates who accompanied him to Canton.

The delegates were: Domingo Ponce and Jose Hilario of the Legionarios del Trabajo, Eliseo Alampay of the Manila Railroad Transportation Workers' Union, Jose Salazar of the International Mariners' Union of the Philippines and Eugenio Enorme of the Nuevo Gremio de Marineros Mercantes. They were able to meet and discuss with labor leaders from China, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Australia, USA, England, France and USSR.

They were also able to bring home a resolution of the conference calling for the immediate independence of the Philippines from US colonial rule and another resolution urging the Asian workers and peasants to organize unions and struggle against imperialism and the local exploiters. Upon their return home, they were at first enthusiastic and formed a "Bolshevik secretariat" to issue a secret periodical. But in a short while, they lost their enthusiasm and not one among them would later join the communist movement.

At any rate, the communication links with Comintern organizations, the flow of publications from the Communist International and consultations with visiting American, Chinese and Indonesian communists had begun and eventually helped to stimulate a leftward trend in the Philippine labor movement, amidst the worsening social conditions and upsurge of anti-imperialist and class struggles. In 1924 the Congreso Obrero de Filipinas (COF) elected Francisco Varona as president and Crisanto Evangelista as secretary. In 1925 Evangelista became the secretary of the COF-based Partido Obrero and led it to adopt the Left position of waging anti-imperialist and class struggle but still seeking to reform the existing social system and peacefully demanding independence. This was not yet a Marxist Leninist position.

From 1924 to 1928, cadres of the CPUSA (known up to 1925 as the Workers Party of America and then as the Workers Communist Party), who were linked to the China-based RILU Pan-Pacific branch, visited the Philippines and interacted with Filipino labor leaders. They included Harrison George (who represented the union of the US railroad workers) and Earl Browder before he became the secretary of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat (PPTUS). They represented the CPUSA-led US Trade Union Educational League (TUEL) in the RILU's Pan-Pacific branch, located at different times in Canton, Hankow and Shanghai.

A Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference was held by the RILU on May 20-26, 1927. Invitations were sent to Philippine trade unions and labor federations. But no Philippine delegation was able to attend. A permanent Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat (PPTUS) was established. On behalf of American workers, Harrison George pushed a resolution expressing solidarity with the workers and peasants in the Philippines and support for their struggles for national freedom and emancipation from exploitation.

In its 15th convention on June 30 to July 1, 1927, the Congreso Obrero de Filipinas declared its adherence to the PPTUS and pledged efforts towards the realization of the Program adopted in the Hankow conference. The

COF and the Kalipunang Pambansa ng mga Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (KPMP, National Federation of Peasants of the Philippines) affiliated with the PPTUS. The KPMP also started to communicate with the Peasants' International (Krestintern).

#### ***IV. Evangelista visit to Moscow and Filipino workers as students***

In March 1928 the RILU invited Crisanto Evangelista and Cirilo Bognot of the COF to attend the 4th congress of RILU in Moscow. At the same time, the Peasant International also invited Jacinto Manahan of the KPMP to attend its conference. They passed through Shanghai in February to consult with Earl Browder and other PPTUS cadres. Evangelista and Manahan stayed for three months in Moscow. They had lengthy discussions with the Political Secretariat of the Comintern on the question of organizing the vanguard working class party in the Philippines.

The Secretariat adopted a resolution on April 20, 1928, "The Main Tasks of the Communists in the Philippines". It put forward the following: "the primary and necessary condition for the establishment of a communist party is the formation of an initiating communist group that has educated itself in the revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism, that has studied the principal lessons of the experiences of the international communist movement, that has learned how to apply that experience to the particular conditions of the working class movement in the Philippines, and that can undertake to transform gradually the Labor Party (Partido Obrero) into a party of the masses, into an effective communist party."

Evangelista proposed the sending of Filipino workers to study in Moscow in April 1928. He visited the Communist University of the Toilers of the East and talked with the director and educational coordinators of the Profintern and Krestintern. Earlier in October 1927, after his visit to the Philippines in September, Harrison George had already recommended that the Comintern invite six Filipinos every year to study in Moscow at the communist university.

Upon his return to the Philippines, Evangelista arranged for three young workers to study in Moscow. These were Dominador G. Galvez, a leader of the union in Ang Tibay slipper factory; and Liborio Natividad and Ambrosio Candido who were officers of cigar-making unions. They left for Shanghai on August 20, 1928 and reached Moscow on October 2, 1928 after a grueling trip via Dairen, Harbin and Manzhouli on the Chinese-Soviet border and the Trans-Siberian Railway.

They studied at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East. This was a special secondary school for students from Asia, preliminary to admission to the higher institute Lenin School. The schoolmates of the Filipinos were from China, Indochina, Mongolia, Korea, India, Indonesia and the autonomous Soviet Asian republics in the Caucasus and Siberia. The biggest number of non-Soviet students were the Chinese.

The subjects in the university included dialectical and historical materialism, political economy, world history, history of the labor movement, natural sciences, physics and mathematics. They had rudimentary military training and educational tours. Their teachers were English speaking Soviet professors and an American communist cadre in the Comintern, Eugene Dennis, who gave lectures on trade unionism. He would later travel to the Philippines under the name of Tim Ryan.

Galvez finished the full course of three years and joined the KOMSOMOL or Young Communist League of the USSR. The American communist cadre Sam Darcy assigned to the Comintern gave him briefings on Party work. Upon his return to the Philippines in November 1931, Galvez became active in the work of Party education. Natividad who finished only two years of the course, had returned earlier to the Philippines and had become a delegate to the First Congress of the CPP on May 30, 1931.

In June 1929 two more Filipino workers were sent to Moscow to study at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East. They were Emilio Maclang, a peasant organizer of the KPMP, and Pascual Bambao from the Katipunan ng mga Anakpawis ng Pilipinas (KAP, Proletarian Labor Congress of the Philippines). The former finished the three-year course and stayed on for one more year to translate texts and documents into the Philippine national language. Upon return to the Philippines in 1933, he would be chosen as the head of the second line of leadership. He became the underground secretary of the CPP as soon as the open leaders of the CPP were imprisoned and banished.

American communist cadres appeared prominently as the most helpful to the Filipino cadres in the formation of the CPPI. But comrades of other nationalities, especially the Chinese were also helpful, especially because they had their own labor and youth organizations in the Philippines. The Philippine branch of the Chinese Communist

Party (CCP) was established in the early 1920s, much ahead of the establishment of the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands (CPPI). Comrade C who led the aforesaid branch was a longtime close comrade of Crisanto Evangelista in the trade union movement. The Young Communist League of the CCP was formed in 1926. It was otherwise known as the Hoa Chiao Chung Kung Hue (Overseas Chinese Communist Union).

This was led by Co Sing Liat, who together with two other Chinese comrades (Ko Keng Seng and Sun Ping) later became a member of the first Central Committee of the CPPI in 1930. The Chinese communists organized the Philippine Chinese Labor Federation (PCLF). The PCLF had close ties with the COF and the Partido Obrero. In October 1929 the Chinese Communist Party and the Young Communist League decided that the Chinese communists should assist the efforts of Partido Obrero in forming the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands (PCCI). At the same time, the contacts of the PCLF with the Profintern were coursed through the leadership of the Partido Obrero. When the PPTUS transferred from China to Vladivostok, the PCLF continued to receive Chinese language publications through Partido Obrero.

#### ***V. The foundation of the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands***

In the year before the establishment of the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands (CPPI), the Great Depression engulfed the world capitalist system. The economic and social conditions deteriorated rapidly. The toiling masses of workers and peasants were restive. Workers' strikes and peasant uprisings spread. There was widespread clamor for national independence against the US colonial regime and class struggle intensified against the local comprador big bourgeois and the landlord classes. The objective conditions were rife for establishing the CPPI.

Twenty-seven out of the 35 labor federations and associations in the COF broke away to form the Katipunan ng mga Anakpawis ng Pilipinas (KAP, Proletarian Labor Congress of the Philippines). The KAP and the Kalipunang Pambansa ng mga Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (KPMP, National Federation of Peasants in the Philippines) became the organized mass base of the prospective CPPI. The PPTUS recognized the KAP as the legitimate representative of the organized workers in the Philippines. The CPUSA-led Trade Union Unity League (TUUL) reserved a seat in its National Executive Committee for a KAP representative by way of honoring the KAP.

After the formation of the KAP, the Committee for a Vanguard Workers' Party was set up in order to recruit the initial communist members. By June 1930, there were 96 of them. Fifty per cent were industrial workers, 25 percent peasants and 25 percent handicraft workers and office clerks. Most were recruited from the KAP unions. At about this time, 60 Chinese communists from the PCLF and YCL were ready to join the CPPI but retained their autonomous all-Chinese nuclei.

A convention organized the party on August 26, 1930 and elected the First Central Committee, with 35 members. The Political Bureau was composed of Crisanto Evangelista, Antonino D. Ora, Jacinto G. Manahan, Juan N. Feleo, Felix Caguin Urbano Arcega and the Chinese "Comrade C". It elected Evangelista as general secretary and Antonino D. Ora as chairman. Subsequently, the party was formally launched at a public rally on November 7, 1930, to mark the anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. During the rally, 3000 of the 6000 attending masses of workers and peasants filled up the forms to apply for party membership.

Among the aims of the CPP were the following: to struggle for the immediate, complete and absolute independence of the Philippines, to fight for the overthrow of American imperialism that dominates the Philippines, to struggle against the exploitation of the masses and to defend their liberties, to struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist system, to strengthen the unity of the labor movement and in particular the unity of the workers and peasants; to struggle against reformism and opportunism in the labor movement, to establish a Soviet or communist form of government under the authority and direction of the masses; and to unite with the revolutionary movement internationally, including the Soviet Union and liberation movements in the colonies.

Unlike other communist parties in East Asia, the CPPI was established legally and openly, despite its proclaimed aim of overthrowing US imperialism and the capitalist system. It was therefore vulnerable to illegalization a few months after its establishment. The US colonial authorities conducted close surveillance on and disrupted the legal mass actions of the newly-founded party in 1931. They made a mass arrest of the leaders of the CPPI and the delegates to the First Congress of the Party. They filed charges of sedition and illegal association against the party leaders, who were subsequently sentenced to imprisonment and exile in 1933 after a series of court appeals.

#### ***VI. Weaknesses of the newly-founded Party***

Soon after the founding of the CPPI, the Comintern sent the American communist Eugene Dennis (Tim Ryan)

to the Philippines in order to inquire into and report on the Party's situation and make recommendations. He reported that the CPPI had considerably broad influence and that its crystallization was of tremendous significance to the workers and peasants and to the revolutionary movement as a whole and laid the basis for the rapid development of the national liberation movement under proletarian class leadership. But he also found out that the party was lagging far seriously behind in the development of the strike movement among the workers (with only a few of the strikes led by the CPPI) and in organizing the growing mass discontent of the peasantry.

He pointed to the serious deficiency of the CPPI in building its work from below and in leading the workers and peasants in struggles based on their day-to-day needs and demands. He observed that there was a tendency to work from the top and not through mass work from below. The founding of the party was not preceded by mass work and discussions leading to the election of delegates from communist groups within the KAP, KPMP and other organizations. He commented that the CPPI functioned mainly as a propaganda organization and not yet as a fighting force of the workers and peasants. The fight against reformist union leaders was not organized in the shops but was waged in mass meetings and through leaflets outside shops. At the same time, there was a dearth of instructional materials and publications to propagate Marxism-Leninism and apply this on Philippine history and circumstances.

Party work among the peasantry was even worse, according to Eugene Dennis. The KPMP was detached from everyday life and struggles of the peasantry. It had failed to build peasant committees as organs for waging struggles and strikes against tenant rents and taxes and for mobilizing peasants to stop evictions. He noticed the tendency to rely on legal battles in the courts and to solicit the support of local politicians in the bourgeois parties. He also observed that no effective organizing of youth or women was taking place. There was political and organizational confusion caused by failure to distinguish the CPPI, the KAP, the KPMP and the Anti-Imperialist League.

Following the recommendations of Dennis in his "The Present Situation in the Philippines and the Immediate Tasks of the Communist Party," the Comintern advised the CPPI to hold the First Party Congress within six months and to make intensive preparations for it at lower levels of the party, including discussion of a draft program. The party was warned that its legal existence would be of short duration because US finance capital was preparing to suppress the party. It was therefore advised to build an underground apparatus that was not isolated from the masses but still linked to them through mass organizations and mass struggles.

The CPPI took the Comintern advice and held its First Congress on May 30, 1931. The 400 delegates were very representative of the toiling masses. The resolutions tackled the political and organizational problems in line with Comintern recommendations. The spirit of proletarian internationalism was manifested by resolutions in solidarity with the Chinese workers and in support of the Soviet Union and by decisions strengthening ties between KAP and the PPTUS as well as with the Trade Union Unity League led by the CPUSA. The Congress passed a resolution formally applying for affiliation to the Comintern.

The CPPI received a reply dated September 7, 1931, with the following content: "The Executive Committee of the Communist International greets the formation of the CPPI and approves the decision of the 1st Congress of the CPPI in May 1931 to request affiliation to the CI. This decision will be presented to the 7th World Congress of the CI for confirmation.

"The establishment of a new sector of the CI in the Philippines reflects the rapid growth of the national revolutionary movement in the colonial countries. Moreover, it marks an historical turning point in the development of the Philippine revolution away from the treacherous path of national reformism and on to the road of organized revolutionary struggle under the banner of the Communist Party, the vanguard of the working class. It indicates the developing revolutionary upsurge in the Philippines and the political awakening of the Filipino proletariat and peasant masses. It expresses their determination to fight for a revolutionary way out of the capitalist crisis, for the complete and immediate emancipation of the Philippines from the rule of American imperialism and its native lackeys, and for the establishment of a workers' and peasants' government.

"The organized crystallization of the Communist movement in the Philippine Islands and its affiliation to the CI—the leader of the world organized revolution—further signifies coordination of the national liberation movement in the Philippines with the revolutionary struggle in other colonial and semicolonial countries and with the proletarian movement in the Soviet Union and in the capitalist countries, particularly in the United States; and represents the surest guarantee for the victorious carrying through of the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution in the Philippines. Simultaneously, it strengthens the international fighting front of the workers and peasants and

colonial slaves the world over, and expresses their growing confidence to struggle under the leadership of the CI which alone is able to help and guide them to victory in their fight for final liberation from the yoke of imperialism."

### ***VII. Underground years of the CPPI, 1933 to 1937***

The CPPI did not pursue the whole line of anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution in order to overthrow the enemy and establish a government of the workers and peasants, as indicated by the Comintern and exemplified by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). In the case of China, the CCP under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong carried out revolutionary armed struggle in order to pursue the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution. By doing so, it was able to realize the effective basic alliance of the working class and peasantry and bring about the gigantic force of the peasantry in support of the national-democratic revolution under the leadership of the working class.

The CPPI made statements for overthrowing US imperialism, the entire bourgeoisie and landlord class and attaining what the working class had achieved in Russia. But such statements were merely rhetorical. The CPPI did not fully recognize US colonial rule and the chronic crisis of the semifeudal economy as favorable conditions for armed revolution. Also, it did not see any form of armed revolution but the short discontinuous outbursts of uprisings which could easily be quelled by the colonial authorities. It had practically no idea about the strategic line of protracted people's war under conditions of chronic crisis in a colonial or semicolonial and semifeudal kind of society.

With regard to anti-imperialism, the CPPI competed with the Nacionalista Party and other bourgeois parties in verbal demands for immediate, complete and absolute national independence within the legal and political processes of the US colonial system. It did not do any analysis of the local bourgeoisie and thus could engage only in generalized anti-bourgeois and anti-capitalist rhetoric. Lacking an analysis of the local bourgeoisie, it had the sectarian tendency to close the door to the urban petty-bourgeois (especially the intelligentsia) who were willing to remold themselves into proletarian revolutionaries. It failed to distinguish the middle bourgeoisie from the comprador big bourgeoisie. It denounced the populist and pro-Japan Sakdalista party as adventurist for advocating and carrying out armed insurrection against the US colonial rule. But it used its denunciations of this party to justify the foreclosure of revolutionary armed struggle.

With regard to the question of agrarian revolution, the CPPI had no comprehensive grasp of how to carry it out by integrating armed struggle, land reform and mass work and doing so within the framework of the national-democratic revolution. It praised for a short while the Tayug peasant uprising against the feudal system and practices. But subsequently in the entire decade of the 1930s, it sweepingly denounced as anarchist and adventurist all the armed peasant revolts which occurred in various provinces of Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao. It rejected these to justify avoidance of agrarian revolution. It regarded the communist Teodoro Asedillo as a renegade for trying in 1934 to wage an anti-imperialist and antifeudal armed struggle in the province of Laguna. It also held the Socialist Party and the Aguman deng Maldeng Tagapagobra (League of Toiling Masses) accountable for the spontaneous burning of sugarcane fields and killing of abusive landlords and accused them of being adventurist and even terrorist.

Immediately after the US colonial authorities cracked down on it in 1931, the CPPI membership of 2000 abruptly shrank to only a few hundreds. It was a membership with a generally low level of ideological and political consciousness and with no experience and organizational preparation against repression. The CPPI leadership had not yet applied Marxism-Leninism comprehensively and profoundly on Philippine history and circumstances in order to define the character of Philippine society and the corresponding stage of the Philippine revolution, the friends and enemies of the revolution, the strategy and tactics, basic tasks and perspective of the revolution.

After serving their prison sentences, the CPPI leaders were banished to different provinces in the Philippines. They could have easily escaped their banishment and pursued the line of anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution. But they did not. They preferred to be where they were banished, although they continued their links with the CPPI underground. As second line leader, Emilio Maclang who had studied in Moscow under the auspices of the Comintern took the place of Evangelista from 1933 to 1935. He could not stem the weakening of the CPPI organization. Rufino Tumanda replaced him as general secretary from 1935 to 1938. He had been a Filipino member of the CPUSA and had founded the Filipino Anti-Imperialist League in Brooklyn. He carried the endorsement of the CPUSA on a bilateral basis and within the Comintern framework. He could not stop the shrinkage of the CPPI membership to only 197 in 1938.

Although the party membership remained small, the active party members within the KAP and the KPMP had wide influence in Manila factories and certain Central Luzon towns, respectively. Also, the CPPI-led League for the Defense of Democracy had increasing influence among the urban petty-bourgeois, especially the intelligentsia. Its core included a few university-based intellectuals as well as Filipino members of the CPUSA (Dr. Vicente Lava was a prominent example) who returned to the Philippines.

The Popular Front was formed in 1936 as an antifascist united front. It gave the underground CPPI a relatively wider room for maneuver. But it became too expansive as to include the Sakdalista Party and the National Socialist Party of Emilio Aguinaldo, became preoccupied with electoral struggles against the ruling Nacionalista party and had difficulty in drawing attention to fascism in Japan, Germany, Italy and Spain until 1938.

Despite being underground, the CPPI could dispatch its delegation to the exceedingly important 7th World Congress of the Comintern in 1934, with the assistance of the CPUSA. The delegation consisted of Lazaro Cruz, Martin Bautista and Ramon Espiritu. Because the congress was postponed to 1935, they had the opportunity to study for a year at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East. The 7th Comintern Congress of 1935 laid stress on developing a broad antifascist and anti-war united front of communist and noncommunist forces and targeting fascist powers as the gravest dangers to humanity. The congress also approved the 1931 CPPI application for Comintern membership although conditionally due to the inability of the CPPI to station a leading cadre in the Moscow headquarters. Lazaro Cruz stayed for a few more months in Moscow to learn staff work at the Comintern headquarters.

A batch of five Filipino students went to Moscow in 1935 via China and the Trans-Siberian Railway. They were Felipe Sevilla of the tobacco worker's union, Godofredo R. Mallari of the KPMP, Pablo Antonio of the KPMP, Primitivo Arroyo of the dockworkers' union and Fermin Rodillas from a cigarette factory. They were escorted by CPUSA cadre Isabelle Auerbach, wife of the writer Sol Auerbach, otherwise well-known by his pen-name James S. Allen. The Filipinos were able to return in 1937 and 1938 via Western Europe and the United States. Further attempts of the CPPI to send Filipinos to Moscow through China and the Trans-Siberian Railway failed in 1936 and 1937 because of the full-scale war of aggression of Japan against China.

The CPPI had a highly creditable record of proletarian internationalism from the beginning. It supported the revolutionary movements of the Indonesian, Chinese, Indochinese, Malayan, Indian and other peoples against the colonial powers and their puppets. Filipino-Chinese communists belonging to the CPPI either supported the Chinese revolution from the Philippines or went to China to join the CCP and the people's army. Filipino members of both the CPPI and the CPUSA joined the Abraham Lincoln Battalion to fight on the side of the Spanish republicans against the fascist forces of Franco in the Spanish civil war.

### ***VIII. Legalization of the CPPI and Merger Party of the CP and SP***

The CPUSA directed James S. Allen (Sol Auerbach) in 1936 to go to the Philippines to promote among the Filipino communists the implementation of the antifascist popular front line of the 7th World Congress of the Comintern. It also mandated him to work for the release of the imprisoned and exiled CPPI leaders and the legalization of the CPPI and explore the merger of the CPPI and the Socialist Party led by Pedro Abad Santos. Allen traveled to the Philippines as a correspondent of the prestigious liberal US magazine, *The Nation*. He and his wife Isabelle Auerbach stayed in the country from August to November 1936.

They knew very well the underground CPPI general secretary Rufino Tumanda, who had been a CPUSA member in New York City. He arranged their meetings with Crisanto Evangelista, Guillermo Capadocia and Mariano Balgos in their places of exile. He eventually organized a conference of 25 central cadres for briefing James S. Allen and consulting with him about the situation, views and plans of the CPPI. He was also able to consult and develop close relations with Pedro Abad Santos, chairman of the Socialist Party, the Supreme Bishop Gregorio Aglipay of the Philippine Independent Church and personalities in intellectual circles.

On September 20, 1936 the CPPI Central Committee issued a manifesto entitled, "Forward for the Formation of the Popular Front". It called for an alliance of all labor, peasant and middle class organizations and political and social groups who were in opposition to the policies of the Commonwealth government, particularly the Quezon-Osmeña coalition and were willing to work for better social conditions and absolute national independence. It announced as the aim of the Popular Front "to save the Filipino people from the danger of imperialist war, dictatorship and fascism, to improve the conditions of the masses and obtain independence".

A conference was held in October 1936 to organize the Popular Front. But the CPPI leadership did not yet

comprehend fully the nature of the united front and the antifascist purpose of the Popular Front. It allowed the entry of a hodgepodge of organizations from Left to Right, including pro-Japan and pro-fascist organizations. The wrong notion was held in common that the Popular Front was mainly for electoral purposes to oppose President Quezon as an authoritarian and as a betrayer of the cause of national independence and to demand immediate separation from the US. The objective of opposing fascism and war from the direction of Japan and other fascist powers was unclear to CPPI cadres for at least two years and was also beclouded by the view that Japan was a threat to the Philippines only because of the US colonial rule.

On November 23, 1936 James Allen had a day-long interview with President Quezon on a wide range of issues, such as democracy, the fascist threat, social unrest, social justice and independence. He took the opportunity to urge Quezon to release the communist leaders in order to strengthen national unity against the growing threat of aggression from Japanese fascism.

Quezon was noncommittal about the release of the communist leaders. But on New Year's Day of 1937, he used his presidential powers to release them through conditional pardon. The CPPI leaders at first refused to accept the terms of release. But on October 16, 1937, they agreed to be released. Upon the request of the CPUSA, Quezon permitted Crisanto Evangelista to get medical treatment for tuberculosis in the Soviet Union, where he stayed for more than a year.

Against the reality of US colonial rule, the CPPI Central Executive Committee issued a statement on September 7, 1937 declaring that the immediate recognition of Philippine independence would save the Philippines from possible invasion by Japan. The statement prompted James S. Allen to write a long letter to Socialist Party chairman Pedro Abad Santos to explain that the demand for immediate independence or US agreement to such a demand would be precisely the invitation to invasion by Japan. The letter was published in the Philippines Herald dated November 1, 1937. It served clear notice to the CPPI to direct its fire against the threat from Japanese fascism. Much earlier in 1936, in view of the impending Japanese attack on Indochina, the Communist Party of Indochina had withdrawn the demand for independence from France upon the advice of the French Communist Party within the Comintern frame.

On August 18, 1938 James S. Allen was back in the Philippines to be present for consultations in the preparation and holding of important gatherings of the CPPI. The CPPI Central Committee held a meeting on August 28-30, 1938 to discuss and approve the two documents, "Memorandum on the Chief Tasks of the CPPI" and "Independence, Democracy and Peace". The memorandum declared that the central task of the CPPI was to organize a national democratic front against Japanese militarist fascism as the main obstacle to the establishment of an independent democratic Republic of the Philippines and to ensure its security. It was decided that the CPPI disassociate itself from pro-Japanese and terrorist elements, to carry out the immediate and most urgent task of ensuring legality for itself and to convene in the near future an open Congress.

On October 29-31, 1938 the Third Congress of the CPPI was held, with the theme: For a National Democratic Front Against Reaction and Japanese Aggression, For Security, Democracy, Peace and Freedom! It marked the surfacing of the CPI from the underground to legality. The CPPI accepted the Commonwealth government, its constitution and the US promise of independence to be granted in 1946. The congress also served to merge the CPPI and the Socialist Party to become the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP). It approved a new party constitution and elected a new Central Committee, which in turn elected the Political Bureau. The highest party officials were Crisanto Evangelista as Chairman, Pedro Abad Santos as Vice Chairman and Guillermo Capadocia as General Secretary.

The threat of Japanese invasion was strongly discerned in the Philippines from 1938 onwards. Japanese economic interests and pro-Japanese politicians, businessmen and organizations had become exceedingly conspicuous and alarming. Japanese aggression in China and against Indochina served as a forewarning to all Asian peoples. The Chinese residents in the Philippines were active in campaigning for support for China against Japanese fascism. The Spanish Civil War was also strongly felt in the Philippines as the Spanish superrich (Roxas, Soriano, Ayala, Zobel and Ortigas families) and the Spanish-dominated Dominican and other religious orders provocatively sided with the Franco falangistas and as the progressive forces and the people opposed them.

In less than two months before the Japanese invasion on December 8, 1941, the CPPI Central Committee called on its organized masses to prepare for armed resistance and appointed a second line of leadership headed by Dr. Vicente Lava to assume the leadership in case the first line of leadership would be eliminated by the

Japanese invaders. Indeed, Chairman Evangelista, Vice Chairman Pedro Abad Santos and General Secretary Capadocia were soon captured in Manila by the Japanese fascists.

The People's Army Against Japan (Hukbalahap) was founded only on March 29, 1942 and the plan for building the Barrio United Defense Corps was also laid out belatedly. The principal leaders of the CPPI did not heed much earlier urgings of Comrade C and other Chinese comrades in the Philippines to build the people's army and incorporate the Chinese fighters, whose units would come to be known as the Wa Chi. It would be in the course of fighting the Japanese occupation from 1942 to 1945 that the CPP would be able to develop armed revolutionary strength, carry out land reform, expand the mass base and establish local organs of political power.

The CPUSA disaffiliated from the Comintern in 1940 after the Voorhis Act was adopted by the US government, requiring the CPUSA to register with the office of the US Attorney General as a foreign agent of the Soviet Union seeking to overthrow the US government. The CPP thereby lost its connection with the Comintern. On May 15, 1943, the Comintern adopted a resolution to dissolve itself because of the raging war conditions.

The final words of the resolution are the following: The Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International being unable in the conditions of the world war to call a congress of the Communist International: (1) The Communist International, as the directing center of the international working class movement, is to be dissolved. (2) The sections of the Communist International are to be freed from the obligations of its rules and regulations and from the decisions of the congresses of the Communist International. (3) The Presidium calls on all supporters of the Communist International to concentrate their energies on wholehearted support for and active participation in the war of liberation waged by the peoples and states of the anti-Hitlerite coalition for the speediest defeat of the enemy of the working class-German fascism and its associates and vassals.

### **IX. Conclusion**

In summary, the Comintern had a relationship with the CPPI at its conception and birthing and during its childhood from 1930 to 1941 and together with the CPUSA had a significant measure of impact on it. It is interesting to study how such impact has been favorable and unfavorable to the development of a Philippine revolutionary party of the proletariat not only within the period of 1930 to 1941 but also in succeeding periods. This article can make only a starting frame of reference and to point to noteworthy historical data and objective conditions as well as subjective responsibilities mainly on the part of CPPI and its cadres under the leadership of Crisanto Evangelista.

The Comintern and the CPUSA had far reaching influence on the CPP long after it lost contact with them at the outbreak of World War II in the Asia-Pacific region. The influences are positive and negative. Among the positive were the inspiration to wage armed resistance against the forces of fascism, carry out an anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution and build the revolutionary strength of the proletariat and entire people under the leadership of the communist party. Among the negative were the opportunist and revisionist influence of the Earl Browder leadership of the CPUSA in the CPP's acceptance of US colonial rule and the Commonwealth government, the Rightist tendency in the "retreat for defense" policy of the Vicente Lava leadership, and in welcoming the return of US imperialism and the "peace and democracy" slogan after World War II.

The founders of the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands were themselves responsible for failing to take advantage of the conditions favorable to anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution, especially the conditions for agrarian revolution from the 1920s onwards. They consistently followed the line of legalism and reformism on the peasant question and opposed the peasant revolts as adventurist and anarchist, without finding out how the proletarian party could lead the agrarian revolution. They were therefore unable to develop the peasant masses as the main support for the new democratic revolution led by the working class.

Until today, the Communist Party of the Philippines-1930, which is the revisionist successor of the CPPI, hews to the line of legalism and reformism on the peasant question and denounces the Communist Party of the Philippines as "adventurist" or even as "terrorist" in carrying out the armed revolution. The revisionist line regarding the peasant question was reinforced after World War II by the Titoite and Khrushchovite line that land reform is unnecessary because socialist industrialization is supposed to solve the land problem automatically and economically by mechanizing agriculture and dissolving the peasantry.

When the CPUSA through James S. Allen pushed the antifascist line of the Popular Front from 1936, with the obvious cooperation of the US and Commonwealth governments onwards, the CPPI had no revolutionary peasant mass base and people's army for maintaining initiative and independence. It was necessary to prepare against the

forthcoming invasion and occupation by fascist Japan. But it would have been much better if the CPPI had developed a revolutionary peasant mass base and people's army in the period before World War II.

The CPPI would have shifted more easily the direction of its main blow from the US colonial rule to fascist Japan during the late 1930s. It would have been able to build a far larger people's army and liberated more regions during the resistance against the Japanese occupation. Thus, it would have been able to fight far more effectively against the return of US colonial rule and the Commonwealth government. Instead, it accepted the framework of welcoming back US imperialism and letting it grant sham independence to its Filipino puppets in 1946.

In the case of China, Comrade Mao Zedong had always been grateful to Comrade Stalin declaring as advantageous to the Chinese revolution the continuous fact of armed struggle due mainly to agrarian revolution. The Comintern held a similar position. Comrade Mao commended the Comintern for having done great service to the Chinese revolution and world proletarian revolution. But what he strongly criticized were the undue interferences. These were made by Wang Ming and others who did so in the name of the Comintern, with regard to strategy and tactics. The interlopers were responsible for gross errors that damaged the people's army in the Chingkang mountains and that made the Long March necessary. According to Comrade Mao, at the dissolution of the Comintern in 1943, the Comintern had ceased to interfere in the Chinese revolution since 1935.

When the definitive break between the Filipino revisionists and Marxist-Leninists occurred in 1967, the former boasted of having the longest running cadres from the 1930s. In fact, the veterans who sided with the revisionists had entered the Party in 1935 and thereafter and had been under the heavy influence of the tradition of legalism and reformism with regard to the peasant question as well as Browderite reformism and opportunism with regard to US imperialism and the reactionary state. They easily fell for the modern revisionism centered in the Soviet Union from 1956 onward.

The Marxist-Leninists who encouraged or worked for the reestablishment of the CPP since 1966 staunchly supported the essential revolutionary content of the First Great Rectification Movement that focused on the errors of the old merger party, from 1938 to 1962. They included the most senior veterans of the old party, like the two surviving Filipino members of the First Central Committee of the CPPI (Comrades Lucio Pilapil and Max Gutierrez) and outstanding cadres in subsequent periods. The reestablishment of the CPP was also enthusiastically supported by Comrade C, who had been a member of the First Central Committee and Political Bureau of the CPPI and who became a high official in the Higher Party School of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

In the 1960s the author had the privilege of meeting most of the surviving CPPI/ CPP cadres who had been involved in one way or another in relations with the Comintern and the CPUSA. As a CPP cadre, he worked then for the revival of the old CPP (merger of the CP and SP) from 1962 onwards and later for the reestablishment of the CPP on the theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism from 1966 onwards. He also had the opportunity to meet even some of those who had dropped out of the CPPI or CPP but who had some direct knowledge of relations with the Comintern and the CPUSA when he advised Antonio S. Araneta, Jr. for his doctoral dissertation on communism in the Philippines in Oxford University.

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# ***Further Strengthen the Communist Party of the Philippines to Lead the People's Democratic Revolution***

**Statement on the 38<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Communist Party of the Philippines, December 26, 2006**

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## ***Introduction***

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

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

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

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

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

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

## ***Worsening crisis of the US and world capitalist system***

US monopoly capitalism is the main exponent and beneficiary of "free market" globalization. It has expected this to override permanently the problem of stagflation of the 1970s. It puts the blame for the problem on rising wage levels and social spending by government rather than on the crisis of overproduction, profit-taking by the monopolies, the decline of income among the workers and high military spending for the benefit of the military industrial complex. The policy makers and spin doctors of monopoly capitalism pontificate that unbridled profit-taking in the "free market" can fix everything and that the least-regulated flow of finance capital renders unnecessary the intervention of the state in countering economic crisis or enabling economic development in less developed countries.

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

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

stagnation.

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

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

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

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

The so-called neo-conservatives in the Bush administration have found the conditions favorable for pushing the Project for a New American Century. This is a scheme for the US to become incontestably supreme over all other countries by using the full spectrum of its power, especially its high-tech military power, to wage preemptive war on any state it regards as potential rival or as rogue. By waging aggression, the US is expected to gain profitable ownership and control over strategic resources (especially oil and gas) and to spread the "free market" and "democracy."

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

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

While preoccupied with Iraq, the US is unwittingly failing to pay prompt attention to and act adequately on problems in other countries of the Middle East and Central Asia and farther afield. Even Afghanistan is becoming a quagmire for the US and NATO, as the Taliban has become resurgent. The US has threatened Iran and Syria, which it regards as "rogue states," but has exposed an utter incapability or grave difficulty to expand its aggression to these countries. The popular anti-US forces in Lebanon have been able to frustrate the aggressive actions of Israel. After allowing the US to establish footholds in Central Asia and to attack Afghanistan, China, Russia and other former Soviet republics in Central Asia have formed the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) to

promote cross-border economic and security cooperation. Oil and gas pipelines independent of US oil companies are being built between the countries in the SCO.

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

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

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

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

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

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

With the expected recession of the US economy next year, China is bound to suffer a drastic reduction of US

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

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

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

In Latin America, "free market" globalization has become totally discredited for having long inflicted great suffering on the people. A series of bourgeois nationalist governments have arisen to defy US domination. They have undertaken the nationalization of oil and gas companies owned by the US and other foreign companies. There are revolutionary parties and mass movements in various countries. The FARC of Colombia has been the most persevering in carrying out protracted people's war against the reactionary state. The Communist Party of Peru (Sendero Luminoso) has proclaimed itself as a Maoist party and has waged people's war. But it has been weakened since the 1990s by an inability to wield the united front as a revolutionary weapon and by a premature presumption that the people's war had already reached strategic equilibrium, which was supposed to win complete victory by resorting to an urban uprising.

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

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

### ***Rottenness and isolation of the Arroyo regime***

Among the Southeast Asian countries, the Philippines has been the most unable to recover from the financial

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Arroyo regime's charter change scheme is being frustrated by the vigorous manifestation of outrage by the

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

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

But not all the military and police factions take shape according to selfish corrupt purposes. As a matter of course, there are pro-US and pro-Arroyo factions that are benefiting from the official chain of command. There are also pro-US but anti-Arroyo factions among senior officers. Further, there are either pro-US or anti-US but anti-Arroyo factions mainly among the junior officers who have some senior officers on their side. The anti-Arroyo factions have been preponderant since 2005. But to their temporary advantage, the Arroyo loyalists are in control of the chain of command.

There was a good chance to oust the Arroyo regime last February by a combination of anti-Arroyo mass actions and the open withdrawal of support by military and police forces from the regime. The First Scout Ranger Regiment of the Philippine Army, the First Marine Brigade of the Philippine Navy and the Special Action Force of the Philippine National Police were supposed to spearhead the withdrawal of support. But the chance was lost through a mistaken and failed attempt to persuade the AFP chief of staff and deputy chief to join the anti-Arroyo forces in order to shift the entire chain of command to the people's side and prevent any shootout.

The running-dog character of the two highest AFP officials was underestimated. They squealed to Arroyo on those who approached them. Subsequently, the regime took draconian measures under Proclamation 1071 against the anti-Arroyo military and police officers and against the demonstrators. There was never any attempt at a military coup. But the pro-Arroyo chain of command has persecuted all those it can identify and suspect as being anti-Arroyo. There are, however, far more anti-Arroyo military and police personnel than it can identify and suspect.

As a result of the people's outrage over the charter change scheme, anti-Arroyo factions within the military and police forces have rapidly grown in number against the illegitimacy and criminal acts of the Arroyo regime. The vice president has also come out opposing the charter change scheme of his president and he has indicated that he would oppose electoral fraud by her. The ruling clique is showing signs of cracking as infighting between the Ermita group and other groups within the Arroyo cabinet are coming out into the open.

The Arroyo regime has rabidly supported the Bush "global war on terror" in order to expand US military intervention in the Philippines under the guise of military exercises, bootlick for more US military assistance, scuttle the peace negotiations between the Manila government and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines and carry out Oplan Bantay Laya under the all-out war policy against the people's army and revolutionary masses led by the Communist Party of the Philippines.

The Arroyo regime has estimated that the all-out war policy against the armed revolutionary movement would unify the military and police forces behind her and would actually weaken or destroy the revolutionary forces that it presumes to be the most solid part of the broad united front of opposition forces. The Cabinet Oversight Committee on Internal Security headed by Phoenix Plan and Marcos fascist regime veteran Eduardo Ermita is directly in charge of Oplan Bantay Laya and plans the dirty tactics carried out mainly by special operations teams for psy-war and by death squads for extrajudicial killings. Their tactic is to denounce the intended victims as communists and, after they are killed, to blame the communists for killing them in a "purge."

Oplan Bantay Laya has two ugly aspects. First, it concentrates military and police forces on a number of guerrilla fronts at every given time in order to perpetrate massacres, mass intimidation, arbitrary arrests, torture and forced evacuations of entire communities through bombings, artillery fire, machine gun fire, arson and bulldozing. Second, it engages in the extrajudicial killing, abduction and torture of legal activists, including local progressive party leaders, workers, peasants, women, youth, religious, journalists, lawyers and human rights advocates.

The Arroyo regime's scheme to destroy the people's democratic revolution before 2010 is a mere pipedream. Not even the Marcos fascist dictatorship, which received plenty of US military assistance in exchange for the stay of US military bases, which had a far bigger allowance for official concessional borrowings from abroad and which rapidly increased the AFP's troop strength could destroy the people's army that was then far smaller than its current size. Not even the Aquino regime could bank on its anti-Marcos popularity to destroy the people's army. Oplan Bantay Laya has run for five years and has failed to destroy the armed revolutionary movement in a single region.

The armed revolutionary movement is gaining more ground and strength than ever before because it upholds a just cause, fights for the people's national and democratic rights and defends the people against the puppetry, exploitativeness, corruption and brutality of the Arroyo regime and the entire reactionary ruling system. Our Party leads the democratic revolution, not only by wielding the weapon of revolutionary armed struggle but also the revolutionary united front. Thus, it has brought about the widest popular base for the revolutionary war.

The extrajudicial killings, abductions, torture, misrepresentation of children as NPA fighters in order to kill or detain them, forced mass evacuations and other gross human rights violations by the military and paramilitary forces of the regime have outraged the people of the world and the most respected institutions, organizations and personages concerned with human rights. It has come to the point that even governments friendly to the Philippine government have called on the Arroyo regime to take responsibility for and stop the gross human rights violations. Like the Marcos fascist regime, the repressive Arroyo regime is finding itself isolated not only among the Filipino people but also in the international community of nations.

The National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) has consistently asserted that peace negotiations with the Government of the Republic of the Philippines are still ongoing in the absence of any side properly terminating the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees. It has repeatedly called for the resumption of formal talks upon the resolution of prejudicial questions, such as the so-called terrorist listing of the CPP, NPA and chief political consultant, the gross violations of human rights under Oplan Bantay Laya, the release of political prisoners and the indemnification of victims of human rights violations under the Marcos regime.

The NDFP has gone so far as to offer a concise immediate agreement for a just and lasting peace, which would serve to commit both the NDFP and GRP to definite principled points of agreement in the national and democratic interest of the Filipino. Such an offer is in response to the unjust demand of the GRP for surrender of arms or an indefinite ceasefire without agreement on substantive issues. It would lead to a truce in the civil war while the two sides implement the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law and negotiate practicable economic, social and political reforms in accordance with The Hague Joint Declaration.

As the Arroyo regime is hell-bent on carrying out its all-out war policy and finds no use for peace negotiations, the armed revolutionary movement led by our Party has no choice but to expand and intensify all over the archipelago. We know from our experience in peace negotiations how malicious and treacherous is the Arroyo regime. We have also observed the same character of the regime in its negotiations with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front. Our Party and the NDFP have all the patience to wait for the next regime to see the wisdom of peace negotiations and the benefits for the Filipino people.

### ***Growing strength of the revolutionary movement***

Our Party has continued to make all-round achievements. We have 535 propagated the ideological line of Marxism-Leninism-ismism in all Party leading organs and organizations, among the cadres, members and the candidate members. We have carried forward the general political line of people's democratic revolution against foreign monopoly capitalism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. We have upheld and applied the principle of democratic centralism in organizational matters.

Our Party is indestructible and ever advancing because it consists of cadres and members who grasp Marxism-Leninism-ismism as the ideological line and who keep on strengthening their proletarian class standpoint, viewpoint and method in dealing with world and Philippine history, current circumstances, various types of work and struggle and the necessary strategy and tactics in carrying out the people's democratic revolution.

Our cadres and members keep on studying dialectical and historical materialism in relation to their work. They apply materialist dialectics in understanding and solving problems. They broaden and deepen their knowledge of Marxism-Leninism in order to oppose and defeat the empiricist and dogmatic kinds of subjectivism, modern

revisionism, opportunism and reformism and other petty-bourgeois trends of thought like liberalism, neoliberalism, social democracy, neo-Kautskyism, Trotskyism, anarchism, clerico-fascism and NGOism.

Our Party cadres and members read and study the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao and the documents of the Central Committee. Our comrades who are more knowledgeable in theory help those who wish to learn more through formal study courses at basic, intermediate and advanced levels, through study and work meetings of leading Party organs and organizations and through informal and leisurely group discussions and conversations.

The Education Department of our General Secretariat and education and propaganda organs of the Party see to it that all sorts of study materials are made available. Simplified materials, brief texts and visual and audio-visual aids in various major Philippine languages are also provided for the benefit of comrades who come from the working class and peasantry and who have limited formal education. There is a mutually beneficial interaction between comrades who can easily understand the concepts and terms from reading materials and those who have rich practical experience for analysis.

Our Party cadres and members grasp the ideological line easily because it deals with life-and-death questions for the Party. Those who committed major errors of petty-bourgeois subjectivism and the consequent Left and Right opportunist errors as well as crimes against our Party and our people could have destroyed us and the revolutionary movement from within had the proletarian revolutionaries not taken action to criticize and repudiate their wrong ideas and actions. The documents and lessons of the Second Great Rectification Movement continue to be studied in order to fortify our ranks against the misrepresentation and slander by the enemy and the renegades who have become special agents of the enemy.

Our Party cadres and members use Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the ideological weapon against the persistent ideological offensive of the imperialists and local reactionaries who prate that the cause of scientific socialism and the ultimate goal of communism are hopeless and that humanity cannot go beyond capitalism and liberalism. They therefore continue to study the definitive stand of our Party for socialism against modern revisionism.

We have generated a stream of articles to counter and debunk the claims and arguments of the neoliberal exponents of "free market" globalization, bourgeois liberals, social democrats, neo-Kautskyites, Trotskyites, anarchists, clerico-fascists and NGOists. These are well funded by the imperialists to attack us from behind and from the flanks in order to cut us off from the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia and the educated youth who are inclined to adopt the revolutionary position and join our Party. Our Party combats petty-bourgeois thinking within the Party but attracts petty-bourgeois elements to remold themselves and join our Party or become allies in the progressive united front.

We have victoriously advanced the general line of people's democratic revolution against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes through protracted people's war. We have raised high the banner of working class leadership and have aroused, organized and mobilized the broad masses of the people in the urban and rural areas. We have successfully employed revolutionary armed struggle and the united front as political weapons in the service of the working people.

Our New People's Army operates militarily and conducts mass work in more than 120 guerrilla fronts which cover thousands of barrios in more than 800 municipalities in 70 provinces of the Philippines. By doing mass work, it is instrumental in the formation of mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, youth and cultural activists and in setting up local organs of political power, at first barrio organizing committees and finally barrio revolutionary committees with the support of the mass organizations and committees for mass organizations, public education, public health, land reform and economy, self-defense, arbitration and cultural work.

The peasant movement for genuine and thoroughgoing land reform is the main mass movement for realizing the democratic revolution. It is thus that the peasant majority of the people can liberate themselves economically, socially and politically and become the main component of the people's democratic revolution. The minimum land reform program consists of rent reduction, reduction of interest rates, raising of farm wages, increasing prices of farm products and promoting agricultural production and sideline occupations. The maximum land reform program of confiscation and free distribution of land as well as rudimentary forms of cooperation is applicable against landgrabbers, against despotic landlords and wherever landlord power has collapsed on a relatively wide scale.

Our people's army is engaged in extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever deepening

and widening mass base. It is still in the process of increasing the number of platoons and guerrilla fronts on a nationwide scale. At the same time, it is developing the ability of regional commands to administer several guerrilla fronts, lead a headquarters platoon and to concentrate several platoons for offensive operations. The guerrilla front commands have the flexibility to launch platoon-size offensive operations and guide squads to carry out operations on a wide scale. The structure, mode of deployment, tactics and technique have been effective in carrying out raids, ambushes and arrest operations and in inflicting losses of personnel and weapons on the side of the enemy.

Oplan Bantay Laya has failed in its objective of destroying the NPA by concentrating military and mobile police units on a number of regions and a number of guerrilla fronts within every given period and, after supposedly destroying the NPA, move on to another set of regions and guerrilla fronts. In no region whatsoever has the enemy succeeded in destroying the NPA. The military and mobile police forces simply do not have the military strength to cover and control effectively 10 percent of the population at any given time. They can concentrate on a few guerrilla fronts and make life difficult for the people. But the NPA units can evade them in every guerrilla front or shift to another area for guerrilla front development. In scores of other guerrilla fronts, the NPA operates freely because of the overconcentration of enemy forces on a few guerrilla fronts elsewhere.

The enemy forces are frustrated due to deadly blows from the NPA in ambushes and raids and blindly carrying out patrols and other operations without any definite target. They often find themselves vulnerable to sniping teams of the NPA and militia units, RPG fire and command-detonated land mines. They boast of amplifying their force by arming the local people as CAFGU, CVO, barangay tanods, and the like. But in fact they distrust the people and they prefer to concentrate their effort in trying to intimidate them through humiliation, cedula checks, food blockades and other worse human rights violations, including massacres, illegal detention, torture, arson and forced evacuation. They also know that those who agree to receive arms from them are ultimately vulnerable to the disarming operations of the NPA.

Aside from waging armed struggle against the enemy, our Party uses the policy and tactics of the united front. In the main, the united front is for the armed struggle. Thus, the antifeudal united front is of primary importance. Our Party relies mainly on the poor peasants and farm workers, wins over the middle peasants, neutralizes the rich peasants, takes advantage of the contradictions between the enlightened and evil gentry in order to isolate the despotic landlords and destroy their political power in the country. The antifeudal united front is an integral part of the overall national united front, which is anti-imperialist, antifeudal and antifascist.

A broad united front has emerged and is further developing against the US-Arroyo regime. It consists of the organized forces of the workers, peasants, women, youth, professionals, entrepreneurs and merchants, politicians, religious and even the anti-Arroyo groups among the military and police officers. In political terms, the Left is uniting, cooperating and coordinating with the Middle and the anti-Arroyo part of the Right against the worst part, which is the Arroyo ruling clique. In the broad united front, the patriotic and progressive forces of the Left and Middle can unite with the unstable and unreliable allies in the Right for the purpose of isolating and defeating the enemy and in the process gaining strength through struggle.

Both the revolutionary armed struggle and the united front have their respective ways of arousing, organizing and mobilizing the broad masses of the people. The revolutionary armed struggle has made possible solid mass organizing and building organs of political power in the countryside. The united front has aroused, organized and mobilized the people in the entire country in order to facilitate their eventual organization by the Party. Legal united front work has directly helped in the organizational work of legal democratic mass organizations.

In our organizational life, we follow the principle of democratic centralism. The essence of centralism is Marxism-Leninism. It guides democracy within our Party and is in turn based on it. The democratic process allows our leading organs to gather facts and ideas from the corresponding organization and to deliberate on them freely in order to arrive at policies and decisions. Individuals and the minority are subject to the will of the majority. The lower organ or organization is subject to the higher organ or organization. The Central Committee is the highest organ, while the Congress is not in session.

Our Party cadres and members uphold the two-way relationship of centralism and democracy. We are critical of any tendency towards bureaucratism or commandism, in which decisions and orders are one-sidedly made from top to bottom, without the benefit of reports and recommendations from below. At the same time, we are critical of ultra-democracy or anarchism, which means not recognizing the authority of higher organs and insisting

on the limited view of the ground to the exclusion of the comprehensive view of a higher organ.

Our Party organization is of national scale and is deeply rooted among the masses of workers and peasants. The Party branches are in communities, factories, plantations, transport lines, schools and offices. Our Party groups or cells are at various levels of various types of organizations and institutions, progressive or reactionary. We have Party elements and cells even within the military and police forces of the enemy. Thus, we are well-informed about enemy movements, plans and activities. The well-known existence of patriotic and progressive groups of military and police officers indicates our effective work within the enemy camp.

The regime's pipedream is to destroy our Party by murdering those whom they suspect as Party cadres and members. But the reactionary military and police machinery and killing capacity are limited by the fact that our Party has been clandestine since its reestablishment in 1968 and constantly takes care to preserve and secure itself, expand its membership and raise its quality through revolutionary education and practice. The enemy can concentrate its attacks on certain areas but leaves open many more areas for our Party to grow in strength and advance. Whenever some of our comrades are unavoidably martyred, we honor them so as to inspire our entire Party and our people to fight the enemy ever more resolutely and fiercely. Commands of the NPA at various levels are named after our martyrs who are exemplary in armed struggle.

We recruit our Party members from the armed revolutionary movement and the legal democratic mass movement. These have trained and tested so many activists worthy of recruitment into the Party. The intense and widespread armed and legal forms of struggle are providing a continuous flow of fresh highly motivated and militant Party recruits who come from the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the middle social strata and who bring with them rich experience, their closeness to the masses and various types of abilities that are useful for advancing the people's democratic revolution.

Our Party systematically deploys workers and educated youth from the urban areas to the countryside in order to serve in the New People's Army and the peasant communities. Thus, we raise and widen our capabilities as a Party in the countryside. We bring into the service of the people and the people's army their professional and technical capabilities. In turn, our Party personnel from the cities further remold themselves in the heat of the revolutionary armed struggle. Service in the people's army also provides safety and a fighting chance to Party members and mass activists who are under threat of death or arrest by the enemy.

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### ***Our three fighting tasks***

We must further strengthen the Communist Party of the Philippines in order to lead more effectively than ever before the people's democratic revolution against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords. We must accelerate the recruitment of Party members from the ranks of the Red fighters of the New People's Army and the advanced activists of the mass movement in the urban and rural areas. We must allow them to advance from being candidate-members to full members within the prescribed period of candidature by providing them promptly with the basic Party course and making sure that they conscientiously perform their tasks within their units in the Party and in the people's army or in mass organizations.

1. Further strengthen the revolutionary party of the proletariat! According to plan, we must increase our Party membership by the tens of thousands every year. We have an acute need for a larger number of Party cadres and members in order to carry out various types of work among the millions of people and in order to raise the revolutionary struggle to a new and higher level. Because our Party recruits come from the ranks of Red fighters and mass activists and they have some experience in the revolutionary struggle, they have an interest in completing as soon as possible the basic Party course, complying with their tasks within their units in the Party and in the people's army or mass organizations.

After they are sworn in as full Party members, they can take higher formal Party courses in their work units in accordance with the curriculum and syllabus or in study sessions specially arranged by a higher Party organ. They must always improve their grasp of the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method, know the correct line and oppose subjectivism and opportunism, modern revisionism and various trends of petty-bourgeois thinking. The theoretical and political education of Party members must further develop through conscious application of the basic revolutionary principles of our Party in the study of Philippine history and current circumstances and

through the assessment and evaluation of work, criticism and self-criticism and the setting forth or adjustment of tasks.

Every higher Party organ must know within its jurisdiction the quantity and quality of Party cadres and members in any of the various territorial and functional organizations. Thus, it can decide to raise higher the strength of a given Party organ or unit or to redeploy Party cadres and members in order to strengthen other Party organs or units or to establish new ones. The Party must always ensure that the proletarian revolutionaries take the lead and that the Party cadres and members of worker and peasant origin must increase, without pressing down the number of those who come from the urban petty bourgeoisie.

Because the people's war is expanding and intensifying, it is of urgent necessity that more Party cadres and members arise and develop in the New People's Army and in the rural mass movement and that workers and educated youth be redeployed from the urban to the rural areas, without impairing the urban mass movement. We must preserve and increase our Party cadres and members. Those who are endangered by the rising wave of state terrorism in their publicly known places must take precautionary measures and be ready to be assigned to other places.

2. Expand and intensify the armed revolution! We must carry out people's war in order to seize political power and establish the people's democratic state. We must strive to advance from the early to the middle phase of the strategic defensive by multiplying the platoons and the guerrilla fronts, and improving command at the levels of the region and guerrilla fronts. They must implement in their respective areas of responsibility the guidelines for nationally coordinated offensives. We must expand and intensify the tactical offensives of the people's army against the enemy. We must seize more arms from the enemy in order to form more platoons of the New People's Army and build more guerrilla fronts.

We must conduct politico-military training of Red commanders and fighters in the various formations and at various levels of command. The political significance and purpose of training for any major tactical offensive must be explained to boost fighting morale. We must also provide training to the militia units and self-defense units so that they can perform their responsibilities and they can stand as reserves and augmenting forces of the people's army. Thus, we can find out in advance who should have the priority for joining the people's army upon the increase of arms.

We must accelerate the waging of extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and ever deepening mass base. We can launch offensives and frustrate enemy counteroffensives only by having a strong mass base. We must build organs of political power and mass organizations and undertake campaigns for mass organizing, public education, land reform and production, health care, self-defense, settlement of disputes and cultural work. We must pay close attention to land reform as the way to engage the peasantry in the armed revolution.

In the revolutionary armed struggle, we have given priority to tactical offensives and other work to increase our political and military strength in the guerrilla fronts. We have not yet carried out to a significant extent our already declared policy to punish the most notorious perpetrators of human rights violations and corruption. So far, we have not retaliated dramatically against the high bureaucrats and the military and police officers responsible for the acts of state terrorism and fascism against the people in worker and peasant communities and against unarmed legal activists.

For the purpose of obtaining revolutionary justice against those officials with blood debts, we must accumulate the necessary information through intelligence and surveillance, form teams with the determination and skills and choose the time and place for arresting the criminals and bringing them to justice or for giving battle to those who are well-armed and cannot be peaceably arrested.

We are well aware that when we start to arrest or fight the criminals, more military and police forces will be pushed towards doing guard duty to protect them. The best time to arrest or give battle to the monsters in the Arroyo regime is when they are already in a state of rapid political decline. In the meantime, the Arroyo regime and its murderous military and police minions are the targets of the people's outrage in the Philippines and the whole world.

3. Mobilize the people through the united front! We must mobilize the broad masses in their millions through various types of the united front. We must develop further the basic alliance of workers and peasants, the progressive alliance of the toiling masses and the urban petty bourgeoisie, the patriotic alliance of progressive forces and

the vacillating national bourgeoisie and the broad united front of patriotic forces and reactionary forces that are temporary and unstable allies against the worst reactionary force, which is the enemy.

The enemy at this time is the US-directed Arroyo regime. We must do everything possible and necessary to expose its crimes against the people in order to isolate, weaken and remove it from power. In the process, we further strengthen the revolutionary forces and people and spur their advance in the revolutionary struggle. If we cannot yet destroy the ruling system by ousting the Arroyo ruling clique from power, we can accumulate the strength to engage the next regime in the resumption of the peace negotiations or to fight it as soon as it makes clear its anti-people, antinational and antidemocratic character. By fighting one enemy regime after another, we accumulate the strength to destroy the reactionary ruling system eventually.

We expect the crisis of the ruling system and world capitalist system to worsen further and inflict ever more terrible suffering on the broad masses of the people. We anticipate that the Arroyo will become even more servile to the US and other imperialists, continue its career of corruption, commit a bigger number of human rights violations and engage in electoral fraud in the 2007 elections. The fake president Arroyo is terribly afraid that the opposition would gain seats in Congress sufficient to effect her impeachment in the House of Representatives and her conviction in the Senate. Thus, she is preparing to cheat in the elections and to use violence against opposition parties and candidates.

The Arroyo regime arrogantly underestimates the power of the people and the broad united front and knows no bounds for its crimes against the people. The broad masses of the people are already fed up with the regime. All that is needed to drive them to occupy the streets is one inciting incident or issue, like a repeat of the 2004 electoral fraud in 2007 or acts of violence against the legal opposition. The sight of hundreds of thousands of people in the streets would move most military and police officers of the reactionary government to prevail upon the chain of command in the military to respect the right of the people to speak and assemble and would persuade the dominant church to facilitate the replacement of the Arroyo regime by a successor or transition government.

The Communist Party of the Philippines and all the people and revolutionary forces it leads wish to remove the Arroyo ruling clique as soon as possible. But if this clique persists in power because it uses violence and deception against the people and the dominant church condones it, all revolutionary forces will gain more ample opportunity to gain strength from the broad united front and the people's movement. The people's war will gain ground and intensity as the broad masses of the people seek the effective way to get rid of the intolerable oppression and exploitation unleashed by the Arroyo regime, with the support of the US and other imperialists.

# ***Accelerate the Revolutionary Advances of the CPP for the Celebration of its 40th Anniversary***

**Message of the Central Committee on the 39<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Party, December 26, 2007**

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We celebrate with boundless joy the 39<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (Maoism) on December 26, 1968. Since then, our beloved Party has become tempered in the crucible of revolutionary struggle and has accumulated brilliant victories in acting as the vanguard of the proletariat and in leading the Filipino people's struggle for national liberation and democracy against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

We render the highest tribute communism. Most urgently, we to our revolutionary martyrs and wish to prepare the celebration of heroes for their supreme sacrifice and exemplary service to the people. We salute all Party cadres and members, revolutionary forces and people for all their hard work and sacrifices in the revolutionary struggle. We have won great victories because we are not daunted by either tremendous odds or by mistakes or shortcomings. We gain strength from overcoming dangers and difficulties, engaging in criticism and self-criticism and rectifying errors and weaknesses.

Once more we collectively renew our resolve to carry forward through protracted people's war the national democratic stage of the Philippine revolution. We are determined to complete this stage through the nationwide seizure of political power in order to reach the stage of socialist revolution and begin the long transition to communism. Most urgently, we wish to prepare the celebration of the Party's 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary in the coming year by accelerating advances in an all-round way in the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the entire people under the leadership of the Party.

The imperialists and the local reactionaries keep on prating that the CPP and the revolutionary movement of the people ought to be dissuaded from waging armed revolution because of the betrayal of socialism by the modern revisionists, the subsequent disintegration of the revisionist reactionaries keep on prating that the CPP and the revolutionary movement of the people ought to be dissuaded from waging armed revolution because of the betrayal of socialism by the modern revisionists, the subsequent disintegrate mess, and all the ideological, political, economic, cultural and military offensives of the imperialists headed by the US

They obfuscate the fact that the Party has remained firm in its Marxist-Leninist and anti-revisionist position, that it understands and acts upon the concrete semicolonial and semifeudal conditions in order to carry out the new democratic revolution, and that the offensives of imperialism and its puppets have only served to aggravate the oppressive and exploitative conditions and incite the people to wage armed struggle and other forms of revolutionary struggle. The enemies of the revolution overlook the fact that the Party and the revolutionary movement have prevailed over all the bloody campaigns of suppression carried out by the Marcos fascist regime and the subsequent pseudo-democratic regimes.

The Arroyo regime, especially the fake president and her top military henchmen keep on bragging that they can destroy or cause the strategic defeat of the CPP, the New People's Army and all other revolutionary forces before 2010. Instead, the revolutionary forces are growing in strength and advancing because of the ever worsening crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system, and the Arroyo regime's detested policies of national betrayal, class exploitation, corruption and state terrorism. In the midst of all this, the Party's ceaseless ideological, political and organizational work nurture the revolutionary forces' continued growth and development.

## ***Crisis of imperialism and resistance of the world's peoples***

To describe the current crisis of the world capitalist system, it is necessary to start with the US' main responsibility for such a crisis. The US has been chiefly responsible for pushing the policies of "neoliberal" globalization and the global war of terror. These policies are aimed at solving, but have instead resulted in, aggravating and deepening the crisis of monopoly capitalism.

Since the end of the 1970s, the US has adopted the policy of "neoliberal" globalization supposedly to overcome the problem of stagflation which is the simultaneous occurrence of stagnation and inflation and the aggravation of one by any attempt to counter the other. This problem is blamed on government social spending and

rising wage levels. Thus, the declared bias of neoliberalism is to oppose Keynesian state intervention by way of public investments and to give free rein to the “free market,” with minimal intervention by the Federal Bank through the regulation of interest rates and money supply.

The main thrust of neoliberalism is to use the state to press down social spending and wage levels and deliver to the monopoly bourgeoisie huge tax cuts, military contracts, public assets, unlimited credit, investment insurance and subsidies and to provide them political and military backing in their drive to expand and secure sources of raw materials, markets, fields of investments and all kinds of monopoly advantages.

Under the “neoliberal” slogan of “free market” globalization, the imperialist countries headed by the US have pressed the underdeveloped countries to denationalize their economies. The monopoly bourgeoisie have thus accelerated the concentration and centralization of capital in their hands through the extraction of superprofits and debt service, the liberalization of capital flows and trade, the privatization of state assets and social services, and deregulation to the detriment of the working people, women, children and the environment.

In order to press down wage levels within their national borders, the US and other imperialist countries have eroded workers’ rights and have deployed runaway shops abroad for the manufacture or semi-manufacture of consumer goods and the outsourcing of labor intensive services. They have tended to keep within their national borders the capital-intensive and highly profitable industries. But the accelerated exploitation of the working class and the oppressed peoples and nations has had the effect of stunting the growth of the global market and thus worsening the crisis of overproduction.

The real global economy has become depressed through several rounds of economic and financial crisis. This has been most flagrant for a long time in most countries of the world, and has especially become the general run of underdeveloped countries. But even the US, its imperialist allies and some third world countries like China would have long appeared as being in a state of depression if not for the massive use of local and foreign borrowing to evoke economic growth even if lopsided. The depression has been concealed by ever rising levels of global debt that cover budgetary and trade deficits to maintain the flow of trade and investments in favor of the imperialist countries and a few third world countries, and keep up abstract rates of growth above the real economy.

The US has been the most abusive in using local and foreign borrowing in order to cover budget and trade deficits, conjure the illusion of growth and maintain itself as the biggest market for consumer goods in the world. The US national debt has leaped from the 2001 level of US\$5.7 trillion to the current level of US\$9.1 trillion. The rapidly growing budget deficit has been brought about by huge tax cuts, military-industrial contracts and war expenditures in Iraq and Afghanistan.

The US trade deficit has reached the annual level of US\$800 billion. This has been aggravated by import accommodations to its industrial capitalist allies and by taking advantage of cheap labor in China, India and South-east Asia. The US dollar is used wantonly to finance consumer imports, in effect making the US the world’s biggest debtor. At their own level, American consumers have been pushed into heavy borrowing for consumption in the face of stagnation and the decline of US industry and employment.

At the time of the high-tech bubble from 1995 to 2000, American workers lost regular jobs but made up for this with part-time jobs in the economy’s expanding service sector. Quite a number of them also borrowed money to engage in stock speculation and allowed investment firms to use workers’ pension funds for the same purpose. After the bursting of the high-tech bubble in 2001 until 2005, the US monopoly bourgeoisie promoted the housing bubble by offering low-interest subprime mortgage rates with little or practically no collateral and misleading the mass of homeowners to borrow money for consumption spending against the inflated value of their mortgaged homes.

US banks have repackaged the mortgaged loans and sold them to foreign banks as components of so-called structured investment vehicles, thus globalizing the scale of potential financial crisis due to mortgage defaults.

The US consumer market is contracting due to the crisis of overproduction, the financial crisis generated by excessive US national debt, the rapid decline of the US dollar, the mortgage meltdown and the rise of energy cost. It is expected to cause a starkly severe recession in the US and other imperialist countries next year. The contraction of the US consumer market is causing drastic reductions of orders from China, India, Southeast Asia and other countries producing low value-added semimanufactures for imperialist countries.

The underdeveloped countries are not at all benefited by the decreasing value of the US dollar because they

have no substantial alternative source of foreign exchange income. Having been tied to the US dollar, their own currencies are even more vulnerable to depreciation. Their US dollar reserve holdings, if any, are in the first place mainly borrowings for the importation of consumer goods and for balancing current accounts. They are being eroded rapidly.

The attempt of the Bush regime to stimulate the US economy through increased military production and accelerated borrowing has been a big failure. Military production, characterized by high-cost high technology has limited capacity for generating jobs. At the same time, the American public can no longer accept the high cost of war production and the wars of aggression in terms of American lives and money in the quagmires of Iraq and Afghanistan. The war budget of the US in both countries has reached the level of more than US\$600 million and the accumulated costs of war in Iraq alone have reached US\$1 trillion, if both the operational and related costs are included.

Further gargantuan US borrowing is knocking hard against the limits. The rising levels of the US national debt, debt service and budget and trade deficits have seriously undermined global confidence in the US dollar and is causing its depreciation. It is estimated that the US has to increase interest rates and draw down international credit by at least US\$2 trillion in order to stem the global loss of confidence in the US dollar.

Even as the American public is becoming increasingly averse to the wars of aggression in Iraq and Afghanistan, such giant corporations as those in the military-industrial complex and in the oil business persist in pushing the US to remain at war and in maneuvering for the building of permanent US military bases in the Middle East and Central Asia.

US persistence in Iraq and Afghanistan and the waste of its human and material resources there have far-reaching adverse consequences to the US in its own home ground and abroad. These are exacerbating contradictions within US society and with its imperialist allies. The oppressed peoples and nations recognize the overextension and weaknesses of the US and are encouraged to fight for national and social liberation.

In the US and other imperialist countries, the monopoly bourgeoisie are using all kinds of strategic and tactical maneuvers to deflect attention from the root causes of exploitation and oppression and to push down the working class, immigrants, the youth and women. They play up and generate chauvinism, racism and fascism in order to divide the working class and to pit the people in the imperialist countries against those in other countries. They use the mass media and various forms of entertainment to conjure the illusion of democracy and deflect public attention from the most important social issues.

But the working class and the people in the imperialist countries are fighting back against the monopoly bourgeoisie. There have been widespread strikes by workers, protest rallies and marches by migrants and militant street actions by the youth in various imperialist countries. These are still sporadic, however, even as at certain times in certain countries outbursts of public outrage are robust and widespread. They manifest favorable conditions for the steady development of proletarian and other progressive forces. The imperialist powers are still able to shift the burden of the crisis mainly to the oppressed peoples and nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The imperialist powers are still united in exploiting and oppressing the proletariat and peoples of the world, especially the third world. They have an abundance of mechanisms to harmonize their interests against their common adversaries. Such mechanisms include the IMF, the World Bank, the WTO, the UN and its Security Council, regional and bilateral trade agreements, the NATO and other regional as well as bilateral military treaties and alliances.

The US has kept its position as the sole power due to its financial, technological and military power, which remains unsurpassed by any of its allies. Despite increasing weakness, the US dollar still maintains its position as the currency of the world. But there are now certain breaches in its dominance as some oil-producing countries and other big holders of US currency and debts have started to reduce their dollar transactions.

The contradictions among the imperialist powers are steadily building up. The increased number of imperialist powers and aspirants for imperialist status has made the world too small for their competition and rivalry. The US is taking advantage of its position as the sole superpower and has been most aggressive and provocative in pursuing its ultra-national interests, increasingly at the expense of its own allies. At the same time, the US is exposing its own overextension and weaknesses, which embolden other imperialists to undertake initiatives at variance with those of the US

Among its imperialist allies, the US is resented for its dominance over the world financial system, major

sources of oil and other natural resources, fields of investments and markets. France, Germany, Russia and China have shown serious differences with the US in major issues and in positions regarding particular regions of the world. They have differences with the US over the US invasion and occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan and over the current US monopoly of the spoils of war.

The imperialist countries have differences over the issues of Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, Iran and other countries in the Middle East. Together with the border states in Central Asia, Russia and China have formed the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) to counter US incursions in Central Asia. The imperialist powers have differing positions regarding various issues involving East Asia, South Asia, Africa and Latin America. The relative balance of power among the imperialists is increasingly showing strain and instability.

While the US is preoccupied with Iraq, other imperialist powers are strengthening their economic and political positions elsewhere. The main contradiction in the world is still that between the imperialist powers and the oppressed peoples and nations. This is most acutely manifested by the unbridled exploitation and oppression by the imperialists with the assistance of their dependent and puppet states and also manifested by the people's resistance through revolutionary armed struggle and other forms of struggle.

The wealthiest 20 percent of the world's population are in the imperialist countries, and the poorest 20 percent are in the third world countries. The income of the former was 30 times larger than that of the latter in 1960. Then it became 74 times larger in 1995. Today, the overwhelming majority of the people live on less than two dollars a day and are concentrated in the third world. In 1973, third world debt was only US\$130 billion. In 1982, it jumped to US\$612 billion. In 2006, it further leaped to US\$3.2 trillion. Imperialist plunder has caused the rapid impoverishment and indebtedness of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Revolutionary armed struggle, especially in the form of protracted people's war, is the most important weapon in achieving national liberation and democracy against imperialism. It responds to the central question of seizing political power and breaking away decisively from the clutches of imperialism and feudalism. There are peoples persevering in armed revolution as in Colombia, the Philippines, India, Tamil Eelam and Turkey. In Nepal, the armed revolutionaries have declared the end of their people's war and wish to take power through a sequence of parliamentary struggle and popular insurrection. If frustrated, they are expected to resume people's war.

It is due to the demands of the people for national independence and democracy that certain governments act in an anti-imperialist way. The Iraqi government under Saddam Hussein tried to play off some imperialist powers against the US until the latter decided to unleash a war of aggression. The government of Venezuela under Hugo Chavez dares to challenge US imperialism in order to gain the support of the people and carry out reforms. The governments of China, Cuba and the People's Democratic Republic of Korea have consistently invoked national independence and the socialist aspirations of the people in order to contend with US imperialism.

The crisis conditions of the world capitalist system are favorable for waging revolution, especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America, where the main contradiction in the world are presently in sharpest focus. Armed revolution will become the main current of the world as a result of the intensification of the main contradiction in connection with the intensification of contradictions within imperialist countries and among imperialist powers. Crises do not automatically spell the advance or victory of revolution. They are objective conditions, which the subjective revolutionary forces and the people must exploit in order to strengthen themselves and defeat their enemy.

### ***Rapidly rotting ruling system under Arroyo regime***

The semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system in the Philippines is in chronic crisis. It is rotten to the core and is always weak and unstable as it is afflicted by the three evil forces of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. It is thus vulnerable to the crisis of the world capitalist system.

Under the policy of "neoliberal" globalization, the ruling system has become far weaker than ever before politically and economically. It is a big lie for the Arroyo regime to describe the puppet republic as being strong or the Philippine economy as ever growing toward "first world" status.

The puppet state is obliged to give up all pretenses to national industrialization and land reform. It is against using public resources and encouraging Filipino entrepreneurs to engage in national industrial development. It has reduced land reform to lopsided commercial transactions between landlords and tenants and outright commercial conversions of agricultural lands and crops. It has allowed the so-called stock distribution option to take the place of land reform. It has reclassified lands in order to exempt them from coverage by the so-called

comprehensive agrarian reform program. More money has been spent on bureaucratic operations of the department of agrarian reform than on the transfer of land to landless tillers.

The puppet state has drastically removed national restrictions on foreign investments. These are mainly in the field of financial services, trade, tourism, export-oriented semi-manufacturing, plantations and mining. It has brought down tariff walls and allowed multinational firms to dump their agricultural and manufactured surpluses in the country. Agricultural production for local consumption has declined from an average of 1,509 kg/person/year in 1979-81 down to 1,100 kg/person/year in 2000-02, thus making the country a net food importer. Its dependence on food imports increased tenfold in annual import volumes from 1991-95 to 2001-03. Agricultural and mineral products are exported in greater volume but at prices lower than in the past because of the glut in the global market. Net export income from the reexport of semimanufactures from the reassembly and packaging industries is small because these contain mostly imported overpriced components.

The trade deficit is ever growing from year to year, averaging more than US\$8 billion annually from 2001 to 2006. The costs of consumption-driven imports are constantly rising. Export income plus remittances of overseas contract workers cannot cover the costs of imports. The state always goes into huge budgetary deficits, which the Arroyo regime tries to reduce by increasing the tax burden on the people. Heavy spending for debt service and bureaucratic, military and other counterproductive activities is also rising above the ability of the state to collect tax revenues. The collection of customs duties has gone down due to trade liberalization and corruption. Internal revenue tax collection targets mainly the toiling masses and the fixed-income middle social strata. It is declining because of the depressed economy, with a high rate of real unemployment and underemployment.

But from year to year, the illusion of economic growth is conjured through local and foreign borrowing and also through the attraction of foreign portfolio investments in the stock and bond markets. The worsening global economic and financial crisis being generated by the rapidly growing US national debt, the US mortgage meltdown and runaway military expenditures are bound to put a squeeze on global credit for the Philippines and lessen orders for raw materials and its low value-added semimanufactures due to the growing recession and contraction of the US consumer market. The current level of foreign debt at more than US\$64 billion and that of the foreign trade deficit are expected to leap next year, spelling a serious financial crisis and a sharp decline in the value of the peso.

The socioeconomic crisis under the Arroyo regime is worsening rapidly. The rate of accumulated unemployment is growing. Incomes of the toiling masses of workers and peasants and even the middle social strata are being pressed down hard. Prices of basic goods and services are rising as a result of the rising costs of imported equipment, fuel and other inputs. The costs of basic services, such as education, health, electricity, water and transport are rising as the social infrastructure is breaking down and profit-taking runs rampant. The broad masses are reeling from the pressures of the crisis and the rising rates of exploitation. These are generating social unrest.

The broad masses of the people are enraged that foreign monopoly interests, highly placed bureaucrats and big compradors and landlords have accelerated the rate of exploitation and plunder of the country's natural resources. The net income of the top 1,000 corporations increased by 327 percent from 2001 to 2005, with their profits increasing by 20 percent annually.

The Filipino people are widely and deeply offended by the puppetry of the Arroyo regime to the US, Japan and other imperialist powers, by the unbridled corruption of the ruling Arroyo family and its cronies, by the regime's mendacious claim that the Philippines is ascending to "first world" status even as it is further deteriorating as a backward third world country, and by the brutal actions of the police and military to suppress workers' strikes, to drive away the peasants and national minorities from their homes and farms, to persecute and eliminate the legal patriotic and democratic movement, and to break up the protest actions of the working people and other social sectors.

Eighty percent of the people or around 65 million Filipinos live on the peso equivalent of less than two US dollars per day. The toiling masses of workers and peasants are living in grave conditions of poverty and misery. Eighty percent of the population share half of the national income, while only 20 percent enjoy the other half. The impoverished masses are most desirous of revolutionary change. The urban petty-bourgeoisie are also hard pressed by the social and economic conditions and are increasingly drawn to the revolutionary cause.

Overseas contract workers who now remit to the Philippines a total of US\$15 billion annually are responsible

for the biggest chunk of foreign exchange income which the ruling system appropriates. But they deeply regret the fact that because of severe exploitation and the underdevelopment of their country, they are compelled to seek job opportunities abroad at low wage levels and without the rights enjoyed by workers of the host country. They resent the fact that they have to leave their families and that the reactionary government exacts exorbitant fees from them and does not give them any protection and support abroad.

The socioeconomic crisis is fueling the political crisis of the ruling system. The space for mutual accommodation among competing reactionaries is shrinking, whipping up the Arroyo regime's penchant for monopolizing bureaucratic loot. The regime's unbridled corruption is easier exposed to the people. The progressive forces and the reactionary opposition forces are quick to denounce the regime. Even within the regime, a conflict of business and political interests is growing between the closest relatives and cronies of the fake president, on the one hand, and some of her allies within the ruling coalition of KAMPI, Lakas-NUCD and Nationalist People's Coalition, on the other.

The reactionary armed forces are more factionalized than ever before. Majority of the officers and enlisted personnel are contemptuous of the Arroyo regime and the pro-Arroyo officers at the top of the chain of command. Anti-Arroyo officers are confident that the majority of officers are ready to withdraw military support from the Arroyo regime and shift this to a council of civilian leaders as soon as a gigantic mass action arises against the regime.

Although praiseworthy for denouncing the crimes of the Arroyo regime, the Trillanes takeover of the Manila Peninsula Hotel last November 29 did not take into account the people's clamor for change under the principle of civilian supremacy, and the necessary sequence of mass mobilization and military withdrawal of support from the regime.

The Arroyo regime is prepared to go into a bloodbath in order to keep itself in power. It is therefore necessary for the broad range of opposition forces to engage in mass mobilizations that can discourage the use of armed force by the regime, as in the overthrow of Marcos and Estrada in 1986 and 2001. It is also necessary for the anti-Arroyo military and police officers to develop ways of paralyzing the pro-Arroyo chain of command and attracting the rank and file to their side. Among the problems faced by all anti-Arroyo forces are the vacillations of the anti-Arroyo reactionary forces and the counter-intelligence network within the reactionary armed forces. But if, despite the people's detestation, the Arroyo regime can manage to stay in power up to 2010 because the broad legal united front cannot yet oust it, the broad masses of the people will be repelled by the prospect of suffering under one reactionary regime after the other through elections and will increasingly rely on people's war to change the entire ruling system. The armed revolutionary movement can thus benefit from the failure of the broad legal united front to oust the Arroyo regime. While various anti-Arroyo currents are developing for patriotic reasons within the reactionary armed forces, pro-Arroyo officers at various levels are feasting on opportunities to steal state funds, cheat the troops of their basic supplies and participate in, or connive with, criminal syndicates in illegal logging, smuggling, gambling, illegal drug trafficking, prostitution, murder-for-hire, robbery and kidnapping-for-ransom. As a whole and in essence, the reactionary armed forces are a mercenary and corrupt establishment that needs to be smashed by the armed revolution. The Arroyo regime has unleashed Oplan Bantay Laya I from 2002 to the end of 2006 and Oplan Bantay Laya II since the onset of 2007, and has engaged in gross and systematic violations of human rights in order to comply with the US global war of terror and receive US military and economic assistance, to keep the loyalty of the officers and men of the military and police forces, to intimidate and suppress both the revolutionary forces and the legal opposition, and to ensure the regime's political survival Oplan Bantay Laya is two pronged. One prong consists of military campaigns of suppression by means of concentrating forces on a number of guerrilla fronts and engaging in barbarities to harm and thereby intimidate the people and drive them off the land to make way for plantations and mining companies. Another prong engages in extrajudicial killings, enforced disappearances and torture of unarmed legal activists, including leaders of workers, peasants, urban poor, youth, women, journalists, religious, lawyers and human right advocates.

The Arroyo regime has become isolated in the Philippines and abroad because of the barbarities committed by the military and police forces against the people in their hundreds of thousands in the countryside and the extrajudicial killings and disappearances of more than a thousand unarmed progressive legal activists. And yet the regime perversely believes that it can break up the armed revolutionary movement by complementing bloody campaigns of military suppression with offers of so-called amnesty and rehabilitation funds. It is well-known to the

people that officers of the reactionary armed forces fabricate lists of ghost surrenderers and pocket the money.

The socioeconomic and political crises and the extreme puppetry, corruption, mendacity and brutality of the Arroyo regime have only served to outrage the broad masses of the people and incite them to oppose the regime and engage in various forms of resistance. The crimes of the Arroyo regime have been exposed on a global scale and the most respected institutions, parties, mass organizations and personages have manifested their international solidarity with the Filipino people in their struggle for national independence, democracy, social justice and peace.

The Arroyo regime is extremely isolated. It is ripe for ouster by the broad masses of the people and a broad united front of anti-Arroyo forces. The patriotic and progressive forces of the toiling masses and the middle social strata are the most determined in ousting Arroyo, as they have borne the main brunt of economic hardships, extrajudicial killings, disappearances and torture in detention. But a great deal of vacillation is setting in among the anti-Arroyo reactionary parties, because some of their leaders have started to set their sights on the 2010 elections. Whether or not the legal mass movement succeeds in ousting the Arroyo regime, the legal democratic forces are gaining strength and experience in moving for the ouster of the regime.

The armed revolutionary movement of the Filipino people is gaining strength and advancing through tactical offensives and mass work. It stands to benefit from the continuing failure of the broad legal united front to oust the Arroyo regime because of the conspicuous vacillations of the anti-Arroyo reactionary forces. It becomes increasingly recognized as the principal way of changing the entire ruling system. At the same time, it continues to inspire the progressive forces of the legal democratic movement to persevere in struggle. It encourages mass activists to join the people's war. Most importantly, it accumulates the armed strength necessary for ultimately overthrowing the entire ruling system.

The Bangsamoro are persevering in the struggle for self-determination against the Manila government. There are recurrent reports that this government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) are about to enter into a "final peace" agreement. But MILF leaders are always quick to announce that they remain vigilant to the treachery and tricks of the Manila government. They have made clear that they would not follow the path of capitulation taken by some key leaders of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF).

Our Party remains firm in recognizing and supporting the Moro people's right to national self-determination and full control over their ancestral domain. We maintain our alliance with the revolutionary forces of the Moro people and urge the Moro people to be vigilant against maneuvers of the US and other imperialist powers to establish political, economic and military footholds in Mindanao in collusion with the oppressive Manila government.

Prospects are presently dim for the resumption of formal talks between the Manila government and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP). The main reason is that the Arroyo regime has been responsible for the 12 impediments listed by the NDFP and has shown no inclination to get rid of these impediments.

The regime has been repeating the line that the NDFP must first capitulate under the guise of indefinite cease-fire, which sets aside the people's demand for social, economic and political reforms, and gives full play to "localized peace talks" aimed at fragmenting the revolutionary movement and to the sham offer of amnesty and rehabilitation money aimed at bribing surrenderers and eventually murdering them. The Arroyo regime expects to destroy or drastically weaken the armed revolutionary movement in the remaining years up to 2010. On the contrary, the armed revolutionary movement will gain in strength and will be in a position to deliver more deadly blows to the lameduck regime amidst the far worsened crisis of the ruling system. The Filipino people have all the reason to carry out the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war. They are being subjected to intensified oppression and exploitation. They are obliged to fight for their national and democratic rights and interests. And they can avail themselves of the crisis conditions of the ruling system for building their revolutionary strength and advancing from one stage of the revolutionary struggle to another.

### ***Steady rise of the revolutionary forces and mass movement***

Imperialists and Filipino reactionaries keep on wishing for the disintegration of the Communist Party of the Philippines consequent to the full and open restoration of capitalism by the revisionist-ruled regimes. They are oblivious of the fact that the Party was reestablished in 1968, precisely to uphold Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, repudiate modern revisionism then being promoted by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and root out subjectivism and opportunism in the history of the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands (1930) and the

merger party of the Communist and Socialist Parties (1938).

We have gained revolutionary strength and rich experience in life-and-death struggles against the fourteen-year Marcos fascist dictatorship, and against the succeeding regimes that have pretended to be democratic and yet have been so brutal in trying to suppress the people's democratic revolution. The Arroyo regime is definitely chasing a pipe dream when it threatens to destroy or strategically weaken the Party and the revolutionary movement before 2010. The Party is taking advantage of the ever worsening crisis of the ruling system, the all-round bankruptcy of the Arroyo regime, and the accumulated revolutionary strength and experience of the people and all revolutionary forces.

The Party adheres to the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist line in philosophy, political economy, social science, strategy and tactics of waging the national democratic revolution, building socialism and continuing the revolution under proletarian dictatorship. The line allows us to understand the laws of motion in nature and society and the past, present and future stages of social development.

All Party members are required to have education in the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and their concrete application in the history and current circumstances of the Philippines and the Filipino people. There are three levels of Party education available to all Party members. These are the basic, intermediate and advanced courses.

Every Party member is required to undergo the basic course of Party education. This involves the study of Philippine history, the basic problems of the Filipino people and the people's democratic revolution, as well as the basic principles of material and historical materialism, the political economy of capitalism and socialism, and revolutionary strategy and tactics. The basic Party course provides every Party member the foundation for staying firm on the revolutionary path and for developing consciousness and the ability to wage revolution.

The intermediate course involves the analysis of general and specific experiences in the Philippine revolution in comparison with revolutionary experiences abroad, in the light of the teachings of Comrade Mao Zedong. Party members are encouraged to analyze and sum up the experience of their units and organs, identify major errors and weaknesses in certain periods and propose corrective measures.

The advanced course involves reading and study of the texts of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao on dialectical and historical materialism, the political economy of capitalism and imperialism, socialist revolution and construction, the history of the international communist movement, strategy and tactics and the theory of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship.

At every level of theoretical and political education, Party cadres and members learn how to integrate the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism with concrete conditions. They sharpen their understanding and application of materialist dialectics in developing their proletarian revolutionary standpoint, viewpoint and method. This is the essence of the Party's ideological building.

What makes Party cadres and members firm in revolutionary principles, flexible in policy and effective in practice is the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and its conscious application in the concrete conditions of the Philippine revolution. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism does not fly over reality but penetrates it and unfolds its laws of motion through the application of materialist dialectics.

The Party is indestructible and is ever-growing because an ever increasing number of Party members are recruited and undergo a system of theoretical and political education. Those who acquire this education are equipped with scientific knowledge and analytical ability to buttress their moral conviction for the just cause of social revolution.

Party cadres and members have benefited comprehensively and profoundly from the First and Second Great Rectification Movements. They have a full understanding of how the modern revisionists betrayed socialism, and how the imperialists used petty-bourgeois ideological currents to launch an anticommunist ideological offensive and mislead the toiling masses of the people about the nature and consequences of monopoly capitalism. They have rooted out the view of subjectivists that the Philippines has ceased to be semicolonial and semifeudal.

The Party is not simply driven by any abstract a priori knowledge or by an imagined future of socialism or communism. It considers, analyzes and acts on the concrete semicolonial and semifeudal conditions which oppress and exploit the people. On this basis, it has adopted the general political line of people's democratic revolution led by the working class in order to fight and defeat imperialist and feudal domination. It does not skip any stage in the Philippine revolution. It seeks to win the stage of new democratic revolution through protracted

people's war before it can reach the stage of socialist revolution.

In building the Party politically, cadres and members pursue conscientiously the general line of people's democratic revolution, and in this regard wield the revolutionary armed struggle and the united front as two powerful weapons for arousing, organizing and mobilizing the broad masses of the people against the imperialists and the local exploiting classes of compradors and landlords.

Both in the legal democratic movement and the armed mass movement, the Party now leads millions of people and operates in all the regions of the country, in more than 70 provinces out of the 81 provinces and more than 800 cities and municipalities. The New People's Army operates in 120 to 130 guerrilla fronts under the absolute leadership of the Party. Fluctuations in the number of guerrilla fronts are either due to consolidation or reorganization undertaken by the Party and the people's army or due to temporary adjustments in the face of concentrated attacks by enemy forces.

The reactionary armed forces can concentrate on no more than 10 percent of guerrilla fronts and no more than 300 to 600 of the more than 18,000 villages in the guerrilla fronts at any time. They are dumbfounded by the flexible tactics of concentration, dispersal and shifting used by the NPA. They have become fatigued by their own Oplan Bantay Laya which has run from 2002 to the present, and have become demoralized.

The Party follows the strategic line of people's war by encircling the cities from the countryside over a protracted period of time to accumulate armed strength through tactical offensives within the stages of strategic defense and strategic stalemate, until it becomes possible to seize the cities in a nationwide strategic offensive. Through people's war, the Party develops the basic alliance of the working class and the peasantry.

The Party integrates revolutionary armed struggle, agrarian revolution and base building. The NPA launches tactical offensives within the strategic defensive in order to annihilate enemy units and seize their weapons. Thus, it can grow from small to big and from weak to strong. It undertakes the minimum program of land reform and incrementally proceeds to the maximum program of distributing land to the tillers in order to carry out the agrarian revolution. Thus, the peasant masses join the armed revolution.

The Party engages in base building by forming mass organizations and organs of political power as well as a system of defense which includes full-time units of the NPA, militia units and self-defense units. Thus, backward rural villages can be turned into political, economic, military and cultural bastions of the revolution and can develop from guerrilla fronts into stable base areas.

A guerrilla front consists of guerrilla bases and several guerrilla zones. The headquarters guerrilla platoon in relative concentration secures the guerrilla base. Two other platoons secure the guerrilla zones. They are dispersed on a wider scale than the headquarters platoon which serves as the center of gravity for the entire guerrilla front. They may be subdivided into squads and teams for wider dispersal. A typical guerrilla front has a total force of a company.

A guerrilla front has the capacity to launch tactical offensives by teams, squads and a platoon. The NPA provincial and regional operational commands are wielding the initiative and developing their capabilities to assemble oversized platoons and companies for the purpose of launching tactical offensives and other concentrated operations. The increasing victories of NPA platoons, oversized platoons and companies are preparing the emergence of stable base areas, the completion of the strategic defensive and the advance to the strategic stalemate.

The minimum program of land reform consists of reducing land rent, reducing interest rates, improving farm-gate prices and increasing agricultural and other forms of production through independent households and rudimentary forms of cooperation. It persists due to the limited strength of the guerrilla front, especially where a concentration of enemy military power is close.

But the consolidation and expansion of guerrilla fronts or the merger of guerrilla fronts into stable base areas increases the possibility for the revolutionary forces to carry out the maximum land reform program of confiscating land from the landlords and distributing this free to landless tillers. The NPA and the peasant masses have increased their capacity to dismantle large landholdings, plantations and ranches and allow equitable distribution of land to the tillers.

Base building involves the establishment of Red political power by building mass organizations and organs of political power and building armed strength. This can be done when the revolutionary forces are able to completely dismantle the enemy organs of political power, drive away big exploiters and counterrevolutionaries and

destroy encroaching enemy forces. However, when the enemy forces have overwhelmingly superior strength, the NPA forces adopt the tactics of evasion and observation to discover enemy weak points, with the objective of attacking the weak points of the enemy force.

The Party avails of the policy and tactics of the united front in order to enhance the strength of the revolutionary forces as well as to amplify and augment this further by broadening the united front. The united front structure of the revolutionary forces involves the basic revolutionary alliance of workers and peasants, the progressive alliance of the toiling masses and the urban petty-bourgeoisie, and the patriotic alliance of progressive forces and the middle bourgeoisie.

The broad united front includes the temporary alliance with unstable and unreliable allies, usually from sections of the exploiting classes against the worst reactionary force that is most servile to the imperialists. The Party can engage in a broad united front with certain reactionary forces in order to isolate to the utmost and destroy the worst reactionary force in the shortest possible time. The Party and the revolutionary movement have benefited most from the broad united front by having in the first place a strong and effective united front of the revolutionary forces.

In the united front with reactionary forces, the Party is vigilant against any tendency of Right opportunism and against acts of betrayal by any reactionary ally. The Party also guards against the danger of "Left" opportunism through a refusal to enter into any temporary alliance with unstable and unreliable allies who can facilitate greater access to the broad masses of the people and to certain resources and facilities that are otherwise not available.

The united front is an important and indispensable weapon for drawing in more people to the legal mass movement and to the revolutionary armed struggle. The legal united front can become so effective that the progressive forces can enlarge their legal parties and mass organizations, gain great political influence within the reactionary ruling system, win elections and participate in the peaceful removal of the worst reactionaries from power. Such is the success of the broad legal united front that some people are led to erroneously think that it is the way for the toiling masses to gain power. What is most important for the Party is to develop the united front for armed struggle and not exclusively for legal struggle.

The revolutionary united front policy and tactics directly and indirectly serve the armed revolution. It is easy to understand how the revolutionary forces work to develop the united front for armed struggle. This is bound by the general line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war. It needs to be explained that even the reactionaries help build the united front for armed struggle when they comply with the laws of the people's government, pay due revolutionary taxes, contribute resources including arms, cooperate with the armed revolutionary movement, and support socioeconomic projects and struggles for rights and reforms that benefit the people.

By way of promoting the legal united front, the Party does not object to, and in fact, even encourages, the patriotic and progressive forces to undertake legal activities, including timely protest mass actions and electoral struggle. The Party itself has agreed to peace negotiations between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP).

These negotiations amount to seeking alliance and truce for the purpose of giving course to social, economic and political reforms. Through these negotiations, the Party can discover whether the ruling reactionaries or the reactionaries in the opposition are the better allies for effecting some needed basic reforms that encourage the mass movement for national and social liberation.

The principled position and conduct of the NDFP in the peace negotiations have served to propagate the program of the people's democratic revolution and raise the national and international standing and prestige of the revolutionary forces. Related to or independent of the peace negotiations, the NDFP has also done effective proto-diplomatic and diplomatic work, as well as international solidarity work at the non-governmental level in order to gather moral and political support for the Philippine revolution as well as to contribute to the development of the international movement against imperialism and all reaction.

The Party has done its utmost to develop relations with Marxist-Leninist- Maoist and workers' parties in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and with people's parties, national liberation movements and mass organizations in the spirit of anti-imperialist solidarity, and in accordance with its international united front policy.

### ***Fighting tasks for all-round advance***

We, the cadres and members, must do our best to carry out the fighting tasks of our beloved Party and make

significant all-round advances in the Philippine revolution in the coming year. We must ensure that the Party gains greater strength and reaps more victories as the advanced detachment of the proletariat leading the Philippine revolution and serving the Filipino people. Thus, we shall be able to celebrate the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Party with utmost joy and with greater determination to advance further.

Ideologically, we must continue to build the Party under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. We must apply this in studying the international and domestic conditions, in summing up and analyzing our revolutionary experience, reviewing our work and engaging in criticism and self-criticism and setting forth the tasks in order to advance further.

We must be on guard against subjectivism, revisionism and opportunism and against all the petty-bourgeois anticommunist currents promoted by the imperialists and local reactionaries to lead the revolutionaries astray. We must raise the level of our theoretical and political education in the course of study and work meetings of units and organs as well as in the formal courses of Party education.

Politically, we must build the Party by realizing its leading role in the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war. We must adhere to the general political line and oppose Right and "Left" opportunism. In this regard, we the cadres and members, must carry out well our tasks in our respective units and organs and in the specific field of work to which we are assigned.

We must be able to develop the armed struggle and the united front as weapons for defeating the enemy and advancing the revolution. From our political work, we must be able to recruit into the Party ever larger numbers of candidate-members from the ranks of activists in mass organizations of the toiling masses and the urban petty-bourgeoisie.

Organizationally, we must build the Party under the principle of democratic centralism and oppose bureaucratism and ultra-democracy. Our Party is under centralized leadership, which at the same time is based on democracy. We must ensure the leadership of cadres, at various levels up to the Central Committee, who are deeply dedicated to the revolutionary cause of the people, who are competent ideologically, politically and organizationally and who know how to draw facts and correct ideas from the organizations that they lead.

We must draw an ever increasing number of members from the revolutionary mass movement. We must recruit a large number of workers, peasants and educated youth from the mass organizations and from the people's army. The more Party members we have, the wider and stronger the base of our Party is and the more capable we are of performing the various tasks in the revolution. We need tens of thousands of Party cadres and hundreds of thousands of Party members to win complete victory in the people's democratic revolution and commence the socialist revolution.

In carrying out the revolutionary armed struggle, we must accelerate the tactical offensives against the enemy in order to seize more weapons for building more units of the people's army and for strengthening the various levels of command from the guerrilla front to the provincial and regional commands and, further on, to the national operational command. We must be able to annihilate more units of the enemy forces in order to gain strength and experience for destroying even more of them until we can seize nationwide political power.

In combat, we use our firepower to annihilate the targeted enemy unit. But when the enemy troops lose their capability to fight or they voluntarily surrender, they must be treated leniently and the wounded must be provided with medical care in accordance with the NPA's Rules of Discipline, the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL) and the Geneva Conventions. We fight the enemy forces and spies in order to uphold, protect and promote the rights and interests of the people. We must always take care that civilians and noncombatants are not harmed.

It is by implication a recognition of our status of belligerency under the Geneva Conventions that international agencies and other entities and even the enemy forces expect us to respect human rights and humanitarian conduct under international law and develop the legal and justice system of the people's democratic government. We must adhere to the right of any accused to due process in dealing with criminal suspects in connection with their arrest, pretrial investigation and trial, with due care for the security of revolutionary personnel. At the end of the trial, there must be a case summary and decision. In cases where the criminal or suspects are armed and dangerous, we must explain to the public through a formal complaint why they are likely to be given battle by the arresting unit of the people's army or militia if they do not surrender themselves to any authority of the people's democratic government.

We must carry out land reform as the main component of the democratic revolution. We must be able to advance from the minimum land reform program to the maximum and thereby carry out agrarian revolution in as many areas as conditions permit. We must arrest, investigate, try and punish the feudal tyrants and their running dogs that have violated the laws of the people's democratic government. We must defeat the feudal exploiters who oppose the land reform policy of the Party and the revolutionary mass movement.

We must increase the number of guerrilla fronts where possible in order to counter attempts by enemy forces to concentrate on and destroy some guerrilla fronts at every given time. Guerrilla fronts and subsequently, stable base areas must emerge on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base, the growth of the people's army, the militia and self-defense units, and the training of cadres and mass activists in the various aspects of social life.

Due to "Left" opportunist errors in the past, including military adventurism and putschism, we have had to emphasize such crucial aspects of mass base building as painstaking mass work and the setting up of mass organizations and organs of political power. But having already formed these, we must hasten to build further the units of the people's army, the militia and self-defense units in order to develop more armed strength and stability in the guerrilla bases or in stable base areas.

We must use our armed strength to destroy the political power of the enemy and drive away the oppressors. We must dismantle the intolerable economic power that these oppressors have in the form of big landholdings, plantations, mines, logging and other enterprises, unless the management of these firms comply with the policies and laws of the people's government regarding fair wages for workers and revolutionary taxation. Through the organs of political power and mass organizations, the Party must lead all aspects of social life and transform backward villages into political, economic, military and cultural bastions of the revolution.

We must develop the revolutionary united front on a national scale. Within the national united front, we must build the antifeudal united front. The Party and the proletariat must unite with and rely mainly on the poor peasants and farm workers, win over the middle peasants, neutralize the rich peasants and take advantage of splits among the landlords in order to isolate and destroy the power of the feudal despots and their running dogs.

We must always ensure that the basic worker-peasant alliance, the alliance of progressive forces and the alliance of patriotic forces are strong. Thus we can have a strong basis for broadening the united front as to include temporary, unstable and unreliable allies from the reactionary classes in order to isolate to the utmost and destroy the power of the worst reactionary clique, which is now that of Arroyo.

We must do our best to effect the ouster of the Arroyo regime through the broad united front. But if the Arroyo regime cannot be ousted because the anti-Arroyo forces in the military could not paralyze or overpower the pro-Arroyo chain of command, the effort of the broad united front to isolate and weaken the Arroyo regime would still be useful in helping to create conditions favorable to the tactical offensives that the NPA can freely undertake in the countryside. If the anti-Arroyo military officers press hard against the regime and the latter is compelled to deploy more troops in the national capital region and other urban areas, the people's army will face less obstacles in launching tactical offensives in the countryside.

The Party must carry out effective international work in support of the Filipino people in their struggle for national liberation and democracy. We must improve our work among Filipino overseas contract workers, immigrants and second or late generations of Filipinos abroad. We must develop their interest in the intensification of people's struggles against the escalation of exploitation and oppression by the imperialists and the Filipino reactionaries.

We must develop the closest of relations with Maoist parties and cultivate relations with other foreign communist and workers' parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism or anti-imperialist solidarity. We must encourage relations of patriotic and progressive Filipino organizations and institutions with their counterparts abroad. We must always be active in promoting the international united front against imperialism and all reaction and in strengthening organizations and movements on various concerns in the struggle of the world's peoples for greater freedom, democracy, social justice, development and world peace.

We must avail of the peace negotiations with the GRP not only as a way of seeking just peace through social, economic and political reforms but also as a way of informing the peoples of the world about the conditions and the just demands of the Filipino people, thereby gaining worldwide support for the Philippine revolution. Thus, the peace negotiations serve a good purpose whatever their current status or final outcome.

We must continue through the NDFP to seek recognition for the status of belligerency of the people's democratic government and revolutionary forces of the people. We must develop proto-diplomatic and diplomatic relations in the long preparation for the victory of the people's democratic revolution and the establishment of the People's Democratic Republic of the Philippines.

# ***Strengthen the Party and Intensify the People's Struggle in Celebrating the 40th Founding Anniversary***

**Message of the Central Committee Communist Party of the Philippines issued on December 26, 2008**

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With utmost joy, we celebrate today the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) as the advanced detachment of the Philippine working class under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Forty years ago today, we reestablished on a new foundation what originally was the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands (CPPI).

On this happy occasion, we in the Central Committee of the CPP salute all comrades in all Party organs, units and spheres of work, all Red commanders and fighters of the New People's Army, all allied forces in the National Democratic Front of the Philippines, all leaders and functionaries of the local organs of the people's democratic government, all activists in the mass movement and the broad masses of the Filipino people.

We congratulate all Party cadres and members for all the accumulated and recent victories in ideological, political and organizational work and all revolutionary forces and people for the great victories in pursuing the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war and united front work against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The revolutionary cause of the people cannot be advanced without the principled commitment, militancy and perseverance of the entire Party in revolutionary struggle. We have won our victories through hard work, arduous struggle and sacrifices. We must render the highest tribute to our revolutionary martyrs and heroes, including those who have died in the battlefield and those who have devoted their lives to various types of revolutionary work beyond the battlefield.

From year to year, the US-Arroyo regime has ranted that it would completely destroy, strategically defeat or debilitate the armed revolutionary movement of the oppressed and exploited people. It has in fact unleashed the most barbaric attacks against the millions of people in the guerrilla fronts and against unarmed persons, including leaders and members of legal mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth and women, teachers, church people, lawyers, journalists, judges and all other personalities, who criticize and oppose its rotten policies and criminal acts.

At this time, we can proclaim the utter failure of the so-called Enhanced National Internal Security Plan and Oplan Bantay Laya I and II. These have only served to incite the people to intensify the armed revolution and other forms of struggle. The people and revolutionary forces have gained strength in the course of militant struggle. They must not slacken but must intensify all forms of struggle.

Let us celebrate our Party's 40<sup>th</sup> founding anniversary throughout 2009 by undertaking educational, organizational, political, cultural and other activities to advance and bring the revolution to a new and higher level. Let us strive to bring about a great leap forward in all forms of our revolutionary struggle.

We must carry out vigorously the education and training of our Party cadres and members in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and in the new democratic revolution. Our Party must lead the broad masses of the people by arousing, organizing and mobilizing them.

We must wield firmly and effectively the weapons of armed struggle and united front. We must further strengthen the Party organization by accelerating the recruitment of Party candidate-members from the revolutionary mass movement and the building of Party branches in communities, factories, farms, schools and other institutions.

The armed struggle must be intensified in conjunction with land reform, the dismantling of big landholding and landgrabbing enterprises, and the widening and deepening of the mass base. The local organs of political power and the mass organizations must be further strengthened. Mass campaigns must be carried out to raise the level of the people's consciousness on major issues, raise production, promote health work, step up the training of militia and self-defense units and carry out cultural activities on a wide scale. The guerrilla fronts must be developed in the direction of creating relatively stable base areas. The various forms of alliance must be built within the framework of the anti-imperialist and antifeudal united front.

Conditions for advancing the Philippine revolution are excellent. The No.1 imperialist power oppressing and

exploiting the Filipino people and the peoples of the world is in the throes of a historically unprecedented economic and financial crisis that is worse than the Great Depression of 1929 and is incurring serious losses in its two current wars of aggression in Iraq and Afghanistan. Contradictions are sharpening between the imperialist powers and the oppressed peoples and nations, among the imperialist powers and between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the working class in the imperialist countries.

The chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system in the Philippines is rapidly worsening and is making the big compradors, landlords and their political agents more than ever incapable of ruling in the old way. The broad masses of the people are intensely desirous of revolutionary change and they trust the Communist Party of the Philippines as the leading force of the revolution. This is the Party that has steadfastly fought the domestic ruling system, the imperialist system of plunder and war and has upheld the aspirations of the Filipino people for national liberation and democracy and for a socialist and communist future.

### ***Unprecedented economic and financial crisis***

For more than two years, we had observed the impending total unraveling and complete discredit of the “free market” pretense of monopoly capitalism and the full bankruptcy of the policy of “neoliberal globalization.” But the leaders of the US and other imperialist countries and the puppet states were always lying and boasting about the so-called strong fundamentals of their economies. Only recently have they been compelled by the circumstances to admit that the US and global capitalist system are beset by the worst economic and financial crisis since the Great Depression.

Soon after the bursting of the high-tech bubble in the stock market in 2000, which had hit hard the pension funds and savings of at least 40 percent of American households, US authorities and financial institutions devised the housing bubble in order to hook American households into taking mortgages at low interest rates and into believing that the rising value of houses would enable them to borrow further and consume imports as much as they wanted even if they did not have enough income or employment. The increased high-tech military production under the Bush regime could not make up for the long-running industrial decline, service orientation and financialization of the US economy.

The housing bubble started to burst in 2006. A growing number of US households could not pay the amortization of their mortgages as interest rates were raised to counter inflation. From month to month the epidemic of foreclosures spread. This exposed the unbridled leveraging by and resultant huge losses and bankruptcies of the biggest financial institutions. Those involved in the financial catastrophe include the investment banks (Bear Stearns, Lehman Brothers, Morgan Stanley, Merrill Lynch and Goldman Sachs), commercial banks (City Group, J. P. Morgan, Wells Fargo and Wachovia), the giant insurance corporation (the American International Group) and the federal government sponsored enterprises (Federal National Mortgage Association or Fannie Mae and the Federal Housing Finance Agency or Freddie Mac).

The mortgage meltdown has exposed US financial institutions as having exported to Europe and other continents toxic financial products, involving the securitization of the bad mortgages, labeled with such exotic names as mortgaged-backed securities, collateralized debt obligations, structured investment vehicles, credit default swaps and so on. These have generated a chain of financial collapses, including the credit crunch in interbank lending and in the money market and the stock market crash, not only in the US but also on a global scale. The US and other imperialist states have given priority to bailing out the banks and other financial institutions with public money rather than the people victimized by the depredations of monopoly finance capitalism.

The mortgage meltdown has certainly ignited the current financial crisis. But the fundamental cause of this crisis goes much deeper. It involves the ever persistent drive of the monopoly bourgeoisie to extract surplus value from the working class, to maximize superprofits even further by pushing down wage levels and thus to unwittingly contract the market by reducing the income of the working class and effective demand for products. Thus, the crisis of overproduction and the cycle of boom and bust. These have been further aggravated and deepened by the US’ drive to seek and exploit cheaper labor abroad as well as to provide investment and market accommodation to its main allies.

The US adopted the policy of “neoliberal globalization” to overcome the phenomenon of stagflation in the 1970s which it blamed on rising wage levels and government social spending but not on economic concessions it had to give to its anticommunist allies, military competition with the USSR in the Cold War and big government spending for military production, the overseas deployment of US military forces and the costly wars of aggression

in Korea and Indochina. In accordance with its line of “neoliberal globalization,” the US has pushed down domestic wage levels, caused industrial decline, favored the military-industrial complex and oil giants and promoted the so-called post-industrial service economy as well as the financialization of the economy.

The falling real incomes of the American people relative to GDP has led to the recurrence of increasingly severe crises of overproduction in the form of recessions from decade to decade since the 1980s. But the US has always resorted to debt financing in order to override recessions and the persistent trade and budgetary deficits. All three sectors of the US economy have gone into extreme and unsustainable borrowings: the government, the private corporations and the households. These have gone too far beyond the limits and have caused the current gravity of the US and global financial and economic crisis.

The US has incurred the understated total debt of US\$53 trillion, which is 350 percent of the US GDP of US\$14.6 trillion. This is a far cry from the Great Depression when such debt was only 250 percent of the US GDP. The US total debt consists of the national government debt of US\$10.6 trillion, corporate debt (non-financial and financial) of US\$23 trillion and household debt of US\$14 trillion.

The US national debt was less than US\$1 trillion at the end of the Carter administration in 1982. It went up to US\$3.6 trillion by the end of the Reagan administration. This turned the US from No.1 creditor to No.1 debtor of the world. Reagan had engaged in high speed, high-tech military production, incurred large trade deficits in order to accommodate the exports of its anticommunist allies; and attracted foreign investments in US stocks and bonds. Clinton promoted “neoliberal globalization” and kept on increasing the trade deficit even as he balanced the budget. At the end of the Clinton term, the US national debt was US\$5.7 trillion. The Bush regime bloated this even further at a much faster rate. The national debt now stands at US\$10.6 trillion. A great part of this debt (estimated at US\$2.5 trillion) is owed to China, Japan, the United Kingdom, Germany, Saudi Arabia, the Caribbean banking center, and so on.

The US corporate debt of US\$23 trillion is understated. The nonfinancial corporations take loans from the banks as well as issue bonds. The biggest US corporations like General Motors and General Electric are far more involved in finance than in production. It is easily conceivable that the financial corporations are far more indebted than the non-financial. Banks can generate credit nine to ten times that of bank deposits and, as a result of the Financial Services Modernization Act of 1999, investment banks have been allowed to generate credit 12 to 30 or even more times the placements of investors. Under the Commodity Futures Modernization Act of 1999, various types of financial institutions can generate derivatives without any restraint.

The US household debt is in the form of housing mortgages, auto loans, credit cards and student loans. It has been bloated mainly by the housing bubble. The general run of American households have negative savings; aggregate household debt in relation to aggregate household income has risen to 138 percent, with a 40-year record increase of 37 percent. Millions have lost their homes. The unemployment rate is higher than the official one of 6.7 percent, which excludes those who have stopped applying for jobs and those supposedly unqualified for available jobs. More than half a million are now losing jobs every month. The drastic fall of employment and income in US households spells further loss of effective demand for the products of both US and foreign productive enterprises.

It took decades for the current financial and economic crisis to grow before bursting. This will not be solved in the short term of one to two years. The solutions made so far, like the bailout for collapsing financial institutions, aggravate the problem. Government dispensing of public money for this sort of bailout is a case of further robbing those who have been robbed to bail out the thieves. It is also a case of throwing good money after bad. It does not at all revive production, employment and effective demand. Even the credit crunch among the banks has not eased because producer firms would not borrow money for production if they cannot sell their products. Bailout money is simply being used by the strongest finance monopoly groups to consolidate and enlarge their monopoly positions. Worst of all, the national debt bubble is growing and is about to burst. The market for treasury and corporate bonds is expected to collapse next year.

Obama’s plan of creating 2.5 million jobs through infrastructure projects and expansion of social services will not offset even only the low estimate of four million job losses from further financial collapses, bankruptcies, plant closures and mass layoffs. The public funds available for Keynesian pump-priming are limited by further demands of the financial institutions and giant non-financial corporations such as the Big Three automakers (General Motors, Ford and Chrysler), by the continuing wars of aggression in Iraq and Afghanistan, by the drastic

reduction of tax collection and by the continuing need to import goods from abroad.

A prolonged recession or depression in the US similar to that in Japan is in the horizon. After the spike in food and oil prices, which delivered superprofits to the giant oil and food corporations, a deflationary trend has emerged and has prompted the US Federal Bank to cut down the basic interest rate to nearly zero. However, the beneficiaries are not the millions of American workers who have lost their jobs, homes, savings and pension funds, but the stronger financial institutions, which are gobbling up the weaker ones. A long-running global depression is already being aggravated and deepened by the international credit squeeze and by reduced demand from the American consumer market.

Within the last quarter of this year, millions of workers have been laid off at an unprecedented rate in the imperialist countries and even more so in the neocolonies. The number of people who live on less than US\$1 to US\$2 a day is rapidly rising. A billion people go hungry daily. Two billion people have no access to clean water. The current turmoil guarantees even more rapid increase in misery in the years to come. Millions of low-wage workers in export-processing zones of monopoly capitalist firms in the neocolonies are particularly vulnerable to the reduced orders for consumer goods and semimanufactures in the industrial countries. Millions of peasants, farm workers and workers in the extractive industries are bound to suffer even graver destitution as demand for raw materials decline. Migrant workers, especially undocumented laborers will become ever more vulnerable, targeted as they are as scapegoats for rising unemployment in capitalist countries and sent back to their countries of origin.

Beneath their rhetorical concern over climate change and the environment, the imperialist countries continue to intensify plunder of natural resources in the neocolonies. They continue to emit virtually all the greenhouse gasses that is causing global warming and is already leading to declining crop yields, increasing food and water insecurity, diseases and deaths in the exploited and oppressed countries.

Under the auspices of "neoliberal globalization," the US has been vaunted as the engine of growth and market of last resort for the global economy in the last three decades. But now, it has clearly become the center of the global financial and economic crisis and is thus clearly recognized as the generator of the destruction of productive forces and of socioeconomic and political turmoil. As a result of the current severe crisis, the position of the US as the No. 1 imperialist power is deeply undermined, especially in economic and political terms, even if it remains the strongest in military terms. The current crisis is causing an over-all weakening of the US and it is loosening its control over its imperialist allies. The latter are scrambling to protect their national and ultra-national interests and are demanding a multipolar world and moving away from a unipolar world of unquestioned US dominance. The US is being undermined not only by the financial and economic crisis but also by its own wars of aggression in Iraq and Afghanistan and the global deployment of its military forces. Iraq will remain a quagmire for the US and its puppets for as long as the US maintains military bases and troops and has a stranglehold over the Iraqi economy and oil resources. The Iraqi people will not give up their resistance. If the US under Obama brings more of its military forces to Afghanistan, it will ultimately suffer the same fate as the Soviet forces of aggression in the past. Afghanistan can become a more sucking quagmire for both the US and NATO.

Competition is growing among the imperialist powers for oil and other natural resources, markets, fields of investment and spheres of influence. Imperialist powers other than the US increasingly protect their national interest as they adopt fiscal and monetary measures independently of the US in order to cope with the financial and economic crisis and as they avoid or restrain themselves from being dragged by the US into wars of aggression. There are definite signs that certain imperialist powers are contradicting the position of the US on economic, financial, political and security issues.

As objects of imperialist interest and as active aspirants for a bigger say in global affairs, certain large but less developed countries like China and India have an impact on the changing balance of forces among the imperialist powers. China has become the biggest foreign creditor of the US even as it remains poor and dependent on the US as market for its cheap consumer manufactures and is vulnerable to the looming collapse of the bond market and the fall of the US dollar. However, it competes with the US for sources of oil and other natural resources and independently seeks markets and fields of investments in various parts of the world. Russia is using its oil and gas resources and its continuing military capabilities to keep itself a major imperialist power.

Complaints are growing against US dominance in the UN, IMF, World Bank, WTO and other global institutions. On the western front, France has joined Russia in demanding the formation of a new European security

alliance to replace NATO and in opposing the missile shield put up by the US in Poland and Czechoslovakia. On the eastern front, China and Russia are spearheading the Shanghai Cooperation Organization as a security alliance which includes the former Soviet republics in Central Asia and major countries in the Middle East and South Asia. Beneficial to the US at first, the full reintegration of Russia and China into the world capitalist system has in the long run resulted in the intensification of inter-imperialist contradictions rather than an amicable and peaceful expansion of capitalism.

Even as its No. 1 position is being undermined, the US remains a key player among the imperialist powers in the foreseeable future. It must be pointed out that the imperialist powers remain allied against the oppressed peoples and nations of the world and always try to shift the burden of crisis to them. The contradiction between the imperialist powers and the oppressed peoples and nations is still the main contradiction in the world, not only in terms of the given fact that the imperialists and their puppets inflict the worst forms of oppression and exploitation on the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, but also because of the growing real and potential struggles for national and social liberation.

The current crisis of imperialism inflicts severe suffering on billions of peoples in the third world but also incites the people of the world to resist and provides them with a bigger room for maneuver in the struggle to liberate themselves from imperialism and all reaction. The broad masses of the people detest the ever worsening general crisis of the world capitalist system and their ever worsening oppression and exploitation. From year to year, we can expect the rise of various legal and illegal forms of mass resistance by the people.

The revolutionary armed struggle of the people will rise to a new and higher level in such countries as Iraq and Afghanistan, which the US and other imperialist powers invade and occupy. The long-running armed movements for national liberation and democracy, such as in the Philippines, Colombia, India, Peru and Turkey, will make great advances and will inspire more people's wars to arise in various continents. The peoples and governments of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Cuba, Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador and other Latin American countries are noticeably asserting national independence against the hostile policies of the US imperialists.

South Asia remains the fertile ground for the rapid growth of the armed revolution for national liberation, democracy and socialism. The people's war in Nepal has allowed the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) to overthrow the monarchy, establish a republic and take leadership over the coalition government. The people and revolutionary forces led by the Communist Party of India (Maoist) can play the great role of bringing the world proletarian revolution to a new and higher level in the same way that those of Russia did in the wake of the First World War and those of China did in the wake of the Second World War. At any rate, the proletariat and peoples of Russia and China are in deep discontent on a wide scale. The revolutionary communist parties are steadily growing to raise high the red banner and legacy of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao.

The implosion of the Soviet Union and the Soviet bloc revisionist regimes, the return of the worst forms of oppression and exploitation in Russia and China and the current depredations of the US and global financial and economic crisis expose the rottenness of the world capitalist system and point to the great challenges and opportunities for the peoples of the world to carry forward their revolutionary cause. Social unrest is now spreading in China, the former Soviet republics and former Soviet bloc countries. The people are increasingly rejecting capitalism and demanding socialism.

Within the imperialist countries, the class struggle between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the working class is surfacing and coming to the fore. The workers, the youth, women, the migrants seethe with anger as they face rising unemployment and decreasing income and the scandalous greed and arrogance of the monopoly bourgeoisie. They increasingly condemn capitalism and clamor for socialism. The Parties of the Left have gained strength in several countries of Europe. To deflect the proletariat and people from class struggle and anti-imperialist solidarity, the monopoly bourgeoisie and its slimy politicians are doing everything to drum up chauvinism, racism, fascism and war hysteria.

But it has been demonstrated time and again that the proletariat and people in the imperialist countries, including the US, are capable of rising against the exploitative and oppressive policies of monopoly capitalism. The current severity of the prevailing financial and economic crisis has definitely begun to stir the broad masses of the people against the capitalist system. As the crisis prolongs for several years and probably more than a decade, there is ample opportunity for the revolutionary forces to arouse, organize and mobilize the masses and to develop and grow ideologically, politically and organizationally.

The total bankruptcy of “neoliberal globalization” is impressing the proletariat and peoples of the world that monopoly capitalism is evil because it destroys the forces of production and inflicts intolerable suffering and that there is an urgent necessity for revolutionary struggles for national liberation, democracy and socialism. The conditions of crisis are conducive to revolutionary activity but do not automatically or inevitably bring about revolution. The conscious and organized revolutionary forces, chiefly the revolutionary party of the proletariat, need to work and struggle hard in order to call upon and bring the broad masses of the people on to the road of revolution.

### ***Desperate state of the Philippine ruling system***

The semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system in the Philippines is in chronic crisis, subjected as it is to the worst forms of exploitation and oppression by foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. It is therefore vulnerable to the vagaries of the general crisis of the world capitalist system and to the current financial and economic crisis that has already been described by chieftains of imperialist countries as the worst since the Great Depression and by some economic analysts as unprecedented in the last 100 years.

However, most of the year, the Arroyo regime and its economic experts were giving false assurances to the Filipino people and boasting that the Philippines had strong fundamentals and was decoupled from the US economic crisis. In fact, the Philippines has a pre-industrial, semifeudal and agrarian economy, dependent on the export of raw materials and low value-added semimanufactures, on the remittances of overseas contract workers and on foreign borrowing for covering trade and budgetary deficits.

The lies of the regime have been ineffective, especially when the prices of food and fuel were soaring. The people are disgusted that even as the Philippines is an agricultural country and historically the base of the “miracle rice,” it has become the No. 1 rice importer of the world. This has been a result of decades of rice dumping on the country under the auspices of trade liberalization, even way ahead of the schedule for tariff reduction set by the World Trade Organization. This has also been a result of converting land from the production of rice and corn to other crops for export or to entirely nonagricultural uses.

The regime boasted that by raising the people’s tax burden through the expanded value added tax under orders from the International Monetary Fund, it had protected the economy from global financial and economic crisis. It pointed out that only 20 percent of Philippine exports go to the US and that any export draw down would not be painful to the Philippines. In fact, the direct exports of the Philippines to the US amount to as much as 25 percent. Moreover, the increased Philippine exports to Hong Kong, China, Taiwan, South Korea and Japan are actually destined for the US after some additional processing.

Certainly, the contraction of the consumer market and production in the US hits the Philippines hard in terms of decreased US demand for Philippine exports. Worst of all, the international credit crunch deprives the Philippine rulers of the key resource for covering trade and budgetary deficits and for servicing old debts with new debts to conjure an illusion of economic growth. As the financial and economic crisis protracts and worsens, the demand for Filipino contract workers abroad will decrease. This means the decrease of foreign exchange remittances as a major financial resource to which the Philippines has been accustomed.

The depression of the Philippine economy will worsen. The decrease of export income, foreign loans and remittances of overseas contract workers will mean less resources for Philippine production and consumption. Even now the Arroyo regime has already scaled down the previous projections of economic growth rates, which are anyway still exaggerated and do not fully take into account the credit crunch. The reality of depression will include more bankruptcies, closures, reduced production, mass layoffs and the drastic fall of incomes for the toiling masses and even for the middle social strata.

Under current circumstances, the economic depression in the Philippines is already causing acute and widespread discontent among the broad masses of the people. The demand for jobs, decent wages, industrial development, land reform, adequate social services and respect for the democratic rights of the working people will ring louder and move the broad masses of the people to march and rally in the streets and convene at various public places.

For the reactionaries, there is no way out of the depression and the chronic crisis of the ruling system. No part of the huge amounts of funds borrowed domestically and abroad, collected as taxes from the people or remitted by overseas contract workers has gone into industrial development. Even the agricultural land devoted to staple crops has been reduced in the shift to export crops, real estate speculation and other land-extensive enterprises.

The people will increasingly desire and demand a revolutionary way out of the economic and social crisis as the counterrevolutionary rulers employ deception and violence to mislead and suppress them. The people will be further goaded to rebel by the counterrevolutionaries themselves who trample on their basic democratic rights and who offer no solutions to the social and economic problems but only further betrayal of national independence, economic sovereignty and the national patrimony under the auspices of the totally discredited policy of “neoliberal globalization.”

The competing political factions of the ruling classes of big compradors and landlords are differentiated by the names of their parties and coalitions but are quite undifferentiated in their subservience to the US-dictated policy of “neoliberal globalization.” What they similarly compete for are the blessings of the US and the spoils of political power. Whichever is the reactionary faction that ascends to power tends to monopolize the spoils. The opposition factions, on the hand, preoccupy themselves with the clamor for clean government and against corruption, but avoid the fundamental issues of national independence, democracy, industrial development, genuine land reform, people’s culture and independent foreign policy.

Every reactionary ruling clique, from that of Ramos to that of Arroyo, has proposed to amend the 1987 Constitution of the reactionary government in order to extend its rule and delete or rewrite provisions that were the fruit of the struggle against the US-instigated Marcos fascist dictatorship, such as those restraining the proclamation of martial law, protecting human rights and civil liberties, upholding economic sovereignty and national patrimony and banning foreign military bases, foreign troops and nuclear weapons storage and transport on Philippine territory. In fact, these have been undermined and circumvented through legislation and executive agreements.

Even as the US-directed policy of “neoliberal globalization” has been totally discredited by the current financial and economic crisis, the minions of the Arroyo regime in the House of Representatives have proclaimed that their purpose in seeking to amend the 1987 constitution of the reactionary government is to cast away economic sovereignty and national patrimony and to allow foreign investors 100 percent ownership of land and all kinds of enterprises. The Arroyo regime has embarked on treason in exchange for prolonging itself in power.

The ever worsening social and economic crisis has continuously pushed the political crisis of the ruling system. And the ruling classes have increasingly become unable to rule with any lasting moral authority through any of the reactionary factions that assume power. The broad masses of the people have long become disgusted with the puppetry, corruption, mendacity and brutality that have characterized every reactionary ruling clique. They are therefore intensely desirous of revolutionary change and strongly wish the revolutionary party to lead and hasten the advance of the struggle for the overthrow of the entire ruling system and establish the people’s democratic state.

With the Arroyo ruling clique at the top, three political formations collaborate in an unstable alliance for dominating the people. These are the Kabalikat ng Mamamayang Pilipino (KAMPI) of the fake president Arroyo, the Lakas-NUCD of ex-president Ramos and the Nationalist People’s Coalition of the old Marcos crony Eduardo Cojuangco. These are the largest and most moneyed political formations but are discredited, especially for corruption.

Ranged against these dominant formations are the far smaller parties which stand to benefit from the discredit of the dominant parties, but which tend to be fractious. These include the Nacionalista Party of Manuel Villar, the Liberal Party of Mar Roxas, the Partido ng Masang Pilipino of former president Joseph Estrada, the PDP-Laban of Aquilino Pimentel, and the makeshift coalition called United Opposition (UNO).

The Arroyo ruling clique is pushing charter change through a constituent assembly in a maneuver to prolong its rule. But the Senate has refused to collaborate with the House of Representatives, especially because of popular opposition to the Arroyo project of charter change. The Arroyo ruling clique is preparing to rig the 2010 elections in order to protect its loot and secure impunity for its criminal liabilities. It is preparing to employ massive electoral fraud and terrorism to secure the election of its own candidates.

Contradictions among the reactionary political formations are bound to sharpen as the Arroyo ruling clique tries to rig the 2010 elections as in 2004. Contradictions among the factions in the military and police will also sharpen. They have run deep and wide because the Arroyo ruling clique has persecuted those officers and men who have denounced its criminal policies and activities and has favored those who are not only partisan of the ruling clique but are also flagrantly engaged in corruption and other lucrative criminal activities within and outside the military and police services.

The Party is correct in adopting and implementing the policy of the broad united front in taking advantage of the contradictions and rifts among the reactionaries and in seeking the objective or conscious alliance and cooperation of groups and individuals in the reactionary parties and coalitions, in the civil bureaucracy and in the military and police services who express patriotic and progressive positions against the reactionaries who are the worst and are the most rabidly loyal to the imperialists. The broad united front has taken up important issues against the Arroyo regime, including electoral fraud in 2004, numerous mega cases of corruption, the gross and systematic violations of human rights, unequal trade and economic agreements with foreign powers and the scheme to amend the 1987 constitution.

The Arroyo regime stands as the worst of the reactionaries and is therefore categorized as the enemy of the people and the revolutionary movement. It is comparable to the Marcos fascist dictatorship in its puppetry to US imperialism. It caninely follows the US-dictated policies of “neoliberal globalization” and “war on terrorism” despite the bankruptcy and total discredit of these policies. It is rated as the most corrupt regime in the whole of Asia and the No. 2 most corrupt in the entire world. It has engaged in gross and systematic violations of human rights.

These human rights violations include the massive military campaigns of suppression against workers, urban poor, peasant masses and national minorities; and the extrajudicial killings, disappearances and torture of legal democratic activists (including workers, peasants, women, youth, church people, lawyers, human rights defenders and peace advocates) and consultants of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) who are guaranteed safety and immunity under the GRP-NDFP Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees.

The US imperialists have instigated the Arroyo regime to unleash barbaric military campaigns of suppression against the people and the revolutionary forces and to prevent the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations from proceeding to address the roots of the armed conflict with social, economic, political and constitutional reforms. The US and the Arroyo regime have drummed up the so-called “global war on terror” in order to allow US military intervention in the civil war between the revolutionary and counterrevolutionary forces and the continuous basing and operation of US military forces in our country.

In line with the dictates of its US master, the Arroyo regime has rendered impossible the resumption of formal talks between the negotiating panels in the GRPNDFP peace negotiations by preconditioning it with the surrender and pacification of the revolutionary forces and people under the guise of a prolonged ceasefire and by refusing to affirm and comply with the previously signed bilateral agreements without the precondition of a prolonged ceasefire. The malicious objective of the regime is to replace the peace negotiations with ceasefire and surrender negotiations, discard the previously signed agreements and prevent substantive negotiations on social, economic, political and constitutional reforms. After murdering so many NDFP consultants and progressive activists, the Arroyo regime demands the surrender of the very life of the entire revolutionary movement.

The Party and the entire revolutionary movement of the people have no choice but to intensify the revolutionary armed struggle against the priorly escalating military campaigns of suppression against the people under Oplan Bantay Laya and the Enhanced National Internal Security Plan. The New People’s Army and all other revolutionary forces of the people can take advantage of the rapidly worsening crisis of the domestic ruling system and the US and world capitalist system. Most concretely, they can take advantage of the fact that the reactionary government and armed forces are now faced with the problem of having to fight on two war fronts, one in Moroland and another all over the Philippine archipelago.

The Arroyo regime has closed the door to peace negotiations with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front by casting away the Memorandum of Agreement on Ancestral Domain (MoA-AD) and demanding the resumption of informal talks without the MoA-AD. It has also closed the door to the resumption of formal talks with the NDFP by preconditioning it on the violation of The Hague Joint Declaration and all other previously signed agreements.

It is of strategic importance to the Filipino people and the Bangsamoro to fight for their revolutionary cause in their respective territories and to maximize their unity, coordination and cooperation in accordance with the long-standing alliance agreement between the NDFP and the MILF.

It is to the great advantage of the revolutionary forces and the people represented by the NDFP and the MILF that in common they fight a thoroughly discredited and isolated regime under severe conditions of domestic and global crisis. They have the critical mass to systematically deliver lethal blows against the many weak points of the enemy armed forces and ruling system. The main thing is to hit hard at those weak points in order to incapacitate

and destroy the ruling system. Thus the revolutionary strength of the people can further grow and win greater victories. We can trust the people and the revolutionary forces to build a new Philippines that is independent, democratic, just, progressive and peaceful.

### ***Great victories of the Party***

In the last forty years, the Communist Party of the Philippines has won great ideological, political and organizational victories which are of lasting value and have served to advance the new democratic revolution of the Filipino people against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords. These victories have been won against tremendous odds through resolute and militant struggles that have gone through twists and turns but have ascended to new and higher levels of revolutionary consciousness and fighting capability.

The US imperialists and their local puppets have unleashed so many nationwide and localized campaigns of military suppression against the Party, the New People's Army and the Filipino people in vicious attempts to destroy the armed revolutionary movement. After trying in the period of 1969-71 to "nip in the bud" the people's war in one and then in two guerrilla fronts, the US imperialists instigated the Marcos regime to impose fascist dictatorship on the people for 14 years—from 1972 until this was weakened by the people's resistance and brought down by an uprising in 1986. Then this would be followed by the series of post-Marcos regimes, pretending to be democratic and trying in vain to destroy the people's democratic revolution through deception and violence.

All attempts to destroy the armed revolution have failed. They have merely served to make the people suffer further and incite them to fight more fiercely for their national and social liberation. We must underscore the fact that the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war has endured and has advanced in a big and all-round way in a country, which has long been a major base of US imperialist hegemony in the entire East Asia. This is a great victory which is ever inspiring to the Filipino people and other peoples of the world.

In leading the Philippine revolution successfully, the Party has always sought to integrate the theory of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete conditions of the Philippines and with the concrete practice of the revolution. It has seriously studied the history of the Filipino people and the international working class movement and has taken advantage of crisis conditions of, and contradictions within, the Philippine ruling system and the world capitalist system.

In ideological work, the Party has firmly adhered to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and has always sought to develop the dialectical materialist stand, viewpoint and method among Party cadres and members, rejecting subjectivism, be it empiricism or dogmatism. In political work, it has set forth the line of new democratic revolution through protracted people's war, rejecting Right and "Left" opportunism. In organizational work, it upholds the principle of democratic centralism, rejecting liberalism and bureaucratism, and has built itself nationwide and struck deep roots among the toiling masses of workers and peasants.

The Party has improved its work and style of work by conducting periodic and timely sessions of criticism and self-criticism. But major errors can persist and grow when Party cadres in higher organs or even in the Central Committee continue to hold and spread these in the Party. In the face of such errors, a rectification movement of major proportions needs to be conducted. In this regard, the Party has victoriously engaged in two great rectification movements, each being a campaign of education to draw lessons from experience, rectify major errors and set forth the tasks for advancing the revolutionary cause.

The First Great Rectification Movement prepared the founding of the Party from 1965 onward and proceeded during the foundational years of the Party from 1968 to 1977. It criticized and repudiated the accumulated errors of the Lavas and Lavaite revisionists and the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique. The Second Great Rectification Movement dealt with the "Left" and Right opportunist errors in the 1980s and early 1990s. The "Left" opportunists inflicted serious harm to the Party and the mass base during most of the 1980s. After the "Left" opportunists openly swung to the Right in the late 1980s, the Right opportunists sought to liquidate the Party with their eclectic hodge-podge of notions derived from bourgeois liberalism, Gorbachovism, Trotskyism and social democracy.

As a consequence of the resounding victory of the Second Great Rectification Movement, which took its course for more than six years since 1992, the Party has revitalized and further strengthened itself ideologically, politically and organizationally. The worst of the "Left" and Right opportunists have turned into out-and-out anti-communists and counterrevolutionaries. They act as special agents of imperialism and reaction as they specialize in anticommunist slander. Some of them have become racketeers in imperialist-funded "nongovernmental

organizations” and others have joined the military and intelligence services of the enemy as consultants and psy-war experts.

The Party has developed its ideological line of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism by studying the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao as well as by confronting, exposing and repudiating opportunism, reformism and revisionism and the various anticommunist and antisocialist ideas. It has taken up the most important issues in the history and current circumstances of the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and people in the Philippines and the world. It has confronted the problems of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism and has advanced the theory and practice of new democratic revolution.

The Party has produced and issued major decisions, analytical articles and books that have a high theoretical and practical value. These are published in Pilipino and other Philippine languages as well as in English and other foreign languages. Together with the classical works of the great communist thinkers and leaders, they are in the syllabi of study courses undertaken by the Party. Study guides and aids are provided to enable the workers, peasants and other people with less formal education to advance in their theoretical and political education.

The primary course includes the study of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the history, basic problems of the Filipino people and the new democratic revolution as solution. The intermediate course seeks to analyze and compare the Philippine revolution with other revolutions abroad. The advanced course involves the study of the works of the great communist thinkers and leaders in philosophy, political economy, social science, strategy and tactics and history of the international communist movement.

The Party membership runs into several tens of thousands. It is deeply rooted among the toiling masses of workers and peasants through the length and breadth of the Philippine archipelago. Party members are recruited from the revolutionary mass movement of workers, peasants, women, youth and other sectors. They are developed through courses of study and training in and out of their work units, through collective work and individual assignments and through revolutionary mass struggles.

The Party follows the principle of democratic centralism, with centralism based on democracy and democracy guided by centralism. A territorial structure of leading organs and organizations covers the entire country at various levels: regions, provinces, districts, cities and municipalities and barangays. The leading organs have staff organizations that assist them in various types of work. The basic organization of the Party is the branch, which is based in local communities, factories, farms, transport lines, campuses, offices and the like. The Party group is also the basic Party organization at various levels of a mass organization or social institution.

The Party has drawn the general political line of new democratic revolution through protracted people’s war for the purpose of overthrowing the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system and establishing the people’s democratic state system on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance. It wields the weapons of revolutionary armed struggle and the united front. It takes the mass line. It relies on the masses and learns from the masses to be able to arouse, organize and mobilize them.

The Party has aroused, organized and mobilized the broad masses of the people in their millions. It leads the thousands of fighters of the New People’s Army and millions of organized peasants in 120 to 130 guerrilla fronts in 70 provinces, more than 800 municipalities and more than 10,000 barangays. The Party cadres within the people’s army and in the localities have formed the organs of political power and the mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, cultural activists and others. Units of the people’s army can move freely in more than 80 per cent of the Philippines because the regular personnel of the reactionary forces can occupy no more than 10 per cent of the country at any single period of time.

Historically, the New People’s Army has been the largest revolutionary army ever built in the Philippines. It is larger than the Philippine revolutionary army against Spanish colonialism in the period of 1896 to 1898 and then against US imperialism from 1899 onwards. It is far larger than the Hukbong Bayan Laban sa Hapon or the Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan. On its own track, the NPA is stronger than what it was in the 1980s in both political and military terms. The NPA never reached the level of 25,000 riflemen in the 1980s. Its peak strength in that decade was only 6,100, a without any clear accounting of firearms lost in Mindanao as result of Kampanyang Ahos.

In the countryside, the Party has integrated the revolutionary armed struggle, land reform and base building in order to advance the new democratic revolution. Revolutionary armed struggle is the main form of struggle. It destroys the armed power of the big compradors and landlords and thereby builds the people’s army in the

countryside until it gains the capability of seizing political power in the cities. As a result of the Second Great Rectification Movement, the NPA has strengthened itself politically and militarily by waging intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base.

Only with armed power have the Party and the people been able to carry out land reform as the main content of the democratic revolution. This has involved the minimum program of rent reduction, elimination of usury, raising the wages of farm workers, improving prices at the farm gate and raising production in agriculture and other economic activities. On the basis of such program, it is possible to move up to the maximum level of land confiscation and free distribution of land. Upon the advance of the armed struggle and agrarian revolution, it becomes possible to move up from the level of guerrilla fronts to that of stable base areas by strengthening the organs of political power, the mass organizations, the militia units and self-defense units.

The Party has built the united front as an important weapon of the new democratic revolution. This weapon involves several types of alliances. The most important of these is the basic alliance of the workers and peasants. It is the alliance of the working class as the leading class and the peasantry as the main force of the Philippine revolution. As the advanced detachment of the working class, the Party has pursued the antifeudal class line in its alliance with the peasant masses: rely mainly on the poor peasants and farm workers, win over the middle peasants, neutralize the rich peasants and take advantage of the splits among the landlords in order to isolate and destroy the power of the biggest and most despotic landlords.

Only with an effective basic alliance of the workers and peasants for the armed struggle can the other types of alliances in the united front become effective. We refer to the progressive alliance of such basic revolutionary forces as toiling masses and the urban petty bourgeoisie, the patriotic alliance of these progressive forces and the middle bourgeoisie and the broad united front of patriotic forces and certain reactionary forces to oppose the enemy, defined as the worst reactionary force and most servile to imperialism.

The Party has employed the united front policy and the various forms of alliances in order to augment the strength of the basic revolutionary forces and to reach, arouse and mobilize the people in their millions in various forms of struggle and on a wide range of issues. Together with allied organizations, the Party has built the National Democratic Front of the Philippines as the united front framework for all basic revolutionary forces. The NDFP is open to internal broadening as to include patriotic forces of the middle bourgeoisie or external broadening as to engage in a formal or informal broad united front with reactionary forces opposed to the worst reactionary force at a given time.

In legal mass struggles against US imperialism and the worst of the local reactionaries, the Party always calls on the broad masses of the people and the patriotic and progressive forces to unite and act resolutely and militantly. The people have rallied to the Party's calls and have risen in massive protest actions that have led to the ouster of Marcos and Estrada from power. They have foiled schemes to amend the 1987 constitution for the purpose of serving pro-imperialist and reactionary ends as they continue to expose and condemn the pro-imperialist and reactionary policies of the ruling clique.

By itself alone, the legal democratic mass movement may oust a particular reactionary regime from power but cannot overthrow the entire reactionary ruling system. The Party has always recognized that the legal democratic mass movement can weaken the ruling system, gain strength and affirm the justness of the revolutionary cause of the people. But such a movement is vulnerable to brutal attacks by the reactionary diehards. In this connection, the Party has constantly urged patriotic and progressive legal activists to join the revolutionary armed struggle when they are targeted for extrajudicial killing, kidnapping, torture and incarceration by the reactionary state.

The Party stands for the democratic rights and welfare of overseas Filipinos and has called upon them to support the revolutionary struggle of the Filipino people for national liberation and democracy. In scores of foreign countries, it has encouraged Filipino immigrants, permanent residents and land-based and seaborne contract workers in forming their associations and in fighting for their own rights and interests.

Our Party enjoys a high standing in the international communist movement as well as in the broad anti-imperialist movement. This is due to the great victories of the Party and the Filipino people in waging the new democratic revolution against US imperialism and the local reactionaries as well as due to the revolutionary stand taken by the Party on international issues. Communist and workers parties study the publications of our Party and seek exchanges of ideas and experiences with our Party. Our Party has established and developed comradely or friendly relations with other parties through bilateral meetings and multilateral conferences. It has thereby entered

into agreements of practical cooperation in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. A broad range of anti-imperialist and democratic forces has also established relations with the Party and the mass organizations led by the Party in the spirit of anti-imperialist solidarity.

### ***Plan for a qualitative leap of the armed revolution***

Our Party considers of crucial importance how to bring the new 607 democratic revolution to a new and higher level of development or a qualitative leap on account of the rich accumulated revolutionary experience, strength and great victories of the Party, New People's Army, the National Democratic Front of the Philippines and the broad masses of the Filipino people and the ever worsening crisis and depression of the Philippine reactionary ruling system and the world capitalist system.

It is necessary for the Party to formulate the plan for accelerating the advance of ideological, political and organizational work, enlarging the subjective forces of the revolution and taking advantage of the ever worsening crisis of imperialism and the local reactionaries in order to approach the goal of overthrowing the rotten ruling system and establishing the people's democratic republic.

We can have a five-year central plan of work. It must have clear objectives to be accomplished from year to year involving cumulative growth as well as flexibility and adjustability in order to achieve better results. It must be based on the current level of strength, track records and plans of the lower Party organs and organizations, on further inquiries to confirm current strength and estimate potential growth and on a determination to be clear about tasks and methods of carrying out the tasks and undertaking the necessary checkups, follow-ups and necessary adjustments.

The overriding objective of the plan must be to increase the strength of the revolutionary forces and approach the goal of destroying the ruling system and replacing it with the people's democratic state. The plan must encompass the following points: 1. *Educate and train Party cadres and members on the ideological line of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the general political line of new democratic revolution*. The Party must educate and train a large number of Party cadres and members on the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and on the general line of new democratic revolution through protracted people's war in order to serve as the steel core and leading force of the revolutionary mass movement. We need tens of thousands of Party cadres and hundreds of thousands and then millions of Party members to carry out the gigantic tasks of the revolution and bring about a qualitative leap in the revolutionary movement.

The Party branch and groups must undertake the basic political course and the basic Party course in order to promptly educate and train a large number of Party candidate-members to become full Party members and for the latter to refresh and consolidate their knowledge. The higher Party organs must undertake the intermediate and advanced Party courses and pay attention to the education and training of instructors for all courses of study.

The Party organs concerned must plan how the existing and forthcoming Party candidate-members must take and finish the basic Party course without any delay. Those with lesser ability than others to read and comprehend original texts must be provided with simplified study materials and interesting visual aids. Those with more ability must provide comradely assistance to others in the process of learning under the direction of the instructor.

2. *Accelerate the recruitment of Party candidate-members from the revolutionary mass movement and expand the Party boldly*. The Party must recruit candidate members from among the most active and advanced elements of the mass movement. Our constant policy is to expand the Party without letting in a single enemy agent. The mass movement is a reliable way of determining the honest elements who accept the Party Constitution and Program and who are resolute and militant in pursuing the general line of people's struggle for national liberation and democracy. We may also recruit such elements in reactionary institutions and organizations who accept the Party Constitution and Program but who must take precautions in order to carry out effectively special tasks for the Party.

It is the responsibility of the Party organs concerned to make candidate members become full members within the time specified by the Party Constitution, according to class considerations. Immediately after taking the general and special mass courses, advanced elements of the mass movement should be able to take the mass and the basic Party course as candidate members. To achieve full Party membership, the candidate member must complete the basic Party course, must be active in a Party branch or group and must carry out the tasks assigned. Such tasks in the period of candidature may be construed as the trial work.

The Party is aware that its organizational growth has been restrained by negligence to recruit candidate

members and if and when these are recruited, at whatever rate there is negligence in providing the basic Party course and minding the period of candidature. All Party cadres and members are reminded that mass activists become inspired when they become Party candidate members and the latter become even more inspired to work harder and fight more fiercely for the revolutionary cause when they become full Party members and that the Party will be capable of accomplishing greater victories if there is a cumulative increase of Party cadres and members.

3. *Intensify the campaigns to arouse, organize and mobilize the people along the general line of the new democratic revolution.* We must always learn from the masses through social investigation of their oppressed and exploited conditions and their concrete needs and demands. Thus, we learn how to carry out mass campaigns to arouse, organize and mobilize the people. We must trust and rely on the people in being able to act effectively on issues that concern their rights and interests and to take the direction towards empowering and benefiting themselves along the general line of the new democratic revolution.

The Party must ensure that the leaders and members of the mass organizations undergo and understand the general mass course on Philippine society and revolution and the appropriate sectoral mass course. With such a growing corps of conscious activists in the mass organizations, the Party can bring the revolutionary message to ever larger numbers of people. The task of arousing the people must be well carried out through mass actions and publications and in various forms of agitation and propaganda.

The mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, youth, professionals, cultural activists and other sectoral or issue-based formations must be constantly expanded and consolidated. Every mass organization must have a clear plan of expanding its membership cumulatively and consolidating it through political education, tasking and checking of results. Mass mobilizations and mass campaigns should be ways for exercising the current strength as well as increasing strength by attracting more people to become members.

4. *Intensify the revolutionary armed struggle and hit the targets to maximize the political and military victories.* Under the absolute leadership of the Party, the New People's Army must continue to pursue the strategic line of protracted people's war. It must grow in strength in the countryside until it attains the capability of seizing the cities on a nationwide scale. The revolutionary armed struggle is integrated with the agrarian revolution and the building of the mass base.

The NPA must advance from the stage of the strategic defensive to that of the strategic stalemate and finally to that of the strategic offensive. At every strategic stage, it must launch tactical offensives to change the balance of forces by inflicting more and more defeats on the enemy and gaining more and more armed strength through increased fighting experience, weapons and technical capabilities.

Currently, the NPA is waging intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever expanding and deepening mass base. It must intensify this guerrilla warfare in order to wipe out enemy units, destroy enemy facilities, interdict enemy lines of supply, force the enemy to take guard duties and go on the defensive. It must also dismantle the landgrabbing operations of foreign and local agrcorporations, mining companies, logging companies for export, real estate companies and similar enterprises that reduce the land for agriculture and land reform and that result in the destruction of the environment.

The NPA must deal with the impunity of high bureaucrats and military officials in perpetrating treason, plunder and human rights violations. Those who commit these grave crimes are subject to summons for investigation and arrest and if armed and dangerous or protected by armed personnel are subject to battle by the NPA arresting unit. Retirement from reactionary government service does not free the suspects from criminal liabilities, arrest or battle. Close relatives and friends who benefit from the criminal offenses or fruits thereof must be treated as accomplices in crime. Dynasty-building and cronyism must be combated.

5. *Raise land reform to a new and higher level towards the maximum level.* The Party must raise land reform to a new and higher level towards the maximum program of land reform, wherever possible. The minimum land reform program may be maintained wherever it is still advantageous to the tillers and the requirements for maximum land reform are not yet present, such as the sufficient strength and readiness of the Party, the people's army and the peasant association.

In striving for maximum land reform, the main blow must be directed at the big despotic landlords and the landgrabbing corporations that have armed personnel or use the reactionary military and police to oppress the peasant masses and fight the revolutionary movement. The NPA must employ the tactics of dismantling and rendering unprofitable the operations of these land-greedy entities and thus forcing them to leave the land.

Concomitantly, the landless tillers must be organized to take over the land.

When the despots and landgrabbers insist on holding the land by employing the reactionary military and police and the private armed guards, the NPA must turn the latter into sources of weapons by repeatedly assaulting the isolated guard posts or ambushing the guards on the road. The bigger the landholding, the more difficult it is to guard. It would prove excessively costly for the big landlords or the corporations to try to hold the land against the resolute resistance of the people and the people's army.

6. *Develop the guerrilla fronts toward becoming relatively stable base areas.* The guerrilla fronts must be increased to the level of 168. This means having a guerrilla front in every congressional district in all the provinces in consonance with the line of intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare based on an ever widening and deepening mass base. Armed city partisan units with specific missions in highly urbanized congressional districts can be deployed and directed from the nearest guerrilla front commands in coordination with the appropriate urban district Party organ.

Having a definite goal for increasing the number of guerrilla fronts leads us to think of the next stage in the development of revolutionary territory. It is realistic and logical to anticipate and work for the emergence of relatively stable base areas from the increase, merger, integration or expansion of existing guerrilla fronts under a base area command, capable of launching company-size tactical offensives on the scale of a province or several provinces, if based on an inter-provincial border area.

To build the relatively stable base area, the Party must lead the NPA in suppressing and driving away the oppressors and exploiters and dismantling the reactionary organs of political power over extensive areas. The Party, the people's army, the revolutionary organs of political power and the mass organizations must attain a new and higher level of development. As internal security is maintained by the people's militia and the self-defense units of the mass organizations, the NPA fighting units can increase and intensify their tactical offensives and carry out battles with short rest periods.

7. *Develop the various alliances under the united front policy in order to reach the people in ever larger numbers.* We must develop the various alliances under the united front policy in order to arouse, organize and mobilize the people in ever larger numbers. The most important of these alliances is the basic worker-peasant alliance as it is the very foundation of the people's democratic revolution. It combines the working class as the revolutionary leading class and the peasantry as the most numerous class and main force of the revolution. The people's democratic government is based now and in the future on the worker-peasant alliance.

We must continue to develop the progressive alliance of the toiling masses of workers and peasants with the urban petty bourgeoisie. All of them are the basic forces of the revolution. At the moment, their alliance is best embodied in the revolutionary underground by the National Democratic Front of the Philippines. We must also continue to develop the patriotic alliance of the basic revolutionary forces with the middle bourgeoisie by promoting anti-imperialism and espousing national industrial development.

Further, we must develop the broad united front, involving the alliance of the patriotic and progressive forces with certain sections of the reactionary classes against the enemy, defined as the worst reactionary clique and most servile to imperialism. This kind of alliance is temporary and unstable because the allies are reactionary in character and may abandon or betray the alliance. In this regard, we must always be vigilant, maintain independence and initiative, be skillful at unity and struggle and gain revolutionary strength while the alliance holds.

8. *Uphold proletarian internationalism and broad anti-imperialist solidarity.* The Party must uphold proletarian internationalism and remain active in the international communist movement. The best way we can contribute to the advance of the world proletarian revolution is to make further advances and win further victories in the ongoing new democratic revolution in the Philippines and to condemn and combat imperialism, revisionism and all reaction. We must exchange revolutionary experiences and ideas with other Parties and arrive at possible and necessary forms of practical cooperation.

The Party must uphold the broad anti-imperialist solidarity of the people of the world. Together with the National Democratic Front of the Philippines, it has long been active in promoting anti-imperialist solidarity by relating to, and cooperating with, national liberation movements and various people's organizations and institutions abroad. We are encouraged that mass organizations of the Filipino people are active domestically and internationally in fighting imperialist plunder and war which have been pushed by the US under such slogans as "neoliberal globalization" and "war on terror."

The Party must further develop its relations with parties, people's organizations and institutions abroad not only to garner support for the Filipino people in their struggle for national liberation and democracy but also to contribute what it can and participate in the efforts of all peoples to attain greater freedom, democracy, social justice, development and world peace.

# ***Role of the Communist Party of the Philippines in the Downfall of the Marcos Dictatorship***

**Interview by Hiyasmin Saturay, November 10, 2009**

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My History research investigation requires me to write a 4,000 word essay on a focused historical topic using primary sources. I chose to assess the role of the Communist Party of the Philippines in the downfall of the Marcos Dictatorship. I am going to do this by investigating and analyzing data from various sources such as the Party publications, history books and articles from the Martial law period, and this interview. I am going to assess the Party's role by looking at the causes of the martial law, its implications, the Party's actions against it, and other factors that lead to the ultimate downfall of the dictatorship.

Please answer as freely as you can. If you have some questions about the interview, just send me an email. Please answer as freely as you can. Salamat po!

## ***Questions:***

*1. In effect of the declaration of Martial law, there were many restrictions upon freedom of assembly, how did the declaration of Martial law affect the Party and how did the Party respond to this?*

JMS: Even before the declaration of martial law in 1972, the Communist Party of the Philippines was already suppressed under the Anti-Subversion Law of 1957. But of course, suppression of the party became far worse under martial law which imposed a fascist dictatorship on the Philippines for 14 years, from 1972 to 1986.

Anyone suspected as a communist and anyone who was arbitrarily accused as communist could be arrested, detained, tortured or even extrajudicially killed. The freedom of assembly and other fundamental rights were not only restricted but were grossly violated on a wide scale. Under the pretext of hunting down communists and suppressing rebellion, the fascist dictatorship banned all opposition parties and legal democratic mass organizations, especially those that advocated national liberation and democracy against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

Even as the CPP had been accustomed to underground, it faced serious difficulties because anyone and any organization suspected of being communist or being allies of the CPP were targeted for brutal suppression. The CPP responded by leading and organizing the urban revolutionary underground and shifting the officers and members of targeted organizations to the countryside and by intensifying and expanding the people's war.

*2. How much support did the party get from the masses? In what forms is this support? How was it obtained?*

JMS: The CPP obtained great mass support from the people, especially the workers and peasants. It grew from being a small and weak party to a far bigger and stronger one in 14 years of the fascist dictatorship which the people hated and wanted to overthrow. The people were eager to participate in and support the people's war.

The support from a wide a range of people was in the form of joining the underground mass organizations and providing food, shelter, money, arms, printing materials, medicine and other supplies to the cadres of the underground and the Red fighters of the New People's Army (NPA).

The CPP obtained such support by having underground mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth, women, professionals and other sectors of society, by building the CPP and the NPA on nationwide scale, by establishing local organs of democratic political power and winning allies through the National Democratic Front (NDF).

*3. What is the Party's relationship with mass organizations? What is the role that the Party plays within the mass organizations? What are the results of their work?*

JMS: The CPP is at the leadership and at the core of the revolutionary mass organizations. Being at the leadership means setting the general line of struggle for national liberation and democracy, providing the organizational guidelines and giving full play to the initiative of the mass organizations according to their class or sectoral characteristics. Being at the core of the mass organizations means recruiting CPP members and building the CPP within the mass organizations at every level (national, regional, provincial, district, municipal and village).

Within the mass organizations, the CPP acts as the revolutionary hard core and undertakes political education and organization work for the expansion and consolidation of the mass organization. The work of the CPP within the mass organizations results in raising the level of revolutionary consciousness among the members of the

mass organizations, in expanding and consolidating the mass organizations and in mobilizing more and more people in campaigns of social benefit to the people and in campaigns of struggle against the enemy.

*4. What is the nature of the work of the New People's Army during the Martial law?*

JMS: The main character of the work of the NPA is to fight the enemy and arouse, organize and mobilize the people for the purpose. In this regard, the NPA had several interrelated functions: politico-military training, combat or fighting, mass work, cultural work, health work and production.

Politico-military training was for NPA units as well as for the people's militia and the self-defense units of mass organizations. Combat (ambushes, raids and arrests) were carried by the NPA with the support of the people. Mass work by the NPA included all forms of arousing, organizing and mobilizing the people for their own social benefit and for struggle against the enemy.

Cultural work means creative work and cultural performances to inspire, enlighten and entertain the people along the revolutionary line of struggle on various issues. Health work promoted disease prevention, delivery of health and the training of local health workers. Production was done by the NPA to provide for its own needs and to assist the families of the Part cadres and Red fighters.

*5. What kinds of work did you do for the Party during the Martial law?*

I was the chairman of the Central Committee of the CPP, chairman of the Military Commission and political commissar of the NPA and editor-in-chief and then political director of Ang Bayan, the central publication of the CPP. Aside from performing these leading functions, I did various kinds of work like many other comrades did at the basic level.

I was an instructor in the Party school and in the politico-military training in the NPA. I taught not only political ideas to NPA recruits but also military tactics and techniques. I participated in the work of social investigation and various forms of mass work at the village level. I spoke before mass meetings. I wrote position papers, press statements and articles. I participated in the work of proofreading and in reproducing materials by mimeograph.

*6. If you have any more information that you want to add, please feel free to do so.*

JMS: You can use as further resources the biographies, *The Philippine Revolution: The Leader's View*, co-authored with Dr. Rainer Werning and *At Home in the World: Portrait of a Filipino Revolutionary*, co-authored with Ninotchka Rosca.

*Maraming Salamat po! [Thank you very much!]*

# ***Strive to Make a Great Advance in the People's War for New Democracy***

**Message on the 41<sup>st</sup> Anniversary of the Party, December 26, 2009**

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We celebrate today with utmost joy the 41st anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of the Philippines as the revolutionary advanced detachment of the Filipino proletariat under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

We are deeply gratified by the long-accumulated as well as recent victories won by the Filipino proletariat and people under the leadership of the Party in the course of the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war. We salute and congratulate all our cadres and members and we pay the highest respects to our revolutionary martyrs and heroes for making our victories possible.

We have long proven that, by pursuing the strategic line of protracted people's war, we can build in stages the strength of the revolutionary forces of the people and overcome the brutal campaigns of suppression unleashed by US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords. In the process, we have so far built the largest and strongest revolutionary movement of the Filipino people in the entire history of the Philippines since the revolution of 1896. We have grown in strength and advanced precisely through resolute and fierce revolutionary armed struggle against every regime of counterrevolutionary violence directed and supported by US imperialism. We have prevailed over the 14-year Marcos fascist dictatorship and all the succeeding regimes that have pretended to be liberal democratic but have been so brutally antinational and antidemocratic.

The current Arroyo regime is going down in history in complete ignominy for its grave crimes against the people. It has utterly failed to realize its pipe dream of destroying or reducing the armed revolutionary movement of the people to inconsequentiality. Not only have we prevailed and preserved our forces against the enemy campaigns of suppression, we have also gained strength and scored resounding victories.

After more than 40 years of successful people's war, we consider it of highest importance today to declare our determination to strive within the next five years to make the great advance from the stage of the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate, fulfilling all the requirements and without skipping any necessary phase. We can look forward to still greater revolutionary possibilities within the next ten years if we carry out successfully the tasks and plans for the next five years.

Our revolutionary optimism is based on three factors. First is the ever worsening crisis of the world capitalist system, which is now in the throes of its worst crisis since the Great Depression. Second is the accelerated worsening crisis and rotting of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system. Third is the revolutionary forces of the people led by the Party that have far more strength now than at the start of our people's war in 1969 and have the sufficient strength and critical mass to carry out the tasks and plans for advancing from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate of the people's war within the next five years.

## ***World capitalist system in the throes of depression***

The world capitalist system is in a state of economic depression. The 617 economic and financial crisis has spread throughout the world like a plague from the imperialist countries. The most devastated economically and socially are the underdeveloped countries. But the imperialist powers and their followers keep on euphemistically calling the situation a mere recession and keep on referring to any spike in the financial market as a sign of recovery.

The crisis of overproduction runs unabated and continues to be aggravated by the financial crisis. Factories continue to scale down production or to close down. The toiling masses of workers and peasants and even the middle social strata continue to suffer the loss of jobs and homes, the reduction of income, the soaring prices of basic commodities and social services and the deterioration of the social infrastructure. The level of exploitation and oppression is escalating on a global scale.

The US and other imperialist states are using public money in the trillions of dollars to bail out the big banks and corporations in the military-industrial complex and in the service sector. New and bigger financial bubbles are being generated with the use of state funds for lending and subsidy to the monopoly bourgeoisie, especially the financial oligarchy. The money is being used merely to raise profits in the balance sheets of big financial and industrial corporations and has not resulted in real economic recovery in terms of generating employment and

increasing production and consumption.

The current economic and financial crisis of the world capitalist system has been the outcome of the recurrent, accelerated and cumulative crises since the monopoly bourgeoisie and its economic policymakers were confronted by the phenomenon of concurrent stagnation and inflation as a result of the reconstruction of the imperialist countries ruined by World War II, intensified inter-imperialist competition, rising costs of the cold war and wars of aggression and the growing severity of the crisis of overproduction in the world capitalist system. Since then, the imperialist states headed by the US have blamed the working people for having caused the stagflation due to what they have termed as wage inflation and excessive social spending by government. At the same time, they have obscured the costs of the Cold War, especially those of military production, overseas deployment of military forces and wars of aggression.

In the succeeding decades, they adopted and implemented the policy of freezing wages, reducing social spending, privatizing public assets, liberalizing investments and trade, doing away with regulations and denationalizing the economies of underdeveloped countries. They let loose the unbridled greed of the imperialist banks and firms to prey on the people of the world. Thus, they undercut and constrict the global market far beyond what debt financing can cover and conceal.

Having run for several decades, the policy of "neoliberal" or "free" market globalization is deep-going and has caused widespread social ruin on a global scale. It continues to dominate the thinking of policymakers of the imperialist states. It serves first of all the big banks and corporations against the demand of the people for economic recovery, employment, social relief and rehabilitation. Thus, the current grave crisis of the world capitalist system continues to worsen and is bound to persist for a long while.

The monopoly bourgeoisie seeks to pass on the burden of the crisis to the working people in the home-grounds of imperialism but much more to those in the underdeveloped countries. The imperialist powers and their puppets continue to extract further superprofits from those already laid low by the crisis. We therefore witness today the initial manifestations of the peoples' resistance in both the imperialist and the underdeveloped countries.

In the imperialist countries, the monopoly bourgeoisie wages a ferocious class struggle against the proletariat and is pushing the proletariat to fight back by waging the just side of the class struggle. It seeks ever more to divide and confuse the working people by whipping up anti-terrorist hysteria, chauvinism, racism, fascism and religious bigotry and pitting the host people against the migrants. However, revolutionary parties and movements are arising to expose the roots of the crisis in monopoly capitalism and rouse the working people to wage class struggle.

The peoples subjected to ever rising levels of exploitation and oppression are waging various forms of resistance against the imperialist powers and their local puppets. Those who are victimized by imperialist aggression are waging armed resistance for national liberation, as in Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Palestine and Lebanon. National liberation movements led by Maoist and other revolutionary parties are gaining strength and are advancing as in India, the Philippines, Nepal, Turkey, Peru and Colombia.

Some governments as those of North Korea, Cuba, Venezuela and Bolivia have taken anti-imperialist positions and invoked national independence in response to the clamor of the people for resistance to imperialism and its worst reactionary agents. Such governments as those of China and Russia try to collaborate with the US-led alliance of imperialist powers while at same time cooperate with Iran and other governments that are subjected to sanctions and embargoes by the US and its imperialist allies.

The imperialist powers are still united in oppressing peoples and nations of the world and in passing on the burden of crisis to them. But they are also driven by imperialist greed and by the crisis to compete and contend with each other in a struggle to redivide the world for sources of raw materials and cheap labor, markets, fields of investment, spheres of influence and strategic points of control.

The complete restoration of capitalism in countries previously ruled by revisionist regimes has added Russia and China to the ranks of big capitalist powers and has made the world ever more cramped for inter-imperialist competition. The US has pushed the NATO to expand to the borders of Russia and threaten and seek control of this huge source of oil, gas and other strategic raw materials. Although China is acknowledged as the biggest partner of the US under the policy of "free market" globalization, contradictions between them over major issues are growing.

The betrayal of socialism brought about by the rise of modern revisionism and the full restoration of capitalism in the former revisionist-ruled countries have contributed in a big way to intensifying inter-imperialist contradictions and generating the conditions for wars of aggression and the use of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. The threats posed by imperialism to the very existence of humankind seems unstoppable. But they can be effectively countered by the people's revolutionary mass movement, revolutionary civil wars and people's wars for national liberation.

The US and the NATO are so aggressive that China and Russia consider themselves threatened and are thus developing the Shanghai Cooperation Organization into a potent security bloc. Almost all global regions, such as the Middle East, Central Asia, South Asia, East Asia, the Balkans, Eastern Europe, Latin America and Africa are fraught with the danger of war.

The intensification of inter-imperialist contradictions has already resulted in wars of aggression and military intervention, such as those in the Balkans, Africa, Central and South Asia and the Middle East. These have been carried out under the initiative of the US, its NATO allies and its major partners in the UN Security Council. The insatiable drive of the US and its closest NATO allies to monopolize the sources of oil and other raw materials and to subordinate Russia and China is upsetting the balance of forces among the imperialist powers.

The imperialist powers are frenziedly engaged in wars of aggression and plunder of natural resources, causing both social and environmental disasters. The wars of aggression have resulted in heavy casualties among the people, in the destruction of the social infrastructure and pollution of the environment from the use, among others, of radioactive and toxic weapons of mass destruction. The wanton plunder of natural resources by the profit-driven monopolies has been a major factor in ecological destruction that has caused ever more destructive typhoons, floods, droughts and other disasters.

The imperialist powers are the biggest destroyers and polluters of the environment as they wantonly plunder and misuse the world's natural resources. They pretend to be concerned about environmental destruction and the problem of global warming in order to deflect attention from the problems of social exploitation, manufacture of weapons of mass destruction and wars of aggression. They manipulate the issue of environment and global warming in order to justify further imperialist control and exploitation of the world's resources.

Greater social turmoil and political disorder in all continents and in nearly all countries are in the offing. From year to year, the US will continue to be afflicted by economic crisis and will be sucked into new quagmires of military aggression and intervention. These are conditions favorable to the revolutionary forces of the Filipino people in advancing the people's war for new democracy from the stage of strategic defensive to that of strategic stalemate.

### ***Accelerated rotting of the domestic ruling system***

Under the weight of the crisis of the world capitalist system and due to its own internal weaknesses, the rotting of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system is accelerated in economic, social, political and cultural terms. The rotten unjust ruling system in chronic crisis is overripe for overthrow and replacement by the people's democratic system.

The imperialist policy of "free market" globalization has grossly distorted and made the Philippine economy more lopsided than ever. The economy is mainly agrarian and semifeudal and yet does not produce sufficient food for the people. This is the result of the dumping of agricultural surpluses by the imperialist countries and some neighboring countries. It is compelled to reduce food production to make way for the production of certain commercial crops for export and to serve the purposes of imperialist control.

The agricultural, mineral, forest and marine resources of our country are being exploited for export at a rapid pace and at lower prices. There is no economic development through national industrialization and land reform. The unequal exchange of raw material exports and manufactured imports persists. The natural resources of the country are plundered even as the imperialists and the local reactionaries shed crocodile tears over the lack of development and the destruction of the environment.

Incomes from the reexport of low-value added semi-manufactures and the export of cheap labor have not been enough to cover the growing balance of payments deficits. Thus, the foreign debt continues to mount. The reduced demand for raw materials, semimanufactures and overseas contract workers is inflicting economic ruin and social devastation on the Philippines.

The toiling masses of workers and peasants and even the middle social strata are suffering from a rising rate

of unemployment, drastic fall of incomes and the soaring prices of basic commodities and social services. The tax burden is mounting, even as the economy is depressed and the social infrastructure and social services are deteriorating. Debt service (interest payments and amortization of the principal) and military expenditures gobble up most of the government budget. Social misery and discontent are fueling legal mass protests and the people's war against exploitation and oppression.

The US-directed Arroyo regime has followed the US policy of global war of terror and carried out Oplan Bantay Laya since 2001 in order The imperialist policy of "free market" globalization has grossly distorted and made the Philippine economy more lopsided than ever. The economy is mainly agrarian and semifeudal and yet does not produce sufficient food for the people. This is the result of the dumping of agricultural surpluses by the imperialist countries and some neighboring countries. It is compelled to reduce food production to make way for the production of certain commercial crops for export and to serve the purposes of imperialist control.

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The US-directed Arroyo regime has followed the US policy of global war of terror and carried out Oplan Bantay Laya since 2001 in order to intimidate and attack the broad masses of the people, especially the legal opposition forces and the revolutionary forces. It has perpetrated gross and systematic human rights violations, victimizing workers and peasants as well as social activists from the ranks of the women and youth, the professionals and religious. As a consequence, the regime is isolated domestically and globally by its own crimes and by the outrage and resistance of the people.

US-supported state terrorism has been unleashed with a combination of the military, paramilitary and police agencies and the private armies and security agencies in order to bust labor unions and strikes and to displace millions of peasants and national minorities from their homes and farms. The Ampatuan massacre of 58 persons in less than an hour is emblematic of the crimes committed with impunity on a large scale by the combination of military, police and paramilitary forces in the service of the violent and corrupt regime and is indicative of the growing violence of political rivalries among reactionary politicians at the national and local levels.

The broad masses of the people and a broad united front of opposition forces are ranged against the Arroyo regime. The outcry for the ouster of the Arroyo ruling clique has been going on for years against its puppetry, corruption, brutality and mendacity. But the clique has increasingly used the coercive apparatuses of the state to suppress its critics and the people's resistance. Many of its opponents can only hope to obtain justice after the clique is removed from power.

However, in trying to preempt prosecution for its grievous crimes against the people, the Arroyo clique is desperately using the resources of the state to engage in electoral fraud and terrorism. Fears are widespread that it intends to declare martial law nationwide or in a number of key regions by claiming a failure of elections and thereby perpetuate itself in power. It can only inflame the people's resistance by treading the Marcos path of fascist dictatorship.

At any rate, the political crisis of the ruling system is worsening as a consequence of the economic and social crisis. The contradictions among the reactionaries are becoming ever more bitter and violent. Whichever reactionary clique gains power would tend to monopolize the bureaucratic loot and use the instruments of state

violence in suppressing the intra-systemic opposition and the revolutionary movement of the people.

The major political parties and coalitions vying for offices in the 2010 elections, except Makabayan, avoid or even oppose the people's demand for national independence and genuine democracy and do not criticize and repudiate "free market" globalization and the US-instigated policy of terror against the people. The Lakas-Kampi party of the ruling clique clings to its discredited antinational and antidemocratic policies. The major opposition parties, like the Liberal Party and the Partido ng Masang Pilipino concentrate on pretending to be for good governance to dissociate themselves from the scandalous corruption of the Arroyo regime.

Whichever reactionary clique takes power through the electoral process is predisposed to follow the same path being trod by the Arroyo regime. It will keep power under the dictates of the US and the local exploiting classes and will use its power to enrich itself and deploy the coercive apparatuses of the state to suppress opposition.

Among the four major presidential candidates, former Senate president Villar seems to be the most patriotic and progressive insofar as he advocates the interests of Filipino businessmen, expresses sympathy for the workers and peasants and condemns human rights violations. However, it remains to be seen whether he can win and prove himself any better than his major political rivals who have bloodstained records of opposing the demands of the workers and peasants, like Aquino of Hacienda Luisita notoriety, Teodoro of being the mad dog defense secretary of Arroyo and Estrada of having a bellicose record during his failed presidency.

So far, in the history of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system, every president has kowtowed to the power of US imperialism and has sought to amass wealth and power for self-aggrandizement against the rights and interests of the people. No president ever has had the political will to undertake significant reforms that respond to the people's demand for national independence and genuine democracy nor has used peace negotiations in order to forge agreements with the revolutionary movement on social, economic and political reforms as basis for a just peace.

We can anticipate that whichever new reactionary ruling clique arises from the 2010 elections, it would continue to apply draconian measures by legally misrepresenting revolutionary acts as common crimes, as acts of terrorism or as rebellion punishable by reclusion perpetua and therefore nonbailable. It would carry out campaigns of military suppression against the revolutionary forces of the Filipino people including those of the Bangsamoro. It would merely pretend at being for peace negotiations and try to use these not to arrive at agreements on basic reforms with the National Democratic Front of the Philippines but merely to deceive and confuse the people and destroy the revolutionary movement.

A new ruling clique is bound to continue allowing the US to deploy military troops in the Philippines under the US-RP Mutual Defense Pact and the Visiting Forces Agreement and under various pretexts, including so-called anti-terrorism, anti-drugs, humanitarian intervention, civic action, disaster relief, medical mission and the like. The ground is being laid for ever increasing military intervention and outright aggression, mainly under the pretext of combating terrorism as they label the Filipino and Bangsamoro revolutionaries as "terrorists."

The worsening crisis of the ruling system would compel the prospective ruling clique either to escalate counterrevolutionary violence or to seek truce and alliance with the revolutionary forces against the US and the worst of the local reactionaries if in the first place the armed revolutionary movement grows in strength, delivers lethal blows on the weak points of the ruling system and advances to a new and higher stage of development.

We can take full advantage of the socioeconomic and political crisis of the ruling system in order to strengthen ourselves, wage all forms of revolutionary struggle and make great advances in our people's war. We can hope for national and social liberation only if the people gain the power for its realization. The people's power can arise only through revolutionary struggle against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes.

### ***Current basis and tasks for the great advance***

At its founding in 1968, the Communist Party of the Philippines had only a few score cadres and members and a few thousands of activists in various types of mass organizations. But since then we, as a Party, have been able to lead the revolutionary mass movement and make it grow in stages from small and weak to big and strong because we have availed of the favorable objective conditions for making revolution and have adopted and implemented the correct line in ideology, politics and organization.

We have pursued the ideological line of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the political line of new democratic revolution through protracted people's war and the organizational line of democratic centralism. We have accumulated rich experience and reliable knowledge, gained ideological, political and organizational strength and won great

victories in the course of waging all forms of revolutionary struggle.

Our current all-round strength as a Party is our basis for carrying out our tasks and plans for advancing the new democratic revolution and the people's war from the stage of strategic defensive to that of strategic stalemate within the next five years.

We have thousands of Party cadres and members with the capability to do work in theoretical and political education. They can propagate the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and our works on Philippine history and current circumstances. They can run the basic, intermediate and advanced levels of Party education everywhere possible in the urban and the rural areas. They can ensure that our Party members grasp the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method. They can develop cadres to lead work at various levels of our Party organization and in various fields of our work.

We must put forward and carry out an educational plan to produce sufficient Party cadres and members who can lead the work from grassroots level and upwards and who have the determination to establish and develop the Party and the mass organizations where these do not yet exist. The multiplication of our Party cadres and members who are schooled and steeped in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism makes our Party ever indestructible and victorious.

We must have a comprehensive political plan for expanding and consolidating the revolutionary mass movement in both urban and rural areas. For this purpose, we have tens of thousands of Party cadres and members to lead mass work. Their duty is to arouse, organize and mobilize the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the rest of the people along the line of the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war. We have a wide and deep-going mass base running in the millions of the people nationwide.

We can advance wave upon wave from our existing mass base. The local branches and leading committees of the Party lead the mass organizations. These can be built much ahead of the expansion of the NPA. They prepare the way for the NPA and the establishment of the temporary and then the regular organs of political power. At any rate, the Party within the NPA can deploy teams of Red fighters for mass work.

Our Party has the New People's Army as its main organization for fighting the enemy, building the mass movement in the countryside, establishing the organs of political power and strengthening the basic alliance of the working class and the peasantry. We have thousands of Red commanders and fighters capable of achieving immensely far more than could the original 60 Red fighters we had in 1969.

Our Party is at the head and the core of the NPA. It grows with the expansion of the NPA and ensures the consolidation of the NPA. We draw our Party recruits from the ranks of the Red fighters and from the mass activists. We must intensify the recruitment and the politico-military training of the Red fighters under the leadership of our Party.

We must have a plan to increase the number of Red commanders and fighters, units of the NPA and guerrilla fronts from around 120 to 180 in order to cover the rural congressional districts and gain the ability to deploy armed city partisan units in the urban congressional districts. The increase in guerrilla fronts can be made in a manner and at a pace at which the seed units of the NPA (be these teams, squads or platoons) can draw strength from the mass base in the areas of expansion.

The process of expanding towards the goal of 180 guerrilla fronts will result in strengthening the Party and the NPA command at the levels of the guerrilla front (district), province and region. Relatively stable base areas will arise on varying territorial scales, depending on the growth of the Party, the NPA, the mass base and the organs of political power and of course on the actual destruction and disintegration of enemy political power in the localities.

We must continue to carry out extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. We must intensify our tactical offensives as we widen and deepen our mass base. As a matter of course, the enemy forces will react to our offensives by concentrating on those guerrilla fronts where we are estimated as being strong and by unleashing vicious campaigns of suppression. But as the enemy forces are extremely limited on the national and regional scale, we can maintain our initiative by employing flexible tactics of concentration to go on an offensive, shifting to evade a superior enemy force and dispersal to conduct mass work.

The Military Commission of the Central Committee is responsible for deciding and issuing the most strategic guidelines and plans. Every level of operational command must provide the necessary information and recommendations as well as feedbacks to their respective higher organs. Within their respective territorial scopes, they

can formulate and issue specific guidelines and operational plans for tactical offensives aimed at attacking the weakest points of the enemy and seizing weapons in the process.

The weapons for arming new units of the NPA at the levels of the district, province and region must be obtained mainly from the enemy through ambushes, raids and other operations. The seizure of weapons from the enemy would accelerate upon the increase of initiative, coordination and cooperation of NPA units at the provincial and regional levels.

To enable the NPA to engage in offensive campaigns with short rest periods from battles, there must be an ever expanding mass base in which the mass organizations and local organs of political power can engage in campaigns and specific activities to improve the people's social, economic, health and cultural concerns.

The campaign for land reform must be carried out well in order to win the steadfast support of the poor peasants, farm workers and lower middle peasants. The minimum land reform program can be raised higher towards the level of the maximum, depending on the strength of the NPA and the peasant movement. The campaign of mass organizing, public education, raising production, health care, defense, cultural work and settling disputes among the people must be pursued well.

The people's militia must perform police duties and the mass organizations must train units in charge of self-defense. The NPA can strengthen itself only by having a far bigger number of people in the militia and self-defense units that can serve as auxiliaries and as reserve forces. The front, provincial and regional units of the NPA, which serve as centers of gravity and/or as strike forces, can move faster and become more effective with the assistance of the organs of political power, the mass organizations and the local guerrilla units, the people's militias and the self-defense units within their respective areas of responsibility.

As well exposed in the implementation of Oplan Bantay Laya and previous national operational plans of the enemy, the number of enemy forces available for campaigns of suppression against the NPA in the countryside is limited relative to the population and the entire country. It cannot cover more than 10 percent of the terrain at every given time. Conversely, the NPA can move freely in more than 90 percent of Philippine territory. The number of enemy combat effectives can be further limited by the growing militancy of the urban mass movement and by the internecine fighting among the reactionaries in the form of coup and counter-coup threats against each other.

The NPA can take the initiative of developing armed city partisan warfare and launching special operations against enemy facilities and anti-people enterprises in order to force the enemy forces to go on guard duty and put more of its troops on the defensive. The movement of enemy units can be hampered by sapper operations, mine warfare, sniping and other small team operations. These appear to be mere pinpricks but have far reaching demoralizing effects on enemy troops.

The NPA must target for arrest and trial violators of human rights and international humanitarian law and the penal code of the people's democratic government. It must move to dismantle extremely exploitative plantations, logging-for-export enterprises, mining and other operations that grab land from the people and destroy the environment. The dismantling can be accomplished by disabling equipment, discouraging management personnel and launching tactical offensives against the armed guards. More land must be made available for land reform and food production.

In our first decade of Party expansion from 1968 to 1977, our Central Committee created and used the regional Party committees as the key instrument for organizing the Party, the NPA and the armed revolutionary mass movement nationwide. The current regional Party committees must strengthen themselves and the provincial committees directly under them. In turn, the district committees must strengthen the municipal or section committees directly under them. We must keep in mind that when a higher level of Party leadership works hard to strengthen the next lower level, the base of the Party is ultimately strengthened. We must have an organizational plan for increasing the number of Party cadres and members for the purpose of achieving the great advance from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate.

We need at least 200,000 Party members for this. We need to be at the core of the people's army and to lead the work in the localities from the barrio level upwards and in the mass organizations, economic enterprises and cultural institutions. The organizational strength that we wish to develop for the great advance in the next five years will be the foundation for still greater advances in the next five years after.

We have a wide range of sources for our Party recruits. This includes the people's army and the mass organizations. From these sources, our Party must put emphasis on recruiting the advanced mass activists of the

working class, peasantry and urban petty bourgeoisie. In wave upon wave of advances, we must ensure that we have the mass strength and various types of cadre capabilities necessary for winning the revolution.

We must remold and temper all our Party cadres and members through revolutionary education, hard work and arduous struggle in both rural and urban areas. We must encourage the workers and the educated youth to serve in the people's army and in the countryside. We need the most conscious and competent proletarian revolutionaries in the countryside in order to advance the people's war and at the same time prepare for the ultimate seizure of political power.

We are confident of fulfilling the ideological, political and organizational requirements for our Party to achieve the great advance from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate in the next five years. We must seize every minute, every day and every week for carrying out plans and the tasks assigned to us.

The crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system, and the people's suffering and outcry for advancing the new democratic revolution in the direction of socialism and communism are urging us to do our best and achieve our utmost at every phase and stage of the struggle.

## ***On Ninoy Aquino's Relations with the CPP and NPA***

**Interview by Lisandro Claudio, for GMA News TV, July 24, 2010**

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1. *Was there ever an alliance between the CPP-NPA and Ninoy Aquino? If so, could you comment on the extent of this alliance?*

JMS: There was no formal alliance between the CPP-NPA and Ninoy Aquino. By absence of formal alliance, I mean that there was no written instrument of alliance (document) and there was no organizational form to embody the alliance. But there was an informal and objective alliance. The CPP and NPA and Ninoy were informal and practical cooperators against the Marcos regime from late 1968 onwards up to his assassination by the military minions of Marcos and further on with his wife as ally after his assassination.

Even before the CPP was reestablished in 1968, Ninoy had maintained a certain amount of good relations with the old people's army units headed by Bernabe Buscayno in Tarlac. Independently, I became friends with Ninoy in late 1967 through his young Senate aide Raul Roco who was then my neighbor in Sta. Mesa Heights. Ninoy had come to my house but I was not at home. Raul eventually brought me to Ninoy's house in Times St. Ninoy and I exchanged ideas about the political situation. Cory served coffee.

I was then publicly known as chairman of Kabataang Makabayan, editor of Progressive Review and friend of most of the congressmen known as the Magnificent Seven opposed to the US war of aggression in Vietnam and the so-called Philippine Civic Action Group (PHILCAG) sent there. Ninoy had no idea then that I and others were preparing for the reestablishment of the CPP and the founding of the NPA.

2. *Would you recall why Ninoy sought you out for the first meeting? What did you talk about?*

JMS: Ninoy proposed that the two of us go on a hunger strike against the Marcos regime and make demands for reforms. I thanked Ninoy for the proposal but I declined because at that time I was extremely busy with labor, peasant and youth mass organizing. I did not tell him that I was kept most busy by the rectification movement within the old CPP against the Lava dynasty and the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique and with the rebuilding of the CPP.

3. *Below is an excerpt from a telegram sent by the US Embassy in the Philippines to the State Department. It is dated September 18, 1972. Would it be possible for you to react to it?*

*"In private conversations with two Emboffs (embassy officials) Sept 12, Senator Aquino said that on Sept 7 he had met with Sison and several other members of CPP/ML Central Committee in house in suburban Makati. At meeting, he was presented with proposal to join broad opposition front including part of Liberal Party, CPP/ML, and other radical groups. According to Aquino, this proposition was premature since situation had not yet reached that stage of deterioration which would prompt him to take such a move. He did, however, agree to provide CPP/ML with statement of program and principles on which he invited their comments with view of established basis for possible future cooperation. He did not, however, show Emboffs copy of paper or discuss its contents."*

JMS: It was Julius Fortuna (not me) who met Ninoy Aquino in the house of a big businessman (whose daughter was an activist) and who represented the NDF Preparatory Commission, the CPP and NPA and in effect or in a manner of speaking me. I did not meet Ninoy but it is highly probable that Julius told him that I sent Julius to him. Up to now, I do not understand why Ninoy told Enrile and others that I met him. I could only surmise that it was his way of stressing the importance of the meeting. Indeed, Julius discussed with Ninoy how to make a broad united front more effective against the Marcos regime.

4. *I interviewed Rudy Salas and he claims that it was Aquino who introduced you to Dante. Is Salas correct?*

JMS: Rudy Salas was not in a position to know the details of my communications with Dante. It was Arthur Garcia who was closely assisting me. Ninoy did not introduce me to Dante. It was Arthur Garcia. It was Rep. Jose V. Yap who at one time helped to arrange my trip to his province. The stories about Ninoy introducing me to Dante revolve around the trip arranged by Yap.

5. *Why did Yap help you arrange the trip to Tarlac? Was this because of a request from Ninoy?*

JMS: Not because of a request from Ninoy. But because of a request directly from Dante (Bernabe Buscayno) to Mang Apeng Yap and I agreed through Arthur Garcia. You must understand that Mang Apeng has his own weight in dealing with progressives. He comes from a traditionally Huk town (Victoria, Tarlac) and has relatives

who belonged to the old movement.

6. *I would just like to know how Arthur Garcia knew Dante. Also, did Aquino provide any material support to the movement? Did he help finance or arm the NPA?*

JMS: Dante himself was interested in contacting me and the KM. He was happy when Arthur Garcia made contact with him through some activists in Tarlac. I did not have any direct contact with Ninoy Aquino regarding any material support from him. I can only cite his public statements directly or indirectly supportive of the people's resistance to Marcos. I cannot offer to you anyone who might have some direct personal knowledge regarding any material support from Aquino.

7. *Salas claims that Aquino helped open up the Isabela region to the NPA via his connection with Faustino Dy. Is this a claim you can confirm?*

JMS: At that time Faustino Dy was indeed pro-Ninoy against Marcos. But it was not Ninoy who introduced the NPA to then Cauayan mayor Dy. It was Ka Ruben Tuason, a peasant leader and member of the CPP Central Committee, who introduced the NPA to Dy. Ruben and Dy had been boyhood friends in Tarlac. Prior to the introduction of the NPA to Dy, the CPP had already deployed a team of cadres headed by Ka Eddie Layug to do expansion work initially among the ex-Huks in the NARRA [National Resettlement and Rehabilitation Administration] resettlement areas and the forest region in Isabela. I had the honor of giving political education to the said team of cadres in Tarlac before it was dispatched to Isabela.

8. *In my fieldwork in Hacienda Luisita, residents told me that the hacienda served as a safe haven for NPA troops in the 1970s. Can you confirm this? If it is true, did Aquino play a role in opening up Luisita?*

JMS: Hacienda Luisita is a big place of several thousands of hectares. It was an area of mass work by the NPA. The peasants and farmworkers welcomed the NPA. Ninoy did not have to open the place for the NPA. But certainly it was helpful that Ninoy was not known to be hostile to the NPA. His local loyalists did not run to the military to report the presence of the NPA.

On September 3, 2010 journalist Claudio made a follow-up question regarding Aquino as CIA Asset. Hereunder are the question and the answer:

*Thanks for posting the article on your website. By the way, out of curiosity, I never got to ask this, but were you ever concerned that Aquino was a CIA agent?*

JMS: Of course, I was concerned that Ninoy Aquino was a CIA asset (to use the precise term). He himself had indicated that he had been such, especially when he was a journalist moving around in Southeast Asia and was privileged to have close connections with Magsaysay and his CIA handlers. Don't you know that Aquino and his brother had material interest in the acquisition of certain lands in Tarlac for ultimate sale to Voice of America? That should be an interesting point of research for you. Aquino was obviously a CIA asset who was not a run of the mill on a monthly payroll of the CIA. He was not as cheap as that. He had elbow room to look after his own political and economic interests. Marcos was also a CIA asset like his uncle Modesto Farolan and made himself the biggest one as president, overpowering Ninoy and the rest of his fellow trapos [traditional politicians] and for a long while made himself an indispensable asset to the US I had no problem about seeing Aquino as an ally or as a friend in the face of the biggest CIA asset Marcos rendering him an underdog in their struggle for power from the late sixties onward.

*It has been 40 years since the Central Publishing House of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) first published Philippine Society and Revolution (PSR). In the past 40 years, PSR has served as the CPP's principal reference and guide in laying down the basic principles of the two-stage revolution in the Philippines based on the analysis of concrete conditions of the semicolonial and semifeudal system. To commemorate the anniversary of PSR and reaffirm the principles it laid down, Ang Bayan decided to interview Comrade Jose Ma. Sison who, as CPP founding chair Amado Guerrero, was the principal author of PSR.*

1. *Can you relate to our readers certain historical facts about PSR? When did you start writing it? Who were involved in the research and writing? When was it first published and in what form? To your knowledge, how many times has the book been printed?*

JMS: I wrote it soon after the launching of the people's war and on the eve of the First Quarter Storm of 1970. I started and finished writing it in the third quarter of 1969. Some comrades in the EC/CC (Executive Committee of the Central Committee) like Charlie del Rosario and Monico Atienza brought me the reference materials that I needed. When I finished the rough draft around August 1969, I gave it to Julie de Lima and other individuals and some members of the Central Committee for suggestions and comments.

The first edition of PSR was published in mimeographed form in October 1969, of which copy was submitted for publication in the Philippine Collegian under the title Philippine Crisis and Revolution (this can be considered the second edition). Pulang Tala Publications published the third edition and Ta Kung Pao of Hongkong, the fourth edition in 1970. The fifth and sixth editions in English and Pilipino were mimeographed by the CPP Central Publishing House in 1971. In 1977, the Katipunan ng Demokratikong Pilipino published the seventh edition in the US. This can be considered the fourth edition if the mimeographed editions are excluded.

Other editions were released after my capture in 1977. There were even German and Turkish translations and a comics edition.

2. *PSR is one of the most important Marxist-Leninist theoretical works of the revolutionary movement in the Philippines. What theoretical challenges faced its writing? What do you think are the key contributions of PSR to the theory of revolution in the Philippines? Has it made any contribution to theory that is relevant beyond the practice of the Philippine revolution?*

JMS: The biggest theoretical challenge was the application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to Philippine history and circumstances. It necessitated the concrete analysis of concrete conditions. The key contributions of PSR are its characterization of Philippine society as semicolonial and semifeudal and the corresponding line of national and democratic revolution under the leadership of the working class. In this regard, PSR specified the allied classes (workers, peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie) and the class enemies (big compradors and landlords) in the new democratic revolution. It also laid down the principal task: national liberation and democratic revolution. It defined as well the stages of the Philippine revolution: people's new democracy and socialism.

3. *Before PSR, there were Struggle for National Democracy (SND) and the document "Rectify Errors, Rebuild the Party" (RERP) which were among the first major theoretical works of the national democratic movement in the Philippines. Can you recount the history of the development of the theory of Philippine revolution up to the publication of PSR in 1970?*

JMS: The publication of SND and the RERP document was necessary and essential. SND paved the way for the exposition of the people's basic problems and the possible revolutionary solution in legal and persuasive language. It was in line with the tradition of the old democratic revolution of 1896 and the new democratic revolution under the leadership of the working class. It was based on the prevailing conditions and needs of the Filipino people, especially the toiling masses.

RERP was seminal in the analysis of the experience of the old merger party of the Communist and Socialist Parties. It exposed the errors and weaknesses which led to the failure of the revolution. It had therefore laid down what must be done in order to realize the ideological, political and organizational requirements to rebuild the

revolutionary party of the proletariat, the people's army and the united front and to rekindle and advance the revolution towards victory.

4. *What was the biggest contribution of PSR to the course of the Philippine revolution in the past 40 years? What role did it play in the different stages of development of the Philippine revolution?*

JMS: PSR greatly strengthened the general line earlier laid down by the Party Constitution and the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution. Since the first year of the people's war up to the present, PSR has played a key role in shedding light about the history, the basic problems and the revolutionary solution of the Filipino people.

PSR has played such an important role in every stage of the revolution. PSR further enlightens with the help of recent writings based on the advances of the revolution and the worsening of the crisis of the rotten system. PSR has been an effective tool of the Party in raising the consciousness and fighting will of Party members and mass activists.

5. *The fourth edition of PSR included "Specific Characteristics of Our People's War" and "Our Urgent Tasks" which emphasized the theoretical importance of this document. What other theoretical works of the CPP do you think have equal weight and significance in terms of the development of the theory of revolution in the Philippines?*

JMS: The fourth edition (if the three mimeographed editions are not counted) indeed emphasized the theoretical importance of the two supplementary documents, which in turn further enhanced PSR. The documents of similar importance and significance in the development of the theory of revolution in the Philippines are "On the Mode of Production in the Philippines" (1983), "Philippine Crisis and Revolution" (1986), "Stand for Socialism Against Modern Revisionism" (1992) and "Reaffirm Our Basic Principles and Rectify the Errors" (1992), the basic documents of the Second Great Rectification Movement, and basic documents against the policy of neoliberal globalization and other offensives of imperialism.

6. *It has been over 40 years since the PSR was first published. How would you compare Philippine society today to the conditions then? Do you think PSR remains an effective guide for the Philippine revolution? Do you see a need for a new edition, revision or supplement to PSR?*

JMS: The continuing semicolonial and semifeudal conditions are further worsening and deepening. Thus, PSR remains an effective guide for the Philippine national and democratic revolution. The Party continues to issue new editions of PSR and supplement it with new related documents. However, I am tempted to write a new edition with expanded text dealing with the past four decades.

7. *How can PSR further benefit the current stage of the revolution, especially in line with the CPP's call to achieve the strategic stalemate in five years? What do you think are the crucial issues that have to be studied by Philippine revolutionaries in order to further invigorate the different fields of struggle?*

JMS: Always review PSR and apply it to current circumstances and events. Under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought (or Maoism), PSR explains why the people's war is necessary and how to advance it in stages: from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate and from the strategic stalemate to the strategic offensive. PSR also laid down the need to fulfil the political requirements in order to advance the people's war from one stage to the next.

The Party must be strengthened ideologically, politically and organizationally. The people's army must be strengthened through armed struggle, agrarian revolution and the building of the mass base and organs of political power. There must be a united front policy involving certain types of alliances: the basic worker-peasant alliance, the progressive alliance of the toiling masses and the urban petty bourgeoisie, the patriotic alliance of the progressive classes and the national bourgeoisie and the temporary and unstable alliance with reactionaries fighting the enemy.

# ***Fulfill the Requirements for the Advance of the People's War from the Strategic Defensive to the Strategic Stalemate***

**42<sup>nd</sup> Anniversary statement, issued on December 26, 2010**

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We celebrate the 42<sup>nd</sup> founding anniversary of the Communist Party of the Philippines under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism by renewing our resolve to fulfill the political and other requirements for advancing from strategic defensive to strategic stalemate in the people's war for national liberation and democracy against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes.

We salute all Party cadres and members for strengthening the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally, for victoriously leading the New People's Army, the National Democratic Front of the Philippines, the mass organizations, the organs of political power and the broad masses of the people for overcoming Oplan Bantay Laya I and II of the US-Arroyo regime, and accumulating the all-round strength to fight and defeat the campaigns of suppression being launched by the US-Aquino regime.

The worsening crisis of world capitalism and that of the semicolonial and semifeudal system provide us with the favorable conditions for further strengthening the subjective forces of the revolution and advancing our people's war from one stage to another. The ruling classes of big compradors and landlords are incapable of solving the crisis and are aggravating it as a consequence of their subservience to foreign monopoly capitalism, their plundering character and their brutality. The people are suffering more than ever before and they are driven by the crisis to fight fiercely for their national and democratic rights and interests.

As the advanced detachment of the working class and as the leading force in the Philippine revolution, our Party is determined to strengthen itself and guide other revolutionary forces, such as the New People's Army (NPA), the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP), the mass organizations, and the local organs of political power in further strengthening themselves. The growth in strength of all the organized forces of the revolution ensures the forward movement of the Filipino people in the new democratic revolution.

Benigno Aquino III has emerged as the chief representative of the exploiting classes, having drawn the biggest amount of campaign funds from them, enjoyed the support of the media lords, run the most guileful propaganda campaign and benefited from the manipulation of the US-controlled automated voting system. Thus, he is hell-bent on continuing the US-dictated policies of neoliberal globalization, the preservation of the neocolonial fascist state and support for the global war of terror. His promise to lift the people from poverty and misery is a big lie. So is his promise to hold his predecessor Gloria Arroyo accountable for corruption and human rights violations. Poverty, corruption and human rights violations are bound to persist.

The US-Aquino regime does not conceal its objective of destroying the revolutionary movement by following the US Counterinsurgency Guide and supporting the strategic objectives of the US stated in Joint Vision 2020 to maintain world dominance. It continues the widespread militarization and brutal military campaigns of suppression unleashed by its counterrevolutionary predecessors. But it wishes to cosmeticize the reactionary military, police and paramilitary forces with ever more deceptive psywar, demagogic gimmickry and dole out campaigns in the guerrilla fronts and other areas of popular resistance.

The US-Aquino regime intends to use the peace negotiations with the NDFP as an instrument for deceiving the people and pressuring the NDFP towards capitulation. It is scheming to junk the peace negotiations when these cannot be bent towards the counterrevolutionary objectives of the regime. The revolutionary forces and the people are aware of these objectives and thus, even if they push for whatever can be achieved through peace talks, they harbor no illusions that revolutionary objectives could be achieved through these alone or in the main. They are fully aware that their patriotic and democratic aspirations can only be effectively pushed in peace negotiations alongside the primacy of people's war and mass struggles.

The best way to serve the Filipino people and to honor our revolutionary martyrs and heroes is to advance the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war. Without the people's army for waging the people's war, the Filipino people have nothing and can never hope to complete the struggle for national liberation and democracy. And neither can they hope to have their own stable bases or liberated zones, nor to encourage and realize the possible rise of an anti-imperialist coalition government.

We stand firmly for waging the people's war, fulfilling the requirements of full-scale guerrilla warfare and advancing it from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate by taking advantage of the crisis conditions in order to intensify the tactical offensives, carry out land reform and build the mass base and the local organs of democratic power in the countryside. At the same time, we encourage the patriotic and progressive forces in the urban areas to intensify the mass movement. We welcome mass activists who wish to join the people's army or to work in the countryside. They are urgently needed by the peasant masses.

### ***Protracted global depression and disorder***

The world today is characterized by protracted economic depression and political disorder. The crisis of the world capitalist system keeps on worsening and deepening because the imperialist powers cling to the rapacious fundamentals of capitalist exploitation and the dogma of neoliberal globalization. The consequent political disorder involves the rise of reactionary currents, the escalation of state terrorism, foreign military intervention and wars of aggression. Amid all this rise the people's resistance and revolution.

The recent flurry of summits by the Group of 8, the Group of 20 and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation have exposed the confusion and inability of the leaders of the imperialist states to solve the protracted economic depression in their respective economies. They openly worry about protectionist trends that run counter to the policy of neoliberal globalization. They fear both the deflationary tendency resulting from the depression and the inflationary tendency from public spending.

In the imperialist countries, public funds have been used to bail out the big banks and corporations responsible for the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression. The use of public funds for bailout in combination with tax cuts have allowed the monopoly bourgeoisie, especially the finance oligarchy to show profits and revive the financial markets. However, production and employment have continued to decline.

Public deficits and debts have mounted. Subsequently, brutal austerity measures at the expense of the workers and the rest of the people have been adopted. Workers' economic, social and political rights are under severe attack. Wages have been pushed down. Health insurance has been made more expensive. Unemployment relief and pension benefits have been reduced. Social services have drastically been cut back.

The workers are being pressed upon by their dire conditions to wage class struggle. They are conducting strikes intermittently and on a widening scale. Among the most threatened and victimized as a result of the crisis are the blue-collar, the public sector, the young and the migrant workers. They are also the most conspicuous and most militant in general strikes and other mass protest actions. The student youth are rising due to the drastic cutbacks on education and other social services. Mass protests of millions have been sprouting in many countries in Europe and some states in the US and spreading to other countries.

The mass movement of the workers and youth is exposing the root causes of the crisis and is favoring the advance of progressive political parties. But the monopoly bourgeoisie is whipping up chauvinism, racism, religious prejudices and other reactionary currents in order to obfuscate the roots of the crisis and favor the rise of reactionary parties. A tug of war is going on between the forces of the Left and the Right in the electoral and other forms of struggle.

The imperialist states are increasingly repressive and prone to use state terrorism. The legal and political infrastructure for fascism has become well entrenched since the 9/11 anti-terrorist hysteria. The imperialist states have stepped up war hysteria and war production, and have proceeded to escalate military intervention and wars of aggression. They have taken advantage of the high rate of unemployment to recruit more troops for their armies and more police agents for breaking up strikes and street demonstrations. Fascism is rearing its ugly head as immigrants and migrant workers are scapegoated as having caused the crisis.

Contradictions among the imperialist powers on economic, financial, political and security issues are steadily growing and becoming conspicuous. But the imperialist powers still manage to maintain their alliance as they confront the oppressed peoples and nations in the underdeveloped countries. At any rate, the crisis is generating protectionism in the imperialist countries. Inter-imperialist competition is intensifying more than ever before for sources of cheap labor, oil and other raw materials, markets, fields of investments and spheres of influence. The US is wary over the tendency of the European Union to look after its own interests in Europe, Asia, Latin America and Africa.

The EU is currently being buffeted by the public debt crisis as a consequence of the bailouts and accumulated neoliberal spending on high consumption and on construction projects. Japan continues to hold on to the coat

tails of Uncle Sam in terms of accommodation or cooperation in trade, investments, technology and security. In turn, the US wants Japan to act as a counterforce to China as part of the arc of containment against China in the Asia-Pacific region.

However, the US and China have been the main partners under the policy of neoliberal globalization, with the former serving as the main source of investments and main market for the cheap sweatshop consumer manufactures of the latter. Now the US is increasingly blaming China for the global economic and financial crisis and prating that China's export surpluses are the cause of US indebtedness and that China is prolonging and aggravating the crisis by manipulating its currency in order to continue cheapening its exports.

The US depicts China as its current and long-term No. 1 rival in economic and political terms, notwithstanding the fact that China is a poor country with a low per capita GDP even if its total GDP now ranks second in the world. China has strengthened certain parts of the industrial base inherited from socialism, but has undermined other parts through privatization. It has large foreign exchange reserves which it has used to export capital to various parts of the world. But US and other multinational firms have a claim on such foreign exchange reserves.

China has improved its modern weaponry formidable for defensive purposes, but it is still no match to that of the US for offensive or aggressive purposes. It has sought to counterbalance the US military presence by forming the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, developing close friendly relations with Russia, and making the US dependent on its mediating role with regard to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The US is currently being weakened by the economic and financial crisis as well as by its wars of aggression in Iraq and Afghanistan and the overstretch of its military forces elsewhere in the world. Thus, it appears weakened relative to China in East Asia and relative to the bloc of countries aligned with Cuba and Venezuela in Latin America.

The countries most devastated by the crisis of the world capitalist crisis are, of course, those underdeveloped ones in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and those degraded in Eastern Europe and certain republics of the former Soviet Union. The oppressed peoples and nations in all these countries undergo terrible suffering. They yearn and struggle for national and social liberation from the imperialist countries and the local exploiting classes.

The armed movements fighting the largest and most intense struggles are those of peoples victimized by the US wars of aggression such as those in Iraq and Afghanistan. Taking the revolutionary lead on a longer time scale are the Maoist parties waging or preparing to wage people's war for national liberation and new democracy in various continents. The people's war in India, the Philippines, Turkey and elsewhere is showing the way. Avowedly Marxist-Leninist parties like those in Colombia and other countries have also been waging revolutionary armed struggle for several decades.

The defeat of the Tamil Tigers has been due to strategic and tactical errors but has not foreclosed the reemergence of the revolutionary armed struggle in Tamil Eelam and Sri Lanka. A new revolutionary leadership has declared the continuance of the people's war. The Maoist party in Nepal is at the crossroads of gaining control over government through parliamentary struggle and mass uprisings, or of resuming a protracted people's war.

More armed revolutionary movements are bound to arise in various continents and countries due to the protracted crisis and its effects, such as increasingly severe forms of oppression and exploitation, more wars of aggression against the people and sharpening contradictions among the imperialist powers themselves. The ever worsening crisis of the world capitalist system is favorable to the armed revolution of the Filipino people.

### ***Chronic crisis of the rotten ruling system***

The chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal system continues to worsen under the impact of the crisis of the world capitalist system. More than ever before, the Philippines is dependent on the export of raw materials, migrant labor and low value-added semimanufactures, and the prices of these are now pressed down in the global market. More than ever, the Philippines is stricken by trade deficits, and is a beggar for foreign loans at more onerous terms and for portfolio investments in search of higher returns in the financial market.

The change of puppet administrations from Arroyo to Aquino does not involve any significant change. The Aquino regime clings to the dogma of neoliberal globalization, and shuns national industrialization and land reform. It remains dependent on foreign loans and grants for the continuance of an economy oriented to the export of raw materials, and infrastructure projects to serve agricultural and mining corporations. It has given first priority to selling the Philippines and luring more foreign investments through its Public-Private Partnership Program.

Like its predecessor regime, the puppet Aquino regime slavishly follows its US master's bidding in its counterinsurgency drive. The plan, Oplan Bayanihan, to succeed Arroyo's brutal Oplan Bantay Laya—is just the same brutal dog with a different collar. It is patterned after and hews closely to the latest US Counterinsurgency Guide, with the same objectives and pretentious features. Couched in new fancy slogans, it combines all forms of deception, cooptation and brute force in seeking to destroy the revolutionary forces by all means. Like other counterinsurgency campaign plans in the past, Oplan Bayanihan has the same objective of controlling and silencing the population right down to the grassroots. It purports that the "whole-of-nation" and "people-centered" approach that it now totes is genuine and is primary over the military or "enemy-centered" approach. Its new slogans sugar-coat fascist bullets and atrocities with pretensions at reaching out to the people and respecting human rights, all to provide cover for and facilitate its brutal campaigns of suppression against the people and their revolutionary forces. In intent and reality, US counterinsurgency doctrine and practice—as more straightforwardly prescribed in military manuals—hold that, in the final analysis, military and other coercive measures are primary. As the revolutionary struggle gains strength, especially amid the ever intensifying crisis, the imperialist and puppet reactionary forces invariably resort to more and more militarist and fascist means and methods.

In conformity with the US Counterinsurgency Guide, the Aquino regime has been using the catchwords of good governance, delivery of services, economic development and security reforms in order to undertake graft-ridden programs and projects, hand dole outs for counterinsurgency purposes, aggravate the underdevelopment of the economy and divert resources from education, health and other essential social services to the military, debt service and profit remittances by multinational corporations.

The World Bank, the US Millennium Challenge Corporation and other imperialist agencies have joined the charade in announcing that they would favor and support states with development projects, such as those bandied about as Millennium Development Goals and Conditional Cash Transfers that supposedly would raise the quality of life of the population, improve governance and the delivery of basic services, but whose real objectives are to keep the recipient countries backward and mendicant, and to further the imperialist neoliberal and counterinsurgency agenda.

The Filipino people suffer the impositions of a regime whose chieftain Aquino has been handpicked by the US and the local exploiters. His supposed victory in the elections was predetermined by the propaganda, financing and manipulation of the foreign-controlled automated electoral system by the US and the worst of the local reactionaries. The Aquino regime is being directed by the same foreign and domestic interests that directed the Arroyo regime. It has already exposed itself as essentially similar to the Arroyo regime in terms of puppetry, corruption, brutality and mendacity.

To surpass his electoral rivals in campaign rhetorics, Aquino promised to prosecute and try Arroyo and her accomplices for corruption and human rights violations. But the promise is not going to be fulfilled as proven by the built-in weaknesses and the waste basketing by the Arroyo-dominated Supreme Court of the so-called Truth Commission, as well as by the continuing condonement not only of the Arroyo regime's human rights violations but also those of the current regime itself.

Intense pressure, including heavy criticism of the ridiculously trumped-up charges, widespread demands nationwide and abroad, the detainees' resolute struggle for justice and freedom and their hunger strike compelled the Aquino government to drop the charges against the Morong 43 and have them released. The AFP still has to answer for the injustice, torture and sufferings inflicted on the victims. The Aquino government has still failed to clear and release hundreds more political detainees who have also been falsely charged, including those whose security is guaranteed by the GRPNDFP Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG). It has not rendered justice to the thousands of victims of human rights violations.

By all indications, the Aquino regime is hellbent on using the slogan of human rights in order to continue the gross and systematic human rights violations. It is obviously going to use the peace negotiations with the NDFP and the MILF as an occasional propaganda device and to block the demands of the people for basic social, economic and political reforms to address the roots of the armed conflict and lay the basis for a just and lasting peace. So far, most important to the Aquino regime is beefing up the military, police and paramilitary forces and unleashing them against the people and the revolutionary forces.

The contradictions between the Filipino people and the Aquino regime will sharpen. The people will resent Aquino for failing to fulfill his promise to solve the problem of poverty by eliminating corruption. The regime has

practically condoned the crimes of corruption committed by the Arroyo clique and allows the continuing rampage of corruption. To end poverty, it is not enough to stop corruption. Social justice and development through national industrialization and land reform are necessary. But the Aquino regime is opposed to these as well, as proven by his actions on the Hacienda Luisita issue and his policy pronouncements and acts that exceedingly tout foreign investments and favor the imperialist policy of neoliberal globalization.

The people cannot tolerate extreme forms of exploitation and oppression inflicted on them. Social discontent is more widespread and intense than ever before. The mass organizations of the toiling masses and the middle social strata are gearing for concerted mass actions. Strikes and mass demonstrations have begun to break out and are bound to spread. The armed revolutionary struggle is intensifying. The people's army is launching more tactical offensives than ever before in order to realize the objective of advancing from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate in five years.

As the crisis worsens and the people's resistance rises, the contradictions among the reactionaries intensify. The economic and financial basis for mutual accommodation among the reactionaries has further narrowed. The ruling reactionaries headed by Aquino tend to monopolize the spoils of power. The reactionaries in the opposition are pushed to expose the corruption and other crimes of those who are in power. They are obliged to criticize the ruling clique in order to seize the political initiative and prepare for the next electoral contest.

At various levels of the political system, the competing reactionaries build their respective armed strength by cultivating factions within the military and police and by organizing their own armed body guards and private security agencies and militia units. GRP president Aquino as commander-in-chief of the armed forces has the advantage over his political opponents in using the military and police chain of command and his own private security corporation. But the regime is vulnerable to the changing alignments among the armed factions that struggle for power and spoils, especially in lucrative official assignments and criminal activities.

There is no sign whatsoever that the war between the Manila government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) would be resolved under the Aquino regime. The regime and its imperialist master seek the capitulation of the MILF so that they can exploit and plunder the natural resources in Bangsamoro land in Mindanao. But the MILF is unwilling to give up the right of the Bangsamoro to self-determination and to their ancestral domain.

While the war continues in Bangsamoro land, the Manila government has less deployable military forces against the New People's Army. At the same time, while the people's war advances throughout the Philippines, the MILF and the Bangsamoro have better prospects of achieving their revolutionary aspirations. The revolutionary forces and people led by the Communist Party of the Philippines have always recognized the right of the Moro people to national self-determination. The Moro people have the right to secede from an oppressive state as well as to opt for autonomy in a centralized or federal state that is non-oppressive.

The contradictions between the US imperialists and the Filipino people are sharpening in every field—economic, political, military and cultural. The US has tightened its grip on the Philippine economy under the policy of neoliberal globalization. At the same time, it has increased its military intervention under its policy of "global war on terror" and particularly under the Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA) and the US Counterinsurgency Guide. Under various pretexts, the US has realized the permanent basing and deployment of US military forces in the Philippines. US military officers have openly acted as the bosses of the Filipino puppet forces. The US is bent on escalating its military intervention to a war of aggression against the Filipino people as the revolutionary forces gain strength towards the strategic stalemate. But US military forces are being adversely affected by the domestic US economic and financial crisis, by being sucked into the quagmires of two wars of aggression and by being overstretched in overseas deployment. The possibility of a US war of aggression against the Filipino people can be diminished by the rise of more armed revolutions in the world and by diplomatic actions taking advantage of growing contradictions between the US and certain countries in East Asia, like China and the DPRK. But the most important consideration is that the Filipino people and the revolutionary forces shall have gained a great amount of strength and experience from advancing towards the strategic stalemate and shall have prepared to fight a US war of aggression.

### ***The Party leads the revolution***

The Communist Party of the Philippines has successfully led the Philippine revolution for over 42 years since its founding. It has defeated all the military campaigns of suppression unleashed by the Marcos regime to "nip the

revolution in the bud" from 1969 to 1972 and the 14 years of fascist dictatorship from 1972 to 1986; and thereafter, the various campaigns of the post-Marcos regimes from 1986 to the present. It has grown from small to big and from weak to strong through fierce revolutionary struggles. It has become tempered in battles against the enemy forces and overcome tremendous odds and difficulties. It has gained rich experience from which to draw lessons in order to advance the people's war from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate in five years.

The Party has won great victories in the fields of ideology, politics and organization. It has upheld, defended and promoted Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the theory of the revolutionary proletariat. It has applied this theory on Philippine history and circumstances in order to determine the character of Philippine society and to draw the general political line of new democratic revolution through protracted people's war. It has adhered to the principle of democratic centralism in building an organization that is deeply rooted among the toiling masses throughout the country.

The Party has gained strength and competence in leading the Philippine revolution because it has resolutely and diligently built itself ideologically, politically and organizationally. Criticism and self-criticism are conducted regularly and in a timely way in all organs and units to identify and overcome errors and shortcomings and to improve work and style of work. When errors and shortcomings of major proportions are committed, higher organs conduct rectification campaigns of varying scale and duration.

The CPP Central Committee initiated and led the Second Great Rectification Movement (SGRM) from 1992 to 1998 that identified, criticized, repudiated and rectified major errors of Left opportunism and Right opportunism arising from the subjectivist notion that the Philippines has ceased to be semifeudal. The Left opportunists who pushed the lines of "strategic counteroffensive" and "urban insurrectionism" (Red Area-White Area, etc.) departed from the strategic line of protracted people's war and undermined the mass base of the revolutionary movement. Subsequently, they conjoined with the Right opportunists who got carried away by Gorbachovism, Trotskyism, bourgeois liberalism and other petty-bourgeois trends and who were most vocal in espousing the liquidation of the Party.

The Party held its ground against the opportunists and called for the reaffirmation of basic revolutionary principles and the rectification of errors. It confronted and defeated the opportunists on all major issues, renewed the criticism and repudiation of modern revisionism in view of the blatant and full-scale restoration of capitalism in revisionist-ruled countries. It combated the ideas and policies related to the ideological, political, economic and military offensives of the US and its allies against the cause of national liberation, democracy and socialism.

The SGRM held the incorrigible opportunists and renegades accountable for gross ideological and political errors and for crimes arising from hysterical anti-informer campaigns. It frustrated and defeated the wrecking operations of the opportunists who eventually exposed themselves as renegades and special agents of the enemy. Ideological work was intensified. Through vigorous efforts, the Party successfully recovered and expanded the mass base in rural and urban areas. But certain aspects and areas of work did not get prompt and proper attention until after the SGRM.

The Party was able to preserve itself and gain strength under the worst conditions of adversity. It was still in the process of laying its foundation when Marcos imposed the fascist dictatorship and sought to destroy the revolutionary movement. In the time of the first Aquino regime, the military campaigns called Lambat Bitag coincided with the opportunist lines still at work within the Party. The Ramos and Estrada regimes continued the campaigns of suppression while the Party concentrated on the rectification movement and the recovery of the mass base.

The Arroyo regime carried out Oplan Bantay Laya (OBL) for nearly ten years. The victories gained from the SGRM served the revolutionary movement well. In certain regions, the revolutionary forces that came under concentrated enemy attack became stronger. Others maintained their strength to be able to fight back in armed and legal struggles. One region was able to surmount the whole course of OBL I but declined in both armed and legal forms of struggle in the course of OBL II. In certain regions, the revolutionary forces grew because the enemy military forces were sparse due to overextension elsewhere.

Even when the enemy forces launched the most brutal campaigns of military suppression, the Party has been able to engage in ideological building by undertaking courses at the primary, intermediate and advanced levels in many rural and urban areas. It is impossible for the enemy to stop ideological and political studies in so many guerrilla fronts, mountainous sites, private homes, offices and campus grounds apart from studies conducted in guerrilla fronts under concentrated attack by the enemy forces.

It is absolutely necessary to have Party cadres and members who have a sufficient level of theoretical knowledge of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. They serve as the hard core of the revolutionary movement. The long life and victories of the Party and the entire revolutionary movement are assured as the number of Marxist-Leninist-Maoists keep on increasing.

Theoretical and political studies have been facilitated and accelerated by the translation of the classics and major Party documents in various Philippine languages, by the legal availability of these in hard copies and on the internet in digital copies, by simplified study materials and by the use of audio-visual media and illustrations in hard and digital copies,

The Party has consistently promoted the general political line of democratic revolution through protracted people's war in response to the semicolonial and semifeudal conditions that have not only persisted but also worsened and deepened under the policy regime of neoliberal globalization and the global war of terror pushed by the US imperialists. The Party has taken up all the major political, economic, social, cultural and military issues related to the general line of the revolution. It has debated with and defeated the exponents of blatant counter-revolution and reformism.

The Party has vigorously aroused, organized and mobilized various sections of the masses to undertake various forms of struggle against the current enemy and the entire ruling system. The mass movement has continued to persevere and grow in both urban and rural areas. It can grow faster than ever as it responds to the demands of the masses themselves and members of mass organizations are recruited in accordance with easily understood constitutions and programs of such organizations.

There is no way for the enemy to stop the mass organizations, especially because of the worsening political and economic crisis of the ruling system. But certain mass organizations and alliances have declined not so much because of the enemy campaigns of suppression but because of errors and shortcomings of leadership in the Party organs concerned.

The mass movement of workers, peasants, youth, women, professionals and other people is the source of Party members and NPA fighters. It is the force by which the masses themselves express their needs, demands and aspirations. It is the force by which they can build and appreciate their own strength. It is also the force by which various types of alliances can be formed.

The New People's Army has 110 to 120 guerrilla fronts that cover significant portions of 800 municipalities in 70 provinces. The number of guerrilla fronts fluctuates because of concentrated enemy attacks with varying duration. The enemy has no capability to concentrate attacks on more than 10 percent of the guerrilla fronts at every given time.

To frustrate and defeat concentrated attacks by the enemy forces, the NPA can shift its forces, leave units to pin down the enemy and launch offensives at the weakest points of the enemy elsewhere. While the enemy can concentrate strength on less than 10 percent of the Philippines, the NPA can move around freely in more than 90 percent.

The NPA continues to integrate the revolutionary armed struggle with genuine land reform and the building of the mass base and organs of political power. It is invincible because it smashes the bureaucratic military power of the state, responds to the peasant demand for land and realizes land reform as the main content of the democratic revolution and because it builds the people's democratic state of workers, peasants and other people.

The National Democratic Front is effectively harmonizing 17 revolutionary forces consisting of the Party, the NPA and the underground revolutionary mass organizations of workers, peasants, national minorities, women, youth, teachers, health professionals, lawyers, scientists and technologists, writers and artists, the religious and other sectors. It is a united front for armed struggle. At the same time, all the revolutionary forces have authorized it to engage in peace negotiations with the reactionary government.

The peace negotiations have dragged on because one reactionary regime after another has sought to use it in futile attempts to deceive the people, split the revolutionary forces and press the NDFP towards capitulation and pacification. But the NDFP has correctly and consistently asserted that the framework agreement, The Hague Joint Declaration, must be followed and that the roots of the armed conflict must be addressed through basic social, economic and political reforms to lay the basis for a just and lasting peace.

The Party and the NDFP have served well the people and the revolutionary forces by declaring that the line of negotiations for a just peace is no different from the line of struggle for national liberation and democracy. A just

peace can be achieved in the following ways: the complete victory of the armed revolution, the emergence of an anti-imperialist coalition government or an anti-imperialist alliance and truce.

None of these possibilities is easily attainable because the enemy persists in trying to destroy the revolutionary movement of the people. The NDFP carries on the peace negotiations because these provide the opportunity to articulate the program for a people's democratic revolution, to win more adherents to the revolution and to be open to possibilities presented by the worsening crisis of the ruling system and the world capitalist system.

### ***The new fighting tasks***

It is an achievement of great national and world significance that the Communist Party of the Philippines and the Filipino people have carried forward the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war for more than four decades and in the process overcome the most vicious campaigns of suppression unleashed by US imperialism and the local reactionary classes.

The Party has taken an outstanding role in exposing and opposing the ideological, political, economic, cultural and military offensives of the US and other imperialist powers abetted by the revisionist betrayal of socialism. It has analytically anticipated the resurgence of the forces of national liberation, democracy and socialism as a result of the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system under the policy of neoliberal globalization.

It is fine that the Party has resolved to advance the people's war from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate in five years' time. The sight of the near horizon has aroused the optimism and heightened the vigor of the revolutionary forces as they rise in triumph over the harsh difficulties and trials inflicted in the course of the enemy's vicious Oplan Bantay Laya just as they have triumphed over all past similar counterinsurgency campaigns, and rallied to push forward and make a new leap in the struggle, armed with deep resolve, valuable lessons and increased strength. Inspired by their victories accumulated in more than 40 years of ardent struggle and the higher new challenge, the Party membership, NPA units and revolutionary forces are resolved to raise the level of intensity and quality of their struggle, fulfill the requisites, carry out the required tasks, and advance the people's war. The Party must take advantage of the favorable conditions created by the crisis of the world capitalist system for waging revolution. It must confront and defeat the scheme of the enemy to destroy the armed revolution in the Philippines. It must make great strides in realizing the people's aspirations for national and social liberation.

Certain requirements have to be fulfilled in order to advance the people's war. We must be clear about the tasks to be carried out in order to fulfill such requirements.

1. *The Party must expand boldly without letting a single undesirable in.* It must increase its membership to an extent that it has a Party branch in a majority of barangays and in every NPA company and it has Party groups at various levels of mass organizations and institutions. It must be able to recruit Party members from the urban and rural-based mass organizations as well as from units of the NPA.

The main source of Party recruits is the revolutionary mass movement. The mass organizations of workers, peasants, national minorities, urban poor, women, youth, migrants, professionals and others must run far ahead of the Party in recruiting their own members from the unorganized masses. Recruitment can be carried out in large numbers, because acceptance of the constitution and program of the mass organization with patriotic and progressive character suffices for a recruit to become a member. Members thus recruited take general and special mass courses to deepen their understanding, adherence and commitment to the national and democratic cause. Rapid expansion of membership can be realized especially when these mass organizations are at the lead of propaganda campaigns and mass mobilizations of the people to fight for their immediate and strategic aspirations.

The Party can expand easily upon the rapid growth of the mass organizations. It gives priority to the recruitment of the most advanced mass activists at every given time. Any resident of the Philippines at least 18 years of age who accepts the Party Constitution and Program can qualify immediately as a candidatemember. Within the period of candidature, the recruit is provided with the basic Party course and has the same rights and obligations as the full members, except the right to vote.

The period of candidature for workers and peasants is six months; for those of the urban petty bourgeoisie, one year; and for the middle bourgeoisie, two years. Kabataang Makabayan Communist Youth League members automatically become full members of the Party upon reaching the age of 18, provided they have finished the basic Party course.

The Party must enforce the provisions on Party membership as stated in the Constitution. Any notion that there are rules and standards for membership other than those in the Constitution must be dispelled. The long-running neglect and indefinite delay in the promotion of candidate-membership to full membership must be rectified. Party candidate-members must be provided with the basic Party course promptly, tasked and promoted to full membership upon completion of their period of candidature.

After the candidate-member becomes a full member, he/she must take the intermediate and higher Party courses as soon as possible. A full Party member is expected to become more inspired and more active in fulfilling tasks within the Party and the revolutionary mass movement or in any unit of the people's army.

All Party organs must continually conduct assessments and summing up of their experiences to determine their strengths and weaknesses and draw new plans for their work. The Central Committee of the Party must require all regional Party Committees, Commissions and similar leading organs to make reports and recommendations on the status of the revolutionary forces in their respective areas and lines of work, find out from them their strengths and weaknesses, and provide them with guidance for enhancing their strengths and overcoming their weaknesses. It must require strong and well-developed regions to help weaker ones in augmenting cadres and resources for strengthening the Party, the people's army and people's mass organizations and the united front. Every higher Party organ must inquire from the organs below it what are their strengths and weaknesses and what are the errors and shortcomings of leadership as well as the impact of enemy campaigns of suppression and the interrelation of the subjective forces and the circumstances.

2. *The Party must direct the New People's Army to increase the number of full-time fighters.* Every fully developed guerrilla front must have a total strength of at least one company. It should develop in stages from the seed unit deployed from a previously existing guerrilla front. Developing a guerrilla front entails integration of the revolutionary armed struggle, the agrarian revolution and building the mass base and the organs of democratic political power under the leadership of the Party.

The leadership of the Party over the NPA is ensured with the Central Committee and the Military Commission making the strategic policies and plans on the basis of reports and recommendations below and then issuing the directives to the NPA National Operational Command. At every level of command are a political department and a political officer to maintain the dual leadership with the commander in charge of military command and operations. Every company or platoon has a Party branch and every squad a Party group.

The units of the NPA must be increased by fighting the enemy forces and seizing their weapons. The NPA units must wage only battles that they can win. They do so by concentrating enough strength to wipe out an enemy force, using such elements as surprise, favorable terrain and favorable conditions. They must give priority to battles of annihilation that take the form of ambushes and raids. By annihilation, we mean taking away by armed force the capability of enemy units to fight but treating the captives leniently after they are disarmed or they lose the ability to fight.

The tactics of annihilation must be complemented by tactics of attrition at the sure expense of the enemy. The NPA must train from the ranks of the full-time fighters and the militia special teams for reconnaissance, sniping, producing and employing command-detonated explosives and other means, with the objective of destroying moving and parked vehicles used for transporting military personnel, weapons, fuel and other war materiel as well as storage facilities for these.

Enterprises that do not comply with the rules and regulations of the people's democratic government, disregard and violate the welfare and interests of the people, and conduct abusive and antagonistic actions against the people must be banned, disabled or dismantled. These include those that engage in destructive large-scale logging, mining and plantations for export; plunder nonrenewable resources; ruin the environment and take land away from land reform. The military forces and security agencies protecting these enterprises are targets for annihilation by the people's army.

As a matter of revolutionary law and justice, those who have committed murder and other serious crimes against the people and the revolutionary forces, including human rights violations and plunder, must be arrested by the people's army and militia, investigated by the people's prosecution and tried by the people's court. Such criminals are subject to the necessary amount of force by the arresting units if they are armed and dangerous, resist arrest or are protected by bodyguards and units of the reactionary military or police.

The NPA must use the tactics of concentration in order to win the tactical offensives against target enemy

units. But it must also be vigilant against the enemy using the same tactics of concentration. When a superior enemy force comes looking for a fight and implements a plan to occupy an area, be it a guerrilla front or a part of it, the NPA must be ready to use the tactics of evasion or shifting in order to avoid being put at a disadvantage, to trade space for time and to move to an advantageous position for conducting a counteroffensive at a later time or at a location where the enemy is weak. When the enemy forces set camp, the NPA must harass and inflict damage on them and be on the lookout for opportunities to annihilate any enemy unit or element going out of the camp.

The NPA must use the tactics of dispersal to cover a wide area for mass work and develop a wide network of mass organizations, self-defense units and militia against the enemy. In a guerrilla front, the NPA must always maintain a relatively concentrated unit (e.g., a platoon) and relatively dispersed units (e.g., two platoons divisible into squads and propaganda teams). The NPA can carry out intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare and flexibly use the tactics of concentration, shifting and dispersal only if it has an ever widening and deepening mass base. The peasant masses are ever willing to let their best sons and daughters join the people's army. They are the active base and limitless source of Red fighters and resources for the armed revolution because the NPA is their instrument for fulfilling their demand for land and for realizing their economic, social and political liberation.

The NPA must promote the establishment and development of the mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth, women, cultural activists and other sectors of people in the localities. It must help build the organs of political power. Initially, these are appointive committees of the people and eventually elected by the representatives of the mass organizations or by the entire community. The Party must systematically deploy urban-based mass activists to the countryside so that they can learn from the peasant masses, render service to the peasant communities and in due course join the people's army. Party cadres and members from the ranks of the workers and educated youth are urgently needed for strengthening the people's army and the Party in the countryside.

3. *The Party must strengthen the basic alliance of the working class and peasantry.* This is the combination of the leading force and the main force of the new democratic revolution. Through the Party as the advanced detachment, the working class is the leading force because it directs the current course of the revolution towards the socialist future. The peasantry is the main force because it is the most numerous exploited class whose struggle for land is the main content of the democratic revolution. The proletariat and the peasantry constitute more than 90 percent of the people. Their combination is indispensable and decisive for winning the new democratic revolution.

The basic worker-peasant alliance must win over the urban petty bourgeoisie as allies in order to constitute the alliance of progressive forces. The National Democratic Front is the best expression and most consolidated underground alliance of the workers, peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie. It must be strengthened further. The urban petty bourgeoisie is a small part of Philippine society and constitutes the lower part of the bourgeoisie. It suffers a certain degree of oppression and exploitation and it can be won over to contribute its capabilities and influence to the revolution.

The Party must further win over the middle bourgeoisie to cooperate with the alliance of progressive forces and become active in a formal or informal alliance of patriotic forces interested in strengthening the anti-imperialist and democratic movement of the entire people. The middle bourgeoisie is interested in national industrialization and can understand land reform as a way of releasing capital, expanding the domestic market and serving as the source of food and raw materials for industry. The alliance of patriotic forces is interested in the rise of an anti-imperialist and democratic government.

The Party must be open to the broadest possible alliance, which includes the reactionary forces opposed to the enemy that is the most reactionary and most servile to the imperialists. Reactionaries are temporary and unreliable allies. They join the alliance because of their self-interest and they are inclined to attack the revolution once they come into power. But alliance with them is necessary in order to isolate and destroy the enemy. Relative to the broadest possible alliance, the Party must maintain its independence and initiative and must draw benefits for the revolutionary movement from the conflicts of the reactionaries and build its strength for eventually overthrowing the entire ruling system.

So far, in the history of our Party, the reactionary force considered as the enemy has been the ruling clique. But the Party does not foreclose the possibility of an anti-imperialist alliance and truce with a regime in power that takes an anti-imperialist and democratic position. It considers the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations as a way of encouraging and stimulating the emergence of a government of national unity against the imperialists and their unrepentant puppets.

For as long as no possibility exists for such a government to arise, the Party and the Filipino people must exert all efforts to carry forward the new democratic revolution through people's war. After we succeed in advancing from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate, our task is to fully develop the strategic stalemate until the conditions are ripe for the nationwide seizure of power through the strategic offensive.

# ***Strengthen Communist Parties in the Worsening Global Capitalist Crisis***

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On a global scale, the objective conditions for strengthening communist parties are favorable. The crisis of the world capitalist system keeps on worsening. And the broad masses of the people are rising up simultaneously in many countries in various continents to resist the dire consequences of the global crisis.

Communist parties have the opportunity to strengthen themselves in an all-round way: ideologically, politically and organizationally. The ever-worsening crisis exposes the bankruptcy and rottenness of the entire world capitalist system and points to the necessity of revolutionary struggles for national liberation, democracy and socialism under the leadership of the proletariat and its revolutionary party.

## ***1. Worsening crisis and aggressiveness of imperialism***

The economic and financial crisis that burst out in the US and spread throughout the world in 2008 has persisted and aggravated as a global depression. That is because the imperialist states have continued to cling to the US-dictated policy of neoliberal globalization. Under the auspices of this policy, the financial oligarchy and the rest of the monopoly bourgeoisie have continued to make profits in the real economy by pressing down the incomes and social benefits of the working people as well as in the financial markets by generating and manipulating speculative capital.

Public money has been used to bail out the big banks and corporations, improve their balance sheets and revive the stock market. Even the much-touted stimulus packages doled out to the favored corporations are subject to their labor-cost saving and profitmaking decisions. Thus, there is no real economic recovery. The general trend is for production and employment to stagnate and decline. Underconsumption and poverty are increasing as more people suffer unemployment, lower income and rising prices of basic commodities and services.

Public deficits and the public debt have soared because of tax cuts, subsidies, overpriced contracts and bailouts for the big bourgeoisie and quite conspicuously because of the mounting debt service and the rising expenditures for military production and for military intervention and aggression. But the public sector employees and the rest of the working people and even the decreasing level of government social spending are blamed for the soaring public deficits. They are all scapegoated for the adoption of austerity measures which pass further pass on the burden of crisis to the working people.

The imperialist powers are united in applying the anti-worker, antisocial and anti-environment bias of the neoliberal economic policy. But among them there are increasing contradictions regarding economic, financial and trade policies. There are growing trends of protectionism and the use of fiscal measures to stimulate demand and rebuild the infrastructure. Amidst the growing indecisiveness of the G8 and the G20 and such multilateral agencies as the IMF, World Bank and the WTO, China, Russia, India, Brazil and South Africa are combining to develop their own position relative to the crisis of the world capitalist system.

In more than three decades of neoliberal economic policy, the chronic crisis of overproduction in the world capitalist system was accelerated, deepened and aggravated. But it was made to appear that the crisis was always being solved or overcome by limitless debt financing at the level of the households, the corporations and the states. The constant creation of money, credit and derivatives was supposed to perpetuate a happy world of expanding production, up-valuation of assets and speculative bubbles.

While the big bourgeoisie railed against supposed wage inflation and big social spending by government, they had no compunction about pouring public funds into military production and deployment of military forces abroad. The military-industrial complex profited from the overpriced contracts with the state. These are considered to have buoyed up the US economy since the Reagan high-speed spending for high-tech military production in the 1980s, down to the military Keynesianism of Bush junior and the continuing rising military expenditures for military production and wars of aggression.

The ever-worsening crisis of the world capitalist system is driving the imperialist powers headed by the US to increase military production and launch wars of aggression. The end of the Cold War upon the implosion of the Soviet Union has served to embolden the US and its NATO allies to engage in wars of aggression such as those against Yugoslavia, Iraq, Afghanistan and Libya. The increasing aggressiveness of the imperialist powers is driven

by the domestic profit-seeking of the monopoly bourgeoisie and its scheme to expand economic territory abroad, as cheap sources of labor, oil and other raw materials, as markets and fields of investment and as spheres of influence.

The imperialist powers are united against the oppressed peoples and nations and underdeveloped countries that assert national independence. But among themselves they are increasingly beset by contradictions as they struggle for a redivision of the world. Certain countries that collaborated with the US and NATO in the aggression against Iraq subsequently became wary and formed the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). Most recently, China, Russia, India, Brazil and even Germany would not support the aggression on Libya.

## **2. Growing peoples' resistance**

In the imperialist countries, there is widespread discontent among the people because of the high rate of unemployment, the erosion of hard-won social benefits, the curtailment of trade union and other democratic rights and the austerity measures being adopted against the working class and the people in general. There are outbursts of general strikes and militant mass protests by the workers, youth and students, women and other sectors of society. The public sector workers, the migrant workers, the youth and women are often in the forefront of mass protests in the streets.

The strikes and mass protests break out in countries more often where crisis conditions and austerity measures are most severe, where the authorities are most reactionary and repressive and where there are communist parties, mass organizations or coordinating centers that call for concerted actions on the burning issues. In most imperialist countries, there is still political inertia due to the absence of a strong communist party and a strong mass movement of the working class, youth, women and other sectors.

At the same time, the monopoly bourgeoisie has been quite adept at using the mass media, the political parties and the schools in propagating anticommunist ideas and prejudices and playing up chauvinism, racism, religious bigotry, war hysteria and fascism to divide the people, to divert public sentiment and to obscure the roots of the crisis in the world capitalist system. Elections are being used to absorb the swings of political moods from Right to Left and from Left to Right and to keep them within the frame of the capitalist ruling system. Nevertheless, the crisis conditions persist and provide the opportunities for the subjective forces of the revolution to arise and grow in strength. The communist parties and mass organizations under their leadership are manifesting various degrees of success in developing their strength. They are conscious that a principled and effective communist party generates a strong mass movement and in turn the latter provides the base for increasing the ranks of communists.

In the underdeveloped countries, the people are carrying out and intensifying various forms of resistance against the imperialist powers and the local reactionary forces. The people wage armed resistance against imperialist aggression and occupation as in Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Palestine. They do likewise in civil wars against repressive ruling systems as in India, the Philippines, Colombia, Peru, Turkey and elsewhere. Whether they wage armed resistance or not, the people engage in mass movements for national and social liberation and intensify these against the ever rising level of oppression and exploitation. The people who wage armed revolutions for new democracy and wars of national liberation against foreign aggression and occupation have the best chances of seizing political power and establishing a state with an anti-imperialist and democratic character.

Legal mass movements and mass uprisings without arms, as in North Africa and the Middle East recently, cannot by themselves change the reactionary ruling system even if they succeed, with the direct or indirect support of the reactionary military, in overthrowing autocrats or authoritarian regimes. But they can assist existing armed revolutions or engender these as a subsequent development.

The protraction of the global depression since 2008 has set the stage for great disorder and upheavals in the second decade of the 21st century. The rise of new democratic revolutions through people's wars in the underdeveloped countries can inspire and stimulate revolutionary mass movements in the developed countries. The more imperialist countries engage in military intervention or aggression against other countries the more they take the risk of undermining political and economic stability in their home grounds. The growing contradictions among imperialist countries can result in the general weakening of the hold of the most repulsive imperialist powers like the US on the underdeveloped countries and in wider room for underdeveloped countries in asserting national independence and anti-imperialist and democratic mass movements to surge forward. The inter-imperialist contradictions involve imperialist powers backing different governments in underdeveloped countries and in

exchanging provocations and threats of igniting national, regional or global wars.

### **3. *Strengthening communist parties amidst the worsening global crisis***

In the last three decades, the imperialist powers headed by the US have blamed the working class and government social spending for the phenomenon of stagflation in the 1970s and have relentlessly pursued a ruthless class war to press down wage levels and attack the rights of the working class in order to enable the monopoly bourgeoisie to accumulate more capital and enjoy the widest opportunities for profitmaking under the policy of neoliberal globalization.

And in the last more than two decades, the imperialist powers have also gloated over the revisionist betrayal of socialism, the fall of revisionist regimes and the full restoration of capitalism in revisionist-ruled countries and described these as proof that the history of mankind does not go farther than capitalism and liberal democracy. With the obvious intention of perpetuating capitalism and further burying socialism, the monopoly bourgeoisie has intensified ideological, political, economic and military offensives against the working class and all anti-imperialist forces.

But the evils of capitalism and imperialism are once more totally exposed upon the bankruptcy of the imperialist policy of neoliberal globalization. This policy is inflicting horrendous conditions of exploitation and oppression on the broad masses of the people and is inciting them to engage in various forms of resistance. The conditions are favorable for waging revolutionary struggles and demand that communist parties take the lead in the struggles of the people and to strengthen themselves for the purpose.

#### **Ideological strengthening**

Communist parties must strengthen themselves ideologically. They must uphold Marxism-Leninism as the universal theory of the proletariat and apply it on the history and current circumstances of the people's struggle for national and social liberation against imperialism and all reaction. Ideological building is the first requisite in building the revolutionary party of the proletariat. Without theory, there can be no revolutionary party and no revolutionary movement.

We now hear from an increasing number of serious-minded people, who are not even communists, of the need to read and study Marx in the face of the grave crisis and depression of the world capitalist system. They are disgusted with the bourgeois subjectivism and the dogma of personal greed that have been pushed by the monopoly bourgeoisie in the anti-Communist and anti-socialist ideological offensive and that have resulted in grave harm to the broad masses of the people under the policy of neoliberal globalization.

To make a living and useful study of Marxism-Leninism, we must focus on the current dire circumstances as a result of the laws of motion and internal contradictions of the capitalist system. We must apply the theory not only to critique and interpret the decadent system but more importantly to adopt an outlook, methodology and plan for overthrowing it and replacing it with a new system through the revolutionary process.

We must reaffirm the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the historical victories in their application. But we must avoid dogmatism by going into the concrete analysis of concrete conditions in accordance with materialist dialectics. We must also shun empiricism, which deprives us of revolutionary direction in the welter of facts and impressions. We must continue to be most vigilant and active against reformism and revisionism, which have been the most lethal to communist parties that have been in power or not yet in power.

Communist Parties must strengthen their ranks ideologically through definite courses of study and through the revolutionary application of the principles and lessons learned. A general level of understanding materialist dialectics and class struggle must be ensured among the rank and file. They must be able to carry out a resolute and vigorous ideological offensive against the ideological trends generated by imperialism and all reaction.

The propagation of Marxist-Leninist ideas among the Party rank and file and among the mass activists should be faster than ever before with the use of various electronic media.

The monopoly bourgeoisie still owns and controls the major mass media. But the reality reflected in the electronic media used by the proletarian revolutionaries can in the long run speak louder than the false ideas and claims of the imperialists and reactionaries.

Communist parties must grasp the new factors in the new situation. In the first instance, the monopoly bourgeoisie owns and controls the high technology for production, distribution and communications. But this accelerates the profitmaking, the concentration of capital, the crisis of overproduction, the abuse of finance capital, the global depression and the people's resistance. In fact, high technology is suitable to socialism and not to

capitalism in terms of knowing and satisfying human needs and demands.

### **Political strengthening**

Communist parties must strengthen themselves politically by drawing correctly the general line of the people's revolutionary struggle on the basis of concrete conditions and steadfastly pursuing this line until complete victory is obtained with the seizure of political power and establishment of the new revolutionary state system. In semi-colonial and semifeudal conditions, communist parties must pursue the line of bourgeois democratic revolution of the new type. In industrial capitalist conditions, they must pursue the line of socialist revolution, taking into account the necessity of democratic struggle against the threat or reality of fascism.

The revolutionary struggle of the people must be led by the working class through the Communist Party as its advanced detachment. The working class must be the leading class because it is the most productive and most progressive force. It is the agency for supplanting the bourgeois ownership and management of the means of production and for bringing about socialism. It has the vantage point of recognizing the need for the liberation of all working people and for leading the process of overthrowing the reactionary state and establishing the revolutionary state.

In political struggle, communist parties must avoid the pitfalls of Right and "Left" opportunism. Right opportunism usually takes the form of reformism and revisionism, keeping the struggle for reforms always within the confines of the reactionary state and going so far as to revise and depart from the fundamental principle of overthrowing the reactionary state. "Left" opportunism means calling for violent actions that are not yet justified by the ongoing conditions and putting the revolutionary forces and people in a losing position. Adventurism is "Left" in form but Rightist in content because it spells defeat for the revolution.

What principal form of struggle to pursue, whether violent or nonviolent, depends on the concrete conditions. In certain semicolonial and semifeudal countries, where the peasants are the most numerous class, it is possible to wage a protracted people's war in order to accumulate armed strength for the ultimate overthrow of the reactionary state. But in industrial capitalist countries, it is impossible to wage such a protracted people's war in which a people's army and its areas of operation grow in stages in the countryside. Under conditions when it is not yet possible to transform an imperialist war into a civil war, it is possible to learn the teachings of the great communist leaders on state and revolution, to build self-defense units against the fascist disrupters of strikes and protest mass actions and to arouse, organize and mobilize the people to engage in giant marches and rallies.

In any given period, a communist party can only have a certain number of members, always limited in relation to the total number of the exploited and oppressed people. It cannot make revolution or any kind of political progress without leading a mass movement. It must build the mass organizations of various classes and sectors: workers (trade unions), peasants, fishermen, urban poor, women, youth, professionals, cultural activists, and so on. It must also build mass organizations focused on important issues of popular or multisectoral interest.

Communist parties must have a united front policy, engage in united front work and build various types of united front or alliances formally and informally in order to amplify, extend and maximize the strength and influence of communists and the masses that they have organized. Communist parties must constantly seek to reach the masses that are unorganized or that belong to other parties, mass organizations and institutions. They can do so through multisectoral, sectoral and issue-based alliances. Success in united front can verify whether the general line of the Party is valid and acceptable to the people.

Communist parties must avail of both the traditional and new methods for arousing, organizing and mobilizing the people. The traditional forms of communications, such as speaking without any amplifier, handwriting and printing on hard copy, are indispensable and basic. But the new forms of communications made available by high technology should be used in order to accelerate, intensify and expand the agitation and education, mass organizing and mobilization of the people.

We are confronted by the forces of imperialism which exploit and oppress the working class and the people on a global scale and use all sorts of instruments, including the multinational firms and banks, agencies of political and cultural subversion and military forces. It is absolutely necessary to uphold the principle of proletarian internationalism among communist and workers' parties and to build solidarity movements of the proletariat and people of the world for national liberation, democracy and socialism against imperialism and all reaction.

### **Organizational strengthening**

Communist parties must strengthen themselves organizationally by following the principle of democratic

centralism. This means centralism based on democracy and democracy under centralized leadership. Leading organs of the Party at all levels are elected and responsible to the Party organization or conference that elected them. After free and thorough discussion of issues, decisions are taken and implemented, giving due respect to the following: the individual is subordinate to the organization, the minority is subordinate to the majority, the lower level is subordinate to the higher level and the entire membership is subordinate to the Central Committee and the National Congress.

The Party should combat the opposite extremes of bureaucratism or top-down commandism and ultra-democracy or anarchism. Leading organs should always pay close attention to the reports and views of lower Party organizations and the masses of Party members and constantly study concrete experiences and give prompt guidance and assistance in the solution of problems. Lower Party organizations should give regular and timely reports about their work to the organization above them and request instructions concerning problems that require the decision of a higher Party organization. All Party organizations must follow the principle of collective leadership and all important decisions must be decided collectively.

At the beginning, a Communist party may be built by recruiting a few Party members from Marxist study circles and from the ranks of trade unions and other forms of mass organizations. But no matter how still small in size, the Party strives to build a nationwide structure and take deeper roots among the toiling masses. The opportunities for building a Party that is nationwide and deeply-rooted among the masses become wider when the crisis of the ruling system worsens and the Party leads a growing mass movement. From this the Party can recruit a far greater number of Party members than before.

Amidst current conditions of global capitalist crisis and depression, it should be easier than ever before to build communist parties where there are none, to rebuild those previously destroyed by the enemy or degenerated by revisionism and to strengthen those that have persevered under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism. Communist parties must take the lead of the mass movement in protesting and making demands against the worsening conditions of oppression and exploitation. From this growing mass movement, they can and must recruit an increasing number of Party members.

In living up to its character as the revolutionary party of the proletariat, a party in an industrial capitalist country or in an underdeveloped country must have as top priority the recruitment of members from the ranks of the workers. The period of candidature for workers may be as short as six months in order to ensure the predominance of workers in the Party and one year for those coming from the petty bourgeoisie. In the underdeveloped countries, where the bourgeois democratic revolution is going on, the poor peasants and farmworkers may have a six-month period of candidature like the workers.

It is best for communist parties to have in their ranks cadres and ordinary members. Cadres are those capable of leading a committee or any other collective unit of work. They are trained and developed within the Party in the course of struggle. They may also be previously leaders in the mass organizations from which they are recruited. Limiting the Party membership to cadres slows the growth of the Party. The Party must have a fast growing number of ordinary members in order to carry out tasks that require mass strength and in order to have within the Party a wide base for developing cadres.

Communist parties must build and strengthen themselves self-reliantly. To do so, they must learn from their own study of Marxism-Leninism and their experiences and set the tasks for advancing and winning greater victories. They must also learn from the teachings and successful experiences of communist leaders and parties on an international scale. In this regard, they can benefit from exchanges of ideas and experiences with other parties through publications, bilateral meetings, multilateral meetings and practical cooperation.

At the moment, several international conferences of communist and workers' parties wish to establish and develop a new Communist International. Communist parties can contribute their ideas and proposals and learn a lot that is helpful from the debates and documentary output of conferences that uphold Marxism-Leninism and oppose revisionism. But it is still too difficult or even impossible to single out which of these conferences is already on the way to being the new Communist International or the new center of the world proletarian revolution.

The advance of a communist party in any country does not depend on the claims of any international conference as the new center of the world revolution. It depends on the line that the party correctly adopts and implements. It is better to look forward to communist parties victorious in revolution initiating a new Communist International than to expect any of the current international conferences to directly lead to the new Communist

International or enable specific parties to win revolution in their respective countries.

We celebrate today with boundless happiness the 43<sup>rd</sup> anniversary of the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and all the victories that we have won since then in the Filipino people's democratic revolution against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

We salute and honor all Party cadres and members, all the revolutionary forces and the entire people for all their efforts and sacrifices in bringing about victories in the revolution. Let us fervently extol and emulate our revolutionary martyrs and outstanding heroes.

Since last year, we have seen significant achievements in our ideological, political and organizational work. We have scored major successes in fulfilling the political requirements for realizing the plan to advance from strategic defensive to strategic stalemate. We have strengthened the political foundation for intensifying the people's war.

As a result, the NPA has been able to launch and win more and more tactical offensives despite prolonged large-scale military offensives by the fascist puppet state. It has delivered lethal blows on the enemy and captured weapons to form more fighting units. It has carried out extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis

660 of an ever widening and deepening mass base.

The crisis conditions in the world capitalist system and in the Philippine ruling system are extremely favorable for waging the people's democratic revolution and for realizing the medium-term plan to advance from strategic defensive to strategic stalemate. Let us take full advantage of the ever worsening and deepening crisis conditions. Monopoly capitalism and the neoliberal policy are in total discredit. The time has come for the proletariat and people in the Philippines and throughout the world to intensify the counteroffensive against imperialism and reaction. Let us march forward in the struggle for national liberation and democracy and unite with the global anti-imperialist and socialist movement.

***Protracted and worsening crisis of global capitalism***

In recent decades, the monopoly capitalists in various countries have been driven by the profit motive and competition to adopt new technology and bring new products into the market as a necessary way for capital expansion. The adoption of higher levels of technology has intensified the contradiction between the social character of production and the private character of appropriation in the capitalist economy. The monopoly bourgeoisie has used information technology and other new technologies to raise productivity and to accelerate profit-making and capital accumulation by reducing the wages paid to the working class. It has also used the more efficient forms of transport and communications to accelerate the commerce in goods and services and to spread the ideology and propaganda of monopoly capitalism, usually packaged in petty-bourgeois language.

Faced with the recurrent and worsening crisis of overproduction and the tendency of the profit rate to fall, the monopoly bourgeoisie has used information technology to speed up financial transactions and generate all sorts of financial derivatives above the real economy. It has thus accelerated the extraction of superprofits and the accumulation of fictitious capital. It has promoted the financialization of the US and the other most advanced capitalist countries and the rise of the financial oligarchy sitting on top of the monopoly capitalist heap.

The neoliberal policy of "free market globalization" is concurrent with the rapid rise of technology and the recurrence of ever worsening economic and financial crises. It has brought the capitalist system to a far worse crisis than what has been described as stagflation in the 1970s. It has accelerated the accumulation and concentration of both productive and finance capital in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie, especially the financial oligarchy.

Since the adoption of the neoliberal policy, which misrepresents monopoly capitalism as free market capitalism, the world capitalist system has been wracked by successive crises. But for a while until 2008, each crisis appeared remediable by further expansion of the money supply and heavy doses of credit at the level of the state, corporations and households. The world still has to see the full destructive effect of the accumulated derivatives worth more than US\$600 trillion generated by banks and investment houses in recent decades.

It used to be said that all problems could be solved by helicoptering more money from the central banks and

pouring it on the problem. Since the financial meltdown in 2008, it has become conspicuous that the abuse of finance capital to override the crisis of overproduction has limits and leads to a crisis comparable to that in the Great Depression. The limits have been exceeded by the public treasuries providing trillions of dollars (US\$7.7 trillion in the US alone) to bail out the crisis-stricken banks and corporations and letting them raise profits on their balance sheets.

The bailouts have served to conjure at times the illusion of recovery in the financial markets even as production continues to stagnate and unemployment continues to rise at the very center of global capitalism. But the financial crisis arising from further borrowing has taken the form of enormous public deficits and public debt. This has been aggravated not only by the colossal amounts of bailout money for the banks and corporations but by the persistent tax cuts provided to the corporations and the wealthy and the rising bureaucratic and military expenditures even while social spending is reduced.

The response of the international banks and the imperialist states to the crisis of public deficits and debts is to impose austerity measures and cut social spending that shift the burden of the crisis to the people who are already suffering from high levels of unemployment, much reduced incomes and soaring prices of basic goods and services. The austerity measures have only served to worsen and deepen the economic crisis due to the dogmatic adherence to the neoliberal policy and the stubborn refusal to undertake fiscal measures to directly generate employment, revive demand and stimulate production. The imperialists have repeatedly made claims since 2009 that the global economy is on the way to recovery. Yet, the crisis persists and threatens to take another downturn. Even the economies of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS) which have fared better than the industrial powers during the crisis and were perceived as alternative engines of growth have already started to show signs of slowing down.

All imperialist countries are beset by the crisis of public deficit and debt and by falling value of currencies, especially the US dollar and the Euro. Like the Third World countries, they are chronically at the brink of default and bankruptcy but get temporary relief by taking new loans that sink them deeper into the debt trap. The imposition of austerity measures at the expense of the people has resulted in massive protests and social disorder in several imperialist states.

The grave economic and financial crises are pushing the imperialist powers to step up war production and to wage wars of aggression. Their objective is to stimulate production by the military-industrial complex and expand economic territory abroad through threats and wars of aggression. Since 2001, the US has spent more than US\$4 trillion on wars of aggression, apart from huge expenditures on so-called homeland security.

Under the neoliberal economic policy regime and the persistent influence of the neoconservative military policy, the US and the NATO countries have unleashed wars of aggression at an increasingly rapid rate, including those in the Balkans, West Asia, Central Asia and Africa since the end of the Cold War in 1991. The main thrust of the wars is to seize markets and fields of investment, control sources and routes of oil and other natural resources and install puppet governments.

The reactionary political parties in the service of the monopoly capitalists promote jingoism and war hysteria and obfuscate the roots of the economic crisis by whipping up chauvinism, racism, religious bigotry and xenophobia against migrant workers, Muslims and immigrants. They use these reactionary currents to try to counter the anti-imperialist and socialist-oriented forces, which the crisis has caused to resurge. Thus, there is currently a tug of war between pro-imperialist and anti-imperialist forces in the industrial capitalist countries.

Nevertheless, the worsening economic and social conditions in the imperialist countries are steadily engendering mass protests among the people. Gigantic mass protest actions have broken out in Greece, Portugal, Spain, Italy, the United Kingdom and other countries in Europe. The Occupy movement has arisen in Wall Street and spread out to many cities in and beyond the US. The working class is becoming increasingly conscious of the need to engage in class struggle against the monopoly bourgeoisie that has long pressed them down. The subjective forces of the revolution have ample favorable conditions on which to grow in strength.

The already prolonged and ever worsening economic and financial crisis in the imperialist countries has a heavy adverse impact on the rest of the world in terms of reduced import orders and exports, decline of production and tightening of international credit. An economic depression has fallen upon the entire world, especially in the underdeveloped countries, which in turn recoils on the imperialist countries.

The imperialist powers, the foreign banks and corporations are extremely demanding on the client states. They

impose ever more onerous terms of debt and use loans as leverage for taking over domestic public and private assets and plundering the natural resources of the country. The puppet governments yield to the monopoly firms their local capital assets, land and natural resources at dirt cheap prices.

The imperialist powers are more than ever prone to engage in military intervention and wars of aggression in order to acquire cheap sources of raw materials, markets, fields of investment and spheres of influence. The struggle among the imperialist powers for a redivision of the world is growing. The integration of China and Russia into the world capitalist system has cramped the space for mutual accommodation among the imperialist powers.

The conditions of economic depression and worsening exploitation have intensely aggrieved the people. Mass uprisings and political turmoil are surging to shake and topple the rulers and autocrats of the client states of the US and other imperialist powers. Conditions are ripe for revolutionary armed struggles in many countries and entire global regions.

The so-called Arab Spring has swept the Middle East and North Africa, with the masses demanding democratic changes, toppling despotic regimes and shaking others. Contrary to their hypocritical claims to democracy, the imperialist powers headed by the US are trying to redirect the people's uprisings and install new puppets in certain countries and perpetuate puppet monarchies in other countries.

The revolutionary movements for national liberation and democracy are growing stronger in India, the Philippines, Kurdistan, Colombia and Nigeria. Where the imperialist powers have unleashed wars of aggression, the people are engaged in armed struggles, as in Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Somalia, Sudan and Libya. Revolutionary parties in Asia, Africa and Latin America are preparing to wage armed revolution.

The US has announced the reduction of the number of US troops in Afghanistan and Iraq but it retains strategic military bases in and around these countries. It seeks to concentrate on the Asia-Pacific region under what it declared to be the American Pacific Century. It considers increasing investments in the region as the key to its prosperity. It seeks to counter China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) and has made clear its intention of maintaining and increasing military presence and missions in the Asia-Pacific despite planned defense spending cuts.

However, the US continues to be bogged down in the Middle East and North Africa. Aside from keeping permanent strategic military bases in Iraq and Afghanistan, the US and its NATO allies have unleashed a vicious war of aggression on Libya, massacring 100,000 Libyans under the slogan of "humanitarian intervention". Also under this pretext, they are increasingly getting embroiled militarily in such African countries as Sudan and Somalia and making war preparations against Syria and Iran.

At any rate, the US is trying to develop the Trans-Pacific Partnership on top of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) and regional and bilateral trade agreements either to contain China or to continue to engage it and press for the dismantling of its state-owned enterprises which have made the Chinese economy more resilient than other monopoly capitalist economies in coping with the crisis of global capitalism.

The US openly regards China as its rising rival despite their close relations under the neoliberal policy and the US reliance on China in bringing the DPRK to the negotiating table with regard to the latter's nuclear research and development program. The US does not cease to make war provocations against the DPRK, supply arms to Taiwan, stir up tensions over the Spratly islands issue and incite social unrest in Tibet and Xinjiang. Part of the US' long-term interest and objectives in Africa is to contain and counter the steadily developing trade and diplomatic inroads of China in the continent.

China is wary of the US and has been active in building the Shanghai Cooperation Organization as a forum for collective security against the US and NATO. It has also entered into bilateral and multilateral trade agreement with Japan, South Korea and Southeast Asian countries without the US. Since 2010, the BRICS countries have activated themselves as an economic bloc in order to counter the global dominance of the US-led alliance of imperialist powers.

In the Americas, more countries and their peoples are asserting their independence against US imperialist aggression and intervention. Thirty-three countries participated in the establishment of the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC) which aims to promote greater integration, cooperation and dialogue in the Americas minus the US and Canada. Widely perceived as an alternative to the US-dominated Organization of American States, the CELAC is described by its leaders as an attempt to reduce US intervention and promote the independence of the countries in the region.

China is in a position to cooperate with the Philippines in a program of national industrialization. But the US and Philippine governments seek to block such a possibility by generating tensions between China on one side and the Philippines and other countries in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) over the issue of the Spratly islands. The US seeks to manipulate the issue in order to justify the maintenance and enlargement of US military forces in the Philippines and restrain Sino-Philippine economic relations.

But no matter how hard the US tries to retain hegemony over the Asia-Pacific region, its efforts are undermined and weakened by its internal economic decline, its overextension over several regions of the world and the increasingly assertive forces for national independence and democracy in the region.

The US can no longer maintain an unchallenged hegemony as in the recent past when it strutted as the sole superpower after the collapse of the Soviet Union. A multipolar world has emerged. The peoples in various global regions are increasingly vigilant and militant against plunderous and aggressive US actions and activities.

### ***The Philippines in the vortex of crisis***

Like the pseudo-development policy of the big comprador-landlord Marcos regime, the series of post-Marcos regimes have aggravated and deepened the semifeudal character of the Philippine economy under the US-instigated neoliberal economic policy since the 1980s. The ever worsening crisis, itself generated by the basic laws of motion of the world capitalist system and its supposed remedy, neoliberal economic policy, has pushed the Philippine economy into the vortex of an unprecedented crisis.

The current Aquino regime has been in power for more than a year already. Like its imperialist masters, it clings dogmatically to the neoliberal economic policy. The regime has not put forward any policy proposal to assert national independence and carry out economic development through genuine land reform and national industrialization. Instead, it has adopted a policy of keeping the agrarian and underdeveloped character of the economy.

Its so-called Philippine Development Plan 2011-2016 pushes primarily the private-public partnership program of infrastructure projects. These projects are calculated to draw away resources from any potential for industrial development. However, global financial restraints prevent the projects from being implemented as fast as expected. Thus, the US stands out with its Millennium Challenge Corporation grant of US\$434 million funding for infrastructure and so-called community development projects within the “counterinsurgency” scheme Oplan Bayanihan.

Lacking a program of national industrialization, the Aquino regime has practically limited itself to touting business call centers, pushing the plunder of our natural resources by foreign mining companies and doling out cash under the so-called Conditional Cash Transfer program which is misrepresented as an antipoverty program but is actually a palliative for psywar purposes being pushed and funded by US imperialism through the World Bank.

The Philippine economy is depressed. It is under the stress of the protracted and worsening crisis of global capitalism. The global demand for the kind of exports that the Philippines produces—raw materials and semi-manufactures—has fallen drastically. The growth of remittances of overseas contract workers is slowing down. The bubble in private construction is bursting as effective demand for housing is decreasing.

Unemployment is rising rapidly with mass layoffs in the sectors of low value-added manufacturing and in private construction. Production of food staples like rice and corn have been cut down by decades of liberalized imports and reviving it is difficult as prices of imported agricultural inputs have risen. The regime is carrying out an unannounced severe policy of austerity at the expense of the people, with cutbacks on government expenditures for education, health and other social services.

Even as incomes of the working people have plunged, the prices of basic goods and services are soaring. Despite the depressed condition of the economy, the Aquino regime is raising the tax burden. The Aquino psywar machine continues to prate about fighting corruption. But until now, the regime runs too slow in going after the crimes of corruption under the Arroyo regime. It continues to provide tax cuts to the big corporations and the wealthy and is blind to the grand corruption of the big compradors and former Marcos cronies (e.g., Eduardo Cojuangco and Lucio Tan) simply because they were big contributors to the Aquino electoral campaign. It has carried out successive demolitions of urban poor settlements to clear valuable real estate for Aquino’s big business friends.

The biggest corruption of the Aquino regime is letting the foreign monopoly firms and banks run rampant in plundering the economy and making superprofits. Even as international credit is tightening, debt service on accumulated debts continues to drain the country of precious funds. The reactionary government continues to waste

tax revenues through bureaucratic corruption, military expenditures and dole outs of cash in a futile attempt to undermine and counter the revolutionary movement.

As a result of the economic crisis, conditions of hunger and poverty have worsened and afflict more people than ever before. But the National Statistical Coordination Board manipulates the data and changes the terms for determining poverty to reach the false conclusion that the Aquino regime has reduced the incidence of poverty. Underscoring the fakery in official statistics, the rate of unemployment in the Philippines is also made to appear much lower than that in the industrial capitalist countries. The truth is that the real unemployment rate in the Philippines is one of the worst in the region and in the world, coupled with rapidly increasing numbers of underemployment, low quality and unpaid work.

As economic conditions deteriorate and the regime fails to solve the growing problem of unemployment and poverty, the popularity rating of Aquino is made to rise through the ceaseless hype generated by the Lopez-owned mass media and poll surveys manipulated by Pulse Asia, owned and controlled by Aquino relatives. Aquino's recent attacks on Arroyo and the Supreme Court are calculated to deflect public attention away from the worsening economic and social crisis and the continuing gross violations of human rights as well as to boost his popularity rating in poll surveys. The Aquino regime seeks to thrive on sheer manipulation of the media and poll surveys.

Social discontent is widespread and deep-going. The broad masses of the people are conspicuously restive. Mass protests are increasing against the worsening economic and social conditions. The tactics of the global Occupy movement, which have been familiar to the Philippine mass movement since the 1960s, are now intensifying. The people's mass uprisings cannot be stopped so long as there is a revolutionary political leadership that is resolute, militant and does not fear the coercive actions of the regime.

The revolutionary forces and the people are persistently growing in strength. The social and economic crisis is pressing hard on the ruling classes and the rival political factions and is resulting in a political crisis of the ruling system. At the national level, the Aquino ruling clique is challenged by the Arroyo, Marcos and other factions. The contradictions among them are reflected between and within the three branches of the reactionary government (executive, legislative and judiciary). At lower levels, the internal contradictions within the ruling class are also intensifying.

The contradictions between the Aquino and the Arroyo factions have taken center stage for the time being, especially since Arroyo's attempt to leave the country under the pretext of seeking medical care. Aquino is going through the motions of running after Arroyo for electoral sabotage and corruption but not for gross and systematic violations of human rights. Behind all the sound and fury is Aquino's resentment over the decision of the Supreme Court, dominated by Arroyo appointees, to invalidate the stock distribution option as a way of cheating the farm workers of Hacienda Luisita.

The competing factions of the ruling class have armed strength by having followers within the reactionary armed forces and police and by maintaining private armed groups. The worst reactionary factions build their private armed groups under various legalized methods such as so-called force multipliers of the army and police with such names as CAFGU, CVO, CAA, bodyguards with special gun permits and private security agencies.

The intensifying competition for bureaucratic loot and the political rivalry among the reactionary factions are objectively favorable to the revolutionary movement as they split and weaken the ruling system. Under the current circumstances, the revolutionary forces can augment their own strength by employing broad united front tactics to oppose the worst reactionary faction, which is targeted as the enemy.

The mass movement of workers, peasants, fisherfolk, the national minorities, urban poor, women, youth, teachers, lawyers, health professionals and other patriotic and progressive forces is surging. The various mass organizations are determined to give voice to the socioeconomic and political demands of the people and to act militantly in pursuing compliance with these just and reasonable demands.

The workers demand respect for their trade union and other democratic rights, for job security and better wage and living conditions for stopping the ceaseless layoffs and for national industrialization so that employment expands and they do not have to leave their families to seek employment abroad. The mass layoffs in low value-added semi-manufacturing for export and in private construction and the dismal trend abroad against foreign migrant workers are pressing hard on the entire Philippine economy.

The peasants demand genuine and thoroughgoing land reform, not the bogus land reform law CARPER; recovery of staple-food production, credit and technical assistance, and development of production for industrial

processing. The revolutionary forces and the people are carrying out minimum land reform as the general line and maximum land reform wherever possible. Many people are pleased that the protracted struggle of farm workers to own Hacienda Luisita has been rewarded as a result of the final decision of the Supreme Court, though belated, to scrap the Stock Distribution Option and allow the distribution of the land to the farm workers. However, it is still unclear how much the farm workers would be made to pay for the land. Aquino and his Cojuangco relatives are demanding so-called current market value, absolutely way beyond the paying capacity of the farm workers. The farm workers, on the other hand, see the immeasurable misery they had to endure and the unearned largess appropriated by the Cojuangcos over the decades as more than enough payment for the land to be distributed to them.

The fisherfolk demand respect for their rights, a stop to the preemption of fishing areas and markets by the big fishing corporations, the right of small fishermen to operate and the provision of credit and technical assistance. They oppose the reactionary government's policy of allowing the fishing magnates to monopolize fishing in lakes and bays, and foreign fishing vessels and factory ships to encroach on the exclusive economic zone of the Philippines in violation of the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea.

The national minorities demand respect for their right to self-determination and ancestral domain. They demand that their land must not be taken away from them, that they are not displaced from their home grounds by foreign and local corporations that plunder the forest, mineral and water resources. Together with the rest of the people, the national minorities applaud the NPA offensives to dismantle and shut down the operations of foreign and big comprador mining firms in Mindanao and throughout the country.

The urban poor that include workers, oddjobbers, small vendors and poor self-employed demand their right to livelihood, housing and other democratic rights. They demand that they must not be subjected to eviction, demolition of their dwellings and deprivation of nearby sources of livelihood as well as to all kinds of indignity, harassment, physical attacks and dispossession. They fight to oppose the demolition of their dwellings to make way for the interests of real estate developers and actively resist the deployment of police and military to intimidate and attack them.

The women demand respect for their right to gender equality, enjoyment of equal opportunities in all socio-economic activities, a systematic stop to violence against women and to women trafficking. They demand respect and support for the children who suffer victimization under the dire economic and social conditions and campaigns of military suppression. They demand the right to gender equality and against discrimination that extends to lesbians, gays, bisexuals and transgendered.

The youth demand their right to education, an increase of state appropriations for public education at all levels, a stop to the wastage of public resources on military spending, debt service and bureaucratic corruption. They oppose the soaring prices of basic commodities, unemployment, the rapid rise of poverty, and the reduction of public funds for public schools. They demand respect for the democratic right to speak and act in the interest of the students, youth and the entire people. They condemn and oppose the increasingly violent reaction of the Aquino regime to mass protest actions, as exemplified by the repeated brutal dispersal of the youth attempting to hold a camp-out protest at Mendiola earlier this month.

The professionals, small entrepreneurs and the entire middle class demand a stop to the imposition of higher taxes, fees and other onerous burdens, the judicious use of their tax and other contributions, instead of being wasted on bureaucratic corruption, military expenditures and debt service. The urban petty-bourgeoisie is ever more ready to join the toiling masses as a revolutionary force. The middle bourgeoisie is concerned about the surrender of national rights to foreign powers and monopoly firms.

More than ever, the crisis conditions are providing fertile ground for the growth in strength and advance of the people's war and the people's army. The escalation of oppression and exploitation incites the people to engage in mass protests and to rise up in arms against the reactionary state and to build the people's democratic state. The conditions for armed revolution are exceedingly favorable.

The people and the revolutionary forces represented by the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) are willing to negotiate with the reactionary government to address the roots of the armed conflict by forging agreements on social, economic and political reforms in order to lay the basis for a just and lasting peace. But the Aquino regime is hellbent on using the US-instigated Oplan Bayanihan to destroy the revolutionary movement of the people. It is obsessed with using the peace negotiations as a mere tool for psywar and as a way to seek the

capitulation and pacification of the revolutionary forces.

The Aquino regime is not seriously interested in peace negotiations with the NDFP. It is preconditioning the peace negotiations with demands for the capitulation and pacification of the revolutionary movement. It is backtracking on and invalidating previous bilateral agreements by qualifying and putting them aside. It has not rectified the Arroyo policy of abducting, torturing and murdering NDFP consultants in the peace negotiations. It has condoned and upheld the actions of the Arroyo regime to have the NPA, the CPP and the NDFP chief political consultant in the peace negotiations maintained in the terrorist list of the US and other foreign governments; and likewise to have the NDFP chief political consultant arrested and detained in 2007 by the Dutch government for criminal charges, which the Dutch court in The Hague dismissed as baseless and politically motivated. It refuses to release imprisoned NDFP consultants and to comply with the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG).

It has condoned gross and systematic abuses of human rights in violation of the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL) under the Arroyo regime and is emboldening the military, police and paramilitary forces to further commit atrocities. It refuses to release hundreds of political prisoners who are accused of participation in the revolutionary movement but are falsely charged with common crimes in violation of the CARHRIHL and the Hernandez political offense doctrine.

The reactionary government recurrently demands ceasefire for this or that reason in order to avoid negotiating the substantive agenda of the peace negotiations and in effect obtain the capitulation and pacification of the revolutionary movement. But it refuses the NDFP offer of truce and alliance on the basis of a ten-point general declaration of common intent regarding national independence, democracy, economic development, social justice and other important demands of the people.

It conducts sham peace negotiations with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) like it does with the NDFP by backtracking on previous agreements and nullifying them and ever wishing to trick or bend the opposite party towards capitulation and pacification. It has blocked real progress in the peace negotiations with the NDFP as well as the MILF. The GRP has gone as far as scamming and racketeering by recycling the CPLA and the RPA-ABB surrenderers and hirelings as rebel groups and using their names to malverse public funds.

It is advantageous for both the NDFP and the MILF to continue fighting against their common enemy. Although waged separately, their revolutionary armed struggles support each other. The reactionary government has increasing difficulties in trying to fight on two major fronts. The crisis will further reduce the capabilities of the reactionary state and all its coercive apparatuses. The reactionary state and its armed forces will further weaken upon the growth in strength of the NDFP and the MILF separately and simultaneously.

The broad masses of the Filipino people are acutely aware of the growing US military intervention in the Philippines under the US-RP Mutual Defense Treaty and the Visiting Forces Agreement. Such intervention is aimed at perpetuating US control of the Philippines and using the Philippines as a strategic base for securing US hegemony in East Asia. The Filipino people and their revolutionary forces are prepared for the escalation of US military intervention and to wage a war of national liberation against US imperialism.

### ***The growing strength of the Party***

The CPP continues to strengthen itself and perform its role of leading the Philippine revolution by resolutely and vigorously engaging in ideological, political and organizational work. In this connection, we are confident that we can successfully carry out our plan to advance from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate in the people's war.

Strengthening our Party is the most important of the political prerequisites for realizing our plan. Ideological work ensures that all our cadres and members have a basic level of knowledge of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the Philippine revolution and continue to raise their level of knowledge through revolutionary practice and higher study courses (intermediate and advanced).

To remain in superb fighting shape, the Party should keep constant watch and wage persistent struggle against bourgeois and other reactionary influences and tendencies within the Party such as bourgeois reformism, modern revisionism, empiricism, dogmatism, right and left opportunism, liberalism, bureaucratism, complacency and desire for ease and comfort. Through vigilant and conscious struggle against these pernicious influences, the Party strengthens its proletarian revolutionary line, raises its fighting capacity and develops the militant style of work that is well-appreciated by the masses.

Party units and committees at different levels have undertaken summings-up and assessments of revolutionary work, conducted regular criticism and self-criticism and in so doing, identified shortcomings and errors in order to rectify them. Through self-criticism and prompt and conscientious correction of errors and shortcomings, the Party continuously improves its work and style of work and truly becomes the proletarian vanguard of the revolution.

The number of Party cadres and members educated in the ideological line of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the political line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war are increasing and are therefore in a position to perform the various tasks and functions in the revolution. They guarantee the revolutionary character and direction of the struggle of the proletariat and the people.

However, our efforts in training and developing cadres in number and quality are still way below the level required by the next and even the current stage of the people's war. Our educational work and cadre training must be given greater attention by leading Party committees at all levels. Problems and difficulties arising from lack of training personnel and facilities and the ruthlessness and exceeding fluidity of our people's war have to be overcome step-by-step by more persistent effort, better planning and taking full advantage of every available resource and opportunity.

We have identified the factors and reasons in previous years and decades for the slow growth of the Party, especially lack of planning and diligence and insensitivity to the desire of advanced mass activists to become Party candidate-members and of the latter to become full members according to the time frame and reasonable requirements stipulated in our Party Constitution.

To a large extent, we have learned to overcome the obstacles and are now providing the basic Party education promptly to the old stock and the new flow of Party candidate-members and are promptly swearing them in as full members after they complete the basic Party course.

To ensure that the majority of our members who come from the working class and the peasantry can effectively undergo the necessary training and education, we have simplified study materials and audio-visual aids in various Philippine languages and more important, we have trained instructors who can explain Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in terms comprehensible to our comrades who come from the ranks of the working people.

The Party is now ideologically stronger than before and is in a better position to engage in political work and lead the revolutionary movement. We have Party cadres and members who grasp the principles, policies and line of the revolution and who are at the head and at the core of the revolutionary mass movement. As a result, the mass movement, the revolutionary armed struggle and the united front are resolutely and militantly growing in strength.

Party groups and branches are at the core of the trade unions and other mass organizations as well as in units of the people's army. Thus, the mass movement continues to grow and becomes firmer and vigorous in the urban and rural areas. The message of the people's democratic movement resounds among the people in their millions throughout the archipelago. We also have Party groups in certain offices of the reactionary government as well as in educational, social service, religious and other kinds of institutions.

The Party ensures that the NPA integrates revolutionary armed struggle with land reform and mass base building. Party committees, branches and groups within the people's army work hard to carry out the general policy of minimum land reform and, wherever possible, maximum land reform and to conduct mass work for building the mass organizations and the local organs of political power.

We are well on the path of increasing the number of guerrilla fronts, whose millions of people are the direct reliable mass base of the people's war and the people's army. The mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth, women, children and cultural activists are growing in strength. They are the broad mass base of the organs of political power.

These organs constitute the people's democratic government of the workers and peasants opposing the city-based reactionary government of the big compradors and landlords. The revolutionary government comprehensively renders public services through the working committees in charge of mass education, mass organizing, land reform and production, health care, defense, arbitration and cultural activities.

As the guerrilla fronts gain in strength in political and military terms, the reactionary and puppet state has unleashed even larger, more prolonged and more intensive attacks against them. To frustrate the enemy offensives, it is imperative to force the enemy to spread itself thin by expanding and intensifying guerrilla warfare on a

nation-wide scale, strengthening inter-front coordination and mutual support, accelerating the rate of expansion and consolidation of the guerrilla fronts, and developing in an all-rounded way the military and political forces and struggles of the masses.

But in some old guerrilla bases and zones, serious losses have been incurred in organizational, political and military strength not only and not so much due to the intensified enemy attacks but as a result of passivity in military work; long-running neglect of the mass organizations, the antifeudal class struggle and political education among the masses; and deterioration of the basic Party units which have come under strong influence by rich peasant elements, thinking and practices. These reflect errors and shortcomings not only at the basic level but also in Party and army work and leadership in the higher levels.

The participation and support of the people have enabled the NPA to launch tactical offensives and win victories. The people are the inexhaustible source of strength for the people's army. The people's militia, acting as the local police forces of the local organs of political power, and the self-defense units of the various mass organizations, reinforce and amplify the strength of the people's army.

NPA tactical offensives have been intensified and have resulted in increased number of arms for creating new combat units. Casualties They have dismantled or paralyzed business enterprises and landed estates that violate the laws of the people's democratic government. These violations involve ruining the environment and agricultural production, taking away land from the people, opposing and preventing land reform or exporting mineral ores at the expense of future industrialization.

The broad masses of the people welcome the tactical offensives of the people's army against the armed personnel and military facilities of the reactionary state; the arrest and trial of despotic landlords, human rights violators, plunderers, drug lords and other criminal elements; and the dismantling of mining and logging enterprises and plantations that are grievously harmful to the people and the environment.

By intensifying the people's war, the NPA has captured an increasing number of weapons from the enemy and has enlarged the people's army and increased the guerrilla fronts. In turn, the greater number of people in more guerrilla fronts helps the people's army to achieve greater feats in the people's war. At various levels of the Party and the NPA commands, guidelines and plans for tactical offensives are developed and implemented according to the capabilities of NPA units concerned.

All NPA units are keenly conscious of their duty to carry out offensives that they can win. They wage operations to ambush or raid enemy units as well as operations to destroy enemy facilities. They carry out extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of ever widening and deepening mass base. They therefore engage in mass work, production and cultural activities in order to complement and pave the ground for the tactical offensives.

The Party has achieved successes in employing the united front policy to strengthen the basic alliance of the workers and peasants, the progressive alliance of the toiling masses with the urban petty bourgeoisie, the patriotic alliance of the aforesaid progressive forces and the national bourgeoisie and the broad alliance with such temporary and unreliable allies among factions of the ruling system that fight the ruling clique as the common enemy. The united front is aimed at uniting various forces to oppose the common enemy. The legal patriotic and progressive forces form multisectoral, sectoral and issue-based alliances in order to reach the broadest ranks of the people. At the same time, the united front is principally aimed at facilitating the advance of the people's war. The Aquino regime has amply shown its lack of sincerity and seriousness in peace negotiations with the NDFP. We should dispel any illusion that the regime is interested in addressing the roots of the armed conflict and forging agreements with the NDFP on social, economic and political reforms. Clearly, it is hellbent on destroying the Party and the revolutionary movement. The formal meetings in the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations cannot be held unless the GRP addresses the prejudicial issues being raised by the NDFP and makes amends. However, we continue to express our desire for peace negotiations in order to prevent the enemy from claiming falsely that we are not interested in a just and lasting peace and also to keep open the possibility that the enemy regime would be compelled by the crisis and/or by our significant victories in people's war to seriously seek negotiations. Indeed, the only way to compel the enemy to engage in serious negotiations is to inflict major defeats on it and make it realize the futility of its attempt to destroy the revolutionary movement, especially the people's army. Our Party is highly respected in the international communist movement and in the global anti-imperialist movement because of our revolutionary achievements in the Philippines and because of our well-known concern and support for overseas Filipinos. We have extensive relations with Marxist-Leninist and anti-imperialist parties and

organizations abroad. Our international united front policy has enabled us to have well-developed relations with revolutionary and anti-imperialist mass organizations, social movements and other progressive formations. By our revolutionary struggle in our country, we have contributed

682 significantly to the development of the anti-imperialist and socialist

movement on a global scale. Our Party delegations have participated in various international conferences, forums and seminars aimed at strengthening the ideological and political position of communist and workers' parties against imperialism and all reaction and for national liberation, democracy and socialism. We uphold and advance proletarian internationalism and the anti-imperialist solidarity of the world's peoples. We look forward to a new and higher level of development in the international communist movement through the revolutionary victories of communist and workers' parties in various countries and continents.

### ***Urgent fighting tasks for advancing the revolution***

1. We must further strengthen the Party as the leading force in the democratic revolution and in the socialist future of the Filipino people. We must exert all efforts to further strengthen the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally. Still greater attention and effort must be exerted in bolstering and consolidating Party education and training. Study and instruction guides and aids must be completed and produced in adequate quantities; more cadres selected, trained and mobilized for instruction work; and more study courses conducted involving more students at all levels.

Summings-up and assessments must be done regularly and whenever needed to take stock of the situation of revolutionary forces and work, identify and solve problems, and clarify tasks, policies and priorities. Researches and investigations must be conducted to probe, analyze and solve important issues and problems. Problems must not be allowed to fester and pile up, but must be promptly confronted and solved. Work and study conferences must be held to involve more cadres from different areas and lines of work in discussions about policy and theory, making decisions and plans, and summing up and exchanges of experiences.

We must strengthen the Party committee system and Party leadership at all levels. Tens of thousands of cadres must be developed and trained to fill up positions of responsibility and serve as core elements in different levels and areas of work. Party committees must be kept strong and vigorous through the bold promotion of the most dedicated and most capable cadres, the replacement of those who have deteriorated or failed to advance, and the combination of old and experienced cadres with young and more energetic ones. The system of regular and special reports must be improved as an essential requisite of strengthening democratic centralism and Party leadership.

We must accelerate the recruitment of Party candidate-members from the ranks of advanced mass activists. We must follow the requirements for facilitating the process of raising candidate-members to full members as stipulated by our Party Constitution. All Party members must finish the basic Party course and advance in due time to higher courses. They must fulfill tasks in their Party branches in units of the people's army and in the mass organizations to which they belong.

We must tirelessly expand and deepen the Party underground in urban and rural areas and steel Party cadres and members in strict underground rules and methods. This is an absolute necessity if we are to persevere and advance in revolutionary work and struggle in the face of the fascist and puppet state's unremitting attacks and schemes to crush and decapitate the Party as well as the wide-ranging and intensifying intelligence and special military operations by the US which categorizes the Philippine revolutionary movement as a target in its global anti-terrorism war.

2. We must expand and intensify the mass movement in both the urban and rural areas. We must encourage the urban-based mass organizations to uphold, defend and advance national independence and democracy. We must develop the mass movement resulting directly from our mass work in the guerrilla fronts. We must encourage the mass activists in the urban areas to learn from the workers and peasants, render service to the people and devote their lives to the worker and peasant movements. We must encourage and help the mass activists based in both urban and rural areas to support and work for the expansion of the people's army.

We must lead and support the peasant masses in carrying out widespread mass struggles against feudal and semifeudal exploitation and against brutal campaigns of suppression of military, police and paramilitary forces of the state. We must encourage the peasant masses to rise up in their hundreds of thousands in mass campaigns to demand and carry out land reform, take over abandoned and idle agricultural lands for tilling, and promote

production and the people's livelihood.

We must boldly expand the revolutionary mass organizations and continuously broaden and strengthen them through political education and mass campaigns and struggles. Neglect and other shortcomings in planning and guidance by the Party of mass work and the mass movement must be rectified resolutely and thoroughly.

3. We must intensify the people's war and accelerate efforts to fulfill the plan to advance from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate. We must carry out the tactical offensives to deliver lethal blows to the enemy, increase our NPA fighting units, carry out land reform, build mass organizations and organs of political power and create new guerrilla fronts.

We must encourage workers and the educated youth to join the people's army or render rural service. We must redeploy some cadres and weapons from one region to another in the communist spirit of the relatively stronger helping the relatively weaker. We must recognize the uneven development of our revolutionary forces and decide how the stronger forces in a region help weaker ones in other regions.

We must hamper and prevent enemy intrusions into the guerrilla fronts through ambushes and other actions, including sniper fire, grenade attacks, mortar and land mines. We must destroy the transport and supply lines and depots of the enemy. We must give the enemy forces no rest by launching attacks on their camps and detachments whenever possible, even at night. When enemy personnel hide in fortifications, we can wait for them to take the road and expose themselves to our attacks.

We must arrest and try landlords who violently oppose land reform, the human rights violators, the plunderers, drug lords and enemy spies. We must interdict and dismantle enterprises that violate the laws and regulations of the people's government and destroy the environment and agricultural production, plunder natural resources and prevent land reform and national industrialization.

4. We must implement united front policy along the correct class line: rely on the basic worker-peasant alliance, win over the urban petty bourgeoisie to develop the alliance of basic revolutionary forces, further win over the middle bourgeoisie to form the patriotic alliance and broaden the united front through temporary alliances with sections of the reactionary classes to isolate to the utmost and defeat the enemy in the shortest possible time. We must employ the united front to reach the masses and arouse, organize and mobilize them in their millions and to promote the people's war.

We must unite all the patriotic and progressive forces to fight the US imperialists and their die-hard puppets. When possible and necessary, we must develop temporary and tactical alliances with reactionaries who oppose the worst of the reactionaries as the enemy target. We must pursue the tactic of defeating the reactionaries one by one. We must maintain our independence and initiative and avoid being completely or mainly integrated or subordinated into the reactionary political system.

5. We must continue to develop the anti-imperialist solidarity of all peoples and contribute to the steady advance of the international communist movement on the basis of the growing strength of proletarian revolutionary parties in their home countries amidst the most favorable conditions arising from the global crisis. We must build the broadest possible international united front of all anti-imperialist forces. We must relate with various communist forces through bilateral and multilateral meetings and conferences as means of promoting proletarian internationalism, exchanging ideas and experiences and raising the level of common understanding and practical cooperation.

# *Immediate Tasks of Communists and their Struggle for Socialism*

## **Contribution to the International Communist Seminar**

**in Brussels, Belgium, May 18-20, 2012**

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On behalf of its general membership, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines expresses warmest greetings of comradeship and revolutionary solidarity to our co-members in the Advisory Committee of the International Communist Seminar and to all delegations participating in this 21<sup>st</sup> seminar.

We are deeply pleased and highly honored to have this opportunity to share with you our views on "The Immediate Tasks of Communists and Their Struggle for Socialism." Let us consider and discuss the urgent ideological, political and organizational tasks that communists need to carry out in order to advance towards socialism.

### ***Immediate ideological tasks***

The constant task of every revolutionary party of the proletariat is to propagate the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism and to apply this on the history and concrete circumstances of the people and the concrete practice of revolution in every country. Ideological work is the first requisite of building the Marxist-Leninist party.

Through ideological work the Party rank and file acquire a clear materialist and scientific outlook and materialist-dialectical method of thinking, analysis and action. Marxism-Leninism is the guide to action of the Party in leading the revolution on the basis of the current situation towards the goal of socialism and communism.

The immediacy of ideological work is underscored by the fact that such basic components of Marxism as philosophy, political economy and social science and all subsequent and previous great developments in the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism have been obscured and vilified by the imperialist powers and their camp followers since the fall of revisionist regimes, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the full restoration of capitalism in former socialist countries in the years of 1989 to 1991, following decades of the dominance of modern revisionism.

For a long while, despite the recurrence and worsening of the crisis of capitalism, the imperialist powers headed by the US kept boasting that humankind could no longer go beyond capitalism and liberal democracy and that socialism was dead forever. With the most unrestrained air of triumphalism, they embarked on all kinds of offensive: ideological, political, economic, military and cultural. These coincided with the conspicuous use of high technology in production, commerce, finance, and communications and war.

All forms of bourgeois subjectivism and idealism ran rampant in philosophy amidst mass consumerism induced by debt financing. By political insinuation, the bourgeoisie associated and even equated communism and revolutionary movements with terrorism to set them up for repression. The neoliberal economic policy gave free reign to bourgeois greed and the denial of the working people as the real creators of social wealth. The US and NATO promoted state terrorism worldwide and launched wars of aggression at a rapid rate. Consumer products with the US brand spearheaded the imperialist cultural offensive.

The ranks of communists and the broad masses of the people are clamoring for the explanation of the root causes and consequences of the current grave crisis and more importantly for what is to be done in order to confront the crisis and carry forward the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle towards socialism. The most important ideological task of the communist and workers' parties at the moment is to explain the crisis and clarify and set forth the tasks for advancing the revolutionary struggle.

Under the neoliberal economic policy, the expansion of global capitalism seemed limitless as huge amounts of debt financing were poured on the recurrent and worsening crisis of overproduction to propel finance capitalism as the platform for conjuring the illusion of economic growth. Financial bubbles were launched only to burst one after another, dumping mountains of debt on the real economies of the imperialist countries in 2008. Since then the financial and economic crisis has resulted in a global depression.

The imperialist powers have failed to solve the crisis because they cling to the neoliberal dogma that the state is only good for helping the monopoly bourgeoisie to accumulate capital and maximize profits. Thus they have pushed down the wage level, cut back on social services, provided tax cuts, gold-plated contracts and subsidies to the corporations and conceded everything else to the big bourgeoisie under the terms of investment and trade

liberalization, privatization, and deregulation and denationalization of the less developed capitalist countries and the big mass of underdeveloped countries.

Under conditions of economic and financial collapse, the state has provided the bailouts to the big banks and corporations. It incurs higher deficits because of the bailouts, the tax cutbacks for the corporations and lessened tax revenues due to the stagnant economy. Thus, it goes into a public debt crisis, which becomes the basis for austerity measures at the expense of the people. All the while the monopoly bourgeoisie prohibits the state from employing the unemployed and from engaging in any enterprise to expand production.

The imperialist powers keep on adopting measures that aggravate the crisis. They are finding it increasingly hard to abstain from Keynesian-type measures or all-out protectionism against each other in economic production. For the moment, they still find it easier to unite on shifting the burden of crisis to the proletariat and the people of the world. Nevertheless, the crisis is generating inter-imperialist contradictions in the contest to secure sources of strategic raw materials, especially oil, expand markets and sell weapons under the stimulus of the wars of aggressions, civil wars and other localized or regional wars.

At any rate, the crisis is worsening and is hitting hard both the imperialist countries and the dominated countries, with the latter countries continuing to suffer the crisis more than the former. It is already comparable to the Great Depression in terms of the massive destruction of productive forces, wide scale social degradation, the growth of ultra-reactionary currents, the increasing aggressiveness of the imperialist powers and the rise of both organized and spontaneous popular resistance.

While the crisis of the world capitalist system is worsening, the science of Marxism-Leninism stands as a beacon for us to understand the problems brought about by the monopoly bourgeoisie and its financial oligarchy and to provide the revolutionary solution that the working class and its advanced detachment can adopt and develop, together with the rest of the exploited and oppressed people.

With the aid of Marxism-Leninism, the proletarian revolutionaries of today are answering the questions regarding the course of advance for the socialist cause, how to overthrow the bourgeois state and how to establish and develop the socialist state. The questions and answers cover the historical experience and new circumstances of the proletariat and people and extend to how to build socialism, strengthen it and consolidate it, combat opportunism and revisionism and move steadfastly towards the ultimate goal of communism.

### ***Immediate political tasks***

The immediate political tasks of all communist and workers' parties involve arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses on current issues generated by the global and domestic crisis of capitalism. Issues that immediately have a political character involve the demands for anti-imperialist and class struggle, the violations of human rights, brutal acts of repression and wars of aggression.

Issues such as unemployment, wage freeze, homelessness, soaring prices of basic goods and services, deteriorating social services, and so on arise at first as economic issues. But they can easily become political issues when the revolutionary party of the proletariat and the people raise them as issues in the anti-imperialist and class struggle.

The imperialists, the ruling class and the state are held responsible for the people's economic suffering and become the targets of the people's outrage. The exploiters themselves unwittingly incite the people to rise up when they oppress them by vilifying and suppressing the mass protests. In the course of the political struggle, both tactical demands for basic reforms and the strategic call for revolutionary change are made.

Whatever is the state of economic and political development in a country and whatever is the corresponding character of the revolutionary movement, the revolutionary party of the proletariat and the people must win the battle for democracy by taking the mass line. This involves arousing, organizing and mobilizing the people in their millions according to their interests, trusting and relying on them, asserting and exercising their democratic rights and opposing political repression by the state and exploitation by the ruling classes.

In the course of fighting for immediate demands and aiming for socialism in the industrial capitalist countries, the revolutionary forces and the people must be vigilant and militant against the attempts to suppress the mass movement. The monopoly bourgeoisie does not hesitate to employ fascism against those who aim for socialism. In a clever way, it also imposes violence on the people by accelerating the recruitment of military troops, police and intelligence agents from the ranks of the people, especially the unemployed, for the purpose of so-called homeland security, civil war or wars of aggression.

In an underdeveloped country like the Philippines, the exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords are ever active in using both persuasive and violent means of the reactionary state to suppress the people's movement for a new democratic revolution with a socialist perspective. The battle for democracy here entails not only the political mobilization of the people by asserting and exercising democratic rights but also emphatically by struggling for the liberation of the millions of peasants from feudal and semifeudal conditions.

The crisis of the world capitalist system and the crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal system in the Philippines are distinct from each other and are at the same time closely interrelated. The Philippine ruling system has its own frailties due to its underdevelopment but is so dependent on the world capitalist system, especially the US, that the current crisis of global capitalism impacts violently on the Philippines from the outside and at the same times aggravates the chronic crisis that is due to the underdevelopment of the Philippines.

The Philippine economy is so dependent on the production of raw materials (agricultural and mineral) and the semi-manufacture of certain consumer products for export as well as the export of cheap labor in the form of overseas contract workers. It goes awry and goes into deeper crisis as a result of lesser demand and lower prices for such exports upon the worsening of the crisis of global capitalism. The worsening of the Philippine crisis results in great suffering for the Filipino people and at the same in the intensification of contradictions among the reactionaries themselves and between the people and the ruling system.

The Communist Party of the Philippines has set the general line of new democratic revolution at the current stage of the Philippine revolution in order to take into account and oppose the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society. The current stage of democratic revolution under the leadership of the working class is preparation for the subsequent stage of socialist revolution, which begins upon the basic completion of the new democratic revolution through the nationwide seizure of political war as a result of the protracted people's war.

The general line of new democratic revolution with a socialist perspective sets the direction of the Philippine revolution and guides the Party and the masses in sorting out the welter of economic, social, political, cultural, environmental and moral issues that arise from oppression and exploitation and their aggravation as a result of crisis. The working class is the leading class in the revolution for being the most advanced productive and political force. It relies mainly on its basic alliance with the peasantry, wins over the urban petty bourgeoisie as a major ally, further wins over the middle bourgeoisie and takes advantage of the contradictions among the reactionaries in order to isolate and destroy one enemy after another.

At every given time, the enemy is the worst of the reactionaries, acting as chief puppet of the imperialists and as chief representative of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class. It wages a vicious counterrevolutionary war against the people and the revolutionary forces. In the light of international law, it can be said that a civil war is going on in the Philippines. But the US is increasing its military intervention because it is driven by the aggressive character and grave crisis of imperialism and its current scheme to refocus its attention on East Asia. The possibility looms for the civil war to become a national war of liberation against foreign aggression.

In times of grave crisis, the issues abound for the Filipino people to take up in accordance with national and class interests along the general line of new democratic revolution.

There are several types of mass organizations that must be developed in order to solidify the mass of patriotic and progressive activists. The larger the membership of the mass organizations, the easier it becomes to reach and mobilize the people in their millions.

The patriotic and progressive legal mass organizations can arise and grow by asserting and exercising their democratic rights against the exploitation and oppression of the people and against both the blatant and subtle acts of suppression by regimes that hypocritically claim to be democratic and different from the fallen Marcos fascist dictatorship. The working class has trade unions, with the Kilusang Mayo Uno as the strongest labor center. The peasants and farm workers have the Pambansang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas; the fisher folk, the Pambalakaya; and the government employees, COURAGE, to cite only the major mass formations of the toiling masses.

There are various types of sectoral mass organizations, like those of students, teachers, health workers, lawyers, scientists and technologists, writers and artists, progressive religious, patriotic businessmen and so on. There are also mass organizations based on such concerns and causes as national independence, democracy, human rights, land reform and national industrialization, indigenous people, labor rights, youth rights, women's rights, children's rights, patriotic and progressive culture, environment, just and lasting peace, international

solidarity against imperialist plunder and war, and so on.

By way of employing the policy of the united front, the patriotic and progressive mass organizations have developed sectoral alliances (within classes and occupational categories) and the multisectoral alliances like the BAYAN (New Patriotic Alliance) which is the largest of its kind. These alliances have served to augment, amplify and expand the strength and influence of the national democratic movement in campaigns and various kinds of activities on major longstanding issues as well as on burning issues of the day.

The legal mass organizations and alliances make it a point to assert their independence from the Communist Party of the Philippines and the illegal revolutionary mass organizations. They do so obviously to counter the anticommunist witch hunts, that have become more vicious than ever under the so-called antiterrorism law. They are closely related to progressive party list groups that participate in electoral struggles within the ruling system.

Of course, the Communist Party of the Philippines has developed various types of illegal mass organizations. The most important of these in terms of waging the protracted people's war is the New People's Army. It is led by the Party and the working class and most of the Red commanders and fighters come from the peasantry. At the moment, the NPA is engaged in the five-year strategic plan to advance the people's war from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate.

There is a comprehensive array of underground mass organizations for workers, peasants, youth, women, cultural workers, lawyers, scientists and technologies. And there are underground alliances of the peoples of Cordillera, Moros and the Lumads and the progressive religious, especially the Christian for National Liberation. All the aforesaid underground revolutionary forces are dedicated to the people's war. Together with the CPP and NPA, they belong to the National Democratic Front of the Philippines.

The NDFP is a revolutionary united front organization, with its own program of people's democratic revolution and constitution harmonious with those of the CPP. The NDFP consists of the mass formations of the toiling masses and the urban petty bourgeoisie. But it is ever ready to broaden the united front so as to include the middle bourgeoisie and even the temporary and unreliable allies from among the ranks of the reactionaries who oppose the worst of the reactionaries as the enemy.

The NDFP has gone so far as to engage in peace negotiations with a series of reactionary regimes in order to assert its status of belligerency under international law and to demand that the roots of the armed conflict be addressed to lay the basis for a just and lasting peace. To avert confusion among the revolutionaries and people, the CPP and NDFP have always made it clear that the line for a just and lasting peace is no different from the line of the new democratic revolution. The reactionary regimes have failed to come to an agreement on a just and lasting peace because of their extreme subservience to US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

The patriotic and progressive mass organizations and alliances have been responsible for well-sustained campaigns on highly significant issues and for large scale mobilizations that have resulted in the overthrow of the Marcos fascist dictatorship and the corrupt Estrada regime. They generate the campaigns and activities that carry the general line of new democratic revolution and express the protests and demands of the people. In turn, they are strengthened by these acts of mass mobilization which bring forward mass activists on a large scale.

The strategic line of protracted people's war in the Philippines is now greatly favored by the terrible conditions of oppression and exploitation generated by the crisis of the world capitalist system. All forms of people's resistance, including general strikes and mass protest rallies and armed revolutionary movements, are spreading and growing in strength.

The Philippine revolutionary movement is contributing what it can in order to expand and intensify the revolutionary movements of the people of the world against imperialism and for national liberation, democracy and socialism. At the same time, it is benefitted by the expansion and intensification of revolutionary movements abroad.

The imperialist powers can be dizzied and weakened by the great number of what they consider as trouble spots. In all continents and in so many countries, including the imperialist countries, the grave all-round crisis has resulted in an upsurge of mass movements. The entire world is in ferment. We are on the eve of great social upheavals and revolutionary advances.

Thanks to the use of higher technology, the monopoly bourgeoisie has accelerated not only the accumulation of capital and profit-making but also the recurrence and worsening of the crisis of overproduction and the

abuse of monopoly finance capital. It has produced the rapid means of communications that the revolutionary forces can also avail of.

Revolutionary propaganda and agitation, the organization of people in various types of mass formations and mass mobilizations have been facilitated and accelerated by use of the internet, cellphone, audio-visuals and social networks. But of course, we presume that the revolutionary forces use these means very intelligently and effectively, mindful that the enemy uses the same means against the revolutionary movement.

### ***Immediate organizational tasks***

The Communist Party of the Philippines is guided by democratic centralism as its basic organizational principle. This means centralized leadership based on democracy and democracy guided by centralized leadership. It is an effective way of giving full play to democratic debates and taking decisions at every level and from the lowest level to the highest and concentrating promptly the will of the entire Party in the Central Committee.

At the base of the Party are the Party branches and groups or fractions within mass organizations and institutions. On the basis of facts and discussions, they give reports and recommendations to the section committee. Section committees make reports and recommendations to the district committee; the district committees to the provincial committee; the provincial committees to the regional committee; and the regional committees to the Central Committee. Decisions of the Central Committee go down from level to level.

The individual Party members are subordinate to the entire Party and the Central Committee. At any level, decisions are taken by majority vote or consensus after full discussion of an issue. The lower organ is subordinate to the higher organ. The essence of centralized leadership is upholding Marxism-Leninism as guide to action and applying it on concrete issues and circumstances. In the first place, the Party is constituted as a Marxist-Leninist party and its members are educated, trained and act as Marxist-Leninists.

The Party recruits its members from the ranks of the advanced mass activists. These are considered advanced because they have a relatively high level of political consciousness, are militant and conscientiously perform their tasks. Most important of all, they are willing to join the Party. They enter the Party first as candidate members. The period of candidature for workers and peasants is six months and for the urban petty bourgeoisie, one year.

The mass movement is growing fast because of the severity and protraction of the economic, social and political crisis and because the Party and the mass organizations are intensifying propaganda and agitation, mass organizing of various types and mass mobilizations on the burning issues. On the basis of the fast growing mass movement, the Party can recruit fast and carry out the policy of expanding the Party boldly without letting in a single undesirable element. The honesty of every applicant for Party membership is of crucial importance and is verified.

The rapid expansion of the Party is required by the worsening crisis and by the need of the Party to strengthen itself for its current strategic plan of advancing from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate in the people's war. The Party is resolved to make an accelerated advance on the basis of more than 43 years of building the Party, the mass organizations in both urban and rural areas and the organs of political power in the countryside.

The cadres of the Party are in leading organs of the Party itself as well as in those of the New People's Army, the mass organizations and the people's government. They have developed into cadres by virtue of their ability to lead ideological, political and organizational work and to accomplish the expansion and consolidation of the Party organizations to which they are assigned. The rapid expansion of the Party that is now being carried out is expected to result in the rapid development of cadres.

All Party cadres and members are acutely conscious of the need to fulfil the central task of the revolution, which is to seize political power, and of the decisive role of the Party in leading the revolutionary process. The Party serves as the coordinator of the forces of the New People's Army and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines and the various forms of struggle in both the urban and rural areas.

Party cadres and members in the urban areas are conscious of developing the legal mass movement in order to support and complement the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside and they encourage the workers and educated youth to join the people's army. Those in the rural areas, especially in the people's army, are conscious of advancing the people's war in order to bring about ultimately the nationwide seizure of political power.

The broad masses of the Filipino people and the revolutionary led by the Communist Party of the Philippines are confident of completing the stage of the new democratic revolution and proceeding to the stage of socialist revolution. Their confidence is based on adherence to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism, awareness of the chronic crisis and losing course of the domestic ruling system and the world capitalist system, learning lessons from the experiences of the revolutionary movement in the Philippines and abroad and undertaking all the necessary hard work and struggle to advance the revolution from one stage to another.

# ***Development, Current Status and Prospects of Maoist Theory and Practice in the Philippines***

**Conference on Maoism, Jan van Eyck Academie, Maastricht,  
September 5, 2012**

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## ***Introduction: definition of Maoism***

The Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) was reestablished on the theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism on December 26, 1968. Since 1995, it has officially used the term Maoism as synonym for Mao Zedong Thought. The adoption of the term is due to language alignment in relation to Marxism-Leninism rather than due to any change of meaning or line in relation to Mao Zedong Thought. Since September 3, 1993 in his message to the Symposium on Mao Zedong Thought in Manila, the founding chairman of the CPP has referred to adherents of Mao Zedong Thought as Maoists.

The Communist Party of the Philippine stands by its definition of Mao Zedong Thought or Maoism as the third stage in the development of the theory and practice of the revolutionary proletariat towards the ultimate goal of communism. The ongoing stage of Maoism proceeds from the previous stages of Marxism and Leninism, respecting and upholding the theoretical and practical achievements of each stage, extending and developing them further and making new achievements.

Maoism has arisen thus far as the highest stage in the development of the theory and practice of proletarian revolution by confronting the problem of modern revisionism and putting forward the theory and practice of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship through cultural revolution in order to combat revisionism, prevent the restoration of capitalism and consolidate socialism. Among the many great achievements of Mao, the aforesaid theory and practice constitutes his greatest. This inspires hope for a socialist and communist future against imperialism, revisionism and reaction.

Mao is indubitably correct in identifying the revisionism of degenerates in power in socialist society as the most lethal to socialism, and in offering the solution that succeeded in China for ten years before it was defeated in 1976. The disintegration of the Soviet Union and the full restoration of capitalism in revisionist-ruled countries in the period of 1989-91 have vindicated Mao's position on the crucial importance and necessity of the struggle against revisionism and the theory of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) can be regarded as the prototype for the ample realization of the theory of continuing revolution in socialist society, like the Paris Commune of 1871 was the prototype for the proletarian class dictatorship that won victory in the October Revolution of 1917. Proletarian revolutionaries can be confident that they are forearmed with the theory behind the GPCR and the experience gained from it in order to face the challenge of revisionism in socialist societies.

Maoism encompasses the major contributions of Mao to further develop such basic components of Marxism as philosophy, political economy, and social science as first laid down by Marx and Engels in the period of free competition capitalism and the rise of the modern industrial proletariat in the 19th century. Maoism also encompasses Mao's major contributions to further develop Lenin's earlier theoretical and practical achievements in developing the aforesaid components and to carry forward the great victory of Lenin and Stalin in socialist revolution and construction in the era of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution.

In philosophy, Mao made a penetrating study of the unity of opposites as the most fundamental law in materialist dialectics. He explained the wave-like alternating and interactive advance of theory and practice, and social practice (i.e., production, class struggle and scientific experiment) as the source of knowledge. In political economy, he based himself on the Marxist critique of capitalism and the Leninist critique of modern imperialism, learned from the Soviet experience in socialist revolution and construction, and put forward a political economy of socialism that sought to improve on the pioneering experience of socialist revolution and construction in the Soviet Union.

In social science, Mao followed the teachings of Marxism and Leninism that class analysis is applied on a class society, that class struggle is the key to social progress and that class struggle in bourgeois society must lead to the class dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in the attainment of socialism. Mao's class

analysis of the semicolonial and semifeudal society enabled the Chinese Communist Party to win the people's democratic revolution with the correct program and strategy and tactics, and proceed to the socialist revolution.

Subsequently, his class analysis of Chinese society in the period of socialist revolution and construction showed the correct handling of contradictions in such society. He reiterated the Leninist thesis that classes and class struggle would continue to exist in socialist society, that the resistance of the defeated bourgeoisie would increase 10,000-fold, and that it would take a whole historical epoch for the proletariat to completely defeat the bourgeoisie. He was well grounded in recognizing the threat of modern revisionism in China and the need for the theory of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship.

Mao stressed the necessity and importance of working class leadership through the Party and the basic alliance of the working class and peasantry in the new democratic revolution. He posited that the semicolonial and semifeudal society is in chronic crisis, and that the huge peasant population in the countryside serves as the basis for the strategic line of protracted people's war and establishment of the revolutionary organs of political power even while the reactionary state still sits in the urban areas.

He developed further the Leninist theory and practice of Party building and pushed forward the rectification movement as an educational method through the mass movement for rectifying major errors and strengthening the Party by raising the revolutionary consciousness and capabilities of the Party and the masses. The rectification movement in the Party was the seminal basis for the conception of the cultural revolution in socialist society.

Mao pointed out that the bourgeoisie, after being politically and legally deprived of the private ownership of the means of production, retreats to the cultural realm to survive and make new recruits even among the children of the working people being educated under the socialist system. The cultural sphere can thus become the breeding ground for bourgeois subjectivist ideas, revisionism and retrogression, unless an indefinite series of proletarian cultural revolutions are undertaken.

Mindful of the way modern revisionism arose in the cultural sphere and then the political sphere in the superstructure in the Soviet Union, Mao put forward the theory and practice of continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution from 1966 to 1976. This involves a process of revolutionizing the relations of production and the superstructure through a mass movement led by the proletariat and its party.

### ***Development of Maoism in the Philippines***

Prior to the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines in 1968, we the proletarian revolutionaries in the Philippines adhered to the teaching of Lenin that there can be no revolutionary movement without revolutionary theory, and that the first requisite in Party building is ideological building. We applied the revolutionary theory of Marxism and Leninism in the formulation of the basic documents of the Congress of Reestablishment: "Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party," "Constitution of the Communist Party of the Philippines" and "Program for a People's Democratic Revolution."

We read and studied the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao, These included the Communist Manifesto, Das Kapital, Wages, Prices and Profit, Anti-Dühring, Critique of the Gotha Program, The Civil War in France, What Is to Be Done, Materialism and Empirio-Criticism, State and Revolution, Two Tactics of Social Democracy, "Left Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder, Imperialism: the Highest Stage of Capitalism, Foundations of Leninism, Short History of the CPSU, Selected Works of Mao Zedong, the Polemics on the General Line of the International Communist Movement, the little Red Book of quotations from Mao and major documents of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

We sought to understand Marxist-Leninist philosophy, political economy, social science, the history of the international communist movement, and the strategy and tactics of the Russian and Chinese revolutions, the then ongoing Vietnamese revolution and other revolutions. With the aid of theoretical studies, we tried to understand the history and situation of the world, the Philippines and the old Communist Party of the Philippine Islands established in 1930 and merged with the Socialist Party in 1938. We read and studied the documents of the old communist party before and after its merger with the socialist party.

We adopted the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the guide to revolutionary action. We considered Mao Zedong Thought as the fruit of the long revolutionary experience of the world proletariat under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, and as the latest, most comprehensive, most profound and most effective instrument for analyzing the history and circumstances of the Filipino people and for setting forth the tasks to accomplish the

people's democratic revolution in preparation for the socialist revolution.

We sought to integrate Maoism with the concrete conditions of the Philippines and with the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution. In this regard, we applied materialist dialectics and class analysis in summing up and analyzing the history of the Filipino people, defining the basic character of Philippine society and recognizing the need for a people's democratic revolution. These were clearly stated in the basic documents of the Congress of Reestablishment and would be further developed in the book of Amado Guerrero, *Philippine Society and Revolution*, first published in mimeograph form in 1969 and subsequently in several more editions and translations to this day.

We were inspired and guided by Mao's class analysis of the semicolonial and semifeudal society. Thus, we were able to understand the character of Philippine society and clarify the need for the people's democratic revolution, the class leadership of the proletariat, the basic alliance of the workers and peasants against the joint dictatorship of the comprador big bourgeoisie and landlord class servile to foreign monopoly capitalism, the united front policy, the strategic line of protracted people's war, and the socialist perspective.

With the aid of Mao's teachings on the building of the Party, the people's army and the united front, we were able to sum up and analyze the history of the old Communist Party. We criticized the defective ideological foundation of the merger of the communist and socialist parties and mainly the bourgeois subjectivism and major Right and "Left" opportunist errors of the succession of Lava brothers who became general secretary of the Party. Ultimately, we decided to break away from the old party in 1966 and launched in 1967 what is now known as the First Great Rectification Movement (FGRM) that laid the basis for the reestablishment of the Communist Party in 1968.

We issued the basic document of the rectification movement, "Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party," both to criticize and repudiate the errors of the Lava revisionist renegades and to proclaim the urgent necessity of waging the people's war along the general line of people's democratic revolution against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords. We committed ourselves to building the three great weapons of the revolution, namely, the Party as the advanced detachment of the proletariat, the revolutionary armed struggle on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance, and the united front of patriotic and progressive forces.

We criticized and repudiated the Right opportunist line of Vicente Lava, which was responsible for breaking up the people's army into small armed teams of only five members under the "retreat for defense" policy in 1942, generating pessimism and passivity during the war of resistance against Japan, subordinating the people's army to the US strategic plan to reconquer the Philippines and subsequently welcoming reconquest by the US in 1945, echoing the Browderite "peace and democracy" slogan of the Communist Party of the USA, and demobilizing the people's army for parliamentary struggle within the framework of the 1946 puppet republic.

We criticized and repudiated the "Left" opportunist line of Jose Lava, which called for waging "all-out armed struggle" and "winning victory in two years' time," without paying attention to painstaking mass work and land reform, overestimating the so-called "geometric progression" of the people's army due to the people's growing hatred for the corruption of the regime of Elpidio Quirino in 1949, basing the main force of the people's army in a series of isolated camps in the unpopulated areas of the Sierra Madre mountain range, and launching one wave of offensives and ultimately failing to overcome the enemy counteroffensive in a situation that became purely military.

We criticized and repudiated the "Right" opportunist line of Jesus Lava, which consisted of ordering the conversion of the people's army into "organizational brigades" for legal struggle in 1955, liquidating the Party branches with the "single file policy" in 1957, disconnecting the party leaders from the remaining units of the people's army, and failing to generate even a legal mass movement. When we the proletarian revolutionaries started to join the old Communist Party in 1962, not a single Party branch existed. We were the ones who formed the Party branches in localities and Party groups in mass organizations in the 1960s.

The First Great Rectification Movement under the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought provided a sound basis for formulating the "Program for the People's Democratic Revolution," and the "Constitution of the Communist Party of the Philippines." In preparing the founding of the New People's Army on March 29, 1969, we drew inspiration from the victorious people's war in China and the war of national liberation in Vietnam against the US war of aggression in order to formulate the Rules of the New People's Army. We criticized and repudiated the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique for usurping authority over remnants of the old people's army as well as for

perpetuating the mentality and practice of roving rebel bands.

The process of reestablishing the CPP was interconnected with the world proletarian revolution and the struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction.

We upheld Marxism-Leninism against modern revisionism, which was first espoused by Khrushchov and then by his successor Brezhnev. We had an adequately full view of the ideological debate between the Chinese Communist Party and the Soviet Communist Party. We avidly read and discussed the polemics between the two parties. We sided with the Marxist-Leninist anti-revisionist position of Mao and the Chinese Communist Party.

We studied how modern revisionism had developed to dominate the Soviet Union and other communist parties in Eastern Europe and elsewhere and how the danger of modern revisionism had also emerged in China. On such grounding, we welcomed the theory and practice of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. We took a Marxist-Leninist position against modern revisionism not only on the basis of studying the pertinent events abroad but also on the basis of the struggle against the Lava revisionist renegades who were acting under the influence of the Soviet-centered modern revisionism.

Since 1963, we had criticized and repudiated Khrushchov's bourgeois populist notions of the "party of the whole people" and "state of the whole people" which denied the proletarian character of the Soviet party and state; and his bourgeois pacifist views, such as "peaceful transition to socialism" which denied the necessity of revolutionary violence against counterrevolutionary violence, "peaceful economic competition" which gave primacy to economic struggle over political struggle and "peaceful co-existence" which was overstated as the general line of the international movement and not simply the policy governing the diplomatic relations of socialist states with other kinds of states, irrespective of ideology and social system.

The Lava revisionist renegades sought to prevent the criticism of the serious opportunist errors of the Lava brothers from 1942 onwards, and used the Khrushchovite notion of "peaceful transition" to buttress their position that there must be an indefinitely long period of legal struggle leading to the general offensive in the form of uprisings. The proletarian revolutionaries took the position that the legal mass movement—especially that of the workers and peasants which they had already started to develop—must serve as the basis for organizing the people's army and starting the people's war. We argued that the semicolonial and semifeudal society was in chronic crisis and that the countryside and the peasantry could provide the physical and social terrain for building the people's army and accumulating strength in stages in accordance with Mao's teaching on the strategic line of protracted people's war.

We studied how among various ways the Khrushchovite revisionists breached the socialist system by decentralizing the economy and making enterprises and collectives autonomous and individually responsible for their cost and profit accounting, and how in contrast the Brezhnevite revisionists subsequently recentralized major enterprises along the line of state monopoly capitalism in order to assure the central authorities of funding and the ability to engage in the arms race. We studied how the socialist system had been built and how the revisionists were dismantling it in the philosophical, socioeconomic, political, military and cultural spheres.

The CPP Congress of Reestablishment in 1968 was attended by twelve delegates (with one in absentia) representing around 80 Party cadres and members. These led hundreds of advanced mass activists who were being prepared for Party membership, and most of whom were leading trade unions and mass organizations of urban poor, peasants, women, youth, professionals and cultural workers. The total number of the organized urban mass base nationwide was at least 30,000. Party membership rose by the hundreds from 1968 to 1971, reaching the 2,000 level in 1972 and 4,000 in 1974. The Party members came mainly from the trade unions, urban poor community associations and peasant organizations, and from the Kabataang Makabayan (Patriotic Youth).

The Party established the New People's Army on March 29, 1969 by combining the proletarian revolutionaries and the good elements of the old people's army who had broken away from the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique. The Party central leadership based itself in the second district of Tarlac province where the good remnants of the old people's army had a mass base of 80,000 in several municipalities. Here the New People's Army started with 60 Red fighters armed with only nine automatic rifles and 26 inferior firearms. Despite starting from scratch, we were optimistic because of the justness of our revolutionary cause and because we were inspired by Mao's teaching that we could grow from small to big and from weak to strong.

The Party cadres and the armed propaganda teams spread out to do mass work in the countryside of Tarlac and nearby provinces. They formed the barrio (village) organizing committees as the temporary appointive organs

of political power. They established the revolutionary mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, youth, children and cultural activists. Drawing the best elements from the mass organizations, Party branches were established as the leading force in the locality and the barrio revolutionary committees were established as elected bodies and as the relatively stable organs of political power.

The Party led the organs of political power and the mass organizations supported them in undertaking mass campaigns and activities related to mass education, mass organizing, land reform, production, health and hygiene, arbitration, and cultural work. To augment and assist the people's army, the militia units were formed in the villages and all able-bodied men and women in mass organizations served as self-defense units. When a platoon-size strike force was subsequently formed, it coordinated daily with the local guerrilla units, armed propaganda teams and the militia units.

On the basis of the strong mass base, the New People's Army was able to launch an increasing number of tactical offensives against the enemy. The offensives were carried out by teams, squads and a platoon-size strike force. Through these offensives the NPA increased the number of its automatic rifles from only nine in 1969 to more than 200 by the end of 1970. The enemy reacted with the 5,000-strong Task Force Lawin consisting of army, police and paramilitary forces. Known peasant leaders in every village were assassinated. It became a daily and nightly occurrence for the enemy to raid 5 to 10 villages at every given time with the aim of locating the Party central leadership.

Even prior to the formal founding of the New People's Army, politico-military training was conducted from January to March 1969 in order to prepare the deployment of a few politico-military cadres to a few provinces in other regions for opening new guerrilla zones. The most successful of these expansion efforts were in the province of Isabela in Northeast Luzon. The three politico-military cadres assigned there created a mass base of 150,000 before the end of 1970. In view of the bigger mass base and the better terrain for guerrilla warfare, the Party central leadership began to transfer to Isabela in 1970.

In the forest region of Isabela, hundreds of politico-military cadres were trained for expansion within the region and nationwide. The Party and the mass organizations in Manila and other parts of the country sent cadres there for politico-military training and participation in mass work. The trained politico-military cadres were redeployed to establish or strengthen regional Party committees and NPA regional commands in all regions of the Philippines from 1972 to 1974. Ten regional Party and army organizations had been formed by 1974 and these increased to fifteen before 1977 as a result of the division of the Mindanao island organization into several regional organizations.

The NPA used and improved upon the strategy and tactics of guerrilla warfare and methods of expansion and consolidation which had been successfully tried out in Tarlac and Isabela. By the 1975 plenum of the CPP Central Committee, the nationwide strength of the NPA had reached more than 1,000 high-powered rifles, with the full-time Red fighters augmented by the people's militia and the self-defense units of mass organizations. The Party employed the policy of united front for armed struggle in order to take advantage of violent splits among the reactionaries, to open new guerrilla zones, and to acquire weapons and other forms of support from allies.

Under the direction of the newly reestablished Party, the urban-based mass movement expanded more rapidly and became more militant than ever in Manila and on a nationwide scale. It led to the First Quarter Storm of 1970. In Metro Manila alone, for three months weekly mass actions of from 50,000 to 100,000 people marched from several directions and rallied at major public places and in front of the presidential palace, Congress and the US embassy in order to condemn the antipeople, antinational and antidemocratic policies and acts of the US-directed Marcos regime. The demonstrations spread to provincial capitals and cities. Their principal slogans included: "Dare to struggle, dare to win! People's war is the answer to martial law!" Amado Guerrero wrote the First Quarter Storm, a series of articles, to track and define the protest mass actions against the three evils of US imperialism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The US-Marcos regime tried with brute force to suppress the First Quarter Storm and the subsequent protest mass actions until 1972. It suspended the writ of habeas corpus on August 21, 1971 and then proclaimed martial law on September 21, 1972 in order to impose a fascist dictatorship on the people. This compelled the legal forces of the national-democratic movement to go underground and encourage their activists to participate in the people's war. The Party steadily developed its strength in the underground and encouraged indoor and outdoor protest actions. On April 24, 1973, the Preparatory Commission of the National Democratic Front issued the 10-Point Program of Revolutionary Action (or NDF Manifesto: Unite to

Overthrow the US-Marcos Dictatorship) for developing the united front in support of the revolutionary armed struggle, thus signaling the founding of the National Democratic Front (NDFP). The NDF succeeded in creating its own cells and it focused on united front work among aboveground unions and peasant associations not identified by the enemy as Party-led, among associations of urban petty-bourgeois intellectuals and professionals, among the religious and among the anti-Marcos reactionary politicians. In 1975 the Party and NDF underground in Manila carried out the La Tondeña strike which sparked off strikes in 300 workplaces nationwide. The Christians for National Liberation in the NDF played a key role in helping the workers to defy the fascist authorities.

The years from 1968 to 1977 may be considered as the foundational years of the CPP, the NPA and the NDFP under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The early development of the revolutionary forces was guided by the basic documents in the reestablishment of the CPP, the NPA and the NDFP, and by Philippine Society and Revolution. The Party was focused on waging the revolutionary armed struggle as the main form of struggle while it continued to encourage and revitalize the legal urban mass movement even with the fascist dictatorship ruthlessly ruling the country.

For the purpose of ideological building, the Party translated and published the short classic works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. It arranged and published handy volumes of Mao's works under seven general headings: On Class Analysis and Social Investigation, On Party Building, On Building the People's Army, On Armed Struggle, On the United Front, On Economic Work and Land Reform, and On Propaganda and Cultural Work. These were translated into Pilipino, the national language. Regional Party organizations translated them into the regional lingua franca and disseminated them within their areas of responsibility.

The CPP issued the "Organizational Guide and Outline of Reports" in 1971 to guide mass work and require prompt and accurate reporting of results. The "Summing Up of the First Three Years" in 1972 showed the results of the various aspects of the revolutionary struggle. The CPP promulgated in 1972 the "Guide for Establishing the People's Democratic Government" as the people's constitution to serve as framework for the organs of political power. It also promulgated in 1972 the "Revolutionary Guide for Land Reform." Amado Guerrero's "Specific Characteristics of People's War" in the Philippines was issued in 1974, drawing on our experience in applying the strategic line of people's war in our archipelagic country. As a result of the 1975 Plenum of the Central Committee, "Our Urgent Tasks" was issued in 1976 to further clarify the ideological, political and organizational line and tasks and show the methods for accomplishing them.

The decisions and directives of the Central Committee and other central organs, the reports to the Central Committee on the regional investigation of social conditions and revolutionary work, the exchange of communications between higher and lower organs of the Party leadership and other writings of Party cadres and members are a rich source of information on how the CPP applied Marxist-Leninist-Maoist theory in the practice of the Philippine revolution. Ang Bayan served as the official publication of the Central Committee for news reporting and analysis of domestic and global events and issues. Special pamphlets carried important articles. Subsequently, Rebolusyon was published as the theoretical and political organ of the Central Committee.

From 1969 to 1977, the Party established regional Party organizations and regional commands of the NPA: Northeast Luzon, Northwest Luzon (including Cordillera), Central Luzon, Manila-Rizal (national capital region), Southern Tagalog, Bicol, Western Visayas, Central Visayas, Eastern Visayas, and several regions of Mindanao. These covered the entire country. Tarlac and Isabela set the pattern for opening and developing guerrilla zones, which basically involved creating the mass base and commencing land reform, showing to the masses the necessity and importance of the people's army in the elimination of despotic landlords, local tyrants and bad elements, and proceeding to tactical offensives against the enemy armed forces carried out by teams, squads and platoons of the NPA.

Guerrilla zones were established in areas favorable for guerrilla warfare. They were consolidated to become guerrilla bases through painstaking mass work, land reform, and the building of the organs of political power and the mass organizations. Subsequently, clusters of guerrilla zones and guerrilla bases were consolidated to become the guerrilla front, with the district Party committee and the guerrilla platoon serving as the main strike force and center of gravity for the relatively dispersed squads and armed propaganda teams. Millions of people were in the guerrilla fronts. The NPA in Mindanao was the first to adopt the term "guerrilla front" and to build main guerrilla units and secondary guerrilla units.

In 1976 the NPA platoons in the region of Eastern Visayas were showing to the entire revolutionary movement

how to launch frequent tactical offensives in an extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base, with the use of platoons against municipal police forces and small army detachments, and accumulate weapons rapidly despite ferocious enemy campaigns of encirclement. The Party central leadership considered it wise to multiply the platoons on a nationwide scale for the purpose of delivering effective blows against the enemy forces and seizing weapons.

Comrade Mao's strategy and tactics of people's war, as applied by the "Specific Characteristics of People's War in the Philippines," and as practiced by the Party cadres and NPA commanders and Red fighters, ensured the self-reliant advance of the revolutionary armed struggle in the country. The archipelagic character of the Philippines did not confound the Party. It was considered merely as an initial disadvantage but eventually a long-term advantage.

The expanse of the countryside, the archipelagic and mountainous character of the Philippines allowed the Party to divide and disperse the strength of the enemy armed forces by giving utmost importance to the principle of centralized ideological and political leadership and decentralized operations, the principle of self-reliance, and the principle of advancing in phases and eventually in stages in the people's war. By 1977 the NPA had established more than 30 guerrilla fronts nationwide, on terrain favorable for guerrilla warfare.

In an effort to supplement and boost the self-reliant conduct of people's war, two attempts were made to import weapons in 1972 and 1974. The first one was partially successful but in the main failed; and the second attempt completely failed. The Party summed up and drew lessons from these negative experiences. Without a common land border with a helping state, the people's army would have to practice the principle of self-reliance by seizing arms from the enemy forces and making the reactionary armed forces its unwitting chief transport and supply officer.

The Party summed up and analyzed its conduct of people's war and practiced criticism and self-criticism to correct errors and improve methods and style of work. Among the notable errors criticized were the introduction of firearms without prior mass work in Negros Occidental in 1969, bypassing the Visayan peasants and going straight to the hill tribes in Mindanao from 1972 to 1973 and the concealment and passivity of two full companies of the NPA in the Isabela forest region from 1972 to 1974. The Party learned lessons from setbacks and the death or capture of Party cadres and Red commanders at various times. The revolutionary movement on the whole kept on advancing, despite some major errors and setbacks. The capture of no less than the Chairman of the Party Central Committee in 1977 did not dampen or disrupt the advance of the people's war.

The CPP, NPA and other revolutionary forces in every region have a long and rich story to tell about how in their formative years they grew in strength and advanced against tremendous odds, how they combined the armed struggle and united front, how they coordinated the legal and illegal forms of struggle, how they at certain times committed serious errors, suffered setbacks and overcame these through criticism and self-criticism, actual rectification and revitalization. Time prevents me from giving even only a summary of the story of every region. I can only give the salients in the development of Maoism in the Philippines.

In the period from 1978 to 1986, the strength of the revolutionary forces continued to grow due to their adherence to the teachings of Mao and the leadership of the CPP, and of course due to the Filipino people's increasing hatred for the Marcos fascist dictatorship. The armed revolutionary movement in the countryside grew steadily. In 1978 the mass movement in urban areas engaged in widespread open mass protests, including noise barrages in the national capital region and provincial cities. It was growing steadily until the Marcos regime assassinated Benigno Aquino in 1983. The Party seized the opportunity to undertake the broadest possible united front and generate the rapid upsurge of the urban mass movement. The broad masses of the people rose up in their millions to bring down the fascist regime in 1986.

The largest mass organizations in the protest mass actions belonged to the national-democratic movement. At the same time, the NPA intensified its tactical offensives against the enemy. The CPP applied the policy of the broad united front in order to isolate and destroy the power of the US-propped Marcos fascist regime. It relied mainly on the basic worker-peasant alliance, gave full play to the alliance of the progressive and patriotic forces and made a temporary alliance with unreliable reactionary groups like those of Aquino and others. After the fall of Marcos, the Aquino regime was obliged to release all political prisoners but later on claimed that the revolutionary movement had nothing to do with the overthrow of Marcos.

Party membership had risen to more than 30,000 by 1986. The guerrilla fronts had increased to more than 60

in 14 regions outside the national capital region. In most regions of the country, the organs of political power and rural-based revolutionary mass organizations thrived. A total of seven million people were in guerrilla fronts. The armed strength of the NPA increased to more than 5,000 high-powered rifles in 1983. The growth of the people's army decelerated because of the errors of "Left" opportunism. The NPA strength was recorded at 5,600 at the time of the 1985 Plenum of the Central Committee. This increased to 6,100 in 1986.

Relative to the military strength of the enemy, the strength of the NPA was far smaller but it was augmented by the tens of thousands of people's militia with inferior firearms, and by the hundreds of thousands of self-defense units of the revolutionary mass organizations. Contrary to persistent claims of the enemy armed forces and the bourgeois mass media, the NPA never reached 25,000 high-powered rifles in the 1980s.

Even while the strength of the CPP, NPA, NDFP, the organs of political power and mass organizations grew from 1978 onwards because of the excellent Maoist foundation of the CPP and the perseverance of the Maoist proletarian revolutionaries, anti-Maoist elements in high positions in the CPP started to generate subjectivist and opportunist lines, especially from 1981 onwards. They spread the subjectivist line that the Philippine economy was no longer semifeudal but semicapitalist, in effect claiming that the big comprador-landlord Marcos fascist regime had industrialized and urbanized the Philippines by some 40 percent.

The detained founding Chairman of the CPP was able to make in 1982 the long interview, "On the Mode of Production in the Philippines," to counter the subjectivist line and to sustain with statistics and analysis the position that the Philippine economy was still agrarian and semifeudal. The interview served to support the proletarian revolutionaries in holding their ground and stopping the subjectivist line from spreading and gaining the upper hand in the entire Party. In 1983 he wrote in "The Losing Course of the Reactionary Armed Forces" that NPA strength could grow very rapidly upon reaching the critical mass of 5,000 high-powered rifles but warned against premature verticalization or the formation of unsustainable larger units.

"Left" and Right opportunist lines bifurcated from the subjectivist line. The "Left" opportunist line was stronger than the Right opportunist until 1987. The new Party leadership misconstrued the early phase of the strategic defensive—the phase at which the people's war still was—as the advanced phase, and aimed to undertake what it inappropriately called the phase "strategic counteroffensive" as the final phase of the strategic defensive ushering in the strategic stalemate. The rhetorical "advance" in the people's war concealed the fact that in 1978 the strength of the people's army was around 1,500 high-powered rifles. It was still a period in which the example of building platoons and using them for frequent offensives as in Eastern Visayas, particularly Samar, still needed to be replicated in other regions.

Impetuosity afflicted not only the central leadership but also the regional leadership in Eastern Visayas when it decided in 1979-80 to build companies and two battalions. But the regional leadership was dissuaded from carrying out its plan and was directed to expand in the region by using platoons and to make its tested cadres available to the central leadership for redeployment to help other regions, especially Negros, Panay and Mindanao. In the entire country as a whole, the Party and the NPA were able to expand the mass base and wage successful tactical offensives.

The central Party leadership was not able to carry out its so-called "strategic counteroffensive". However in 1981, the Mindanao Commission invented its own brand of military adventurism, which it called the Red Area-White Area (RAWA) strategy. It decided that the time was past for mass work and that it was time to build in Mindanao 15 NPA companies as a purely military force as soon as possible by putting together the smaller NPA units which had been doing mass work. At the same time, it considered the armed city partisans and the spontaneous masses in the cities as the politico-military leading force for winning the revolution through urban insurrection. Carried away by impetuosity, underground Party cadres participated openly in mass actions dubbed as people's strikes.

The first three companies showed good military results in offensives against the enemy. But as more companies and more staff units were formed, the mass base became weakened and eventually eroded. At the same time, the companies became vulnerable to enemy attacks as they were easily sighted by enemy informers and army reconnaissance teams. When the policy of prematurely forming NPA companies resulted in enemy successes at ambushing the NPA units and when urban underground cadres were being raided and captured or killed, the Mindanao Commission resorted to blaming "deep penetration agents" (DPAs) as the cause of the setbacks instead of reviewing and casting away the wrong policy. In 1985, the caretaker committee of the Mindanao Commission

decided to launch a hysterical putschist campaign supposedly to ferret out and rid the region of so-called DPAs. It called the campaign Kampanyang Ahos, which turned out to be a criminal bloody witchhunt within revolutionary ranks.

The grave errors of “Left” opportunism were not promptly rectified and led to successful enemy attacks and such anti-informer hysteria as Kampanyang Ahos [Garlic Campaign] in 1985 to 1987 in Mindanao and at various times the so-called June breakthrough in Manila, anti-DPA campaigns in Northern Luzon and Negros island and Operation Plan Missing Link in the Southern Tagalog region. The advance of the armed revolution was undermined and slowed in various areas for certain periods. The premature formation of big military units resulted in the neglect of mass work and the contraction of the mass base. Lacking a deep and wide mass base, and with greatly reduced flexibility and mobility, the big NPA units became more vulnerable to enemy detection and attack. For the most part of the 1980s, it was the turn of the Bicol regional Party organization to provide the exemplary well-balanced development of the Party, the people’s army and mass base among the regional organizations.

Right opportunism reared its ugly head in 1980, when the so-called popular democrats proposed to convert the National Democratic Front into a “New Katipunan” by taking out the leadership of the proletariat, supposedly to make the united front more attractive to the bourgeoisie. A new draft program that diluted the revolutionary content of the previous program and echoed the bourgeois ideas of the Dengist counterrevolution in China was put forward but was opposed and shelved. A proposal was also made to reconsider the character of the Soviet Union as a social imperialist power in order to facilitate approach to the Soviet Union and its allies for military assistance.

The Right opportunists were stopped from pushing the proposal to change the character of the NDF and dilute its program. Their move was easily repudiated by the proletarian revolutionaries as the people’s war intensified towards the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship in 1986. But after the fall of Marcos, the Right opportunists overstated the boycott policy of the Party leadership in the 1986 presidential snap election as a strategic error and whipped up recriminations against the central leadership. They were openly grateful to the US-directed Aquino regime for the so-called democratic space and sought to ingratiate themselves with the Aquino regime.

Following his release from prison, the founding chairman of the CPP delivered a series of 10 lectures, titled Philippine Crisis and Revolution, at the University of the Philippines in 1986. It was intended to counter and clear up the confusion being sown by the “Left” and Right opportunists about the downfall of Marcos and the character of the Aquino regime, and more importantly to update Philippine Society and Revolution and clarify the new situation and the new tasks of the revolutionary movement. The compiled lectures served to firm up the revolutionary principles and raise the fighting spirit of the Party and the revolutionary movement in the face of the attempts of the Aquino regime to carry out a scheme of destroying the movement through a combination of violence and deception.

By this time, the “Left” opportunists had conjoined with the Right opportunists to exaggerate the boycott error as the worst error of the CPP, in order to cover up the far more disastrous character and consequences of their grave errors of principle and line and their crimes in the anti-DPA witchhunts. They were prating that only urban insurrections and importation of arms could successfully counter the gradual constriction of guerrilla fronts under the enemy’s war of quick decision.

After the failure of their policy of so-called nationally coordinated operations in 1987-88, which consisted almost entirely of harassment operations and which wasted a lot of ammunition, the “Left” opportunists were basically a spent force and became dispirited and defeatist. Some of them joined the Right opportunists in praising Gorbachov for his “new thinking” and then celebrating the full restoration of capitalism of the revisionist-ruled countries from 1989 to 1991. Together they started to jockey for staff positions in various reactionary parties and in various agencies of the reactionary government.

In the years from 1988 to 1991, the Party surveyed the extent of the loss of the revolutionary mass base as a result of the self-constricting line of the “Left” opportunists. It became clear in 1991 that the loss of the mass base had reached 60 percent nationwide. The handful of “Left” opportunists who were incorrigible increasingly became anti-CPP, anti-Mao and anti-Communist. They collaborated with the incorrigible Right opportunists in anti-Communist propaganda and racketeering in NGOs funded by the imperialists and local reactionary politicians. In 1991, the Party Central Committee prepared for the Second Great Rectification Movement by drafting its most basic document, based on the reports and recommendations of lower Party organs and organizations.

### ***Current status of Maoism in the Philippines***

The current status of Maoism in the Philippines can be understood and appreciated only by observing how the Maoist theory has been successfully applied to the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution in the new democratic stage, how it has been used to confront and overcome tremendous odds in the objective situation and solve problems in the development of the Party and other revolutionary forces; and how it has guided all the revolutionary forces to preserve themselves, grow in strength and advance. It has been a great historic feat for the CPP to have overcome the tremendous attempts of the US imperialists and the local reactionary forces to destroy the Party and the entire revolutionary movement with the use of task forces (Lawin and Saranay) against the NPA supposedly to “nip it in the bud” from 1969 to 1972, the 14-year long fascist dictatorship of Marcos from 1972 to 1986 and the succession of pseudo-democratic regimes which have pretended to give “democratic space” to those who seek national independence and democracy but have never ceased to use brutal campaigns of anti-Communist and antipeople suppression.

The CPP has been guided well by Maoist theory that the new democratic revolution, through the strategic line of protracted people’s war, is the correct and just response of the people to the joint dictatorship of the big comprador and landlord classes ruling the semicolonial and semifeudal society under the hegemony of US imperialism. It is well proven that the US and the local exploiting classes have been unable to defeat the revolutionary movement of the people with the use of violence and deception.

In more than four decades of revolutionary armed struggle, the CPP has been able to lead and build the people’s army, the organs of democratic power in the countryside, the revolutionary mass organizations, and the united front of patriotic and progressive forces. On the basis of the ever growing mass base, the CPP has been able to establish Party branches in the localities. Under its leadership, the people’s democratic government is growing against the reactionary government and the ruling system in chronic crisis.

The reactionary government is compelled to recognize the revolutionary government by engaging in peace negotiations with the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP). A series of foreign governments (Dutch, Belgian and Norwegian) have facilitated the peace negotiations. In the light of international law, the NDFP negotiates with the Manila government on an equal footing as a cobelligerent in a civil war. In this regard, the CPP founding chairman has clarified the NDFP framework of negotiations in “Two Articles on the People’s Struggle for a Just Peace.”

“The Hague Joint Declaration” sets the mutual framework of peace negotiations between the NDFP and the Manila government. The NDFP has asserted in its Unilateral Declaration of Undertaking to Apply the Geneva Conventions and Protocol I the existence of the revolutionary organs of political power as constituting the people’s democratic government. So far, the peace negotiations have resulted in the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law, signed and approved by the principals of the negotiating parties in 1998. The revolutionary forces and people led by the CPP adhere to the principle and line that the struggle for a just and lasting peace is exactly the struggle for national liberation and democracy. Peace negotiations can succeed only if such struggle of the people is fulfilled.

The revolutionary forces cannot be led astray by false illusions about the peace negotiations. Instead, they have been able to avail of the peace negotiations as a means to put forward just and reasonable demands for social, economic and political reforms for the immediate and long-term benefit of the Filipino people and have been able to broadcast internationally the program for a people’s democratic revolution and to expose the antinational and antidemocratic character of the Manila government.

Consequent to the long-term subversion and betrayal of socialism by modern revisionism and the complete victory of the capitalist counterrevolution in China, Soviet Union and other former socialist countries, the US imperialists and the Filipino reactionaries have been praying that socialism is hopeless and that history cannot go beyond capitalism and liberal democracy. They have tried to demoralize the people and the revolutionary forces with the assertion that there is no more socialist country to aid them and that there is no other way but to capitulate to imperialism and its reactionary stooges.

But thanks to the teachings of Mao on the new democratic revolution, on the principle of self-reliance and on the mass line, the revolutionary movement of the Filipino people has been able to grow in strength and advance without having to depend on material assistance from abroad. More than 98 percent of the NPA armed strength comes from fighting the enemy. Less than two percent comes from donations by local allies. Again, thanks to

Mao's proletarian revolutionary line against modern revisionism since the latter half of the 1950s, the CPP has been founded on the line of upholding Marxism-Leninism and opposing modern revisionism.

All revolutionary forces of the Filipino people comprehend the degeneration and ultimate disintegration of socialism in countries ruled by the modern revisionists. They are further armed with the Maoist theory of continuing the revolution under proletarian dictatorship in socialist society. They are not only well-grounded in the practice of the new democratic revolution but have the foresight to build socialism and combat the danger of revisionism and capitalist restoration. The socialist revolution commences upon the basic completion of the new democratic revolution through the nationwide seizure of political power.

A revolutionary party of the proletariat like the CPP is subject to the law of contradiction at every stage of the revolution. It must be alert to the incessant need to struggle against the bourgeoisie that exerts influence from the outside or manages to creep into the Party through unremolded or retrogressive petty-bourgeois elements who misrepresent petty-bourgeois ideas as proletarian ideas and attack the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist line either subtly or crudely.

Being well versed on the teachings of Mao, the CPP was in a position in 1992 to identify, criticize and repudiate the major errors of subjectivism and opportunism from 1980 to 1991 that were aimed at undermining and liquidating the Party and the revolutionary movement. It successfully launched the Second Great Rectification Movement (SGRM) in 1992, with the overwhelming support of the Party cadres and members who have remained loyal to the Party and Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

Exactly at the time that the incorrigible opportunists imagined that they could deliver the death blow to the CPP, the central leadership issued the rectification documents: "Reaffirm Our Basic Principles and Rectify Errors," "General Review of Major Events and Decisions from 1980 to 1991" and "Stand for Socialism Against Modern Revisionism." Indeed, without the Second Great Rectification Movement, the CPP and the entire revolutionary movement would have disintegrated from within, as openly wished by a US intelligence asset collaborating with and pushing the incorrigible opportunists.

Instead, the Maoist proletarian revolutionaries carried out the Second Great Rectification Movement from 1992 to 1998 as a campaign of theoretical and political education to reaffirm basic revolutionary principles, criticize and repudiate the major subjectivist opportunist errors, and revitalize the revolutionary forces and movement. The SGRM also involved practical measures to counter the wrecking operations by the highly-placed degenerates and renegades; to recover the personnel and resources misappropriated and messed up by them; to reorient and re-deploy cadres; and to revitalize the entire Party and revolutionary movement.

In presenting the current status of Maoism in the Philippines, it is necessary to take up the ten issues raised in the Second Great Rectification Movement and to narrate the positions and actions taken by the Party and the consequences. The issues are the following: 1) the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism; 2) the anti-revisionist line; 3) the semifeudal and semicolonial character of Philippine society; 4) the general line of new democratic revolution; 5) the Party as the vanguard force; 6) protracted people's war and guerrilla warfare; 7) revolutionary class line in the united front; 8) principle of democratic centralism; 9) the socialist perspective; and 10) proletarian internationalism.

### **1. Upholding the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism**

The CPP took note that the subjectivists and opportunists had deliberately put aside the study of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism within the organs and units in which they were supposed to be Party cadres. They stopped such study in order to impress and bamboozle other Party members that they had better ideas, which were actually drawn from non-Maoists and anti-Maoists. They displayed an eclectic array of anti-Communist petty-bourgeois ideas.

Under the pretense of refining, improving or even surpassing Marxist-Leninist theory, they put forward the subjectivist line that Philippine society was no longer semifeudal but "semicapitalist" and proceeded to put forward all sorts of harebrained notions to make quick and easy the process of taking power and effecting social revolution. The "Left" opportunists offered armed urban insurrection and military adventurism in lieu of protracted people's war. And the Right opportunists offered legal struggle and reformism as the protracted way for making the ruling system ripe for overthrow.

Among the "Left" opportunists were military putschists who fancied themselves as generals of large army units without a mass base and urban insurrectionists who wanted to mimic the anti-authoritarian insurrection in

Nicaragua. At the start of the SGRM, the exponents of these variants of “Left” opportunism were already discredited by their dislike for the study of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, well-known failures and criminal acts and were exposed as aliens to the Party.

But some “Left” opportunists occupying high positions in the Party committee in the national capital region sought to stop the SGRM and in the process exposed thoroughly their Trotskyite notion that the urban uprisings of workers made unnecessary the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside for a protracted period. They had been able to camouflage their Trotskyite position previously by paying lip service to people’s war, until they thought that they had enough anti-Maoist following within the CPP.

Among the Right opportunists were exponents of bourgeois populism, liberalism, social democracy, Gorbachovism and Trotskyism. All of them concurred with the “Left” opportunists” on the subjectivist notion that the Philippine economy ceased to be semifeudal and had become “semicapitalist” upon their presumption that a significant increase of industrialization and urbanization had been accomplished under the big comprador-landlord economic policy of the US-directed Marcos fascist regime.

They invoked and mimicked Gorbachov’s “new thinking” and claimed that anti-Communist thinking could strengthen the Communist Party and the new democratic revolution. They used empiricist, reformist and revisionist thinking and simply cussed as “orthodox” and “fundamentalist” the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. They posed as sophisticates in justifying eclecticism and touting a petty-bourgeois supermarket of ideas in a futile attempt to swamp the theory and practice of proletarian revolution.

The Central Committee of the CPP issued the basic rectification documents in order to confront and defeat the incorrigible subjectivists and opportunists. In addition, the founding chairman of the CPP issued the article, “Critical and Creative Tasks of the Rectification Movement in the Communist Party of the Philippines.” This further clarified the rectification movement as a process of education and the tasks to be carried out in order to raise further the revolutionary consciousness and fighting capabilities of the Party and the people.

To uphold the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the Second Great Rectification Movement re-instituted the three levels of study courses for Party cadres and members. To become full Party members, candidate members are required to finish the primary course, which integrates the Maoist theory with the history and circumstances of the Filipino people. The intermediate course involves the systematic study of Maoist theory and comparative study of revolutions in various countries. The advanced course involves the study of philosophy, political economy, social science, strategy and tactics, and the history of the international communist movement from the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao.

The Second Great Rectification Movement revived the critique and repudiation of modern revisionism and its latest variants, especially neorevisionism. It exposed and opposed the neoliberal economic policy, the security policy of military intervention and aggression, cultural imperialism and related policies of US imperialism. It criticized and condemned all the major trends of anti-Communist petty-bourgeois thinking, including liberalism, neoliberalism, bourgeois populism, social democracy, Gorbachovism, and Trotskyism.

The living study of Maoism is encouraged above all. It means applying Maoism in social investigation and decision-making in order to solve current problems in the revolutionary struggle. Major domestic and international issues are discussed and resolved in the light of Maoist theory. The Party publishes statements and resolutions on issues and informative and analytical articles and books. These are published in the website [www.philippinerevolution.net](http://www.philippinerevolution.net). Audio-visual productions and illustrations of study materials are used to facilitate the theoretical and political studies of Party cadres and members who come from the working class and peasantry and have limited formal education.

## ***2. Pursuing the anti-revisionist line***

The US imperialists and the Filipino reactionaries were beside themselves gloating over the social turmoil in China, the disintegration of the revisionist regimes in Eastern Europe, and the collapse of the Soviet Union in the period from 1989 to 1991. They boasted that the CPP would weaken and disappear because supposedly it had no more foreign benefactors.

In fact, the CPP soberly regarded these events as vindication and verification of Mao’s anti-revisionist line and prediction that modern revisionism would lead to full capitalist restoration. The CPP raised even higher its appreciation for Mao’s theory and practice of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship to combat revisionism, prevent the restoration of capitalism and consolidate socialism. Those incorrigible opportunists who had

claimed that Gorbachov's perestroika and the Dengist counterrevolution were meant to save and strengthen socialism were thoroughly discredited and embarrassed.

The Filipino Maoists laughed at the absurdity of the US imperialists and Filipino reactionaries in pretending to forget that the CPP was established under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, that it was founded on the line of opposing modern revisionism, that it arose and developed self-reliantly, and that it understood and was enlightened by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Nevertheless, the CPP gave serious attention to the continued attempts of the incorrigible opportunists to spread within the Party their bourgeois liberal, Gorbachovite and Trotskyite interpretations of the disintegration of the revisionist-ruled systems and collapse of the Soviet Union in the period from 1989 to 1991.

It was of crucial importance that Armando Liwanag published "Stand for Socialism against Modern Revisionism" in 1992 to explain the long struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in socialist countries, and how socialist revolution and construction had advanced until the modern revisionists succeeded in usurping power and carried out capitalist restoration. The modern revisionists captured and kept power for the purpose of capitalist restoration by casting away the revolutionary class struggle, by using the "theory of productive forces" against the socialist relations of production and promoting bourgeois and backward modes of thinking and behavior in the superstructure.

Most importantly, the work of Liwanag clarified how monopoly capitalism would continue to be stricken by ever-worsening crisis and engender ever greater resistance by the proletariat and people. The anti-imperialist struggle of the people and the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie would go on to make way for socialism and communism. This renewed and strengthened the resolve of the entire Party to pursue the anti-revisionist line and dismiss as rubbish the outlandish claims that there is no alternative to capitalism or that history cannot go beyond capitalism and liberal democracy.

Filipino Maoists are proud to be among the proletarian revolutionaries upholding Marxism-Leninism-Maoism against imperialism, revisionism and reaction amidst the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system. The total bankruptcy of the US-instigated neoliberal policy of "free market" globalization has brought about a protracted global depression and the increased tendency of the imperialist powers to whip up state terrorism and unleash wars of aggression. Revolution is bound to reemerge as the main trend in the world as all major contradictions intensify.

### ***3. Confronting the semifeudal and semicolonial character of Philippine society***

The incorrigible subjectivists and opportunists claimed that the Philippine economy was no longer semifeudal in order to attack the general line of new democratic revolution through protracted people's war. The CPP thoroughly debunked the claim and stressed the fact that the Marcos fascist dictatorship aggravated and deepened the underdeveloped and agrarian character of the economy by directing resources away from national industrial development and genuine land reform.

The economy remains preindustrial and semifeudal. It continues to be plundered and impoverished by imperialist powers headed by the US and by the local exploiting classes of big compradors in cities and landlords in the countryside. The post-Marcos regimes have further aggravated the underdeveloped character of the Philippine economy and have further devastated the environment by following the neoliberal economic policy which dictates labor flexibilization, trade and investment liberalization, privatization of public assets, deregulation, and denationalization.

Industries that exist are dependent on imported equipment, components and fuel. The so-called manufacturing industry involves mere assembly of imported components for reexport. In fact, the share of manufacturing in the gross national product has dropped drastically since the shift from import-substitution manufacturing to export-oriented manufacturing. Major issuances of the CPP and the book coauthored by the CPP founding chairman with Julie de Lima, *Philippine Economy and Politics*, maintains that the Philippine economy is semifeudal.

Since the time of the Ramos regime from 1992 to 1998, key incorrigible Right opportunists have declared that the issue of national sovereignty is passé, blatantly denying the semicolonial character of the ruling system. They argue that it is pointless to assert national sovereignty under the US-instigated policy of neoliberal globalization. They endorse this policy even as from time to time, they pretend to criticize some of its worst features only to beg

that these be reformed or improved.

They have become racketeers in non-government organizations (NGOs) and intelligence consultants of some US agencies and the Manila government. Many of them are now close advisors of the current Aquino regime on how to use psychological warfare against the revolutionary movement, within the framework of the US-designed counterinsurgency program Oplan Bayanihan. Some hold key positions in government agencies concerned with media manipulation, phony anti-poverty work, covering up human rights violations, sabotaging peace negotiations, and whipping up the anti-China scare in order to justify and facilitate US military intervention in the Philippines.

#### ***4. Carrying out the general line of new democratic revolution***

True to the teachings of Mao, the CPP carries out the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war against the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system of the big compradors and landlords subservient to US imperialism. The leading class of the revolution is the industrial proletariat. It maintains a basic alliance with the peasantry as the main force of the revolution. It wins over the urban petty bourgeoisie to form the alliance of the basic forces of the revolution. It wins further the national or middle bourgeoisie to form a patriotic alliance.

The three great weapons of the new democratic revolution are: the proletarian revolutionary party, the people's army, and the national united front. They have brought about the revolutionary strength of the people by arousing, organizing and mobilizing them. The people's democratic government keeps on growing in the countryside, challenging the reactionary government of big compradors and landlords, and displacing this in a growing number of localities.

The organs of democratic political power have been built in more than 110 guerrilla fronts, covering extensive portions of 70 of the 81 Philippine provinces, more than 800 of the nearly 1,500 municipalities, and thousands of the more than 40,000 villages in the country. They are supported by mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, youth, children, cultural activists, teachers and other professionals and the broad masses of the people.

Nothing is being done by the US and the local reactionary classes to change the character of Philippine society. Thus the general line of the Philippine revolution stands. The neoliberal economic policy continues to aggravate and deepen the agrarian and semifeudal character of the Philippine economy. The crisis of the world capitalist system continues to ravage the economy. The ruling reactionaries are so desperate that they allow 100 percent foreign-owned corporations to exploit and plunder the natural resources and destroy the environment. The private-public partnership program, especially in infrastructure projects, is reminiscent of the similar imperialist-big comprador program of the Marcos fascist regime.

The current US-Aquino regime is obsessed with seeking to destroy the revolutionary movement through Oplan Bayanihan, and has completely sabotaged the peace negotiations by violating agreements already made between the NDFP and the Manila government. It refuses to do its part in addressing the roots of the civil war and paving the way for a just and lasting peace through mutual agreements on basic social, economic and political reforms. It refuses to take up the offer of the NDFP for an immediate truce and alliance for the purpose of achieving national independence, people's democracy, national industrialization and land reform, and an independent foreign policy of peace and development.

#### ***5. Building the Party as the vanguard force of the proletariat and the people***

The Party is the advanced detachment of the working class. It is the vanguard force of the proletariat and people. It bears the responsibility of the working class to lead the people's democratic revolution and to bring it forward to the socialist revolution. Being the most progressive and most productive force, the working class has the historic mission of bringing about the socialist revolution.

The CPP adheres to the teachings of Mao regarding the building of the revolutionary party of the proletariat ideologically, politically and organizationally. The ideological line of the CPP is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Its current political line is the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war. Its organizational line is democratic centralism. By applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism on the concrete conditions of the Philippines and on the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution, the CPP has become the largest and strongest revolutionary party of the proletariat in the entire history of the Philippines.

Through the SGRM, the CPP has reaffirmed all its basic principles and revitalized itself ideologically, politically

and organizationally. It has emphasized the living study of Maoism through the concrete analysis of concrete conditions for the purpose of waging revolution. At the same time, it has strengthened the formal study courses to ensure ascending levels of revolutionary practice and theoretical knowledge. It has advanced politically by wielding the people's army and the united front effectively. It has strengthened the Party as an organization deeply rooted among the toiling masses nationwide.

Under the SGRM from 1992 to 1998, the CPP underwent a process of all-round strengthening by consolidating and expanding the ranks of the Maoist proletarian revolutionaries while combating and rectifying the major errors of subjectivism and opportunism in the 1980s, and rebuilding those parts of the Party that were damaged or destroyed by the incorrigible opportunists and renegades. These were defeated and they left the Party in grouplets before the end of 1994. Many of those who had been previously misled and confused criticized them as well as themselves.

The CPP increased its Party membership at a cumulative rate from 1994 onwards in response to the demands of mass work and campaigns, people's government and revolutionary armed struggle. Solid Party organizing has been demanded on the basis of solid mass organizing. The most advanced activists are encouraged to join the Party. According to a recent report, CPP Party membership has increased from the level of 50,000 as of 2009 to the current level of 100,000. Under the SGRM from 1992 to 1998, the CPP underwent a process of all-round strengthening by combating and rectifying the major errors of the 1980s to 1991.

The CPP has announced the plan to increase its membership to 250,000 in connection with the overall plan to advance the people's war from the stage of the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate. The current policy is to boldly expand the Party without letting in a single undesirable. Acceptance of the Party Constitution and Program for a People's Democratic Revolution suffices for an applicant to become Party candidate member. Full membership comes by performing duties in a Party branch or group, and finishing the basic Party study course within the period of candidature.

## **6. Waging the protracted people's war and guerrilla warfare**

The SGRM criticized and repudiated the "Left" opportunist line of presuming that enough mass work had been accomplished and that the point had been reached to build absolutely concentrated companies and battalions, with adequate staff units at various levels, in order to accelerate the victory of the Philippine revolution. The Party pointed out that the revolution would be lost if it gave up mass work and its political superiority over the enemy and placed itself in a purely military situation, fought the way the enemy does and allowed the enemy's military superiority to prevail.

The SGRM also criticized and repudiated the Right opportunist line that armed struggle should be reduced and made secondary to the legal democratic mass movement. The Party pointed out that the revolutionary armed struggle was the principal form of struggle for seizing political power and that the depreciation, decrease and debilitation of this form of struggle would surely lead to defeat. Indeed, as Mao emphasized, the people have nothing without a people's army.

Under the SGRM from 1992 onwards, the Party took vigorous efforts to stress the correct line of people's war in the entire people's army in accordance with Mao's teachings. In commands and units influenced or affected by the "Left" opportunist line, the Party reoriented, reorganized and redeployed the Red commanders and fighters. The prematurely formed NPA companies and battalions were reduced to platoons or oversized platoons in order to serve as the center of gravity for platoons, squads and teams that were dispersed over a wider area for maintaining and developing intimate links with the masses.

Consequently, the NPA grew in strength and advanced. This was manifested by the increase of tactical offensives and by the ability to capture enemy officers, up to senior level ranks. On the downside in certain areas, as a result of prolonged mass work, made difficult by previous errors and anti-informer hysteria, inertia developed in certain NPA units as these tended to over-concentrate on mass work and be conservative with regard to planning and carrying out tactical offensives. By and large, the NPA has overcome conservatism and is availing of the mass base for intensifying the people's war nationwide.

Under the absolute leadership of the Party, the New People's Army has become the largest and strongest revolutionary army since the defeat of the Philippine revolutionary army in the Filipino-American war of 1899-1902. The politico-military training of the Red commanders and fighters includes learning the teachings of Mao on people's war and the strategy and tactics of guerrilla warfare. The NPA has thousands of Red fighters with high-powered rifles, and is augmented by tens of thousands in the people's militia and hundreds of thousands in self-defense units within the mass organizations. It is operating in 110 to 120 guerrilla fronts which covers large portions of 70 of the 81 provinces in the Philippines.

It is carrying out extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base, firmed up by carrying out land reform and building organs of political power and mass organizations. It is seeking to bleed the enemy to death by an ever rising number of tactical offensives and to foil enemy campaigns of encirclement with the tactics of counter-encirclement on the scales of the guerrilla front, inter-front, regional and interregional. It is determined to bring the people's war from the strategic defense to the strategic stalemate according to a five-year plan. It aims to develop the rudiments of regular mobile warfare on the basis of guerrilla warfare. It plans to bring the level of its armed strength to 25,000 high-powered rifles and to increase the number of guerrilla fronts to 180.

The Party branches, the organs of political power and the mass organizations are consciously assuming appropriate functions in localities in order to allow units of the people's army to devote more time to politico-military training and to waging tactical offensives. In this connection, the self-defense units in mass organizations can perform appropriate security functions. The people's militia acts as the local police force and may undertake certain combat functions that are well within their capabilities. At any rate, units of the people's army rotate at performing combat, training, mass work, production and cultural work so that they continue to be closely linked to the masses.

As the CPP has announced, the NPA will intensify not only the tactical offensives to wipe out enemy units. It will also subject to attrition enemy units, facilities and convoys. To make more land available for land reform, protect the environment and conserve natural resources for future industrialization, the NPA is striving to dismantle plantations, logging and mining operations that belong to foreign companies and big compradors. It is also determined to arrest and submit to the people's court system those human rights violators, plunderers, drug operators

and other criminals liable for the most serious offenses which are being condoned and committed by the reactionary authorities.

### **7. Pursuing the revolutionary class line in the united front**

The SGRM asserted the necessity of class analysis and class struggle, the leadership of the working class and the revolutionary class line in the national united front. It combated the Right opportunist line of seeking to delete the working class leadership from the program of the National Democratic Front with the avowed objective of attracting more people and further encouraging bourgeois middle forces to join the revolution. It also rejected the proposal of some "Left" opportunists to replace the vanguard role of the Party with that of the united front.

The Party pursues the policy of the united front for the purpose of advancing the armed struggle, serving the interests of the broad masses of the people, and reaching and mobilizing the masses in their millions. As explained in 1998 in "The Requirements of the Revolutionary United Front" by the CPP Chairman Armando Liwanag, the united front encompasses an echelon of alliances under the revolutionary leadership of the working class, such as the basic alliance of the workers and peasants, the progressive alliance of these toiling masses and the urban petty bourgeoisie, the patriotic alliance of the aforesaid progressive forces with the national bourgeoisie, and the temporary and unstable alliance with those reactionary forces that are against the enemy, which is either the most reactionary force at a given time or an invading imperialist power.

The revolutionary class line runs through the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside and accumulating armed strength here until the revolutionary forces and the people gain overwhelming capability for a strategic offensive to destroy the last holdouts of the enemy, seize the cities one after the other and take power nationwide. The antifeudal united front belongs to the national united front; the working class and its party rely mainly on the poor peasants and farmworkers, win over the middle peasants, neutralize the rich peasants, and take advantage of the splits among the landlords in order to isolate and destroy the power of the despotic landlords.

In any alliance with the national bourgeoisie or sections of reactionary classes opposed to the enemy, the Party and the working class have to exercise independence and initiative in order to avoid being compromised in anything unacceptable or being caught flatfooted in case of betrayal. The objective is to defeat one enemy after another, gain strength in the process, and become capable of winning greater victories in the anti-imperialist and class struggles.

As in the overthrow of the Marcos fascist regime in 1986, the CPP once more successfully applied the policy of the broad united front, which extended to having a temporary alliance with unreliable reactionary allies, in order to isolate and overthrow the corrupt Estrada regime from 2009 to early 2001. The objective is to take advantage of the contradictions among the reactionaries, defeat one enemy after another and strengthen the revolutionary forces in the process. However, the CPP did not succeed in overthrowing the more brutal, more corrupt and more hated Arroyo regime due to the US dictation to the anti-Arroyo reactionaries to refrain from the extra-constitutional ouster of the sitting president and to use the elections as method for regime change and also due to shortcomings of the legal progressive forces in the implementation of the broad united policy.

It is not a fixed rule that the CPP uses the broad united front policy to target only the ruling reactionary clique. It is possible to use such policy to target and terminate the US domination of the Philippines and have a temporary alliance with the ruling clique for the purpose. But so far every ruling reactionary clique has been a craven puppet to US imperialism and had refused to take an anti-imperialist and patriotic position and enter into an alliance with the revolutionary forces.

In the course of peace negotiations, the NDFP has repeatedly offered to forge with the Manila government an immediate truce and alliance in order to realize the Filipino people's aspiration for complete national independence and real democracy. But the puppet rulers have no shame and are incapable of taking the patriotic and progressive path. So far, their intention in going through the peace negotiations is to cosmeticize their antinational and antidemocratic character and goals. They even have the gumption to seek vainly the capitulation and pacification of the revolutionary forces.

### **8. Following the principle of democratic centralism**

The SGRM criticized and repudiated the bureaucratism and commandism that the incorrigible opportunists had exercised over CPP organs and units under their authority, as well as the ultra-democracy and anarchy that they indulged in for a long time in relation to higher organs. Their anarchy peaked as they formed factions and

intensified their opposition to the Party and the rectification movement. Ultimately, they blatantly brought themselves out of the Party and exposed their degenerate and renegade character.

The Party follows the organizational principle of democratic centralism. This is centralized leadership based on democracy and democracy guided by centralism. The essence of centralism is adhering to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and unifying and concentrating the will of the Party and the masses for waging the revolution. Democracy is the process by which opinions and recommendations are expressed and decisions are taken. In every collective, the individual must follow the decision of the majority. The higher organ relies on the lower leading organs for reports and recommendations. The lower organs and organizations are subordinate to higher ones and must follow their decisions.

In every organ of the Party, decisions are made by the majority or by consensus. There is freedom to discuss issues and present facts and arguments in order to arrive at decisions for improving work and work style, achieving better and bigger results and advancing the revolutionary struggle. Once a decision is taken, there is collective discipline to follow and implement the decision. A decision may be reconsidered only upon the presentation of new facts and new arguments that were not previously available or not fully considered.

All individual Party members are subordinate to the collective and the entire Party. An individual may continue to hold his or her own opinion against a decision but must follow and implement it. Freedom is necessary for presenting the facts and arguments and for discovering the truth and arriving at the best possible decision. At the same time, centralized leadership and collective discipline are necessary to concentrate the will and strength of the Party in order to defeat the enemy and advance the revolution.

Democratic centralism is not merely a set of rules governing the organizational relationship between the individual and the collective and the minority and the majority. It ensures the entire Party's revolutionary commitment and unity under the Party program and line. No faction or individual is allowed to remain in the Party while opposing the basic principles and program of the Party. Any individual or group is free to leave the Party when it can no longer accept such principles and program. It is a matter of democratic right of the Party to uphold, defend and promote these.

### ***9. Looking forward to the socialist revolution***

The SGRM exposed the fact that the incorrigible opportunists had degenerated into anti-socialists and anti-communists. They were united in seeking to liquidate the Party but fragmented into various grouplets espousing bourgeois populism, liberalism, neoliberalism, social democracy, Gorbachovism and Trotskyism. They echoed the imperialist propaganda that the socialist cause is impossible and hopeless, and that there is no alternative to capitalism. The worst of them went into racketeering in imperialist-funded NGOs and joined the reactionary government as anti-Communist propagandists and research analysts and spies of the reactionary intelligence services.

The Party steadfastly disseminated in 1992 "Stand for Socialism against Modern Revisionism," showing the glorious achievements of socialism and the way the modern revisionists subverted and destroyed it. The Party stressed that the class struggle of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie would continue, and that the proletariat would successfully lead the people to national liberation, democracy and socialism in the era of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution. The CPP founding chairman made in 1994 a long interview on "Socialism and the New World Order" to counter the claims of the US about the demise of the socialist cause and the perpetuity of Pax Americana.

The aspiration for a socialist future cannot be suppressed for as long as the proletariat and people are exploited and oppressed. They are compelled by the imperialists and their lackeys to wage resistance against intensifying oppression and exploitation as the crisis of monopoly capitalism worsens. Mao has shown proletarian revolutionaries the way to fight the imperialists and local reactionaries, build socialism, combat revisionism, prevent the restoration of capitalism, and ensure the development of socialism towards the goal of communism.

Since the period of 1989-1991, a new world disorder has arisen, with one major country or region of the world capitalist system after the other plunging into a severe socioeconomic and political crisis. The neoliberal economic policy has continued to intensify exploitation and result in an ever-worsening crisis of overproduction due to the overaccumulation of capital by the monopoly bourgeoisie and its finance capitalist cream. The global depression now is comparable to the Great Depression which brought about fascism and the second world war.

Bourgeois states have become more repressive than ever before. Under the pretext of anti-terrorism, they

engage in state terrorism against the people. The imperialist powers have launched wars of aggression against certain countries that do not submit to their dictates. At any rate, they are increasingly at odds with each other as the worsening crisis impels them to struggle for a redivision of the world. The working class movement is resurgent in major industrial capitalist countries and the broad masses of the people are rising in the underdeveloped countries.

### ***10. Carrying out the Philippine revolution in the spirit of proletarian internationalism***

The SGRM criticized the notion that the Philippine revolution can advance only with material support, especially military assistance, from abroad. This notion was spread by some of the “Left” opportunists who had sought to get foreign assistance from 1980 to 1987 and became defeatist when they could not secure such assistance. It was contrary to what the CPP had previously decided in accordance with Comrade Mao’s teaching that the people must wage revolution self-reliantly. They should not be dependent on foreign assistance, whether it is available or not.

The CPP is waging the Philippine revolution in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. The revolution is for the benefit of the proletariat and people of the Philippines as well as of the world. It is proud to engage in an armed revolution at a time when the proletariat and people of the world are suffering from the consequences of the colossal betrayal of socialism by the communist and workers parties that succumbed to modern revisionism; and the destructive multipronged offensives of the US and other imperialist powers. It hopes that the Philippine revolution can inspire the people of the world to rise up and wage revolution. It has described itself as a torch-bearer of the world proletarian revolution at a time that this has suffered a serious setback and is in an historic trough.

The CPP took a leading role in the preparation and holding of the International Seminar on Mao Zedong Thought on the 100th birth anniversary of Mao Zedong in Germany in 1993. The seminar issued the General Declaration on Mao Zedong Thought which summed up the theoretical and practical achievements of Mao and pointed to his theory and practice of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship as his greatest achievement and his legacy for the continuance of the socialist cause. The long article of CPP Central Committee Chairman Armando Liwanag titled “Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as Guide to the Philippine Revolution” is part of the book compilation of seminar contributions titled *Mao Zedong Thought Lives!*

The CPP has participated and taken a prominent role in the annual International Communist Seminar in Brussels, the International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations and other international gatherings of communist and workers’ parties. It has made major contributions by way of sharing its experiences and ideas and helping to illuminate the road of the international communist movement and the world proletarian revolution.

The CPP has shown interest in close relations with other Maoist parties in the world and is in general aware of their strengths and weaknesses. But it does not limit its relations to any of the existing Maoist parties. It seeks to develop relations with all communist and workers’ parties under the auspices of proletarian internationalism and/or anti-imperialist solidarity.

It is interested in building a broad international united front of anti-imperialist forces of national liberation, democracy and socialism. It recognizes the need for the widest possible exchanges of ideas and experiences, mutual learning and cooperation among all revolutionary forces of the world, for the purpose of advancing the anti-imperialist movement and the world proletarian revolution.

The CPP shares its ideas and experiences worldwide. For this purpose, it uses the internet and sends delegations to international forums, seminars and conferences in order to explore and arrive at resolutions of common understanding and practical cooperation for fighting and defeating imperialism and all reaction and in the process strengthening the anti-imperialist movement and the international communist movement. The CPP is known to discuss with other communist and other workers parties the possibility of organizing a new Communist Internationale. But it has not declared that there are already conditions for its formal establishment. It looks forward to the time that such conditions would arise. It is of the view that in the meantime the revolutionary parties of the proletariat must wage revolution, strengthen themselves in their respective countries and seek to establish revolutionary states in order to pave the way for the organization of a new Communist Internationale.

### ***Prospects of Maoism and the Philippine revolution***

Prospects for the further development of Maoist theory and practice in the Philippines are bright. The proletariat and people of the Philippines can be confident of completing the new democratic revolution and proceeding to the socialist revolution. Such optimism is based on the following factors: the worsening crisis of global capitalism and the domestic ruling system of big compradors and landlords, the advances being made in the democratic revolution in the Philippines as well as in the anti-imperialist and socialist movements around the world, and having Maoism as the compass of revolution—from winning the new democratic and socialist stages of the revolution to combating revisionism and consolidating, developing and advancing socialism towards the ultimate goal of communism.

The adoption of higher technology has intensified the contradiction between the social character of production and the private character of appropriation in the capitalist mode of production. The neoliberal policy of “free market” globalization has served to accelerate the crisis of overproduction and the overaccumulation of capital by the monopoly bourgeoisie and finance oligarchy. The wanton abuse of finance capital in a futile attempt to override the crisis of overproduction has led to a severe economic and financial crisis comparable to the Great Depression in the 1930s. The entire world economy is afflicted by depression.

The imperialist powers have been unable to stop the descent of the global economy from one level of crisis to another. The imperialist powers and their client states are intensifying repression of the toiling masses of workers and peasants, and even the middle social strata, and trying in vain to stop their mass protests and resistance. The imperialists are whipping up currents of fascism, xenophobia, racism and religious bigotry in order to obscure the roots of the capitalist crisis. The legal and political infrastructure for fascism and state terrorism has been set up and is increasingly being used. The imperialist powers are stepping up war production, war mongering and the actual launching of wars of aggression, which have been so far directed mainly against resource-rich underdeveloped countries assertive of national independence and countries opposed to the US-Zionist combine in the Middle East.

Despite their attempt to override their contradictions by uniting against the oppressed peoples and nations in underdeveloped countries, the imperialist powers are driven by the worsening crisis of global capitalism to a struggle among themselves for a redivision of the world. The full reintegration of China and Russia into the world capitalist system is a major factor in cramping the space for the imperialist powers, in worsening the global crisis and in intensifying inter-imperialist contradictions. Major differences of position and interest have arisen between the Western imperialist powers on the one hand and China and Russia on the other hand.

The crisis of the world capitalist system is aggravating the crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal system in the Philippines. The economy is depressed as a result of decreasing income from its raw material exports and low value-added reexports; and mounting foreign and local debt obligations. The export of contract workers is increasingly being pressed down by the depression and anti-migrant policies and propaganda in host countries. Unemployment, reduced incomes, soaring prices of basic commodities and services, deterioration of social services and the frequent calamities caused by wanton plunder of natural resources and destruction of the environment are aggravating the poverty and misery of the broad masses of the people.

The social and economic crisis inflicts intolerable suffering on the toiling masses of workers and peasants and an increasing number of the people among the middle social strata. It incites them to wage various forms of resistance. The legal democratic mass movement is growing in strength by engaging in strikes and mass protest actions. The soil has become more fertile than ever before for the further growth and advance of the revolutionary armed struggle for national liberation and democracy.

The political crisis of the ruling system is sharpening as a result of the worsening socioeconomic crisis. The struggle for power and bureaucratic loot is intensifying among the reactionaries at various levels. Every regime that arises tends to monopolize power and the economic spoils, and to intimidate or coopt the intrasystemic opposition. The rival political factions compete for the support of the foreign monopoly firms and big compradors and landlords. They also compete for armed strength by collaborating with various factions within the reactionary armed forces and national police and by building their own private armies. The revolutionary forces can have unstable and unreliable reactionary allies whenever possible in order to isolate and defeat the main enemy at every given time.

It is highly probable for the CPP to realize its plan of advancing the people’s war from the strategic defense to the strategic stalemate in the next five to ten years. The strength of the CPP, NPA, NDFP, the organs of political

power and mass organizations shall have increased several-fold. The frequency of tactical offensives on a national scale shall have also increased several-fold. The alliance and mutual support between the NDFP and the revolutionary forces of the Moro people shall have become ever more firm and more productive.

Even now, US military intervention in the Philippine is increasing under the pretext of combating terrorism and containing China. It is going to be more conspicuous and more offensive. The revolutionary forces and the people are doing their best to gain the most from the civil war in order to prepare against a US war of aggression. They are preparing the ground, the forces and the strategy and tactics to defeat US forces of aggression and attain retribution for the killing of 1.4 million Filipinos by the US from the beginning of the Filipino-American War in 1899 until 1913.

The military force that the US can concentrate on the Philippines can be mitigated by intensified armed struggles against the US elsewhere, and by fiscal constraints due to its ever-worsening economic and financial crisis. The US is already overextended by its overseas military bases and forward stations, and by wars of aggression directed mainly against the oppressed peoples of the world and against countries that are assertive of national independence.

The world proletarian revolution will surely advance in the years to come as the major contradictions in the world intensify and preoccupy the US and its imperialist allies. The contradictions between the imperialist powers and the oppressed peoples, between the imperialist powers and countries assertive of their national independence, among the imperialist powers themselves, and between labor and capital in the imperialist countries and on a global scale are intensifying, resulting in greater disorder and more upheavals and are generating favorable conditions for the anti-imperialist and socialist movements in the world and in particular for the new democratic and socialist stages of the Philippine revolution.

Marxist-Leninist theory can fully explain how the four major contradictions work to rend global capitalism asunder and thus can guide the revolutionary parties of the proletariat and the people in winning their respective new democratic and socialist revolutions. The Maoist theory of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship, to combat revisionism, prevent the restoration of capitalism and consolidate socialism provides the answer to those who question the capability of the proletariat to learn from the betrayal and reversal of socialism by modern revisionism and to uphold, defend and develop socialism onward to communism.

## *Interview for Sibylle of the Dutch United Nations Student Association*

By Ralf Leonards, September 28, 2012

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*Jose Maria “Joma” Sison is the founding chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), which was reestablished in 1968 at the time of the oppressive regime of Ferdinand Marcos, who for the most time of his two-decade long presidency ruled by martial law and embezzled billions of dollars of public funds. In 1969 the CPP organized its military wing, the New People’s Army (NPA), which up until now has been engaged in Asia’s longest ongoing communist insurgency. In 1977 he was captured by the Marcos regime and detained until 1986, when Marcos was replaced by Corazon Aquino after a popular uprising referred to as the People Power Revolution. In the same year, he embarked on a world lecture tour. While he was in the Netherlands, the Aquino government revoked his passport and filed charges against him under the Anti-Subversion Law of the Philippines. Since then he has lived in Utrecht as a political refugee. He also co-founded the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDF), an umbrella organization of leftist groups, now involved in peace negotiations with the government. Since 2002 the USA has classified him as a “person supporting terrorism.”*

*On September 28 I had the opportunity of conducting an interview with him in Utrecht.*

*Last week on September 21 was the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of martial law by the former Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos. Can you recall your experiences and your role in the struggle against the Marcos dictatorship?*

When martial law was declared by Marcos in 1972, I had already gone underground because I was the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines. I was fighting the Marcos regime as early as 1968 until the time that I was captured in 1977. While under military detention from 1977 to 1986, I was conscious that if I showed defiance, people outside would be inspired. In prison I was subjected for a week to torture by punching and ‘water cure’—in today’s famous term ‘waterboarding.’ But the longer period of torture was psychological—solitary confinement for more than five years. Marcos, you know, was a political animal. I was under difficult conditions of solitary confinement and almost every week he sent a military officer to interview me.

Upon my capture I actually engaged Marcos in a conversation for some 30 minutes—it was more of a duel. He said, “I would like to have national reconciliation and unity.” I answered, “if there is a basis for the benefit of the people, why not?” As a political animal, he was reserving for himself the space for negotiating but despite this, he had me tortured. Being the only victim who had the chance to talk to Marcos before being tortured, I would be able to give crucial testimony in the human rights litigation in the US against the Marcos estate.

*But Marcos, who was a close friend of Ronald Reagan, was able to go into exile in Hawaii, so he basically got away with everything he did to the Filipino people. And today Marcos’ widow is sitting in Congress. What do you think about that?*

He was flown out of the presidential palace, when it was already surrounded by the people. Marcos could run a fascist dictatorship for 14 years because of US support. He served US interests until he became more of a liability than an asset at which point the US authorities wanted to have him replaced by Benigno Aquino. They feared that the revolutionary movement would become strong, especially if there was no clear line of succession. By 1982 Marcos was already very much hated by the people, so the US government began to have inter-agency meetings to decide how Marcos would be eased out. The (Roman Catholic) Church had the same fears as the US; the most cold-blooded calculation of Cardinal Jaime Sin was that if Marcos stayed longer, then the communists would win. Nevertheless, a major part of the Church disapproved of the human rights violations. Honest-minded bishops wanted Marcos replaced. Of course, the Communist Party was prepared to give way to any method of replacing Marcos. Further, the intra-systemic reactionaries, the rivals of Marcos, agreed to developing a mass uprising after the so-called presidential snap elections. Marcos was to be persuaded to call for elections, then would be accused of cheating.

Anyway, after all these, Mrs. Marcos would be allowed to come back to the Philippines and even to run for the Presidency. The fact that Marcos’ family and their cronies were able to return to the country in such a short period of time—by 1992 they were already in the Philippines—means that the ruling system did not change. It’s the same system of big compradors and landlords. There was a bitter struggle among political factions, but all of them

submit to the direction of the US, the binding and dictating force.

*What exactly was the role of the Communist Party in the People Power Revolution?*

The role of the Communist Party was crucial. It caused to motivate the US and the Church to drop Marcos. The longest resistance to the fascist dictatorship came from the Communist Party. Legal forces of the Left, the national-demo-crat- movement also played a major role. The people present at the mass demonstrations on Edsa highway in February 1986 probably consisted of 80 percent answering the call of Cardinal Sin and the Church. The Left probably contributed 20 percent. But in the provinces the Left political coalition Bagong Alyansang Makabayan (BAYAN) was the dominant force. Anyway, after the presidential snap election the Communist Party of the Philippines was the first to call for a people's uprising. Aquino, calling for civil disobedience, only followed a few days afterwards. And then the third blow, which was the most powerful within the system, came from the Catholic Church. The Catholic bishops issued their pastoral letter, describing for the first time the Marcos regime as illegitimate and immoral.

The military wing of the Communist Party of the Philippines, the NPA, has been engaged in Asia's longest ongoing communist insurgency. What kind of strategies does the NPA employ in its armed struggle?

Well, the strategy has always been surrounding the cities from the countryside. It's the strategic line of protracted people's war. It is in the countryside where you can build an army and where in terms of class you have a big number of people, the peasants. In terms of physical terrain you also have the ground for maneuvers against the powerful army. So before the enemy can approach you, everywhere you are, the enemy is forced to divide its forces. The Philippines is an archipelagic country, another factor that divides the strength of the enemy. So in addition to the relatively vast countryside of the Philippines, is the archipelagic and mountainous character of the country, that allows a people's army to develop in stages. The NPA can avoid fights it cannot win and can choose the time and place for hitting a part of the enemy forces that it is capable of defeating. At the strategic level, the Armed Forces of the Philippines are superior militarily by 10 to 1, but at the tactical level the People's Army can be at an advantage of 10 to 1.

*But isn't the archipelagic character of the country also a disadvantage in terms of coordination among the 7,000 and more islands of the Philippines?*

Yes, in certain ways it can be a disadvantage. At the start you have to deal with the superstition that the Philippines can never be united because the islands split up the people. Some would tend to mystify 7,100 islands, but, you know, 94 percent of the people are in 11 major islands. Still, 11 islands can be a disadvantage to a Communist Party, especially at the beginning. The CPP follows the principle of "centralized leadership and decentralized operations." Centralized leadership means common ideological and political understanding; and decentralized operations means letting the local units do their operations by themselves.

*What is the current strength of the NPA?*

The NPA does not give out any exact figure on its strength. But there are exaggerated figures from the reactionary military. They want to make it appear that they've been so successful against the NPA that from a membership of 25,000 in the 1980s this has dropped to only 4,000. Both figures are false. The NPA never reached 25,000. As of 1985 the NPA reached the level of only 5,600 and in 1986 it became 6,100. Well, those figures are available but after that no more figures are available. But you can compute. So the guerrilla fronts number 110 to 120. A guerrilla front's total force is supposed to be that of a full company, or an oversized platoon. Thus, the figure should be well beyond 4,000. There have been very educated guesses of between 7,000 and 10,000 Red fighters with automatic rifles but I cannot confirm to you the exact number.

*Do they currently have a significant support base in the population?*

Certainly. They cannot survive without the popular support. Aside from the NPA you have the Party organization, the mass organizations for workers, peasants, women, youth, and cultural activists, the organs of democratic self-government, the people's militia and self-defense units. The figure for mass base that was given out in 1986 was 7 million. Today the revolutionary movement still runs in the millions. I think that the 1986 figure of 7 million has increased. The guerrilla fronts reportedly cover substantial areas of some 25 percent of the 44,000 villages, 800 of the 1,500 cities and municipalities and 70 out of the 81 provinces.

*Is the US military still involved in counterinsurgency against the NPA?*

The US certainly is very much involved. As a matter of fact the current strategic campaign plan of the Armed Forces of the Philippines has been designed by US advisors. It's within the frame of the perpetual borderless war

on terror. You see, the Philippines was magnified as the second front as part of Operation Enduring Freedom Philippines, when the first front was supposed to be Afghanistan in the war on terror after 9/11. There is a constant flow of US troops under the cover of increased military exercises. There is a stay-on force of several hundreds, every time. The US denies having bases in the Philippines, but you know, it has this policy of simply using existing camps of the Philippine military and then they develop their own facilities inside. These are forward stations that can be expanded anytime.

*You are involved in the peace talks that were resumed by the current administration. Are the negotiations likely to succeed?*

The National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) is very serious in seeking the advance of the peace negotiations but on the other side, this current regime is just like the previous one. It considers the peace negotiations as a way of making the NDFP surrender to the authority of the Manila government. For the peace negotiations to advance, the negotiating parties must comply with existing agreements and must negotiate seriously and agree on the basic social, economic and political reforms to address the roots of the armed conflict and lay the ground for a just and lasting peace. We hope that the worsening crisis and the people's clamor will persuade the Manila government to make the necessary comprehensive agreements with the NDFP.

*Do you think resistance movements, such as the NPA, need to use violence to be effective or do you think they may also lose a certain amount of credibility in the eyes of the population for using violence?*

In the first place the organized and systematic violence comes from the ruling class. Violence takes the form of bloody campaigns of military suppression as well as the daily violence of exploitation through which the victims suffer poverty and misery and cannot afford the food and medical care to keep themselves in good health. The revolutionary forces and the people would happily welcome agreements on basic social, economic and political reforms that would make the Philippines and its people truly independent, democratic, progressive, socially just and peaceful.

*Looking at the Philippines today, the country is experiencing one of the largest growth rates in the region (6.4 percent of GDP in the first quarter). The Philippines has overtaken India as the world leader in business outsourcing and call centers and low wages are attracting investors in the electronic industry. But on the other hand poverty is still widespread, Filipinos work under poor conditions, there are 3 million child laborers in the Philippines. Why has the country still not made any significant progress in alleviating poverty?*

When you look at the Philippine GDP, you have to inquire into the substance. The figures there are mostly about consumption and the service sector in the Philippines. When it comes to industry and agriculture there has been a significant decline. The kind of economic activities now favored in the Philippines are those with low value added and have nothing to do with the country's industrial development. Business call centres, enclaves for re-export of semimanufacturing, mining for the export of the mineral ores and infrastructure projects cannot develop the Philippine economy. What is needed are national industrialization and genuine land reform. The country is being opened up further to all types of mining by foreign and domestic mining companies, ruining the environment, poisoning the rivers, ruining agricultural land, forests, woodlands and marine life. The clearest proof that there is no real industrial development in the country is the fact that so many Filipinos, more than 10 percent of the population, leave the country to look for jobs. The figures show that unemployment is the highest in the region, debunking the claim that the country is now going to be a new Tiger economy. The Philippines is suffering from what I call a chronic rate of unemployment with more than 40 percent of the workforce actually being unemployed. But, you know, there are many statistical tricks for lowering the unemployment rate. They supposedly put you on training or claim that you have stopped looking for work. Or claim you have become self-employed.

*You mentioned the overseas Filipino workers. There are now more than 12 million Filipinos working all around the world. A great part of them work in the Arab Gulf countries under very poor conditions. What do you say about that?*

The big outflow of Filipino working men and women indicates that the country remains agrarian, underdeveloped and semifeudal. There is not much industry and not much manufacturing to absorb the ever growing number of workers in the country. It's a clear manifestation of the lack of employment. And who would like to be separated from one's family if work is available in the homeland? There is the illusion that people who go out of the country have a much better chance of earning much more so that they would have their own piece of land or shop in the Philippines later. In fact, the earnings of overseas contract workers are for the subsistence, food and shelter of their families and for paying off debts incurred for getting their job abroad.

*What are the current prospects for social and economic change to occur in the Philippines?*

Well, from my viewpoint—and I think it's legally safe for me to say— social revolution is needed with the people making it possible. The mass movement must become strong enough to challenge the existing system and replace it. At the moment there are now two governments in the Philippines. You have a government based in the countryside and a government based in the cities. The revolutionary movement is now supplanting the reactionary government in many areas in the countryside. The system that we would like should make the country truly free, democratic, prosperous and just. There should be economic development through land reform and national industrialization.

*More recently the Philippines is involved in the dispute over islands in the South China Sea. As an anti-imperialist, do you think the Philippines is caught between the strategic interests of two essentially imperialist powers—the US on the one side and China on the other?*

Yes indeed, two powers are actually competing for hegemony over the region. The Kalayaan island group (Spratlys) and Panatag Shoal (Scarborough Shoal) belong to the Philippines on the basis of the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), specifically the provisions on the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) of 200 nautical miles from the shore line. It is wrong and excessive of China to claim these. The issue over these has actually been stirred up mainly by the US to further entrench itself militarily in the Philippines. It compels the Philippines to take in more US troops and opens the possibility for having US military bases. Visits of US aircraft carriers to the Philippines have become more frequent than ever. So this South China Sea issue is being used by the US for its own advantage. And yet the Filipino puppet politicians make fools of themselves by saying that the US would side with the Philippines against China. There is some kind of a love-hate relationship between China and the US over certain issues, but certainly between the Philippines and China, the US has more interest in China. The US has actually declared that it's openly neutral. And yet in the Philippines the notion is being propagated that the US is the big guy that will help the small guy against another big guy. But that isn't the case.

*Talking about the current world financial crisis, does it confirm your critical views on capitalism?*

Certainly, yes. I've been writing for a long time about the career of US monopoly capitalism. The Great Depression was never really solved. It was solved by war, with the US expanding its productive capacity, while the other capitalist powers were ruined in the course of the World War.

The best times for the American citizens were from 1945 to 1975, and then came the problem of stagflation. This problem could not be solved because they didn't face up to the real problems. There was always the push towards inflation because of the US overseas expansion of military forces and bases and engagement in a series of expensive and costly wars.

The Monetarists headed by Milton Friedman and the Neoliberals came to the fore. They blamed the workers for wage inflation and government social spending. What makes Neoliberalism different from classical Liberalism? Classical Liberalism would speak of 'Liberty, Equality and Fraternity.' Neoliberals dismiss equality; they only talk of economic liberty. They talk about rule of law but only to ensure the freedom of the capitalists to own and use their capital for exploiting the working class. They are obsessed with the invisible hand of self-interest but depart from Adam Smith's recognition of labor as the source of new material values .

The presumption is that the monopoly capitalists are on the supply side, they create the jobs and all opportunities must be given to them for increasing their capital and profits in order to create jobs and serve society. They consider the workers only as consumers and parasites; no longer as the producers of value by their labor, to which Marx and Smith would agree. So you have these neoliberal policies that push wanton expansion of the money supply and credit; and the excessive borrowing from the level of states, corporations, down to that of households and individuals.

At the base of the current economic and financial crisis, is the crisis of overproduction resulting from the extraction of superprofits and the overaccumulation of capital by a few. The capitalists minimize the variable capital of labor to maximize profits, taking much more from the surplus value created by labor. The consequence is that the very producers of wealth, the workers—with reduced incomes or no income due to disemployment—are unable to purchase their own products. Simply by not providing employment and proper income to the working people exactly at the point of high production, what you do is to undertake credit operations far beyond the level for the expanding production; to use finance capitalism to generate fictitious capital, overvalue assets, accumulate more assets without producing real value.

The capitalist system has devised all the ways for aggrandizing the monopoly capitalist class and squeezing the working people and even the middle class. The people suffer, they lose their jobs and homes. At the same time you have bailouts for the capitalists using taxpayers' money. Capitalism has had 30 years of supposedly having no alternative. Capitalism and liberal democracy is now supposed to be the end of history. They say socialism is hopeless, it's dead. But now after 30 years I think it will take one or two more decades of protracted crisis then there could be a resurgence of socialist movements in imperialist countries. The best that can happen is that a socialist country would arise for the first time from a well-developed capitalist country.

# *The Second Great Rectification Movement*

Address to Recti@20, the event sponsored by Bagong Alyansang Makabayan to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the CPP's Second Great Rectification Movement, December 13, 2012

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## **Introduction**

The rectification movement is a sustained mass campaign of ideological and political education within the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), the New People's Army (NPA), the National Democratic Front (NDF) and other revolutionary forces to criticize, repudiate and rectify major errors and shortcomings in ideology, politics and organization in order to strengthen the revolutionary forces and advance the Philippine revolution. Because it deals with grave errors of long duration and with grave consequences for the entire Party and the revolutionary movement, it is of wider scope and longer duration than the criticism and self-criticism normally undertaken to rectify errors and improve work and style of work.

The First Great Rectification Movement (FGRM) was launched in 1967 by the Provisional Political Bureau to criticize, repudiate and rectify the major errors of the leadership of the Merger Party of the Communist and Socialist Parties: Right Opportunism under Vicente Lava 1942-46, "Left" Opportunism under Jose Lava 1948-50, Right Opportunism under Jesus Lava 1951-64; and Gangsterism under Taruc-Sumulong 1964-70. The FGRM laid the ground for the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in 1968.

The Second Great Rectification Movement (SGRM) was announced in 1991 and undertaken in earnest from 1992 to 1998 by the CPP Central Committee to criticize, repudiate and rectify the major errors of subjectivism, "Left" and Right opportunism which had been committed from 1981 to 1991 by certain elements in high positions in the CPP. If allowed to pass, such major errors would have been fatal to the CPP. The SGRM overcame those who opposed it. Thus, it saved and revitalized the CPP.

### ***I. Major errors confronted***

#### **A. Errors of subjectivism**

1. Notion of the Philippine economy being no longer semifeudal. The worst and the most sustained subjectivism sprang in 1979 from the notion that the Philippine economy is no longer semifeudal. The presumption is that Marcos had industrialized and urbanized the Philippines to the extent that it is no longer semifeudal but semicapitalist or even industrial-capitalist. It became the basis of the "Left" opportunist line that armed urban insurrection in conjunction with a "regularized army" is the lead factor for winning the revolution quickly and it denigrated or even rejected the decisive importance of the strategic line of protracted people's war.

From this same notion also sprang the Right opportunist line of equalizing the importance of the legal and the armed struggle, if not giving the former more importance. Further on, it laid the basis for the line of replacing the leadership of the Party with that of the united front or the proposed Bagong Katipunan.

2. Combination of NPA regularization and insurrection. The subjectivism that started at the Central Committee in 1979-80 consisted of the notion that the NPA had already reached the advanced substage or phase of the strategic defensive despite the fact that it had no more than 2,000 high-powered rifles and was thus still in the early phase but with high potential for moving on to the middle phase of the strategic defensive. This dogmatic disrespect for facts stirred up the spirit of haste and overreaching. It was linked with the wishful thinking that the people's army would be aided by people's uprisings in the town centers and cities.

Combination of army regularization and Insurrectionism. The so-called line of strategic counteroffensive (SCO) and that of Red Area-White Area (RAWA) coincided with the notion of hastening the advance or victory of the revolution through the combination of army regularization and urban insurrection.

Neglect of education in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM). The Party education department was dissolved in 1982 and education in MLM was abandoned. The eclectic subjectivists denigrated the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideological line and the political line of new democratic revolution through protracted people's war. Some withdrew from criticizing modern revisionism and social imperialism in their desire to get military aid from the Soviet Union, some adhered to the theory of dependent capitalism, some wanted to mimic the model of armed insurrection in Central America, some continued to be influenced by the Trostkyite underrating of the peasants and

some were carried away by Gorbachov's "new thinking."

### **B. Errors of "Left" opportunism**

Strategic counteroffensive. The Party central leadership put forward the "Left" opportunist line in 1980 that "the strategic counteroffensive (SCO)," which it considered the last phase of the strategic defensive, was at hand. It proposed to maximize guerrilla warfare, develop regular mobile warfare and regularize the people's army. This ignored the need to fully develop the early phase of the strategic defensive and also leaped over a probable middle phase. It did not develop nationwide guerrilla platoons as strike forces with a sound mass base, as demonstrated in Samar as early as 1976 onward.

Regularization and verticalization. Not to be outdone in hastiness and overreaching, the Mindanao Commission decided to verticalize and regularize the guerrilla forces (previously divided into main guerrilla units of platoons and oversized platoons and secondary guerrilla units of platoons, squads and armed propaganda teams) into 15 or more concentrated guerrilla companies under several layers of command and staff. This was done despite the earlier decision of the CC to dissuade the Eastern Visayas Party Committee from forming companies and battalions in 1980.

RAWA strategic line. The so-called Red Area-White Area (RAWA) strategic line misled the Party in Mindanao. It called for the armed city partisans, the urban-based mass organizations and the spontaneous masses to undertake a series of people's strikes and eventually carry out the urban armed uprising as the politico-military lead factor of the revolution. The NPA was regarded as a purely military force secondary in importance to the armed city uprising. Popoy Lagman also advocated armed urban insurrection but obscured it by paying lip service to people's war until he left the Party in 1992 by declaring autonomy.

1985 CC Plenum's full support of SCO. The SCO continued to fuel the impatient desire to overreach and disregard objective conditions until it was repudiated by the central leadership in 1990. There was no prompt and correct handling of the wrong line of RAWA which led to failures and the Ahos Campaign. The formula of regularization and insurrection was even allowed to proliferate to various regions.

The 1986 election boycott. This was a "Left" opportunist error as it presumed that the Party itself was involved in the issue of boycott or participation. It made no distinction between the Party and the legal democratic forces and the masses in the antifascist movement. The Party has always boycotted or has not participated in reactionary elections; but in line with the united front policy, it does not prevent progressive forces from using elections to conduct propaganda and alliances with other forces. It was erroneous for the Party to separate itself from the majority of the masses in the antifascist movement and totally concede them to the yellow group of Aquino. The boycott policy was merely a tactical, not a strategic error because it did not last and did not bring about great damage to the revolutionary movement, unlike RAWA and the Ahos campaign.

Continuing desire for insurrection. After the fall of Marcos in 1986, the insurrectionists in the Manila-Rizal Party Committee, a member of the Political Bureau and the advocates of the RAWA line continued to hope for another EDSA-like uprising. Popoy Lagman always insisted that making enough provocation could ignite a massive uprising. Ric Reyes made autonomous decisions in spreading such reformist ideas and schemes as the people's agenda of the so-called multisectoral peace advocates; and multilateral peace negotiations that upon Aquino's rejection would ignite an insurrection. The mimickers of the Central American insurrection model did not stop dreaming of igniting insurrection.

Urban basing. Some Party central organs and the so-called general command of the NPA took to urban-basing supposedly because of the facility of communications as well as of the need to monitor the contradictions among the reactionary factions and also the masses; and the need to wait for the eruption of an insurrection. These notions and practices led to frequent arrests in the national capital region from 1988 to 1990.

Setbacks and the Ahos campaign in Mindanao. Until three to five full companies were built in Mindanao, the NPA successfully launched tactical offensives against the enemy from 1981 to 1983. But after forming more companies, problems arose such as: being divorced from the masses, erosion of the mass base, depletion of supplies, and basing of leading organs in urban centers up to Cebu City outside the region, all of which made enemy attacks against them successful both in the countryside and the urban centers. Instead of analyzing and correcting their errors, the Party and NPA leadership blamed "deep penetration agents" as the cause of setbacks and carried out the Ahos campaign from 1985 to 1987.

Setbacks and witchhunts elsewhere. In other parts of the country at various times, from the 1980s up to 1991,

errors of “Left” opportunism arose and caused debacles and often witchhunts and suspicions of deep-penetration agents (DPAs). Not as widespread as in Mindanao, these occurred in some parts of Negros and Leyte in 1985-87, Manila-Rizal (the so-called June breakthrough and Olympia) in 1988, Southern Tagalog (Oplan Missing Link) also in 1988, the Cordilleras (base defense policy) and Ilocos (“expansion by fire”) both in 1988-89, Cagayan Valley in 1991 and Central Luzon (“play to win” strategy) also in 1991.

In Negros and Leyte, the forces became overstretched in a few offensives and when the enemy launched effective counteroffensives, the leadership launched an anti-informer campaign. The Popoy Lagman leadership made armed provocations during mass actions and in communities. When the enemy retaliated and its effects were felt, Popoy made hysterical accusations against DPAs allegedly among the ranks. At the same time, hysteria occurred in the regions of Manila-Rizal and Southern Tagalog due to the capture of the members of the NPA general command in Metro Manila in 1988-89. Simultaneous to this was the desire of the Southern Tagalog Party leadership to ferret out the informers that wrought damage to the region since the 1970s. The failure of the “base defense” and “expansion by fire” policies in Northern Luzon eventually turned into accusations and the search for informers. The “Left” “play to win” decision of the Central Luzon leadership was overtaken by the Rectification Movement.

### **C. Errors of right opportunism**

New Katipunan concept. The Right opportunist concept of New Katipunan was put forward in 1980 mainly by those who would later call themselves “popular democrats.” It was embodied in a proposed new draft of the NDF program in 1982. It sought to liquidate or take out the leading role of the working class and the Party in the united front, supposedly in order to attract more people to the NDF. It proposed the recycling of the old democratic revolution and the rejection of the vanguard role of the Party. Some “Left” opportunists also proposed making the united front the vanguard force, as practiced by some movements in Central America.

Electoral boycott policy. The Right opportunists and the New Katipunan concept had little or no ground at all in the Party while the people’s war raged against the Marcos fascist dictatorship. But after the fall of Marcos in 1986, the Right opportunists insisted on the electoral boycott policy of 1986 as a strategic error brought about by Leftism to justify their legalist and reformist line. To cover up their far more grievous erroneous line and resultant crimes in Mindanao, the “Left” opportunists agreed with the Right opportunists to castigate the electoral boycott policy as the worst error ever in CPP history. This was their stepping stone in swinging to the Right.

Swing from “Left” to Right. The strong swing of the “Left” opportunists to the Right came with their dismay over the futility of the nationally coordinated offensives of mere harassment operations in 1987, the failure to import weapons and the arrest of their key leaders. They swung towards the Right as the Right opportunists accepted and cheered the anticommunist policies of Gorbachov from 1988 onwards. The Right opportunists banded together into grouplets calling themselves popular democrats, liberal communists (revisionists) and democratic socialists (Trotskyites) who used Left phrase-mongering against the CPP to justify their Rightist position. They used certain NGOs and foreign funding for their own purposes.

Negotiations and agreement on ceasefire. In June 1986, the Party decided to have a ceasefire should Cory Aquino make a declaration to terminate the US military bases. Although Aquino made no such declaration, the negotiations and agreement on ceasefire that were riddled both with errors and Rightist provisions still proceeded due to the insistence of pro-Right members of the Political Bureau (Ric Reyes and Benjie de Vera). De Vera claimed that the national ceasefire was the solution to the enemy offensives in Mindanao that in fact became effective only because of the earlier Left opportunist line.

Ultra-reformist scheme of Ric Reyes. In 1990 Reyes made decisions all by himself in the name of the Political Bureau to put the NDF under what he called the anti-imperialist democratic front. He wished to band into this the NDF, the legal progressive forces and some reactionary forces supposedly to challenge Aquino to agree to a people’s agenda and if not, an uprising larger than that of EDSA in 1986 would occur. He campaigned further to have multilateral negotiations between the Aquino government and all its opponents. He wished to mix the NDF with the MNLF, RAM and others.

Gorbachovism in Ang Bayan. In 1990 Ric Reyes and his colleagues brought out a few editions of Ang Bayan praising Gorbachov and his supposed new thinking. This was the period when Gorbachov already became openly an anticommunist, and he wished to turn the revisionist party and other revisionist regimes in Eastern Europe into social-democratic ones. This was already the period of the complete restoration of capitalism.

Grouplets of hardcore opportunists banded to oppose the SGRM. Despite their varied positions and

groupings, the grouplets of Right opportunists united against the Party and declared themselves rejectionists against the Second Great Rectification Movement, which was launched by the Party on December 26, 1991. They were in turn called contras by the proletarian revolutionaries. They intensified their wrecking operations within the Party and sought to use the bourgeois mass media against the Party. They called the Party Stalinist in order to capitalize on the wave of anticommunism as a result of the full restoration of capitalism in former socialist countries.

#### **D. Organizational errors**

Bureaucratism. While in certain leading positions in the Party during the 1980-1991 period, the “Left” opportunists and the Right opportunists both violated the principle of democratic centralism by practising bureaucratism (all centralism without democracy) and lording over independent kingdoms. The “Left” opportunists were commandists inside and outside of the people’s army and non-army organizations which they lorded over. As they created staffs and departments, they considered these as machinery independent of the Party.

The Right opportunists created staffs and NGOs and acted like bosses to employees. They operated through so-called political officers who lorded over mass organizations and discouraged initiative and growth of Party membership at the grassroots level.

Ultra-democracy. But the opportunists practiced ultra-democracy (anarchy or democracy without centralism) when they opposed the ideological and political line of the Party, the Central Committee and other leading organs and put forward their erroneous lines. They advocated the freedom of factions within the Party and said they did not recognize the authority of the Political Bureau and the Central Committee because they were waiting for the next Party Congress to come.

Liquidationism. The opportunists engaged in liquidationism. They wanted to liquidate the ideological, political and organizational line and therefore the entire existence of the Party. They took away from the Party personnel, properties and certain organizational units and turned them against the Party. They did the worst in the national capital region, in Negros island and in Central Mindanao.

#### **II. The second great rectification movement**

To criticize, repudiate and rectify the errors from 1980 to 1992, the Second Great Rectification Movement reaffirmed ten principles concerning 1) the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, 2) the anti-revisionist line, 3) the character of Philippine society, 4) the general line of the revolution, 5) the Party as vanguard, 6) the people’s war, 7) the united front, 8) democratic centralism, 9) the socialist future and 10) proletarian internationalism.

1) Uphold the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. To combat subjectivism of the dogmatic empiricist type, the Party promoted the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method through the study and application of the materialist-scientific outlook, materialist dialectics and class analysis. These are applied in the study of Philippine history and current circumstances, in social investigation and in the assessment and evaluation of work and mass struggle. They are applied in the formal study courses at the primary, intermediate and advanced levels, which are being promoted by the Party.

2) Pursue the anti-revisionist line consistently. The Party had to refresh the minds of the Party rank and file about modern revisionism and to renew the anti-revisionist struggle because the “Left” opportunists wished since the early 1980s to cast away the criticism of Soviet revisionism and social imperialism in the hope of getting military assistance, because the Right opportunists were impressed by the Dengist and Gorbachovite counterrevolutions and because the full restoration of capitalism in former socialist countries in the years of 1989-1991 required an explanation.

3) Confront the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society. The Party clarified that it is one thing to say that the capitalist commodity mode of production had prevailed in the Philippine economy since the 19th century and another thing to say or insinuate that the Philippines is already industrial capitalist and has no need for the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside in protracted people’s war. The Philippines is still agrarian and semifeudal economically and is under the indirect rule of the US politically.

4) Carry out the general line of new democratic revolution. The Party stressed the general line of new democratic revolution in order to fight and defeat the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system. The toiling masses of the people and the middle social strata are the motive forces of the revolution and the big compradors and landlords and their imperialist masters.

5) Build the Party as the vanguard force of the proletariat and people. The Party must be built as the vanguard or leading force of the proletariat and people in the Philippine revolution. It represents the working class as the leading class. In the era of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution, the working class is the leading class and no longer the bourgeoisie even if the urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie can still be revolutionary allies.

6) Wage the protracted people's war and carry out extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on an ever widening and deepening mass base. Build the people's army and wage the protracted people's war in order to smash the reactionary state with the people's democratic state. The people's war is carried out in stages. At present, intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare is carried out on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base.

7) Pursue the revolutionary class line in the united front. Under the leadership of the working class and its Party, the basic alliance in the revolution is that of the working class and peasantry which comprise more than 90 percent of the people. Add to this alliance the urban petty bourgeoisie in order to make the alliance of progressive forces. Add to this progressive alliance the middle bourgeoisie in order to make the alliance of the patriotic forces. Take advantage of the splits among the reactionaries. A broad united front may be formed to include some of the reactionaries against the worst ones or against a foreign aggressor.

8) Follow the line of democratic centralism. This is the organizational principle of the Party: centralized leadership based on democracy and democracy guided by centralized leadership. The essence of the principle is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong. This guides the procedural rules, such as the individual being subordinate to the collective, the minority to the majority and the lower organ and organization to the higher one. There is both discipline and freedom within the Party. Bureaucratism, ultra-democracy, factionalism and liquidationism are not allowed.

9) Look forward to the socialist revolution. Upon the basic completion of the new democratic revolution through the seizure of political power, the socialist revolution can commence under the continuing leadership of the working class and the Party. It becomes possible because proletarian dictatorship is at the core of the people's democratic state and because the commanding heights of the economy, politics and culture are already in the hands of the working class as the agency for socialist revolution and construction in transition to communism.

10) Carry out the Philippine revolution in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. Every stage of the Philippine revolution is carried out not only to serve the Filipino working class and people but also to serve the working class and entire people of the world. The Party, the proletariat and people must always strive to contribute what it can to the strengthening and advance of the anti-imperialist struggles of the people and the world proletarian revolution.

### ***III. Revitalization of the party and the revolutionary movement***

Revitalization of the Party and revolutionary movement. The Second Great Rectification Movement saved the Party and the revolutionary movement from the damage wrought by the major ideological, political and organizational errors since 1980 and from the wrecking operations by the incorrigible opportunists and renegades when they opposed the SGRM. Consequently, the Party and the revolutionary movement were revitalized, when the unhealthy elements were removed or dropped out. The Party became stronger ideologically, politically and organizationally.

NPA reoriented, reorganized and redeployed. The Party reoriented, reorganized and redeployed the New People's Army. The people's army renewed its resolve to carry out intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. The minimum and maximum programs were according to the circumstances. The greatly eroded mass base was expanded by forming the organs of political power and the mass organizations and mobilizing the masses for their own benefit.

United front strengthened. The antifeudal united front in the countryside was strengthened to serve as the base of the national united front. All types of alliances were strengthened: the basic alliance of workers and peasants, the alliance of progressive forces, the alliance of patriotic forces and the broad united front to include unstable allies against the enemy. Under the united front policy, the Party was able to arouse and mobilize the people in their millions from year to year.

### ***IV. Further degeneration of the contras***

What happened to the incorrigible opportunists and renegades? They degenerated further.

1. Rolly Kintanar. He was regarded as overall military leader of the contras. He joined the Intelligence Service of the AFP through his general uncle. He was able to get gun permits from the Philippine National Police for a

private security agency to act as guards of government buildings and as bodyguards and contract killers for reactionary politicians in Cebu and Mindanao. He openly swore allegiance to the Lakas-NUCD party before the 1998 presidential elections and became exposed as a double agent after the elections when he emerged as an appointee to the TESDA by incoming president Estrada from the opposition.

2. Popoy Lagman and ABB (Alex Boncayao Brigade). He surrendered to the Ramos regime through Navy intelligence in 1994. The ABB continued to be known as the armed gang of Bukluran ng mga Manggagawang Pilipino [Alliance of Filipino Workers] and Sanlakas [United Strength] but operated as a criminal gang in the hire of reactionary politicians. It came completely under the control of Nilo de la Cruz after his split with Popoy Lagman over the Amari real estate company payola (bribe) for the eviction of the urban poor on Freedom Island. Popoy Lagman was executed by the ABB according to ABB insiders.

3. Tabara and RPA. The RPA became a rabid anti-NPA force in Negros island and became practically a private army of Danding Cojuangco to guard his haciendas. The chieftain Arturo Tabara had joined the ISAFP as early as 1988. In 1999 he and Nilo de la Cruz appeared on TV with Estrada to announce their sham peace (surrender) agreement with the reactionary government. Their armed group openly became a paramilitary group in the pay of the reactionary state.

4. Popular democrats. They supported the presidential team of Salonga and Estrada in the elections of 1992. They used as their base the foreign-funded PRRM and maintained close relations with Estrada who was elected vice president in 1992 and president in 1998. They were able to get such high positions in the Estrada administration as secretary of agrarian reform and directorate of the TESDA. They fell in ignominy with Estrada when he was overthrown in 2001.

5. Liberal “communists” and Gorbachovites. Those who called themselves “liberal communists” in 1992 (sometimes called Gorbachovites by others) formed Siglaya. They pose as anti-imperialists in the first half of their articles and then in the second half ask for compromise and reforms from the imperialists and their puppets. They engage in NGO racketeering and discredit other NGOs as controlled by a “Stalinist” party. The worst of them have been saying since the time of Ramos that the issue of national sovereignty is passe in view of “free market” globalization. They struck it rich when they formed the Akbayan with the clerico-fascists who call themselves social democrats. They are now in high positions in the Aquino regime and are wallowing in corruption in the Anti-Poverty Commission, Human Rights Commission and other offices.

6. Trotskyites. The hardcore Trotskyites have been hyperactive in mass movements to oppose an incumbent president like Arroyo. But so far they have failed to get any high position from the Aquino regime. Their own liberal and neoliberal allies badmouth them as cranks without any mass following.

7. Urban Insurrectionists. While they were still in the Party, the advocates of the RAWA line of armed urban insurrection and the crypto-Trotskyite idea of armed insurrection in Manila never produced any urban armed insurrection. After being driven out of the Party, they never made such an insurrection but instead happily joined the ruling system. The same thing happened to those who advocated other types of insurrection, like Taning.

#### ***V. Current outlook of the CPP and the revolutionary movement***

CPP outlook and strategic plan. The CPP is confident of overcoming the US-designed Oplan Bayanihan with the use of revolutionary armed struggle and the united front as weapons. It has a comprehensive strategic plan to advance the strategic defense to the strategic stalemate. The plan includes raising the Party membership to 250,000, the number of NPA fighters with high powered rifles to 25,000, the eventual coverage of all rural congressional districts by 180 guerrilla fronts and the further growth of the organs of political power and mass organizations.

# ***Seize the Initiative in All Forms of Struggle and Intensify the Offensive against the Enemy***

44<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Message Issued on December 26, 2012

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With utmost joy, we celebrate the 44<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines on the theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the resumption of the people's democratic revolution under the correct leadership of the Party against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

We salute and commend all Party cadres and members for their hard work, militant struggle and sacrifices. We congratulate them for contributing to the victories that the Party and the people have won in the revolutionary struggle. We render the highest tribute to our martyrs and heroes and we thank them deeply for their selfless service and everlasting inspiration.

We have accumulated victories in building the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally. We have prevailed over major errors and shortcomings in the historical background of the Party through the First Great Rectification Movement in the late 1960s and in the decade of the 1980s and early 1990s through the Second Great Rectification Movement in most of the 1990s.

Since the beginning of last year, we have scored victories in further building the Party, the New People's Army, the National Democratic Front, the organs of political power and mass organizations; as well as in carrying out the strategic plan to advance from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate in our people's war.

We have exposed the US-Aquino regime as being no different from the US-Arroyo regime in terms of puppetry, exploitativeness, corruption, brutality and mendacity. We have effectively combated and frustrated the enemy campaigns of military suppression and deception under the US-designed Oplan Bayanihan and we have gained strength in the process. The people and their organized forces are more than ever determined to deliver lethal blows on the weak points of the enemy and score greater victories.

The worsening crisis of the capitalist system and that of the domestic ruling system are increasingly favorable conditions for waging the people's war and for strengthening the revolutionary forces and the people. We are highly confident of bringing the people's war forward to the stage of strategic stalemate.

## ***Crisis of global capitalism protracts and worsens***

Since its inception, the neoliberal economic policy has intensified the exploitation of the working people and has accelerated the concentration and centralization of capital in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie and its financial oligarchy. It has never solved the problem of stagnation and market, financial and fiscal volatility and meltdowns but has aggravated these further.

It has run into more than a hundred serious financial and economic crises through three decades, culminating in the crisis that has sprung out since 2007-2008 when the US housing bubble burst and major financial institutions collapsed right at the centers of global capitalism. Since then, the economic and financial crisis has protracted and deepened. The worst economic depression since the Great Depression has descended upon the world.

No solution to the crisis is in sight, especially because the imperialist states and the monopoly bourgeoisie continue to cling to the neoliberal economic policy and still enjoy the benefits of making profits and accumulating capital through liberalization, privatization, deregulation and the de-nationalization of less developed economies, especially the underdeveloped ones.

Public funds meant to revive the economy first pass through the laborsaving and profit making processes of the banks and monopoly firms. Thus production stagnates and the high rate of unemployment remains. Incomes are depressed for 99 percent of the population. And yet the prices of basic goods and services are soaring.

All the centers of global capitalism are afflicted by and mired in crisis. The fundamental contradictions between capital and labor have become conspicuous at the level of states. Public funds are used to bail out the banks and monopoly firms which continue to be rewarded with tax cuts and high-profit contracts.

Upon the rise of public deficits and the public debt, states adopt and implement policies that pass the burden of crisis to the proletariat and the rest of the people such as austerity measures. These measures cause further layoffs, wage decreases, rising prices of basic necessities, reduced pensions, lessened social benefits and tax hikes

on goods and services used by the working people.

The people resist through strikes and mass protests, as well demonstrated by the recent Europe-wide general strike and previous major strikes in most of the imperialist countries. The class struggle of the proletariat is steadily coming to the fore as the workers stand up and act to defend their rights and interests, whether or not the existing unions agree.

The conditions have become favorable for the resurgence of the working class movement against capitalism and for socialism. But the monopoly bourgeoisie and their political agents are still very much ahead in undertaking measures to counter the current of people's resistance through violence and deception. They have adopted draconian laws against the people in the name of anti-terrorism.

They are also whipping up war hysteria to justify increased war production and higher military budgets. To distract attention from the roots of the crisis, they stir up such reactionary currents as fascism, chauvinism, xenophobia, racism and religious bigotry.

The proletariat and peoples of the underdeveloped countries suffer the most from the global depression. The demand for raw material and semi-manufactured exports has decreased or some of these are being exported in greater volume but at lower prices. At the same time, the prices of imported manufactures are rising. Trade deficits grow and foreign debt mounts.

The economic crisis has resulted in the escalation of exploitation. The working people and the middle social strata suffer from intolerably high unemployment rates, real wage reductions, lower income levels, soaring prices of basic goods and services and the deterioration and higher costs of social services, such as education, health, low-income housing and the like. The conditions of mass poverty have worsened.

This has led to widespread social unrest. The people's resistance has taken various forms. Those in power representing the exploiting classes are quick to use violence to intimidate the people and suppress their resistance. They find it convenient to adopt the language and force of the US-designed war on terror.

The so-called Arab spring in North Africa and the Middle East spread like wildfire and toppled despotic governments which have been held responsible for the economic crisis, corruption and repression. Conflicts continue between reactionary and progressive forces. In all the underdeveloped regions of the world, the entire Africa, West Asia, Central Asia, South Asia, East Asia and Latin America, mass protests are spreading and intensifying.

Blatantly pro-imperialist governments are being condemned and repudiated by the people. Governments like those of Cuba, Venezuela and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have their people's support because they assert national independence and oppose imperialism; and because they work hard to look after the welfare of the people.

Where the US and NATO allies have unleashed wars of aggression to bring down governments that reject US dictation, such as in Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya, Yugoslavia and Syria, the most intense forms of armed conflict occur; and even after the overthrow of the anti-US government, movements for national liberation persevere and serve as long-term challenges to imperialist power.

Long-running armed struggles for national liberation, such as those in Colombia, the Philippines, India, Turkey and Kurdistan, are persevering and proving to the whole world that armed revolution can be waged and can grow in strength under current conditions. The Palestinian people have persisted in waging their decades-long struggle for national liberation and for their return to their homeland with broad international support against the brutal Zionist aggression and occupation backed by US imperialism. All these continue to prove that the US and NATO do not have a seamless control over the entire world.

Due to the grossly uneven development of global capitalism, imperialist hegemony has many weak points, especially in the underdeveloped countries whose people suffer the most from imperialism and local reaction. The current global crisis and the overextension of the US in wars of aggression and in military interventions are favorable conditions for advancing the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed peoples and nations.

So far, the imperialist powers have maintained amicable relations among themselves and have avoided becoming openly hostile to each other in their economic and political competition. They have succeeded in doing so by uniting against underdeveloped countries which they exploit on a multilateral basis under the auspices of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank and the World Trade Organization (WTO). A crucial feature of the neoliberal policy of "free market" globalization is the denationalization of the economies of these underdeveloped countries.

The imperialist powers built their own unity on the previous anticommunist and anti-socialist alliance during the Cold War. Since the restoration of capitalism in former socialist countries, the traditional imperialist powers have simply integrated such countries into the world capitalist system. Russia and China have themselves grown into big powers and are cramping the space for mutual accommodation among the imperialist powers.

It is inherent to the capitalist system for imperialist powers to be always engaged in a struggle for a redivision of the world and to expand their respective economic territory as sources of cheap labor and raw materials, as markets, fields of investment and spheres of influence.

While avoiding direct hostility among themselves, the imperialist powers manifest different positions regarding US imperialist aggression and also engage in proxy wars by backing different sides in civil wars or in cross-border wars in underdeveloped countries. In Africa today, particularly Sudan, Somalia, Kenya, Nigeria and DR Congo, the US and other imperialist powers engage in proxy wars.

The crisis is generating sharp contradictions among the imperialist powers. In the wars of aggression against Iraq and Afghanistan, Russia and China went along with and even assisted the US-NATO alliance. But since then, they have become wary and have organized the Shanghai Cooperation Organization to countervail the US and the NATO. They have shown reluctance in backing up the US-NATO wars of aggression in Libya and now more so in Syria.

On its own account, the US has become wary of China becoming a challenge to US hegemony in East Asia and is bent on overseeing and influencing major developments in China, such as the further privatization of state-owned enterprises and the liberalization of the Chinese political system. Thus, the US has decided to refocus militarily on the region even as it remains bogged down in a number of trouble spots in the Middle East and Africa. It has used its allies and puppets in the East Asia region to stir up diplomatic tension over the sea between China and its neighbors; and to justify the increase of US military forces in the region.

In the meantime, the US maintains its close economic cooperation with China and is further pushing China to privatize its strategic state-owned enterprises and sell out to the US and other multinational firms. At the same time, the US is projecting a strong military presence by launching successive joint military exercises in Korea, Japan, Philippines and other Asian countries surrounding China to serve as a constant reminder to the “communists” (bureaucrat capitalists) in power that they should moderate their nationalism and compromise with a pro-US democracy movement. US strategists calculate that military encirclement can induce China to follow US wishes to further denationalize its economy and further liberalize its political system.

At any rate, social unrest is rampant and is on the rise in China as a result of the decline of its export-oriented economy. While 1 percent of China's population has become as rich as the uppermost class in advanced capitalist countries, 99 percent of the population mostly suffer in poverty. The broad masses of the people oppose and decry the corruption, inflation, rising unemployment, the withholding of wages, the grabbing of land from peasants and the degradation of the environment. The outbreaks of mass protests have leaped from the level of 80,000 to 280,000.

The Maoists in China are striving hard to provide leadership to the widespread outbursts of social unrest and to see what advantages the people can gain from the potential clash of the forces that are using the slogans of nationalism and liberal democracy.

With overweening arrogance, the US imperialists seek to enhance US hegemony over East Asia. They need to be reminded of their resounding defeats in China, Korea and Indochina following the end of World War II. So far, China has held its ground in political disputes with the US. The US has also failed to bend the DPRK to its wishes and has failed to destroy the people's war for national liberation and democracy in the Philippines since 1969.

The world is in turmoil due to the bankruptcy of the neoliberal economic policy and the grave crisis of the world capitalist system. So far, we have seen the growing mass unrest in the industrial capitalist countries and also in the underdeveloped countries. We have also seen the wars of aggression that the US imperialists have launched in the Baltic, Middle East and Africa. A further spread of the turmoil to China and East Asia due to US machinations would present greater opportunities to the Filipino people and revolutionary forces for carrying their revolutionary cause forward.

### ***The rotten ruling system is tottering***

The US-directed Aquino ruling clique came to power through automated electoral cheating, mass media manipulation, and massive funding by big compradors and landlords. It continues to believe that it can ride over the

grave economic and social crisis of the ruling system by depending on the inflow of foreign investments and loans and by false claims of good governance and a robust economy, pretenses at combating corruption and through a ceaseless stream of publicity gimmicks, slanted news reports and manipulated poll surveys.

Aquino's propaganda machine is secretly managed by US and other foreign psy-war experts. It is operated by long-time hacks in the bourgeois mass media and pseudo-Left operatives also working for US intelligence.

The harsh economic and social conditions speak louder than any of Aquino's triumphant declarations of "inclusive growth" Mass poverty is conspicuous both in urban and rural areas. The surplus population from rural areas move to urban areas, competing for odd jobs, expanding the slum areas and occupying spaces under bridges, in public markets and squares and along roads and railways.

The regime brazenly lies by claiming an economic growth rate of more than 7 percent . This is made up mostly of bloated figures of import-dependent consumption, upscale private construction and service sector activities. Agriculture and manufacturing have declined and unemployment has increased. The regime also lies by claiming an unemployment rate of only 7 percent , which is far less than the rate of 23 percent in the European Union. Even the pro-Aquino Social Weather Survey states a rate of 25-30 percent, more than four times the regime's claim.

The statistics of the regime grossly understate adverse socioeconomic figures. Big mass lay-offs have occurred from year to year since 2008 in all sectors of the economy, especially in low-valued semi-manufacturing, which is adversely affected by the economic downturn in the industrial capitalist countries. Since the Asian financial crisis of 1997, Philippine-based semi-manufacturing has become a mere satellite of China-based final reassembly.

The much-vaunted increase of employment in the business call centers does not make up for the mass lay-offs in many other economic sectors. Private construction is still apparently booming but has reached a precarious near-bust situation after years of building an overcapacity of office and residential towers financed by foreign commercial loans. The public infrastructure projects under the so-called Public-Private Partnership Program have slowed down, despite reported large appropriations, because behind the scene Aquino's close relatives are still trying to enlarge their cut from the contractors. Fund releases for projects are likely to speed up in the first half of 2013 to influence the May congressional and local elections.

Mining operations of big foreign companies, which the regime is promoting and protecting, provide a negligible amount of employment and engage in gross tax avoidance (including the large scale smuggling of gold, silver and other precious metals out of the country). It involves mainly open pit mining and heavy use of chemicals for a rapid plunder of natural resources, causing massive devastation of the environment. It further results in ethnocide of the indigenous people, deforestation, soil erosion, severe floods and droughts, siltation and poisoning of rivers and destruction of agricultural land. The massive export of mineral ores preempts future industrialization of the country. State security forces are being unleashed against minority peoples and other sectors resisting and protesting these operations, resulting in increased attacks, extrajudicial killings, enforced disappearances, arrests and other human rights violations being committed with impunity.

The expansion of plantations for fruit export and biofuel production is prejudicing domestic staple food production, long upset and damaged under the neoliberal policy of removing agricultural subsidies and allowing food imports with little or without tariff. Altogether, the expansion of mining, logging and plantations lessen the land for domestic food production and for land reform.

The export of people for migrant work abroad is a clear proof of the scarcity of job opportunities and the lack of national industrialization in the country. The global depression and the growing turmoil and rising discrimination against migrant workers in host countries indicate a dismal future for the export of cheap labor. Through all the years, the high bureaucrats and big compradors have made sure that the foreign exchange remitted by migrant workers to the Philippines is used to promote the consumption of imported goods rather than fund national industrialization.

The Philippine economy remains agrarian, pre-industrial, underdeveloped and semifeudal. The ruling system of big compradors and landlords prevents national industrialization and land reform. While income from the export of raw materials and semi-manufactures has taken a dive, the cost of importing basic necessities and luxury goods for the exploiting classes has soared. The trade deficit keeps on rising and so does the accumulated foreign debt and annual debt service. Foreign debt has reached the level of US\$72.22 billion but the regime tries to downplay this by making false boasts of lending to the International Monetary Fund US\$1 billion. The Aquino brag that the Philippines contributed to efforts bail out the debt-crisis ridden Eurozone countries, is actually a spin on the

obligation of member countries to invest in the IMF.

Under the current crisis conditions, the US-Aquino regime is escalating the exploitation and oppression of the toiling masses of workers and peasants and even the middle social strata. Women, youth and children suffer most from the deteriorating conditions. But with its twisted logic, the regime spreads the propaganda that the people's resistance—not foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism—is the cause of underdevelopment, poverty and crisis.

Under conditions of a depressed economy and increasing bureaucratic corruption, the Philippine reactionary government is weighed down by budgetary deficits and public debt. Despite this, the US-Aquino regime gives priority to expenditures for debt service, the military, the so-called Conditional Cash Transfer program and other counterproductive activities. At the same time, the regime has been carrying out an unproclaimed austerity policy at the expense of the people by laying off government employees, pressing down wages and cutting back on expenditures for social services, especially health, education and low-cost housing.

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Corruption is rampant under the Aquino regime. At the highest level, some of the president's sisters and brothers-in-law and Aquino and Cojuangco uncles and cousins take cuts from big business projects requiring presidential approval and loans from government financial institutions. They favor contractors close to the Aquino and Cojuangco families. They facilitate technical smuggling which now averages US\$19 billion annually, six-times larger than the US\$3 billion annual average during the time of Estrada and Arroyo, according to findings of the IMF Direction on Trade Statistics. Aquino fudges statistics boosting agricultural production to conceal increased rice smuggling by big traders under the protection of high government officials. The regime uses strict tax enforcement as threats to intimidate and bend Aquino opponents even as it condones the massive tax evasion of Lucio Tan, Eduardo Cojuangco and other big funders of the Aquino electoral campaign.

Even jueteng has not escaped the clutches of Aquino. A close associate of his has been exposed by an archbishop as the Aquino connection to the jueteng magnates. The Anti-Poverty Commission is chaired by a long-time NGO racketeer and US intelligence asset and misappropriates government funds as proven by a Commission on Audit report. The Conditional Cash Transfer program, including both the Pantawid Pamilya and the so-called PAMANA development and rehabilitation fund, is in fact a slush fund for politicking and for counterinsurgency campaign, and has become a scandalous feeding trough for bureaucratic corruption. Despite the exposure of corruption in this dole out program, its funding is being increased to PhP49 billion.

The high rate of unemployment, the decline of incomes for the toiling masses and the middle social strata, the rising cost of basic goods and services, and the deterioration and rising cost of social services are generating social unrest all over the country. The Aquino regime does not address these and their root causes but tries in vain to obscure them by using the mass media and poll surveys to distract the public. Worst of all, the regime wantonly uses state violence against workers on strike and the people engaged in peaceful mass protests.

The worst forms of violence are being perpetrated by the reactionary armed forces under the US-designed and directed Oplan Bayanihan to suppress the people, especially the workers, peasants and the national minorities. Human rights violations like enforced disappearances, illegal detention, torture and extrajudicial killings are rampant and victimize leaders of the toiling masses, social activists and human rights defenders. Children are being illegally arrested, detained and murdered and then misrepresented as child soldiers to malign the NPA. On a wide scale, homes of the urban poor are being demolished to make way for real estate developers. In the countryside, military campaigns are used to force the evacuation and eviction of peasants and national minorities to benefit landgrabbing private enterprises, big bureaucrats and military officers.

Since the beginning, the US-Aquino regime has condoned the human rights violations under its predecessor US-Arroyo regime and has thus further emboldened the military, police, paramilitary forces and military assets to commit even worse human rights violations. Not a single military officer or perpetrator has been prosecuted or convicted for human rights violations, despite the strong evidence in many cases. Impunity reigns. Officers who are supposed to have command responsibility are themselves the criminals, cover up their crimes and even get

promoted more rapidly. The issuance of an arrest warrant for the butcher general Palparan is a mere token and has not resulted in his arrest simply because he is being protected by the military. Moreover, Aquino has callously appointed the colonel responsible for the forced disappearance of Jonas Burgos to general and to the position of ISAFP chief.

The recent creation of an inter-agency committee touted as the superbody on human rights on top of the existing Philippine Human Rights Commission is one more publicity gimmick. The committee is an additional gadget of the regime for whitewashing human rights violations by the reactionary armed forces, police and military. The committee is composed of the secretaries of the DND, DILG, the AFP chief of staff and the PNP. The committee is headed by the secretary of the Department Of Justice and is dominated by the secretaries of the Department of National Defense and Department of Interior and Local Government, the AFP chief of staff and the chief of the Philippine National Police. It is no different from Arroyo's Presidential Task Force on Political Violence. Despite the strong clamor and public attention, the trial of the Ampatuans and their accomplices for the flagrant massacre of 58 people, including 34 journalists, has yet to get off the ground. The main concern of Aquino is to be able to view the trial on television. He has not paid attention to the fact that the trial is designed to run for as long as 200 years.

The economic and social crisis generates a political crisis of the ruling system. However at the moment, it appears that all major political parties and coalitions of factions of the exploiting classes are happily united in serving the interests of the US and the exploiting classes and in opposing the revolutionary movement of the people. Behind the scenes, the US advisers and Aquino's uncles, Eduardo and Jose Cojuangco, conjure the illusion of unity by using President Aquino and Vice President Binay to form coalitions that hog the political road and block the rise of any significant opposition party.

Aquino's ruling Liberal Party has coalesced with the Nationalist People's Coalition, the Nacionalista Party and some elements in the former ruling coalition under Arroyo for the 2013 elections. Likewise, Binay's PDP-Laban has coalesced with Estrada's Pwersa ng Masang Pilipino of Estrada and Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino to form the United Nationalist Alliance (UNA). The ruling coalition and UNA are actually close collaborators. There is no significant mainstream opposition party or coalition within the ruling classes, except the residue of the Arroyo ruling coalition which persists due to the strength of its leaders in local bailiwicks.

The US is promoting the unity of the reactionary forces in order to push antinational and antidemocratic amendments to the 1987 constitution, enable further US military intervention and press for the debilitation of the legal democratic movement and the outright armed suppression of the revolutionary movement of the people under Oplan Bayanihan. Plans are afoot to rig the automated electoral system to prevent the election of patriotic and progressive candidates.

At any rate, the contradictions among the reactionaries over their share of power and spoils will continue to sharpen beneath the surface of current appearances of unity. The reactionary political factions never cease to maneuver for advantages in political and economic terms and in having private armed groups and access to corresponding factions within the military and police.

The fakery in the Aquino claim of good governance, uprightness and honesty is becoming exposed. With the fractious and corrupt character of the rotten ruling system, the revolutionary movement can take advantage of the contradictions among the reactionaries. Ever applicable is the policy of the united front to coordinate and synergize the basic forces of the revolution, take advantage of reactionary splits, isolate and destroy the power of the enemy.

The temporary alliances that the Party can have with certain reactionary forces may relate to the reactionary elections, the conduct of the reactionary government, the peace negotiations and other matters. As a matter of united front policy, the Party encourages the patriotic and progressive forces to participate in elections even as these are farcical and subject to the power and finances of the major reactionary political parties. It is important for the people to have representatives who will vigorously pursue their patriotic and democratic demands even within the reactionary institutions and processes.

Like the unlamented Arroyo regime, the Aquino regime and its retinue of military officers keep on boasting that most areas of the Philippines have become insurgency free. They keep on repeating the lie that in the mid-1980s the NPA had an armed strength of 25,000 high-powered rifles and now has only 4,000. The fact is that the NPA armed strength in 1986 was only 6,100 rifles.

They wish to downplay the fact that NPA Red fighters and other revolutionary forces can move freely in more than 90 percent of Philippine territory. The enemy has only enough armed force to concentrate on a few guerrilla fronts at every given time. The reactionary government is bankrupt and incapable of making any significant increase in military personnel and equipment without substantial military support of the US government. Even within guerrilla fronts under concentrated enemy attack, there are wide gaps between enemy units and the NPA units are able to maneuver and launch tactical offensives to wipe out one enemy unit after another.

Furthermore, NPA units deployed by regional or inter-front commands are able to counterattack enemy units on a wide scale. The enemy offers so many weak points that the NPA can discover and exploit or create and attack at will. The broad masses have cheered several NPA offensives against mining, logging and plantation enterprises, especially in the northeastern, southern and north central regions of Mindanao. Most embarrassing to the enemy are NPA offensives carried out in areas previously declared insurgency-free by the reactionary armed forces. These are the ambushes on enemy units in Abra, Ifugao, Isabela, Aurora and Leyte. NPA offensives have also been done in Camarines Norte, Sorsogon, Catanduanes, Masbate, Iloilo, Zamboanga del Norte and other provinces.

Corollary with waging people's war, the National Democratic Front of the Philippines in representation of the Filipino people and the revolutionary forces negotiates with the reactionary government. The peace negotiations are a process of propagating the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution, exposing the antinational and antidemocratic character of the reactionary government and challenging its better elements to join the revolutionary forces in a united front against foreign and feudal domination and for the completion of the people's struggle for national liberation and democracy.

In peace negotiations, the NDFP undertakes a form of struggle for a just and lasting peace that is based on negotiated and mutually agreed basic social, economic and political reforms to address the roots of the civil war. So far, one ruling clique after another in the reactionary government has tried to use the peace negotiations in order to cause the capitulation and pacification of the revolutionary forces and to preserve the rotten ruling system. Over the past two years, the US-Aquino regime has paralyzed the peace negotiations by seeking to undermine The Hague Joint Declaration of 1992 and by refusing to comply with the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG) and the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL).

In violation of the JASIG, the regime has prevented the proper investigation of the enforced disappearances, illegal arrests and detention, and surveillance and harassments of NDFP consultants and personnel in the peace negotiations. It stands by the lie of its predecessor in denying that the GRP had instigated and was fully complicit with the US and Dutch governments in the raids by the Dutch police on the NDFP offices and the residences of its negotiating panel and staff, and in the arrest and detention of Prof. Jose Maria Sison on the basis of false charges. It continues to block the release of 14 NDFP consultants and members of the NDFP Negotiating Panel. In violation of the CARHRIHL, the regime continues to hold the release of more than 400 political prisoners falsely charged with common crimes despite allegations of involvement in the armed conflict/civil war. The big comprador-land-lord president is not interested in serious peace negotiations and is motivated by class vengeance against the revolutionary movement for the demand of farm workers to subject Hacienda Luisita to land reform.

Aquino continues to heed the wishes of the clerico-fascists and military agents who have disrupted the peace negotiations since the time of the Arroyo regime. They use the negotiations as a vehicle for psy-war and for broadcasting their demand for the revolutionary forces to surrender. They vainly wish for the permanent ending of hostilities before the comprehensive agreements on social, economic and political reforms are forged. They are obsessed with trying to break the will of the revolutionary forces and compel them to accept the rotten ruling system and its reactionary constitution.

The Manila government has signed with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro. In crucial provisions of the agreement, the MILF submits to the authority of the oppressive state based in Manila and gives up the possibility of seceding and establishing an independent Bangsamoro state. Essential points for four annexes on transitional arrangements and modalities, power sharing, wealth sharing and normalization are stated in the agreement and confirm the submission of the MILF to the sovereignty and constitutional processes of the Manila government.

The Transition Commission that would be responsible for formulating the Bangsamoro Basic Law is to be created by an executive order by Aquino and subject to approval by Congress and further subject to processes

ordained by the Manila government. The Manila government provides a certain measure of concessions to the Bangsamoro on power and wealth sharing but can limit or even retract such concessions. Not soon after the much ballyhooed signing last October, the talks on the annexes has hit an impasse reportedly due to the Manila government attempt to renegotiate the Framework Agreement provision on the chairmanship and composition of the Transition Commission. The provisions on normalization subjects the Bangsamoro Islamic Armed Forces (BIAF) of the MILF to decommissioning while allowing the continuing presence AFP troops in Bangsamoro lands.

The Manila government may go through the motion of realizing the Framework Agreement and its annexes because after all the MILF has submitted itself to its supreme authority, as the Moro National Liberation Front had done previously in the process of establishing the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM). The main objective of the Manila government is to pacify and subordinate the MILF and use it for the political and economic purposes of Manila and Washington.

The reactionary government expects that with the MILF and BIAF pacified, more troops of the reactionary armed forces could be deployed to crush the NPA and the revolutionary movement. This is a pipe dream. The Marcos fascist dictatorship could not destroy the NPA when it was still small and weak, even after Marcos obtained a permanent ceasefire with the MNLF under the Tripoli Agreement in 1976. Moreover, were the MILF to capitulate completely, other existing and potential armies could continue the armed struggle of the Bangsamoro and still tie down a big number of enemy forces in south-western Mindanao.

The growing US military intervention in the Philippines involves the violation of national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Philippines. It constitutes an assault on the Filipino people and their revolutionary movement. It uses pretexts that are clearly obnoxious, such as the frequent joint military exercises, the so-called global war on terror and refocus on the East Asia region to contain China.

The US is hell-bent on entrenching its military forces in the Philippines and is using the Philippines as a strategic base to service US military forces and to serve as entry point and host storage facilities for US nuclear, chemical, biological and other weapons of mass destruction. On a daily basis, US military advisers and troops participate in intelligence, psy-war and combat operations of the Philippine reactionary armed forces. They provide the latest high-tech military equipment and directly operate unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs), commonly called drones, whose technology the US military intends to monopolize and control.

At any rate, the US is already overextended as it refocuses on East Asia. China continues to cooperate with the US in the region and in the world and is astutely avoiding any hostility with the US. Contrary to the belief of some Filipino reactionaries that the US provides protection to the Philippines against China, the US has clearly declared that it is neutral on issues concerning territorial controversies over the sea between China and its neighbors. In fact, the US has more interests in relations with China than in relations with the Philippines. Moreover, the US-RP Mutual Defense Treaty does not carry any provision for automatic retaliation in the event of a third party attack on the Philippines.

Only the Filipino people can best protect themselves by strengthening their revolutionary movement and ultimately winning political power in the people's democratic revolution. It would be foolhardy to rely on the US for protection or on China for magnanimity. No foreign power will ever dare to conquer and occupy the Philippines so long as the more than 100 million Filipino people are ever ready to inflict serious damage on the invader through people's war.

### ***The Philippine revolution is advancing***

Under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, the people's democratic revolution through people's war is advancing. It is making substantial progress in carrying out the strategic plan to advance the people's war from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate. In this connection, the Party has strengthened itself ideologically, politically and organizationally.

The Party and the revolutionary movement are frustrating and thwarting the US-Aquino regime's use of Oplan Bayanihan for the stated objective of debilitating or destroying the revolutionary movement from 2011 to 2013 and transferring from the reactionary armed forces to the police the task of mopping up the remnants of the revolutionary forces from 2014 to 2016. It is instructive to point out that even when the NPA was still small and weak in the early 1970s, the Marcos fascist dictatorship with more available resources could not prevent its growth.

The US-Aquino regime's Oplan Bayanihan is a vicious monster. The regime hypocritically and cynically calls its triad military operations (psywar, intelligence and combat) as "peace and development" operations. In fact, these

operations involve abductions, enforced disappearances, torture, assassinations, massacres, forced mass evacuations and population control operations through intimidation and coercion, bombardments, strafing and artillery fire. All these are done to preserve the ruling system and allow foreign and domestic exploiters to oppress and exploit the people.

The main thrust of Oplan Bayanihan is to kill suspected revolutionaries and whip up military units to a competition of "body counts." It is complemented by psywar actions in the form of civic actions, medical missions, money dole-outs and other deceptive tactics conducted by "peace and development teams" to engage in intelligence work and intimidation of the families of suspected revolutionaries.

Even children in suspected guerrilla fronts are not spared. They are misrepresented as NPA child soldiers and subjected to intimidation, arrest, torture or extrajudicial killing. Thus, the NDFP has issued the General Declaration and Program of Action for the Rights, Protection and Welfare of Children. This covers the children in the entire country and in all respects and gives special attention to children in areas of armed conflict.

The growth of the various subjective forces of the revolution cannot be stopped because of the Party's correct line and because of the crisis conditions and the expanse of the countryside which cannot be intensively covered by the coercive apparatuses of the reactionary state. The current grave crisis of the world capitalist system and the far graver crisis of the domestic ruling system are exceedingly favorable conditions for further advancing the armed revolutionary movement of the Filipino people. Their determination to wage armed resistance does not wane despite forty years of difficult struggle. The increasingly intolerable conditions of exploitation and oppression suffered by the broad masses of the people heighten their desire revolutionary change.

Under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the Party is vigorously engaged in ideological building among Party cadres and members as well as among mass activists who wish to join the Party. They are eager to study the history and circumstances of Philippine society and revolution and the global context of imperialism and proletarian revolution; and to widen and deepen their knowledge of revolutionary theory and practice through the three levels of Party education. The Party is determined to make prompt assignment of instructors and arrangement of study meetings to respond to the enthusiasm of those who wish to study.

The revolutionary forces daily conduct countless study meetings. They employ various creative ways to keep these secret from the enemy who desire to put a stop to the propagation of revolutionary ideas. Study sessions conducted by Red fighters as well as by peasants mass organizations and local Party branches are secured and defended by units of the people's army.

In all Party study courses, the use of materialist dialectics in thinking and action is inculcated to enable Party members to discern and analyze what is correct in relation to subjectivism, be it in the form of empiricism or dogmatism as well as reformism and revisionism.

The Party has been able to conduct the basic Party course in order to make the Party candidate-members become full members. Party leading organs and units are aware that the accelerated increase of Party members is a crucial component of the strategic plan to advance to the strategic stalemate. The Party has also been able to conduct the intermediate and advanced Party courses in order to widen and deepen the understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism among Party members and cadres.

Oplan Bayanihan has no way of stopping the recruitment and education of Party candidate-members and full members from the trade unions, farms, schools, offices and the mass movement in general. The Party has been able to digitize the storage, retrieval and publication of revolutionary study materials on a wide scale. It has also used new technology to produce and reproduce for people with limited formal education simplified study materials in various Philippine languages. Thousands of local Party cadres, as well as worker and peasant activists, are being trained as instructors of the Party and the national democratic school. By having easy access to Marxist-Leninist-Maoist references, activists can more actively engage in study and propaganda and wage debates against the reactionaries and their ideological apologists.

The Party has propagated and carried out the general line of new democratic revolution through propaganda and agitation, through the expansion and consolidation of mass organizations and through the mobilization of the broad masses of the people on urgent and long-running issues. The people's army, the mass organizations and the organs of political power have been effective in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses.

The Party combats "Left" and Right opportunism. It defines the correct political line on particular issues and processes, guided by the Program for the of People's Democratic Revolution, by subjecting facts and

circumstances to class analysis, and by determining the principal and secondary aspects and thus arriving at the course of action that carries the revolutionary movement forward.

The Party engages in research and publications on domestic and global issues. The lies churned out daily by the reactionary spin factory are exposed, denounced and challenged. News of revolutionary struggles and victories are promptly circulated. Various publications are issued by the Central Committee, regional Party committees and various mass organizations. These are published in print and on the internet. Local Party branches are setting up guerrilla printing shops to screen print *Ang Bayan* and ensure that copies reach every Party member, Red fighter and activist. Leaders and speakers are trained and gain experience by explaining issues to the masses and expressing their demands at public meetings.

The Party encourages the working people and the middle social strata to build open and underground mass organizations and to uphold, defend and promote the national and democratic rights and interests of the Filipino people. The underground mass organizations are allied within the framework of the National Democratic Front and support the local organs of political power.

The Party's main mass organization is the New People's Army. It is different from all other mass organizations by being armed and by serving as the people's instrument for smashing the power of the reactionary state and enabling the local organs of political power and in sum the people's democratic state to arise and develop.

The NPA is responsible for waging revolutionary armed struggle. It has thousands of high-powered rifles in the hands of its fighters and aims to increase this to the level of 25,000 in order to reach the threshold of the strategic stalemate in the next few years. It currently operates in more than 100 guerrilla fronts and is striving to increase these to 180 within the next five years since 2010 or for a longer period if need be. There are efforts to assist those regions that are lagging behind other regions in order to keep them apace with the overall advance.

In order to achieve the strategic plan of creating a guerrilla front per congressional district, regional Party committees subdivide their areas of responsibility to inter-front and front commands without necessarily immediately dividing or liquidating the regional and inter-front commands and their respective headquarters and strike forces. To expand existing guerrilla fronts or establish new ones, NPA units can advance wave upon wave from an established guerrilla front. The Party and the mass movement can also expand ahead of NPA units. Party cadres and mass activists can be assigned to the expansion area to conduct social investigation and initial organizing and the NPA can subsequently forward initial armed propaganda teams.

The Party is currently concerned with strengthening the leading committees and NPA commands at the level of the region, inter-front and the guerrilla front in order to seize initiative in launching tactical offensives and defeating enemy campaigns and operations. Every level has a center of gravity (headquarters and strike force) with an armed strength sufficient to protect the Party leadership and NPA command and deliver lethal blows on enemy units independently or in conjunction with NPA units at lower levels.

The Party can develop the NPA national operational command (NOC) on the basis of the regional operational commands. These can serve as the source of highly competent officers. The NOC can base itself on any regional command and organization at any given time before it can develop its own distinct central base in a relatively stable base area in the future.

The current modus operandi of the enemy is to concentrate large forces against certain guerrilla fronts in various regions for extended periods. Southern Mindanao, Samar-Leyte and Negros have been top priority for sustained enemy attacks involving eight to twelve battalions for each region. Bicol, Southern Tagalog, Central Luzon, Northeast Luzon and Northeast Mindanao have been attacked by six to ten battalions per region.

An NPA force within a guerrilla front under enemy encirclement avails of the tactics of using the wide gaps between enemy units in order to move from interior line to exterior line to launch tactical offensives and wipe out weak segments of the enemy forces. NPA units have been able to deliver lethal blows on enemy forces even where these are concentrated by hitting their weak points.

Outside a guerrilla front under enemy attack, the regional and inter-front commands can launch tactical offensives against the enemy forces besieging the guerrilla front or against the enemy forces in areas at some distance from the guerrilla front under attack. NPA tactical offensives are unstoppable because enemy weak points to observe and attack abound.

The enemy does not have sufficient armed strength to target and encircle all the guerrilla fronts in the country and conduct prolonged and in-depth attacks against them all at the same time. Whenever the enemy chooses to

concentrate on a number of regions or guerrilla fronts at a given time, the NPA elsewhere can attack weak points of the enemy, be these military, police, paramilitary forces and private security agencies as well as facilities and supply lines.

The NPA undertakes annihilative actions as the main tactic to wipe out enemy units in order to seize weapons for increasing NPA units. It concentrates its forces to launch ambushes against enemy troops and carry out raids against lightly-guarded enemy detachments and camps, police stations as well as against secret armories maintained by the private security agencies. Such methods as sniping, zapping, deploying land mines and other explosives and inflammables (including sprayer and cigarette lighter) are used. Attritive actions are launched to inflict damage on the fighting capacity and morale of the enemy. Disintegrative actions are done by propaganda suited to the enemy personnel and by lenient treatment of those who are captured.

The NPA uses intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare on an ever expanding and deepening mass base in order to accumulate armed strength for regular mobile warfare and building relatively stable base areas in the future. It concentrates a superior force to wipe out an enemy unit. It shifts to get more advantageous position for attacking the weak points of the enemy. It disperses units to do mass work when conditions permit.

The Party makes sure that the revolutionary armed struggle is integrated with land reform and mass base building. The NPA is invincible as long as the peasant masses benefit from genuine land reform and remain the inexhaustible source of strength for the NPA. At the same time, the mass base is expanded and consolidated with the building of the organs of political power and the mass organizations.

Land reform is the main content of the democratic revolution. It has been carried out in stages, from the minimum to the maximum program. The minimum program consists of rent reduction, elimination of usury, raising farm wages, improving farm-gate prices and increasing production in agriculture and sideline occupation through rudimentary forms of cooperation. The maximum program of confiscation and free distribution of land is possible upon the defeat of feudal power.

In certain regions, especially in Mindanao, the NPA has carried out significant offensives against mining, logging and plantation enterprises. Nationwide, these offensives are meant to stop and discourage landgrabbing, the plunder of natural resources for export and the destruction of the environment and agriculture; and to make more land available for land reform, to conserve the natural resources and use them wisely for national industrialization.

The US-Aquino regime has shamelessly used the reactionary armed forces as security guards for the mining, logging and plantation enterprises and has encouraged these to form larger private armies called "investment defense forces." It is fine that the NPA is compelling the enemy forces to be tied down by guard duty. The formation of so many dispersed state and private armies can turn into its opposite and they can subsequently serve as sources of arms for expanding NPA ranks.

The strengthening and proper functioning of the local organs of political power and mass organizations under the leadership of the local Party branch relieve the NPA of work overload as they shoulder more responsibilities. By assuming responsibilities in defense and production, the people's militia at the barrio level and self-defense units of the mass organizations can reduce the work load of NPA units and allow them more time for combat, politico-military training, and other military duties. Even so, the people's army maintains a balance of combat and non-combat duties (including mass work, especially in new areas.)

The mass line is to trust, rely on and enable the people to look after their own good through the local organs of political power and the mass organizations under Party leadership. The committees which are the organs of political power are supported by the working committees in charge of mass education, organizing, land reform, production, health and sanitation, defense, arbitration and cultural work. The mass organizations rouse and mobilize the people to engage in campaigns for their own benefit.

In establishing the people's government from the level of the villages and upward, it has been necessary for the NPA to defeat the enemy forces cumulatively and for the peasant masses to wage mass struggles in order to break up reactionary power in the localities and to eliminate or cause the flight of incorrigible reactionary officials who oppress the people and incur blood debts. Higher levels of people's government have an underground character while the reactionary government can still operate and extort levies from the people.

The Party applies the antifeudal united front in the countryside by relying mainly on the poor and lower middle peasants, befriending the rich peasants, taking advantage of the splits among the landlords and isolating and defeating the despotic landlords. The antifeudal united front is at the base of the national united front. The Party

ensures that the united front policy is mainly for the armed struggle, especially through the National Democratic Front. At the same time, the policy serves to encourage the development of patriotic and progressive forces in the legal mass movement. These are of vital importance in propagating the people's demand for fundamental change towards national and social liberation.

In any case, the united front policy and tactics are meant to arouse, mobilize and organize the masses in their millions. To maintain the patriotic and progressive character of the united front, the Party in principle and in proper style leads every possible combination of forces in the echelon of alliances, such as the basic worker-peasant alliance, the progressive alliance of the toiling masses and the urban petty bourgeoisie, the patriotic alliance with the national bourgeoisie and the unstable alliance with any section of the reactionary classes that cooperates in opposing the enemy.

Through the united front, the people in great numbers ventilate and act upon the issues arising from the people's struggle for national liberation and democracy. The people are united and mobilized to uphold national sovereignty and territorial integrity against the imperialists, to defend and uphold human rights against state terrorism and repression, to condemn corruption and to remove from power corrupt and oppressive government officials. Marcos and Estrada were isolated and then overthrown, with the Party applying the united front policy. This policy is now directed against the puppet, corrupt, exploitative, brutal and deceptive regime of Aquino.

Engaging in peace negotiations is relevant to the united front. It involves propagating the program of people's democratic revolution and exposing to the public how the reactionary government reacts to demands for basic reforms and offers of truce and alliance or cooperation against imperialism and the worst forms of local reaction.

Tolerating the electoral process of the reactionary government on whatever scale is also relevant to the united front. It involves developing cooperation with patriotic and progressive candidates and groups and encouraging them to fight the worst reactionaries in the reactionary government and do what they can to help disintegrate the reactionary ruling system.

As always, the Party is bound by the principle of democratic centralism. This is centralized leadership based on democracy and democracy guided by centralism. The Party promotes both discipline and democracy. It is always on guard against bureaucratism and ultrademocracy. It practices criticism and self-criticism on ideological, political and organizational issues.

Party membership has increased under the impetus of the strategic plan to advance the people's war from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate and upon the proper expeditious implementation of the provisions of the Party Constitution on membership. Activists in the trade unions and the mass organizations of peasants and fisher folk, women, youth, professionals and other sectors have become Party candidate members by accepting the Party Constitution and Program and applying for Party membership. Previous causes of stagnation or slow growth of Party membership are being addressed and rectified.

Mass activists are being recruited in great number and are promptly provided with basic Party education within the period of candidature stipulated by the Party constitution. Negligence of the basic tasks of Party recruitment and education, conceit by setting standards higher than those required by the Party constitution and failing to trust mass activists are being rectified.

The period of candidature for workers, peasants, fisherfolk and other toilers is six months; for those from the urban petty bourgeoisie, one year; and for other classes, two years. To become full Party members the candidate-members finish the basic Party course and join a basic Party unit.

The Party's policy is to recruit Party members mainly from the ranks of mass activists and to boldly expand the Party membership without letting in a single unreliable. The expansion of Party membership is necessitated by the intensifying revolutionary struggle and the gigantic tasks to be carried out by Party cadres and members in serving the people and carrying the revolution forward.

The Party is now present in nearly all provinces of the country. It runs ahead of the building of the New People's Army. It expands with the mass movement. It prepares the way for the advance of the people's army, which it heads and within which it is the core. The Party grows not only from the ranks of Red commanders and fighters but also from the far greater number of activists in the mass organizations of the toiling masses and the urban petty bourgeoisie.

### ***Fight firmly and fiercely for national liberation and democracy***

We must fight firmly and fiercely for national freedom and genuine 717 democracy against the oppressive and

exploitative US-Aquino regime. We must defeat its campaigns of violence and deception. We are confident of winning victory because the current crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system provides exceedingly favorable conditions for the revolutionary struggle. The regime can be surely discredited and isolated due to its antinational and antidemocratic policies and actions.

We must completely defeat the strategic plan of the US-Aquino regime to destroy the revolutionary movement of the people and to preserve the ruling system of big compradors and landlords under the hegemony of US imperialism. The regime's lip service to peace negotiations is merely a minor part of its campaign of deception which complements the main campaign of military suppression under Oplan Bayanihan.

We must win the immediate struggle against the reactionary puppet regime in order to strengthen our revolutionary forces for the long-term struggle to overthrow the entire ruling system. We must persevere in carrying out the strategic plan to advance the people's war from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate.

1. We must further strengthen the Party as the most advanced detachment of the revolutionary proletariat and as the leading force of the people's democratic revolution. We must propagate Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the guide to the Philippine revolution. We must apply this theory on the history and current circumstances of the world and the Philippines.

We must use the theory to explain the crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system, illuminate the road of revolution led by the working class and raise our revolutionary consciousness and struggle. We must expose the root causes of our country's underdevelopment and our people's poverty and suffering and define the revolutionary course to take in order to advance the cause of national and social liberation.

We must ensure that all Party candidate-members take the basic Party course which is mainly about Philippine society in order to become full Party members within the stipulated period of candidature. Even at this basic level, those taking the course must gain awareness or an initial understanding of how materialist dialectics and class analysis are applied on Philippine history and current social conditions and the adoption of the general line of new-democratic revolution through people's war.

Consequently, Party members must take the intermediate Party course in order to learn more about the Philippine revolutionary movement by comparing it with other revolutions under proletarian leadership. Still further they must take the advanced Party course to study Marxist-Leninist-Maoist philosophy, political economy, social science, strategy and tactics and the history of the international communist movement.

We must understand how monopoly capitalism wreaks havoc on the lives of the working people, how socialism arose in the world, how it has been betrayed and overpowered by modern revisionism and how it can rise again from the conditions of crisis brought about by monopoly capitalism and from the perseverance of the proletariat and the people in their revolutionary struggle.

All Party organs and units must strive to apply what they learn from studying theory and practice and must diligently carry out the policies and decisions of the Central Committee. They must sum up and analyze their experience and engage in criticism and self-criticism in order to rectify and overcome errors and shortcomings and in order to improve work and work style to advance the struggle against the people's adversaries.

Special studies should be developed and propagated on military theory; the strategy and tactics of our people's war based on summings up of experiences, Party policies and directives; waging agrarian revolution wave upon wave, united front work, the democratic mass movement; revolutionary work inside the reactionary parliament and style and methods of leadership of Party committees. Theoretical and work conferences must be organized at different levels to encourage systematic study and discussion of theoretical and practical questions, enliven exchange of experiences and views, and facilitate the unification of the Party on policy and tactics.

Combating subjectivism requires constant vigilance against both dogmatism and empiricism. But at present we need to pay particular attention against the empiricist current and the related erroneous tendencies of right opportunism in politics, conservatism in the conduct of the armed struggle and ultrademocracy and liberalism in organizational matters. The manifestations of empiricism include narrowness and superficiality instead of striving for a comprehensive and concrete understanding of questions and events; being overly engrossed with the immediate and short term while neglecting basic and long-term questions; neglect of theoretical and political education; being content with low level, small-scale, scattered or stagnant organization and mobilization of the masses; guerrillaism in some NPA units; military passivity of some NPA units and guerrilla fronts; over-reliance on unreliable tactical allies; vacillation on revolutionary dual tactics within reactionary institutions and processes;

mountain-stronghold mentality in some guerrilla units; gross neglect of the Party's report system; ultrademocracy and small-group mentality in Party organization.

We must pursue the general line of people's democratic revolution through people's war. This line responds to the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine ruling system, which is maintained by force in order to exploit and oppress the people. To overthrow this system, we must arouse, organize and mobilize the people in their millions and thereby build the political strength of the Party, the New People's Army and the National Democratic Front for the purpose of overthrowing the reactionary state and establishing the people's democratic state.

The Party must lead the NPA to fight and defeat the armed forces of the reactionary state. The NPA must frustrate and prevail over Oplan Bayanihan with more frequent tactical offensives on a wide scale. In the process, we must seize more arms from the enemy and increase the number of NPA fighting units. The NPA level of armed strength must reach 25,000 in order to advance from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate.

The Party must develop the national operational command as well as the interregional, regional, provincial, inter-front commands in order to strengthen planning and coordination at the different appropriate levels and thus, multiply the NPA's sources of initiative to fight and defeat the enemy campaigns that concentrate on certain regions and certain guerrilla fronts in an attempt to destroy these. The initiatives can take the form of counter-attacking enemy units that besiege any of the guerrilla fronts or undertaking offensives in areas where the enemy forces are weak and vulnerable.

Planning and coordination at the regional and interregional levels should also hasten the strengthening of guerrilla warfare in all strategic areas in order to make full use of the whole length and breadth of the archipelago for intensifying guerrilla warfare.

Greater attention and effort should be given to the building of the people's militia. They are essential to the advance of widespread and intensive guerrilla warfare and they directly impact the growth and strengthening of the people's army. Cadres and special units in charge of the formation, training and supervision of people's militia units should be assigned at the front, inter-front and regional levels.

The NPA must wage intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. The accumulation of victories will eventually lead to larger and more widespread NPA operations. The revolutionary armed strength must be integrated with land reform and mass base building. The guerrilla fronts must be consolidated with the establishment and development of the local organs of political power and the mass organizations.

The Party must promote and lead the united front nationwide in both urban and rural areas. The united front is aimed at facilitating and strengthening the revolutionary armed struggle and the legal mass struggles. The various types of alliances must be developed. The objective is to arouse and mobilize the people in their millions along the line of people's democratic revolution. Correspondent to the strategic line of protracted people's war, the anti-feudal united front must be at the base of the national united front. It involves the Party relying mainly on the poor peasants and farm workers, winning over the middle peasants, gaining the friendly neutrality of the rich peasants and taking advantage of the contradictions among landlords in order to isolate and destroy the power of the despotic landlords.

The Party must further develop nationwide the basic alliance of the workers and peasants, the progressive alliance of the toiling masses with the urban petty bourgeoisie, the patriotic alliance of the foregoing with the national bourgeoisie; and the broad alliance with certain sectors of the reactionary class. All types of alliances are meant to arouse, organize and mobilize the people in order to isolate and destroy the power of the enemy.

The legal democratic movement of the workers and other urban poor, the student youth, low-income professionals and intellectuals and other democratic sectors centered in the urban areas must be expanded and strengthened. The economic and political struggle of the workers and other progressive forces must be independently expanded and advanced along the anti-imperialist, antifascist and anti-feudal line to serve as a strong spearhead of the broad protest movement that can oppose and isolate the biggest and worst imperialist puppets and reactionaries in power and cause the destruction of the reactionaries one by one.

National democratic agitation, propaganda and political education must be invigorated as a basic component of all mass campaigns. 3. The Party must uphold the principle of democratic centralism. This means centralized leadership based on democracy and democracy guided by centralized leadership. Every Party member is bound by the collective interest and program of the entire Party and the revolutionary movement.

In any voting, the majority prevails over the minority. The lower organ is subordinate to the higher organ. The Party must strengthen the leading committees at various levels and must take the lead in performing the functions that are necessary for advancing the people's war from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate.

All Party organs and units must strive to apply what they learn from studying theory and practice and must diligently carry out the policies and decisions of the Central Committee. They must sum up and analyze their experience and engage in criticism and self-criticism in order to rectify and overcome errors and shortcomings and in order to improve their work and work style to advance the struggle against the people's adversaries.

The Party must further increase its membership to 250,000 in the next few years. This is to enable the Party to lead the growing people's army, the organs of political power, mass organizations and alliances and perform various types of functions. Expanding the Party membership is an urgent and essential task for advancing the revolution.

The Party must run ahead of the people's army in building the Party organization in the provinces, districts and municipalities where units of the people's army do not yet operate. The Party must pay attention to expanding in both urban and rural areas and providing leadership to the mass movement.

The activists in the mass movement must be encouraged to apply for Party membership. Upon application and acceptance, they become candidate-members and must be tasked and given the basic Party course. Every Party unit must take responsibility for every Party candidate-member that it recruits to become a full Party member.

We must recruit Party members mainly from the conscious and militant ranks of the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the youth mass movement. We need educated youth, with various types of knowledge and technical skills to do revolutionary work in various fields of social activity and in various organizations and institutions.

We should develop and train thousands of new and young cadres to further strengthen Party leadership at every level and in the different spheres of revolutionary work. We need cadres who have a firm grasp of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, are steadfast in upholding the Party line, diligent in work and study, are close to the masses, can find their own bearing, are willing to face difficulties and sacrifices, can unite with other comrades, observe discipline and know how to criticize themselves.

A healthy system of regular and special reports and system of correspondence between the higher and lower organs of the Party is required for the Party organization to function properly and well. The lower organs should submit regular and special reports and make sure that the higher organs are constantly well-informed about the situation, developments and problems in their revolutionary work and should request for instructions and guidance to insure the successful carrying out of Party plans, policies and decisions. The higher organs on the other hand should be diligent in studying reports and giving timely guidance to the lower organs. Gross neglect of reporting by the lower organs and failure of the higher organs to check-up on and give guidance to the lower organs are serious breaks in the Party organization and discipline.

We resolve to fight the US-Aquino regime and the entire ruling system and thereby win ever greater victories in the people's democratic revolution. We are confident of advancing from the stage of strategic defensive to that of the strategic stalemate in our people's war, no matter how long it takes.

The important point is to do everything possible and necessary to carry the revolution forward in stages towards the basic completion of the new democratic revolution and move forward to the commencement of the socialist revolution. Our ultimate goal is communism.

On the 45th anniversary of the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines on the theoretical basis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, we celebrate the accumulated and recent victories of the Party and the Filipino people in the new democratic revolution against the ruling system of big compradors and landlords servile to US imperialism.

We are resolved to advance the new-democratic revolution on the basis of our ideological, political and organizational strength, overcome our errors and shortcomings, set forth our tasks and carry them out in order to bring about greater victories in the revolutionary struggle.

The crisis of the world capitalist system continues to protract and worsen. Consequently, the chronic crisis of the domestic ruling system continues to deepen and aggravate. The crisis conditions inflict intolerable suffering on the people and drive them to wage all forms of resistance.

In line with US design, Oplan Bayanihan aims to destroy the revolutionary movement or reduce it to inconsequence by combining the escalation of brutal military campaigns of suppression and the misrepresentation of the Aquino regime as the paragon of good governance, economic growth and the dispenser of dole outs for the poorest, especially in the guerrilla fronts.

But at this point, the dismal failure of Oplan Bayanihan is starkly clear. The people's war continues to gain ground and grow in strength. The revolutionary forces and the people are optimistic that with relentless hard work and struggle, they can advance further from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate. The Aquino regime is exposed and condemned by the people for serving the interests of the exploiting classes to which he belongs, for being subservient to the US imperialists, for worsening the underdeveloped character of the economy and for being corrupt by stealing public funds and taking bribes from big business.

The US imperialists and the local exploiting classes previously expected the Aquino regime to contain the revolutionary movement, harmonize the rival reactionary forces and stabilize the ruling system. But it has aggravated the socio-economic and political crisis and is pushing the people to rise up. The demand for the ouster or resignation of the Aquino regime has become extensive and sharp.

***Global crisis protracts and generates war***

The imperialist powers headed by the US are fixated on perpetuating the neoliberal economic policy. They cling to the dogma that the maximization of private profit and the accelerated accumulation and concentration of capital in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie and its financial oligarchy through the reduction of the wage level, liberalization of investments, trade and finance, the privatization of state assets, deregulation of social and environmental restrictions and the denationalization of the underdeveloped countries are the way to economic growth, job creation and social satisfaction.

They obscure the fact that the capitalist system of maximizing private profits by minimizing the wage fund cannot but result in the crisis of overproduction in the real economy and that the use of credit, derivatives and financial bubbles to buoy up the economy and deliver still bigger profits to the monopoly bourgeoisie in cycles of boom and bust has limits. Amid the economic stagnation, the people in the US and other imperialist countries are outraged by the gross inequality of incomes between the upper 5 percent and the rest of society and the worsening conditions of poverty due to unemployment, homelessness and soaring costs of basic goods and services.

Since the financial meltdown of 2008, there has been no letup in the crisis and the deterioration of the world capitalist system despite the sporadic bounces in the financial markets. The global depression persists and the most victimized are the people of the third world. The imperialist powers have found no solution to the crisis but have aggravated it by bailing out the big bourgeoisie with public money and buoying up the assets of the big banks and corporations and further shifting the burden of crisis to the working people and the underdeveloped countries through austerity measures.

The recurrent and worsening economic and financial crises brought about by the neoliberal economic policy has profoundly undermined and weakened the US for decades. Its manufacturing base has contracted as a result of outsourcing many kinds of consumer commodities to China and a few other so-called emerging economies

while focusing on the production of big items (such as telecommunications, aircraft and high-tech weaponry), widening the service sector and financializing the US economy.

The crisis of the US and the world capitalist economy has taken the conspicuous form of the public debt crisis on top of the underlying problems of corporate debt and the hundreds of trillions of financial derivatives. The tax base of the imperialist states has been undermined by economic stagnation, the rise of unemployment, the continuing huge tax cuts for the corporations and the wealthy, bureaucratic corruption and high military spending.

In a futile attempt at solving the public debt crisis and rising public deficits, the imperialist states pass the burden of crisis to the people. The US federal government engages in so-called quantitative easing or printing money, while the local states conspicuously adopt austerity measures. The European Union imposes austerity measures on its member-states, especially those already openly bankrupt, such as Greece, Spain and Portugal. Austerity involves the reduction of wages and pensions, social services and public sector employment.

The US leads the imperialist powers in presuming military production to be a stimulant of the economy, in actually stepping up such production, in deploying military forces abroad and in launching wars of aggression. The US and its NATO allies openly share the position that maintaining military superiority is necessary for promoting and protecting foreign investments. At the same time, social services (such as education, health and social housing) are relentlessly being cut back.

To conceal the reality of economic depression and make it appear as mere recession albeit repetitive, the imperialist states inject public funds into the financial sector semestrally in order to create the illusion of recovery. The monopoly bourgeoisie and its financial elite cover up their responsibility for the crisis through the dominant political parties, mass media, the schools and the churches. They let loose such reactionary currents as chauvinism, racism, religious bigotry, anti-immigrant politics, anticommunism, fascism and warmongering to disable people from recognizing the capitalist roots of the crisis and the need for revolutionary class struggle.

Nevertheless, the working class and other people in the imperialist countries are resisting the rising level of exploitation and oppression, despite the attempts of the big bourgeoisie to confuse and entrap them in the electoral struggle between the barefaced reactionaries and the reformists. The workers are launching strikes and mass protests, together with the youth, women, senior citizens, migrants and refugees. The more severe the crisis, the more militant are the mass actions. Conditions are rife for the development of the revolutionary party of the proletariat and the progressive mass organizations in various sectors.

The imperialist powers always try to override contradictions among themselves by uniting against the third world countries and peoples by shifting the burden of crisis to them through intensified exploitation, privileged investments, lopsided trade, foreign currency imposition, heavier debt burden and the accelerated plunder of the natural resources and destruction of the environment. Modern imperialism has always been global in scale. But under the neoliberal policy, the main thrust of imperialist globalization is the denationalization of third world economies in violation of national sovereignty, national patrimony and the legitimate aspiration for national industrial development.

The peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the socially retrogressive countries of Eastern Europe and republics of Russia are resisting the escalation of exploitation and oppression. The social unrest and political turmoil are sweeping entire continents of the world. The broad masses of the people are waging mass protests on an unprecedented scale. In a significant number of countries, revolutionary parties of the proletariat are waging people's war for national and social liberation, such as the Philippines, India, Bangladesh, Turkey, North Kurdistan, Colombia, Peru and elsewhere.

Conditions are rife for the emergence of people's war in more countries as the crisis protracts and worsens. The revolutionary parties of the proletariat and the people can hope to complete the struggle for national liberation and democracy and then proceed to socialist revolution only if they smash the military and bureaucratic machinery of the reactionary state. Very instructive to all revolutionaries is the way peace agreements have been used to frustrate social revolution in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Nepal and Tamil Eelam.

Certain third world states like the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Cuba, Venezuela, Syria and Iran have asserted their national independence and have stood their ground against threats, provocations and sanctions imposed by the imperialists led by the US. In varying degrees, they have learned lessons from the dismal experience of states, which at first resist imperialist dictates and then compromise with the imperialists and expose their vulnerabilities for eventual subversion and aggression.

The US and NATO have installed puppet regimes and gained military bases and economic spoils in countries where they unleashed wars of aggression or engaged in military intervention. But the people there continue to resist. Armed conflicts continue in Iraq, Afghanistan, parts of Pakistan and Libya. The Balkans remain a powder keg. The so-called Arab spring in Tunisia and Egypt have succeeded in toppling authoritarians like Zine el Abidine Ben Ali and Hosni Mubarak and led to the ascendancy of the Salafi and Muslim Brotherhood. The US has had to install again a pro-US military ruling clique in Egypt in order to please both Israel and the Egyptian military bourgeoisie bred by the US after the Camp David sell-out by then Egyptian president Anwar Sadat in 1977.

The US and the NATO undertook the bombing campaign that disintegrated the defense structure of the Qaddafi regime and allowed the anti-Qaddafi militia groups to overthrow it. Once more with the collaboration of Israel, Turkey, Saudi Arabia and Qatar, they instigated and supplied militia groups to fight the Assad regime in Syria and schemed to unleash air assaults against it on the false allegation that it is using chemical weapons. They also calculated that the regime change in Syria would pave the way for an attack on Iran.

However, Russia and China used their veto power in the UN Security Council to block the US-NATO bombing scheme and to give way to diplomacy in working out an agreement regarding the elimination of Syria's chemical stocks and US-NATO desistance from bombing Syria. Further on, Russia and China pushed an agreement for Iran to reduce its uranium enrichment to the level of five percent for the purpose of energy generation in exchange for the reduction of economic sanctions by the imperialist powers. As in previous cases, agreements can prevent the US and NATO from bombing an enemy state for a while. But subsequently, they can claim noncompliance with such agreements or use other pretexts to justify aggression in due time.

The worsening crisis of the world capitalist system fuels contradiction among the imperialist powers no matter how hard they try to patch up their differences and unite against the third world countries and the working people. Since China and Russia became openly capitalist and joined the ranks of major capitalist states, the room for mutual accommodation among the imperialist powers has strategically contracted.

Having inherited from their socialist background a tradition of assertive national sovereignty, a significant degree of industrialization, a high level of science and technology and nuclear weapons, China and Russia are strong entrants in the circle of imperialist powers. They cannot be made to follow US dictates without resistance or circumvention. Thus, inter-imperialist contradictions are growing over a wide range of issues: investments, trade, finance, security, spying and the environment.

China and Russia are major members of the UN Security Council, the IMF, World Bank, the WTO and the Group of 20. And yet they are the stalwarts of the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa), an economic bloc with a comprehensive range of products and is a huge market. They are also stalwarts of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), a security arrangement which has far more population and land than the NATO. The SCO has arisen as a countervailing force to the US and NATO, especially in Asia, as a result of the overweening arrogance and aggressiveness of the US after getting support for its so-called war on terror.

During and after the years of 1989 to 1991, when the revisionist regimes openly embraced capitalism and proceeded at top speed to legalize bureaucratic loot and privatize state assets, the imperialists and their camp followers proclaimed the death of socialism. They could not imagine how China and Russia as new capitalist powers would exacerbate inter-imperialist contradictions, worsen the crisis of global capitalism and unintentionally bring about the resurgence of the anti-imperialist and socialist movements in the long run.

Even while still stuck in a number of politico-military quagmires of its own making in West Asia, Africa, Central Asia and South Asia and still facing potential armed conflicts elsewhere, the US is pivoting to Asia in an ill-disguised scheme to confront and contain China. It is rebalancing by deploying 50 percent of all its military and 60 percent of its naval forces in the Asia-Pacific region. It is using the military buildup in combination with the Trans Pacific Partnership Agreement (which at present excludes China) to persuade China to completely privatize its remaining state-owned enterprises and to give way to the so-called democracy movement, which requires multiparty competition in elections from the local up to the national level and ending the privileged role of the pseudo-communist party which is in fact an authoritarian bourgeois party.

The US is also taking advantage of the disputes between China and Southeast Asian countries over portions of the South China Sea as well as that between China and Japan over Diaoyu island in the East China Sea. The Kalayaan or Spratly and other islets, reefs and shoals owned by the Philippines are clearly within the 200-mile exclusive zone stipulated by the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea signed by China and the Philippines. But in

the case of Diaoyu islands, these belong to China because it is far closer to China than to Japan and most importantly because Japan officially acknowledged Chinese ownership of them in 1885 and annexed them as war booty in 1895, following the defeat of China in the First Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95. The US unjustly takes side with Japan, if only to fish in troubled waters, and has combined with Japan in challenging China's extension of its air defense identification zone over Diaoyu islands.

The US pivot to East Asia means the further transgression of Philippine national sovereignty and territorial integrity. It involves the further entrenchment of US military forces in the Philippines and the ultimate reestablishment of the US military bases. The US is already preparing for the return of the US military bases by setting up forward stations inside and outside of the military camps of the Philippine puppet army, rotating ever larger military units, increasing frequency of comings and goings of aircraft and naval vessels and ever developing interoperability with the puppet troops and supply mobilization.

We can anticipate the increasing involvement and participation of US military forces in armed counter-revolution against the revolutionary movement of the Filipino people. The current level of US military intervention in Philippine affairs is a preparation for outright military aggression. This is concomitant to the strategic scheme of the US to have a secure base in the Philippines for undertaking military actions and maneuvers against China and other countries in the region. US strategy regards the Philippines as being in the first line of defense against China and the DPRK, backed by a deeper second line of US military forces in the Pacific Islands and Oceania.

### ***Ruling system reels from crisis and corruption***

The crisis of the world capitalist system has a destructive impact on the Philippine economy and aggravates its chronic crisis. The export of semiconductors and other low value-added semi-manufacturing products has drastically fallen. Many of the plants engaged in fringe processing and reassembly have shut down. Agricultural production is bedeviled by dumping and smuggling of rice and corn into the country and lack of support from the state, which misrepresents the smuggled staples as domestic products.

Like its predecessors, the Aquino regime is opposed to genuine land reform and national industrialization. The neoliberal economic policy continues to aggravate and deepen the underdeveloped, agrarian and semifeudal character of the economy, dominated by the imperialists, big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists.

The regime claims to have made the economy as the fastest growing with the increase of remittances of overseas Filipino workers (OFWs), rise of income from the call centers and the expansion of private and public construction, mining, plantations, casinos and other tourist facilities.

The continuing increase of OFW remittances comes mainly from the Filipino nurses and caregivers in North America. Elsewhere, the crisis of global capitalism, the anti-migrant bias and social disorders have started to reduce overseas employment. Private construction is now afflicted by overcapacity and is a bubble that is bound to burst as soon as the imperialist banks raise interest rates to counter inflation and the portfolio investments (hot money) fly back to their countries of origin. Belated appropriations for public construction have been to a large extent pork barrel scams, with the public money privately pocketed, invested in upscale real estate or stashed away in foreign banks by the bureaucrat capitalists.

Foreign and domestic corporations are frenziedly engaged in mining all over the country. They practice open pit mining with heavy use of poisonous chemicals to accelerate mineral extraction to the detriment of agriculture, fishing and the environment. Mineral ores and precious metals are brought out of the country. Only token taxes are paid to the government. The plantations for the production and export of pineapple, banana, rubber and palm oil are reducing the land for staple food production and for land reform. The casinos and other tourist facilities do not spell any real economic development.

In the absence of any industrial development or rise of manufacturing, the Aquino regime boasts of having achieved an economic miracle by having the highest economic growth rate in the whole world. In fact, the so-called economic miracle is a mere bubble. The claimed growth rate of more than 7 percent on a GDP of US\$250 billion is generated mainly by hot money in the carry trade and by wanton government borrowing and spending for nonproductive purposes. The hot money from abroad flows mainly into the stock and money markets; and at best finances the overcapacity and the bubble in private construction.

The budgetary deficit has widened because the revenue base of the reactionary government has been eroded by the actual economic depression, the privatization of earning assets, the tax cuts for the foreign investors, tax evasion by businesses and the wealthy and smuggling of goods in and out of the country; and because the tax

revenues have been used to feed bureaucratic corruption, service the mounting foreign and local debt and raise appropriations for the military and other counterproductive purposes. The trade deficit has also widened because of high expenditures for the importation of luxury goods and necessities produced by other countries; and because export income has drastically declined. The reactionary government keeps on increasing the local and public debt and applying austerity measures without announcing these as such.

Whenever the Aquino regime boasts of economic growth, the broad masses of the people are outraged by the lie and by the fact that a huge part of the GDP includes the superprofit-taking operations of the multinational corporations and what the big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists grab from the social wealth that the toiling masses of workers and peasants create. They point to the rising mass unemployment, the decline of incomes, the soaring prices of fuel, food and other basic commodities, the increased charges for public utilities and social services and the visible spread of poverty, hunger and misery. Social unrest is widespread and deepening. Thus, the people are rising in mass protest. And an increasing number of people are joining the armed revolutionary movement in the countryside.

The ruling political system is the instrument of the US and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords that are represented by the bureaucrat capitalists. The bureaucrat capitalists are themselves members of the exploiting classes, like the current president B. S. Aquino who is a big comprador-landlord from the Cojuangco-Aquino dynasty. Other bureaucrat capitalists are recruited by the ruling classes from the urban petty-bourgeois intelligentsia and, like their economic and political superiors, generally aspire to rise in economic and social standing and amass wealth in capital and land.

The bureaucrat capitalists amass private wealth by using their government offices for the purpose. They adopt policies and rules designed to favor their electoral campaign financiers, relatives and friends with economic privileges, and they take bribes in business contracts and use government appropriations for their private benefit. Contrary to hypocritical claims that his regime is clean and honest, Aquino has become exposed as the Pork Barrel King, using hundreds of billions of pesos of lump sum appropriations at his sole discretion to disburse for his personal gain and political patronage. One of his siblings has also been denounced by a Czech company for demanding bribes.

The Filipino people have been further outraged by the corruption of the Aquino regime with the exposure of the disappearance of calamity funds for the victims of natural disasters and with its criminal failure to make pre-disaster preparations to ensure the safety of the people and to provide timely and adequate rescue and relief to the millions of people assaulted by the monster winds of the super typhoon Yolanda (Haiyan) and storm surges. Thousands were killed, homes, means of livelihood and social infrastructure were destroyed and millions of people suffered from hunger, thirst, cold in the open air, lack of medicine, illness and death. Thus, the people are increasingly demanding the resignation or ouster of Aquino and his entire corrupt ruling clique.

The exposure of the plundering character and corrupt practices of the Aquino regime has unraveled the scheme of the US and most sections of the local exploiting classes to drum him up as the icon of good governance for stabilizing the ruling system and for rallying against the armed revolutionary movement of the people led by the Communist Party of the Philippines. Even the reactionary mass media which touted Aquino as a clean and well-meaning leader for more than three years have started to publish statements and articles exposing the corrupt character of his regime.

In the last elections of 2012, the Aquino regime appeared to reign supreme, riding high with the support of the media and poll survey firms and without any serious opposition from any rival bourgeois party. The ruling Liberal Party was able to coalesce with the Nacionalista Party, the Nationalist People's Coalition, the LDP and sections of the PDP-Laban and Laban-NUCD. Even the opposition party, PDP-Laban, was seen as a fake opposition because Vice President Jejomar Binay had long been known as an Aquino protegee, directly handled by an uncle of B. S. Aquino. Previous to the 2012 elections, Aquino rounded up all major reactionary parties with pork to convict Supreme Court Justice Corona.

Notwithstanding his "popularity" conjured by the reactionary media and the poll surveys, Aquino and his gang predetermined the results of the 2012 senatorial elections by programming the 60-3010 pattern in favor of his candidates and feeding into the automated electoral system operated by the foreign company Smartmatic and its Philippine partner Total Information Management (TIM). The electoral cheating has been proven conclusively by the highly respected computer scientists in AES Watch. It indicates how Aquino was elected not only with the

financial help of big businessmen like Eduardo Cojuangco, Lucio Tan, Manny Pangilinan and Jaime Zobel de Ayala but also with the manipulation of automated electoral system.

The automation of the electoral system has made the elections even more fraudulent and even more controlled by foreign and big comprador interests in violation of the people's sovereignty. Automated or not, the reactionary elections are undemocratic as they include the political agents of the exploiting classes but exclude the patriotic and progressive representatives of the workers and peasants by such predetermining factors as the repressive and slanderous actions of the military and police agencies against the latter, the prohibitive costs of campaigning and the bias generated by the mass media, churches and schools. Even the party-list system that allowed the election of a handful of progressive members of Congress representing the exploited classes will now be completely overrun by the political dynasties and the reactionary parties as a result of a recent decision of the Supreme Court allowing them use of the system.

It is fine for the revolutionary movement that the reactionaries are themselves unwittingly doing everything to dispel the illusion that the reactionary elections are democratic. After all, the reactionary politicians expose their antinational and antidemocratic character as soon as they betray the people and grab the spoils of power. The entire government itself has been weakened by exposure of its pro-imperialist and reactionary character, the privatization of its earning assets under the neoliberal policy, the intolerable levies on the people already impoverished by the crisis, the reduction and deterioration of social services and runaway wastage of public funds through bureaucratic corruption, debt service and military spending.

The Aquino regime has never had any serious intention of negotiating a just peace with the National Democratic Front of the Philippines. At the first formal meeting of the NDFP negotiating panel and the Aquino-appointed panel in Oslo in 2011, the latter denounced The Hague Joint Declaration as a "document of perpetual division."

The NDFP pointed out that this is the framework agreement that has made possible more than ten major agreements, including the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL). The regime has consistently refused to release NDFP peace consultants who have been arrested and detained in violation of the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG).

In 2012, it declared the JASIG inoperative and refused to agree to the reconstruction of the list of JASIG-protected individuals which had been destroyed by the Dutch police raids in 2007 upon the Arroyo regime's instigation to the Dutch government to arrest the NDFP chief political consultant on false criminal charges and to raid and seize documents and electronic media and equipment from NDFP Information Office and the houses of NDFP negotiators, consultants and staffers. For this reason alone, the NDFP had the basis to terminate the peace negotiations in accordance with the JASIG but decided to extend its patience for the sake of seeking a just peace.

The Aquino regime has exposed itself as worse than the Arroyo regime in violating the CARHRIHL and committing gross and systematic human rights violations. It has refused to release the hundreds of political prisoners that the Arroyo regime imprisoned in violation of CARHRIHL, especially the Hernandez doctrine that political activists and rebels should not be criminalized and should not be accused of common crimes, instead of political offenses. The Aquino regime has proceeded to arrest suspected revolutionaries, torture and murder or detain indefinitely hundreds of them on false charges of common crimes.

It is upon US advice that the Aquino regime has continuously fouled up and considered the peace negotiations as unnecessary for so long as he can maintain the illusion of good governance and efficient delivery of services to the people and thus combine well the triad of psywar, intelligence and combat operations. This US advice is clearly spelled out in the US Counterinsurgency Guide. By way of strengthening psywar and intelligence to serve combat operations, the Aquino regime has also recycled the failed Aquino-Ramos amnesty and rehabilitation program of the past by undertaking the Conditional Cash Transfer Program and PAMANA, using bribery and intimidation to entice entire communities and even the families of revolutionaries with cash dole outs in exchange for information against the revolutionary movement.

The Aquino regime is not at all interested in peace negotiations but the capitulation and pacification of the revolutionary forces and people under the guise of "unilateral simultaneous indefinite ceasefires." It has rebuffed the offer of the NDFP for truce and alliance or cooperation on the basis of a concise general common intent to realize and carry forward national independence, democracy, social justice, development through land reform and national industrialization, people's culture and international solidarity. The truce and alliance or cooperation are

meant to promote the accelerated negotiation of the remaining comprehensive agreements in accordance with The Hague Joint Declaration.

In view of the proven unwillingness of the Aquino regime to negotiate a just peace, the revolutionary movement does not expect the resumption of peace negotiations with the regime. It has no choice but to wait for the next regime to engage in serious negotiations. It remains to be seen whether the regime can make a final peace agreement with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front that does not arouse the opposition of the Moro National Liberation Front headed by Nur Misuari and the Bangsamoro Islamic Freedom Fighters. We are optimistic that the Bangsamoro will continue to struggle for self-determination and ancestral domain so long as these are not fulfilled.

The Aquino regime is a shameless puppet of US imperialism. It allows the US military forces to violate Philippine national sovereignty and territorial integrity. It cravenly believes that the US can save the rotten semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system in the Philippines. Thus, it supports the US policy of pivot to East Asia. It is poised to sign with the US the Increased Rotational Presence Framework Agreement in order to improve interoperability of personnel, units, equipment and commands under the Visiting Forces Agreement of 1997 and the US-Philippine Mutual Defense Pact of 1953.

The increased rotational presence of US military forces, the frequent comings and goings of air and naval vessels, the establishment of forward stations inside and outside of the puppet camps, the improved interoperability and joint operations of the US and Philippine military forces constitute foreign military intervention and are preparations for the reestablishment of US military bases and for aggression against the Filipino people and neighboring peoples.

But like the rotting ruling system of the Philippines, US imperialism is on a path of accelerated decline. It has outwitted itself by imposing on the world the neoliberal economic policy, weakening its manufacturing base, financializing its economy, ever increasing military expenditures and extending concessions to China and Russia for their integration in the world capitalist system. What was once the sole superpower is now one of several power centers in a multipolar world. It has overextended itself in wars of aggression to suppress countries assertive of national independence and in contention with other imperialist powers.

In this context, the Filipino people can take their own destiny into their own hands more than ever before and continue to wage the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war. It can look forward to a near future when the proletariat and people are again dramatically rising and reasserting themselves on an ever expanding scale in a world proletarian-socialist revolution amid the decomposition of the world capitalist system and the escalating contradictions of the imperialist powers.

### ***The Party victoriously leads the new democratic revolution***

Under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the Communist Party of the Philippines continues to strengthen itself as the advance detachment of the proletariat and lead the broad masses of the people in the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war. It continues resolutely to build itself ideologically, politically and organizationally.

It takes advantage of the protracted and ever worsening crisis of the world capitalist capitalist system and the domestic ruling system. It sees clearly that the crisis inflicts terrible suffering on the people and drives them to fight US imperialism and the local exploiting classes. It is building on its achievements over the last 45 years and it is confident of winning ever greater victories.

The Party takes pride in having led one of the world's most important armed revolutions for national and social liberation in a period of temporary defeat and strategic retreat for the international communist movement because of the sabotage and betrayal carried out by the modern revisionists. But now, the integration of Russia and China in the world capitalist system is exacerbating inter-imperialist contradictions and the international communist movement and the broad anti-imperialist movement are resurgent. The conditions for the Philippine revolution to advance are better than ever.

In the protracted struggle to complete the people's democratic revolution, it has been useful and encouraging for the Party to define the goal of advancing from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate in the people's war and to rally all revolutionary forces to realize the political and other requirements for such an advance. The goal remains valid even as the plan and time scale to achieve it may be adjusted and readjusted in whole or in part in the course of struggle.

In ideological building, the Party has upheld the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and has integrated it with the concrete Philippine conditions and the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution. We are opposed to subjectivism, be it of the dogmatic or empiricist type. We have produced guiding documents, books and articles on the Philippine economy, politics and culture. We continue to provide timely analysis of major events and issues in the Philippines and abroad, published these in *Ang Bayan* and made available in our website.

We have carried out social investigations of varying scales in all areas in connection with our revolutionary work. Our Party's leading organs and units engage in periodic and timely assessment and evaluation of our work as a matter of course. We conduct study conferences among our Party cadres and members to sharpen our understanding of crucial issues and campaigns that need to be carried out.

Whenever we evaluate our work, we conduct criticism and self-criticism in order to understand our errors and shortcomings and rectify them and thus improve our work and style of work. We have engaged in rectification movements, such as the First and Second Great Rectification Movements and others of lesser scale but of wider scope than the criticism and self-criticism that we conduct in specific organs and units in the general course of our work .

We plan and carry out formal Party study courses at the basic, intermediate and advanced levels. We ensure that all Party candidate members finish the basic Party course within the period of candidature so that they are promptly sworn in as full Party members. They can take the intermediate Party course within the first year of Party membership and the advanced Party course within the second year. The study outlines and texts are published to enable Party units to conduct the study courses.

The study courses are meant to ensure that Party cadres and members keep on improving their theoretical knowledge and revolutionary practice; and keep on deepening their revolutionary commitment. To keep the courses lively and interesting, they are always related to history and current circumstances and to current revolutionary work. In every course, the instructors make sure that the living study of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is done in connection with problems and issues in the objective situation and in revolutionary work.

Inside and outside the Party study courses, Party cadres and members can heighten, deepen and widen their knowledge by reading and study of revolutionary publications and integrating their knowledge with their work. But many of our Party members come from the ranks of the toiling masses and have limited formal education and training in reading or have limited time to read long and complex texts. Thus our Party cadres in education are tasked to prepare simple reading materials and audio-visual aids for quicker comprehension in combination with oral discussion based on facts and experience.

Videos and other audio-visual aids are prepared to facilitate the Party study courses and the presentation of various subjects of major importance. They are interesting and educative to all Party cadres and members, irrespective of their level of formal education. The new media can be used to serve revolution in conjunction with printed materials that can be easier distributed to working people who have no access to computers and even electricity.

In political building, the Party pursues the general line of new democratic revolution through people's war against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords. The Program for a People's Democratic Revolution is a comprehensive instrument for arousing, organizing and mobilizing the oppressed and exploited masses. On the basis of their strength, the Party can build the people's army and the revolutionary united front as weapons for overthrowing the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system and establish the people's democratic state of workers, peasants, the intelligentsia and other democratic and patriotic classes and sectors.

The Party serves as the advanced detachment of the unionized and nonunionized workers. Trade unions led by secret Party branches are the most effective in fighting for the rights and interests of the workers. They provide a good example to the workers where the unions are not led by the Party or where there are no unions yet. The Party organizes the workers in the factories as well as in the communities, together with other urban poor, to struggle for the just interests of their class as well as for the entire people's democratic revolution.

Aware that the industry-based working class is only around 15 percent of the population, the Party has exerted all efforts to organize the peasant masses which comprise around 75 percent of the population. The peasants are the main force of the revolution. They are the inexhaustible source of strength for the people' war. The fulfillment of their demand for land is the main content of the democratic revolution.

The patriotic and progressive youth movement has urban-based mass organizations. It fights for the rights and interests of the youth as students and out-of-school. It is aware that it can make political advances more effectively only in combination with the workers and other exploited people. It has produced leaders for other mass movements. The most advanced among them have become members of the Party and augment the ranks of proletarian revolutionaries. They have thus become more dedicated to the achievement of the people's democratic revolution.

The women's movement has become powerful because it is based on one half of the entire people and fights for its rights and interests within the context of the people's democratic revolution. Women who become trained as mass activists have become leaders of various types of mass organizations and have also joined the Party. They are aware that they cannot advance in their struggle against millennia of patriarchy without developing their collective strength through the people's democratic revolution.

Men and women in various professional and technical occupations are drawn to the people's democratic revolution because here they can contribute their knowledge and expertise to the people for their national and social liberation. Although they are better off economically than the exploited masses, they have their grievances and demands against the increasingly oppressive and exploitative ruling system.

Since its founding, the Party has considered the New People's Army as the main instrument for overthrowing the ruling system and making possible the establishment of the people's democratic state. The organization of the people's army was facilitated by the combination of the proletarian revolutionaries from the Manila-based movements of workers and youth with the good remnants and veterans of the old people's army in Tarlac province. Since then, the people's war has grown from small to big and from weak to strong by integrating revolutionary armed struggle, agrarian revolution and mass base building.

Under the leadership of the Party, the New People's Army is now a nationwide revolutionary force operating in more than 110 guerrilla fronts, which exist in substantial portions of 71 out of 81 Philippine provinces. It has thousands of full-time Red fighters armed with high powered rifles and has a mass base of millions of people, mainly peasants benefiting from genuine land reform.

A typical guerrilla front has a total force of a guerrilla company, with a platoon serving as the headquarters, organizer of offensives on the scale of the front and cooperator with a higher command for the purpose of offensives of wider scale than the front. The two other platoons disperse into squads and teams for mass work and for combat operations appropriate to their size, capability and interoperability with the people's militia and the self-defense units of the mass organizations. Combat capability is not limited to the full-time Red fighters but augmented and amplified by the people's militia and self-defense units.

The enemy has repeatedly boasted that it can destroy or reduce the NPA to inconsequentiality but is always shamed soon enough. Enemy forces have so far been incapable of attacking simultaneously in concentrated strength for six months to one year on more than 10 percent of the guerrilla fronts. Within a typical guerrilla front, the space for maneuver is wide enough for NPA platoons and squads to launch counteroffensives against an enemy battalion that subdivides itself for covering wide areas.

Moreover, the NPA forces under a subregional (inter-front) or regional command can launch counteroffensives within or outside the guerrilla front under enemy attack. When in certain regions the enemy is concentrating combat operations, the NPA in other regions can take the initiative of attacking the enemy forces in their region in order to take advantage of lesser enemy strength and in order to help the NPA in the regions under attack.

The NPA launches annihilative offensives such as ambushes, raids and arrest operations to seize the weapons of military, police, paramilitary and private security units. For attritive actions against the enemy forces, it also uses sniping operations, land mines, grenades, sapping, interdicting supplies and destroying military vehicles and fuel stocks at depots.

The NPA has in its ranks the best sons and daughters of the peasant masses because it is their own army, which enables them to benefit from land reform and other types of campaigns for their social benefit. The NPA carries out the minimum land reform program of rent reduction, elimination of usury, raising farm wages, improving the prices of farm products at the farm gate and promoting agricultural production and sideline occupations through rudimentary cooperation. As soon as allowed by circumstances, the maximum land reform program of confiscating the land and distributing them free to the landless tenants is carried out.

In times of natural disaster, the NPA and other revolutionary forces do everything they can for the purpose of

rescue, relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction. In this regard, the Party goes to the extent of declaring unilateral ceasefires of varying scope in order to concentrate on work for helping the people. But the enemy forces shamelessly continue to carry out combat operations. Thus, the NPA has to be alert and ready for defense even when on ceasefire mode in the face of any impending attack.

The NPA continues to carry out extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. The Party within the NPA unit and the Party in the localities make sure that the mass base is developed in support of the NPA and as a bastion of political struggle against the reactionary and puppet forces. Mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth, women, cultural activists and children are built and strengthened. They also support and assist the local organs of political power which the Party leads.

The organs of political power in the countryside are established at the barrio, sub-municipal and municipal levels. Appointive organs of political power established by the unit of the NPA in the barrios precede the elective barrio revolutionary committees (BRC). The appointive organs of political power at the barrio level are tasked with hastening the full development of the different revolutionary mass organizations in the barrio, the building of units of the people's militia, and undertaking antifeudal mass struggles and other mass campaigns of the people. The BRC is elected by the representatives of the mass organizations or an assembly of the people, depending on the security situation. They are established in clusters of barrios and can soon be followed by the establishment of the sub-municipal organs of political power or by the municipal organs of political power. The local organs of political power are formed along the line of the united front.

The policy of the united front is followed by the National Democratic Front and the people's democratic government from the national level to every lower level. In representation of the united front, the Party leads the united front and makes sure that it is based on the worker-peasant alliance and is for the revolutionary armed struggle. It can combine the toiling masses and the urban petty bourgeoisie to form the alliance of basic revolutionary forces and further combine these with the middle bourgeoisie to form the alliance of patriotic forces. It can further make temporary and unstable alliances with sections of the reactionary classes to isolate and destroy the most reactionary section.

The Party organizational structure extends to all types of workplaces, communities, mass organizations and institutions and draws new Party members from them. It recruits those who have manifested revolutionary commitment and militancy and who accept the Party Constitution and Program for a People's Democratic Revolution. Each recruit is recommended by a full Party member to the Party branch or committee concerned, which in turn, assigns another full Party member to verify the personal character and level of consciousness and commitment of the recommendee. After the aforesaid process, the branch or committee concerned can approve the status of candidate member and takes charge of developing the subject to become a full Party member within the stipulated period of candidature.

The Party can deploy and redeploy Party cadres and members in order to advance the work of the Party and the revolutionary movement. The NPA and the countryside are ever in need of Party cadres and members who are workers and educated youth. Their integration may be facilitated in various ways. The most important consideration is that they are determined to stay indefinitely with the NPA or in the countryside where their competencies are needed.

The Party enjoys high prestige in the international communist movement and broad anti-imperialist movement because it has continued to lead successfully the people's democratic revolution in an archipelagic country, which is supposed to be in the tight grip of US imperialism and its rabid puppets, despite the global sway of neoliberalism, the full restoration of capitalism in former socialist countries and the reign of neocolonialism in third world countries. The Party has demonstrated that the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war has continued to grow in strength and advance with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as its powerful guide.

Among the millions of Filipinos who have left for work abroad because of underdevelopment and poverty in the Philippines are members of the Communist Party of the Philippines and activists of the national democratic movement. They have been among those most resolute and militant in fighting for the rights and interests of overseas Filipino workers. They have been active in developing the solidarity of the Filipino people with the peoples in many countries. They have readily joined activities of the working class and the broad anti-imperialist movement in their host countries.

In closing, we wish to stress a number of tasks: 1) Let us do our best to cause the ouster of the Aquino regime

or compel Aquino's resignation from his office because of puppetry to US imperialism, corruption, electoral fraud, grave human rights violations, mismanagement of pre-disaster preparations and disaster aid, mendacity, unrestricted mining, logging, landgrabbing and other forms of destroying the environment. We consider our efforts to remove Aquino from power as part of the process of strengthening the revolutionary movement and overthrowing the entire ruling system for the purpose of realizing fully the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution and proceeding to the socialist revolution. As proven in the overthrow of Marcos and Estrada, it is possible for the legal mass movement to drive the overthrow of Aquino. Even if this would not succeed, the movement would still be strengthened and will further cause the US-Aquino regime to fail in its brutal attempt to destroy the armed revolution of the people.

2) Let us further strengthen the Communist Party of the Philippines ideologically, politically and organizationally. We must ensure that the Philippine revolution is led by the revolutionary proletariat in the current stage of the people's democratic revolution and in the subsequent stage of the socialist revolution. The effective leadership of the Party is the most important political requirement for the current plan of advancing from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate in our protracted people's war. We must train and develop big numbers of capable cadres in the different lines of work, improve the collective leadership and style of work of Party committees, revitalize the Party system of regular and special reports, and strengthen the Party organization based on the principles of democratic centralism. We must strive to bring the number of our Party members to 250,000. Such organized strength of ideologically committed and politically competent Party members will give us the capability to perform all necessary tasks for advancing the revolution.

3) We must continue to intensify the offensives of the New People's Army. We must wage battles to wipe out enemy units and seize their weapons. This is the way to strengthen the people's army for the purpose of overthrowing the reactionary state. We must increase the number of our Red fighters to 25,000, no matter how long it takes to do so. We must be good at frustrating and defeating the enemy forces wherever they attack, attacking them at their weak points of deployment and their supply lines, dismantling the mining, plantation and logging enterprises that violate the laws of the people's government and compelling enemy forces to take guard duty and be on the defensive. We have succeeded in preserving and increasing the people's army nationwide by following the strategic line of protracted people's war: encircling the cities from the countryside until we have accumulated the armed strength to seize the cities and achieve total victory.

4) We must persevere in our current tactical line of extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. We must be skillful at using the tactics of concentration, dispersal and shifting for defeating enemy forces in a war of fluid movement. In order to reach the strategic stalemate, we must strive to reach the goal of more or less 200 guerrilla fronts, while always improving the Party leadership and army commands at the national, regional, subregional and front levels. We must always integrate the armed struggle with agrarian revolution and mass base building. We must build the mass organizations of various types and the organs of political power. They should generate the land reform campaign and other social campaigns and build local defense forces (people's militia and self-defense units) to augment and amplify the strength of the people's army.

5) We must apply the policy of united front in the mass movement and in building the organs of political power at every level. The united front is under the leadership of the Party and is mainly for armed struggle. The National Democratic Front is the embodiment of the united front of the Party, NPA and all other revolutionary forces. It propagates the line of people's democratic revolution. It harmonizes the relations of the revolutionary classes and their forces within its organized framework and develops alliances with other forces in a broader united front. It is authorized to engage in peace negotiations with the reactionary government and is guided by the line of seeking national liberation, democracy, social justice, real development, protection of the environment and solidarity of peoples as the basis of a just peace. There is no point in making any peace agreement without these objectives.

6) Let us continue having a positive view of all legal forces that seek to attain such objectives as those of the NDF and welcome their campaigns and activities. We appreciate that they also pursue the united front for the purpose of arousing, organizing and mobilizing the people in their millions to fight for their rights and interests. We condemn the brutal policy of the enemy towards organizations and activists that uphold, defend and promote the rights and interests of the workers, peasants, fishermen, urban poor, women, youth, indigenous people, teachers,

journalists, scientists and technologists, health workers, lawyers and other professions as well as those who focus on good causes and advocate land reform, human rights, peace, environmental protection and so on. We encourage all social activists to hold their ground and fight for their rights. At the same time, we welcome to the revolutionary underground and the people's army those who are in danger of death and imprisonment and decide to join the armed struggle.

7) The Party is guided by the principle of proletarian internationalism and works for the rebuilding of the international communist movement as well as the further strengthening of the broad anti-imperialist movement. We consider these movements of great importance in the face of the protracted and ever worsening crisis of the world capitalist system, the escalation of oppression and exploitation and the unleashing of wars of aggression by the imperialist powers. We must contribute to and support the resurgence of proletarian revolutionary parties and the anti-imperialist movement. We must raise the level of common understanding and practical cooperation through bilateral and multilateral meetings and other activities. In the course of our solidarity relations with revolutionary and progressive forces and peoples abroad, we must promote the rights and interests of overseas Filipino workers and we must encourage the Filipinos in the motherland and abroad to unite with all other peoples in fighting for and building a fundamentally new and better world free from the scourge of imperialism and all reaction.

# ***The Tide of Revolution Rises in the Philippines as the Chronic Crisis of the Ruling System Worsens***

**Message of the CPP Central Committee Issued on December 26, 2014**

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With boundless joy, we celebrate the 46th founding anniversary of our great and glorious beloved Communist Party of the Philippines, the proletarian revolutionary vanguard of the Filipino people's democratic revolution against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

We congratulate all our comrades for winning victories in building the Party, the New People's Army and the National Democratic Front; in carrying out the revolutionary armed struggle, genuine land reform and building the rural mass base (organs of political power and mass organizations) and in intensifying the mass movement in both urban and rural areas.

As always, we honor and give the highest respects to all our revolutionary martyrs and heroes for the accumulated strength of the Party and the revolutionary mass movement since the founding of the Party. We render special honor to the revolutionary martyrs and heroes in the previous year. Their arduous struggle and supreme sacrifice inspire us to fight more fiercely than ever before for the total victory of the revolution.

We reiterate our congratulations to the Kabataang Makabayan, our Communist Youth League, for celebrating its 50 years of service to the proletariat as its assistant and to the entire Filipino people. We are ever grateful for the revolutionary education and training of the young workers, peasants, students and professionals who join the revolutionary mass formations and consequently the Communist Party of the Philippines.

The tide of revolution is ever rising in the Philippines because of the worsening chronic crisis of the rotten US-dominated ruling system of big compradors, landlords and corrupt bureaucrats. The prolonged and ever worsening crisis of the world capitalist system is aggravating the domestic crisis.

## ***Persistent crisis of global capitalism and mounting wars of aggression***

The crisis of global capitalism is persistent and is ever worsening as the US and other capitalist powers cling to the neoliberal economic policy under the Washington Consensus. This policy has not only failed to solve the old problem of stagflation but has aggravated it.

But the US and its followers have retained the policy because it serves the superprofit-taking by the monopoly bourgeoisie and the financial oligarchy and they belittle the current level of revolutionary resistance and underestimate its potential. The protraction of the severe crisis provides the opportunity for the revolutionary forces to develop further.

Even within the imperialist countries, economic depression and social degradation have taken a serious toll on the people. The proletariat and people of color have suffered the most from unemployment, reduced income and social cutbacks. The so-called middle class has drastically shrunk. The big bourgeoisie has benefited from the bailouts and the expansion of money and credit and continue to enjoy tax cutbacks, financial incentives, investment and trade liberalization, privatization of public assets, deregulation of social and environmental restrictions and the denationalization of client economies.

At the base of the economic and financial crisis is the crisis of overproduction. One financial bubble after another has been created by the big bourgeoisie to lay over the economic crisis but keeps on bursting to aggravate the crisis. Since the financial meltdown of 2008, the bubble of public debt through sheer expansion of money supply and credit in the financial markets has become overblown and is in the process of bursting to cause further destruction of the forces of production.

Unable to expand and revive the civil economy, the US, the EU and Japan are engaged in ever higher spending for high-tech war production. The US is spearheading its NATO allies and Japan by increasing the deployment of US military forces in the underdeveloped countries, especially in the oil-producing countries and in the vicinity of China and Russia. The US and its NATO allies are practically spreading the flames of aggressive war and civil strife on a global scale. The US has also prodded Japan to discard its pacifist stance.

The US and its imperialist allies use homeland security and antiterrorism as pretexts for violating the national sovereignty and independence of other countries. They have also used the same pretexts to build the legal and political infrastructure for domestic fascism and militarization.

They brainwash and train the police and military to regard political opposition and the exercise of the right to free speech and assembly, especially by people of color, as manifestations of terrorism. In the US, racial profiling has resulted in widespread state violence against African-Americans, including the killing of an African-American every 28 hours by a police officer. In addition, African-American men, who form 6 percent of the US population, disproportionately compose nearly half of the US prison population.

The oppressed peoples and nations suffer extreme economic plunder by the imperialist powers with the collaboration of client states. They are victimized by debt-driven consumption, dependence on imported manufactures and food, the extraction of raw materials and chronic trade and budgetary deficits.

In the case of certain underdeveloped countries, in which the states become assertive of national independence because of the demand of the people, the US and its imperialist partners have unleashed wars of aggression, as in the former Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya and Syria. Control of energy sources and supply lines have been a major cause of such wars. The US persists in economic and military blockades, threats and provocations against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Cuba.

Recent moves by the Obama administration towards the possible restoration of diplomatic relations with Cuba do not mean the end of US economic sanctions and schemes to subvert the current government and social system of Cuba. It shows the failure of the US to isolate Cuba. For its part, the Cuban government and the Communist Party of Cuba have declared that they will continue to defend the ideals of independence, national sovereignty and socialism.

Under the prodding of the neoconservatives, the US has systematized a grand scheme to keep the whole world under US hegemony or Pax Americana in the entire 21st century by using the full spectrum of its power, especially its supreme high-tech military power against real and potential rivals or recalcitrant states in underdeveloped countries. While toning down some of the abrasive unilateralist rhetoric, the supposedly anti-neoconservative Obama regime has continuously pushed for a US-ruled unipolar world order.

The US has already demonstrated several times how it can use a combination of bombing campaigns and economic sanctions to bring down a state and bring up a set of puppets. It has underestimated how its acts of aggression can bring out the people's revolutionary resistance in the long run.

Until recently, the US and its imperialist allies have celebrated the full integration of China and Russia in the world capitalist system as the death of the socialist cause and the strengthening of global capitalism. But the US is now increasingly worried that these big capitalist countries are challenging US hegemony and disturbing the world order as designed by Washington.

Due to the increasingly independent stance of Russia and China, inter-imperialist contradictions are growing over a wide range of issues: economic, trade, financial, security and so on. A realignment among the capitalist powers is occurring with China and Russia taking a lead role in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) as a security bloc and BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) as an economic bloc.

The US has always applied a policy of engagement and containment towards China. But in recent years, it has engaged more in containment by carrying out a strategic pivot to East Asia, aiming to concentrate 60 percent of US naval forces and 50 percent of ground and air forces in the area.

The strategic pivot of military forces is combined with the Trans Pacific Partnership Agreement, which pointedly excludes China. The current apparent objectives of the US is to pressure China to further privatize its state-owned enterprises and to encourage the so-called pro-democracy forces to undercut and junk the Communist Party as the authority legitimating the Chinese bourgeois rulers.

At the same time, the US together with the UK as its most rabid NATO ally is continuing the provocations against Russia started by the so-called color revolutions in countries bordering it. It has escalated the provocations by openly instigating and funding Neo-Nazi groups in the Ukraine to overthrow the Yanukovich government and install a rabidly pro-US and pro-NATO government in this country.

This government has downgraded the ethnic Russians and the Russian-speaking regions of Ukraine and provoked them to assert their right to self-determination and proclaim their own people's republics. To further aggravate the situation, it has invaded said regions in Novorossiia and blamed Russia for the missile attack that brought down Malaysian commercial airline MH-17 in July. The unfounded accusation has been used as pretext for economic sanctions by the US and EU and for Russia's suspension from what used to be the G-8. The US Congress has recently issued a resolution practically declaring war on Russia.

In addition to the sanctions, the US, in collaboration with Saudi Arabia, has pushed down the international prices of crude oil to cause large-scale destabilization of oil export-dependent Russia, as well as Venezuela, Iran and Nigeria. Oil prices are now pushing down to \$50 per barrel due to an oversupply of around 700,000 to two million barrels per day through the rise in US shale oil production to unprecedented levels despite high production costs and Saudi Arabia's rejection of the demand of members of Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) to reduce crude oil production to stop the oil price fall.

The provocations towards both China and Russia by the US and its imperialist allies have only served to push the two countries to close ranks and defend their mutual interests. They have made agreements on cross-border trade between oil, gas and other raw materials from Russia and manufactures and food from China and on building the pipelines and train lines for the purpose. They have also agreed on joint military exercises, building of the BRICS Bank and using currency other than the US dollar for trade.

The US is still stuck in the quagmires of its own making in the Middle East, Central Asia and Africa. It is exacerbating and complicating its imperial overstretch by making provocations against China or the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in East Asia and against Russia from the European side. It is wrongly presuming that all the EU countries would follow the dictates of the US at all times. Some of the major EU countries need the oil and gas that Russia can supply and hesitate to be pawns in a revived Cold War and in the exchange of nuclear threats between the US and China. At any rate, the US keeps on instigating troubles in Eastern Europe and compromising the EU countries with the NATO framework.

The protracted and ever worsening crisis of global capitalism is pushing the imperialist powers to intensify their struggle for a redivision of the world. In response to escalating threats of aggression and first nuclear strike by the US, Russia has made its own exercises to demonstrate its own military strength and nuclear capabilities. The proletarian revolutionary parties and peoples of the world need to grow in strength to counter wars of aggression and an inter-imperialist world war.

The severe economic crisis and political turmoil arising from the inter-imperialist contradictions are favorable conditions for the resurgence of the movements for national liberation, democracy and socialism. The growing danger of imperialist wars of aggression and the possible use of nuclear weapons in an inter-imperialist war can and must be counteracted by mass movement and revolutionary civil war in all the imperialist countries and the rest of the world.

#### ***Puppetry, corruption, plunder and brutality discredit the US-Aquino regime and the entire ruling system***

In its first four years in power, the Aquino regime was touted by its imperialist and local reactionary sponsors as made out for "good governance" and "peace and development." The objective of the imperialists and yellow reactionaries was to make the Aquino regime most effective in deceiving the people, further denationalizing the economy and liberalizing the operations of foreign capital and attacking the revolutionary movement with Oplan Bayanihan.

It was favored by an extremely long "press honeymoon" by the imperialist and local reactionary mass media and opinion poll surveys. But in the last two years of its tenure of office, the regime is being buffeted by the people's clamor and movement for its ouster. The extreme corruption of the regime, especially in the use of the pork barrel system and in favoring the Aquino-Cojuangco family and its cronies has become well exposed.

The regime was also provided with a heavy flow of hot money or portfolio investments by US hedge funds to conjure the illusion of an "economic miracle." The delusional claims of 6.8 percent and 7.2 percent growth of the gross domestic product (GDP) in 2012 and 2013 are well accounted for by the foreign hot money that flowed into the stock and bond markets and that somehow supported import-dependent and debt-driven consumption, including the glossy but unstable private construction boom.

The bubble has not revived the export-oriented semi-manufacturing of semiconductors, garments and footwear and reassembly of cars and appliances for domestic use, which had been previously shut down by the global depression. It has not changed the fundamental fact of underdevelopment that ties down most of the manpower to agrarian and semifeudal conditions in the production of goods and drives 20 percent of the population to seek jobs abroad.

The drastic fall in the inflow of hot money is due to the tapering of the so-called quantitative easing in the US (rapid expansion of money supply) and the tightening of credit in China where the expansion of public debt and private credit had been so many times bigger than that in the US. The global depression is expected to further

debilitate and degrade the Philippine economy.

The economic underdevelopment of the Philippines has been aggravated and deepened by the neoliberal policy. Investment liberalization has allowed foreign and big comprador firms to control economic and financial policy in the country to plunder human and natural resources, export raw materials and avoid tax payments. The unbridled expansion of export-oriented mining, logging and plantations has resulted in grave damage to the economy and environment.

The denationalization of banks and domestic trade has ensured the foreign capture of the foreign debt and foreign exchange earnings of overseas contract workers. Consistent with its treasonous character, the Aquino regime is scheming to amend the 1987 charter in order to get rid of the provisions on economic sovereignty, conservation of the national patrimony and nationality restrictions on foreign investments.

The privatization of public assets has favored the foreign banks, the multinational firms and the big comprador firms and has resulted in unlimited profit-taking and the deterioration of social services. The deregulation of social and environmental restrictions has resulted in the extreme exploitation of labor, women and children and the pollution and degradation of the environment.

The foreign corporations and the big compradors have benefited most from the bubble generated by foreign hot money and by pork barrel spending. While taking their superprofits, they have further impoverished the people who suffer a higher rate of unemployment, reduced incomes, landlessness and homelessness, soaring costs of basic goods and services and the degradation of social services and the environment. They have caused further underdevelopment, widening trade and budgetary deficits and mounting foreign and local public debt.

The Aquino regime has been thoroughly exposed for its corruption in having made the yearly budget as a construct of lump sum appropriations under the sole arbitrary discretion of the president and under his illegal claims to savings for the purpose of misappropriation and malversation. No less than the Supreme Court, including the Aquino-appointed justices, has ruled that such devices as the Disbursement Acceleration Program and Priority Development Assistance Fund are unconstitutional and illegal.

But stubbornly, the Aquino regime persists in making most of the P2.6-trillion budget for 2015 and the so-called off-budget accounts (like the Malampaya fund, PCSO earnings and the like) the personal discretionary fund of the president. The corruption of the Aquino regime knows no limits. It extends to all supply contracts with the civilian and military agencies of the reactionary government, the finances and operations of the government-owned corporations, the infrastructure projects under the Public-Private Partnership Program and the Conditional Cash Transfer and PAMANA dole outs.

Even the relief and rehabilitation program for the Haiyan/Yolanda super typhoon victims and other calamities has not been spared from the thieving hands of bureaucrats and military officers. Rampant corruption is being exposed as a result of the outcries of the victims, the militant diligence of the people and the revolutionary forces and contradictions of the regime with rival factions within the ruling system.

It can be expected that the corruption and other wrongdoings of the regime will be exposed as the contradictions among the reactionaries intensify in connection with the 2016 presidential elections. So far, however, the self-proclaimed presidential candidates do not offer any assurance that there will be any significant change in the character of the elections and in the ruling system. The elections will be preconditioned in the main by the big campaign financiers, the political dynasties, use of government resources and manipulation of the automated electoral system.

The revolutionary movement is set on exposing the electoral system as a farce and denouncing the worst political forces and candidates in the service of US imperialism and the local exploiting classes. At the same time, it can take advantage of the contradictions among the reactionaries, employ the policy and tactics of the united front in electoral matters, raise the issues most important to the people and promote the program and objectives of attaining a just and lasting peace. As such, the most patriotic and progressive parties and candidates are in a better position to garner more seats in the reactionary parliament and local government.

From year to year, the Aquino regime has vowed to destroy the armed revolution under the US-designed Oplan Bayanihan and has shown lack of serious interest in peace negotiations with the National Democratic Front of the Philippines. At this point, it is clear that the reactionary armed forces cannot destroy the armed revolution even if the regime commits gross and systematic violations of human rights and even if it can occasionally carry out dramatic arrests and attacks.

The Aquino regime is definitely far worse than the Arroyo regime in imprisoning far more people on trumped-up multiple charges of rebellion and common crimes in violation of the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law and the Hernandez political offense doctrine. It has also detained 14 political consultants of the NDFP in violation of the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees. The Aquino regime is fundamentally as bad as the Arroyo regime in allowing illegal detention, torture, extrajudicial killings, forced evacuations, landgrabbing from the peasants and repression of workers and their trade unions. The gross and systematic human rights violations under Oplan Bayanihan have exposed the regime's claims to peace and development as a farce and have pushed the people and revolutionary forces to intensify the resistance in various forms and ways.

From year to year, the Party has accumulated all-sided victories in carrying out the general line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war. Despite the bellicose position of the regime towards the armed revolution, the NDFP, like the Party, is well aware of the worsening crisis of the ruling system and continues to explore the possibility of peace negotiations in order to attain realizable goals for the benefit of the Filipino people.

The Aquino regime has boasted that it has more military forces to deploy against the people, the Party and the New People's Army in Mindanao as a result of a peace settlement with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front. In fact, 60 percent of the reactionary armed forces are reported to have been already deployed against the forces of the NPA in Mindanao. While the NPA in Mindanao continues to wage all-out armed resistance, the Bangsamoro people are also determined to push forward their revolutionary armed struggle so long as their right to self-determination and ancestral domain is not respected.

Since the US military bases were kicked out of the Philippines in 1992 as a result of the decision of the Philippine Senate not to renew the US-RP Military Bases Agreement, the US has persistently sought to re-entrench its military forces in the Philippines under various pretexts such as joint military exercises, interoperability training, civic action, medical aid, disaster relief and antiterrorism.

In the process, it has wangled the Mutual Logistics and Support Agreement and Visiting Forces Agreement by which it can land its military forces on Philippine territory and maintain forward stations. Now, it has gotten the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement by which it can have military bases under the guise of Agreed Locations within Philippine military bases and reservations. These are in clear violation of the 1987 Constitution, particularly the provision banning foreign military bases. This provision is a product of the people's struggle against the US and the Marcos fascist dictatorship.

The Aquino regime has used the maritime dispute of the Philippines with China in order to betray the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Philippines by allowing the US military bases to be reestablished and the US military forces to further entrench themselves in the Philippines in connection with the US strategic pivot to East Asia.

The US has been an unapologetic aggressor against the Philippines and the Filipino people since 1899. It cannot be relied upon to defend the Philippines against China as a potential aggressor. The US has far greater interest in relations with China than in those with the Philippines. It has already admitted that it will not defend the Philippines against China and has in fact raised no objection to China's seizure of the Panatag Shoal and certain islets and reefs within the Spratly island group.

Under the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, the Philippines has rights over its exclusive economic zone and extended continental shelf in the South China Sea. The best that the Filipino people can do in the long run is to uphold national sovereignty, realize people's democracy, carry out economic development through land reform and national industrialization, achieve social justice and promote international solidarity for peace and development.

By having genuine national independence and industrializing its economy, the Philippines can make its own modern means of defense and can make full use of diplomacy against any threat or aggression by a foreign power. The Filipino people can look forward to a new and brighter future of socialism by waging and winning the people's democratic revolution against imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

### ***Victories and tasks of the Party in ideological, political and organizational work***

The protracted crisis of the world capitalist system and the chronic crisis of the ruling semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system have inflicted terrible suffering on the people in terms of exploitation and oppression

and have incited the people to hope for revolutionary change. The Party has responded to the people's desire for revolution by intensifying ideological, political and organizational work in order to further develop the revolutionary forces and the revolutionary mass movement.

The work has resulted in significant and brilliant victories. Over the past several years, the Party has made significant advances in various fields of revolutionary work. It has led commands of the New People's Army in breaking new ground in sustained expansion and maintaining initiative in waging extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare and frustrating the enemy's campaigns of suppression. It continues to accumulate significant victories in building people's militia units and unleashing mass initiative in waging armed struggle.

Party cadres are leading in the establishment of organs of political power with ever-widening scopes of authority and responsibility. Land reform campaigns and struggles are waged in ever-expansive areas. Implementation of land reform continues to advance to higher levels, addressing problems of building cooperative forms of production, preventing the emergence and dominance of rich peasants, building socialist relations and raising production and economic planning while waging people's war

The clamor for the ouster of the US-Aquino regime continues to gain ground as the democratic mass movement advances. The people continue to gain strength as they expose and oppose the rottenness, puppetry, brutality and mendacity of the ruling regime. There is ample basis for the mass movement to advance considerably in the next year or two.

Even as the Party leads in accumulating advanced experiences in pushing forward the revolutionary movement, it also leads in addressing the backlogs confronting forces in other fields of revolutionary work.

The Communist Party of the Philippines must be able to expand and strengthen itself substantially in the next year or so in order to be able to carry forward the revolutionary struggle to new heights.

As the advanced detachment of the proletariat, the Party upholds firmly and seeks to further develop and propagate the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM). It makes sure that Party cadres and members complete the formal basic, intermediate and advanced study courses of the Party within reasonably short periods.

The formal courses are necessary for understanding Marxist-Leninist-Maoist basic principles and methods of thinking. The formal study courses of the Party are a guarantee that the Party is guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and that the Party rank and file are inspired by it and are a definite measure of how much the Party is doing to raise the level of proletarian consciousness among its cadres and members. Everyday, Party units across the country organize scores of study meetings in both the urban and rural areas.

Party organs, units and individual members are encouraged to study revolutionary theory and practice beyond the prescribed time and content of the formal study courses. Written texts of classic MLM writings as well as theoretical papers produced by the Party are easily available, especially with the help of the internet. The CPP Education Department has also produced simplified texts and audio-visual aids in various Philippine languages for the benefit of comrades who have less training in reading long texts in a foreign language.

Cadres at all levels of the Party must skillfully apply Marxist-Leninist-Maoist methods of thinking to analyze their work, identify problems and come up with resolutions. Party leaders should sum-up their work periodically in order to ensure that the level of work in their field is raised to the next level. The laws of development dictate that Party cadres must guard against stagnation and work to periodically bring the level of their work to new heights.

Revolutionary theory must be used as a dynamic tool in conducting social investigations, policy researches, summing up experiences and planning to solve concrete problems and define tasks in the revolutionary struggle. Major issues of national and international significance must be tackled in the light of the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Work and theoretical conferences to discuss and resolve urgent questions that impact the conduct of revolutionary work in the different spheres and areas must be organized and undertaken.

The Party remains ever vigilant and is determined to wage incessant battle against the pernicious influence of subjectivism, modern revisionism, reformism and opportunism. No matter how brilliant its victories and achievements, the Party has always stressed the absolute need for remaining humble and self-critical in order to keep on advancing forward.

The general line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war has advanced from victory to victory. It has defeated every strategic plan of the US and local reactionaries to destroy the people's just cause of national liberation and democracy. The US-instigated Marcos fascist dictatorship not only failed to stop the armed revolution but even served to goad the people to join it. The Party and the people have defeated every

strategic campaign plan unleashed by the Marcos and post-Marcos regimes to suppress the revolution. Oplan Bayanihan is already a proven failure even before the end of the US-directed Aquino regime. The Party continues to wisely, skillfully and successfully wield the revolutionary armed struggle and united front as weapons.

Under the absolute leadership of the Party, the New People's Army has emerged as the strongest revolutionary army ever built in Philippine history. It has followed the strategic line of protracted people's war, encircling the cities from the countryside and accumulating strength until conditions are ripe for the seizure of the cities on a nationwide scale. The armed struggle is integrated with the agrarian revolution, which involves minimum and maximum levels of implementation, depending on the given circumstances in a locality. It is also integrated with the building of the mass base through the creation of organs of political power and mass organizations of various classes and sectors of the people in the countryside.

The Party is determined to complete the strategic defensive stage of the people's war and to reach the threshold of the strategic stalemate as soon as possible. The call for the advance towards the strategic stalemate has boosted the morale of the Party, the people's army and the people. They are enthusiastically doing their part in the fulfillment of the requisites for reaching and developing the stage of the strategic stalemate, such as the expansion and consolidation of the Party membership, NPA units and guerrilla zones and the intensification of the people's war in order to seize more arms, temper the revolutionary forces in struggle, merge or integrate guerrilla fronts into stable base areas wherever possible and gain greater popular support, more territory and more resources.

All commands and units of the NPA are capable of frustrating and defeating any attack of the enemy. However, to master and use strategy and tactics well in actual battles and to maintain flexibility and initiative especially against concentrated and prolonged enemy counter-guerrilla offensives require a high degree of determination and internal cohesion, a good amount of experience, knowledge about the enemy and ourselves, good judgment, and above all, deep and close links with the masses and skillful mobilization and use of mass support. And whenever the reactionary army makes a concentrated attack on any NPA command or unit, all other NPA commands and units are conscious of their obligation to intensify their own offensives to take advantage of the enemy overstretch and give relief to their comrades in arms under attack.

The people's war continues to break new ground in several regions in Mindanao. Since the start of 2014, the AFP has been strategically deploying large numbers of troops in Mindanao in an attempt to stem the rising tide of armed struggle. The escalating attacks of the enemy, however, have been frustrated by the NPA Red fighters who are fighting heroically, resolutely, skillfully and victoriously. The NPA has largely maintained the initiative and must continue to carry out extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare in order to thwart the enemy's plan to put a halt to the advance of people's war.

In other regions, NPA commands at the regional and subregional levels have succeeded in launching coordinated armed campaigns consisting of several small tactical offensives combined with a few head blows against the enemy. They are raising their capability to sustain these coordinated tactical offensives over a period to gain the initiative and frustrate enemy plans.

All in all, the people's war is developing unevenly in the various regions across the country and among subregions and fronts within a region. Some areas are confronted with problems of advance such as the training of commanders to effectively lead NPA platoons, companies and battalions, raising the capability and initiative of people's militia units and commands, expanding and consolidating local Party sections, raising production and developing socialist relations in land reform areas, building inter-village or municipal level mass organizations and organs of political power, further revolutionizing the basic mass organizations, developing civil defense systems and sustaining education, medical and economic services during times of war.

Others need to address problems at the intermediate or basic levels which have hindered efforts to build critical mass strength and sustain the momentum of advance to a higher level. This includes ensuring the sustained expansion and consolidation of NPA units and striking the correct balance between military work and mass work. This also concerns the proper deployment of NPA forces and building people's militia units to ensure coverage of guerrilla zones without overstretching NPA units and ensuring their capability to rapidly concentrate sufficient numbers to launch tactical offensives or conduct defensive maneuvers against operating troops of the enemy.

At every given level of development, the Party ensures that armed struggle develops apace with agrarian revolution and mass base building. This can be ensured by conducting periodic summing-up meetings to draw lessons and map out plans to advance the three aspects of people's war.

The Party's central leadership is taking prompt and significant measures to address the disparities in the development of people's war by mobilizing available capabilities and resources and developing various means of cooperation in order to support and boost the efforts of less advanced Party units and NPA commands.

In wielding the weapon of the national united front, the Party relies mainly on the worker-peasant alliance and strives to unite all patriotic and progressive forces of the toiling masses and the middle social strata against imperialism and reaction. The principal expression of the basic alliance is the absolute leadership by the CPP of the NPA, which is largely a peasant-based army. This alliance is also expressed in the support of the urban-based mass movement comprised largely of workers and allied classes for the antifeudal struggles in the countryside; and conversely, in the efforts of the peasant mass movement to link up with the anti-imperialist and democratic mass struggles in the cities.

In allying itself with the peasantry, the working class applies the policy and tactics of the antifeudal united front. It relies mainly on the poor peasants and farm workers, wins over the middle peasants, neutralizes the rich peasants and takes advantage of the split between the enlightened and despotic sections of the landlord class. In order to further isolate the enemy, the Party may under given circumstances broaden the united front to take advantage of splits among the reactionaries but must always maintain its independence and initiative.

The Party mobilizes the people through mass campaigns based on national, class and sectoral interests. Economic struggles are combined with and consciously raised to the level of political struggles in order to continuously broaden the reach among the masses while increasingly developing their militancy and political consciousness and leading their activity toward the correct revolutionary direction. The policy and tactics of the national united front are employed to bring together the organized forces led by the Party, the allied forces and the spontaneous masses. The progressive movement has accumulated vast and rich experience in developing massive and powerful mass movements centered in the urban areas.

Land reform and other mass campaigns are waged in the countryside to maintain and develop the participation of the peasant masses and other people in the democratic revolution. These campaigns are the reason for being of the revolutionary mass organizations and organs of political power and are key to expanding and consolidating the mass base. If they are neglected and the mobilization of the masses gets narrowed down to supporting the material needs of the full-time guerrilla units, the mass base stagnates and weakens and the mass organizations, organs of political power and local Party organizations often succumb to bureaucratism and other disorganizing tendencies.

On a wide range of issues, the patriotic and progressive forces wage mass campaigns in the urban areas in order to build up their independent strength especially among the workers, semiproletarians and urban petty bourgeoisie and take full advantage of all opportunities to reach the greatest number of people within the shortest time. The urban mass movement should be good at open and legal means of propaganda, organizing and mobilization while building a deep, resilient and expansive underground backbone.

It should also be especially good at using the policy and tactics of the national united front in order to bring together the organized forces led by the Party, the allied forces and the spontaneous masses.

Ever worsening conditions compel the people to wage bigger and more widespread mass struggles one after another. The urban mass struggles are bound to surpass the intensity of the mass struggles of the past three decades as the various sectors unite to advance the common demand for a national minimum wage, for wage and salary increases, for job security, lower prices and increased public spending for social services.

The ever worsening forms of imperialist economic plunder and military interventionism heighten the Filipino people's patriotic fervor and determination to advance the struggle for national freedom. The students and intellectuals must be mobilized in a big way in order to wage a propaganda war against the political, ideological and philosophical line promoted by the apologists of imperialist neoliberalism. The Party must lead in efforts to study the history of US colonization and aggression in order to fire up the spirit of patriotism among the current generation of youth.

The necessity of waging an anti-imperialist study movement and propaganda offensive is underscored by the need to intensify the struggle to demand the abrogation of such lopsided military agreements as the EDCA, VFA and MDT, end US military presence and attain justice for crimes committed by US troops against Filipinos. This is also underscored by the need to counteract the aggressive imperialist propaganda being waged in preparation for the APEC meeting in Manila next year whose objective is to project illusory economic miracles and gloss over

the grave hardships and oppression of the Filipino people after three decades of liberalization, deregulation, privatization and denationalization.

The Party calls on the Filipino people to intensify their struggle to oust the Aquino regime and amplify their just demand to hold it accountable for all its crimes against the people. The Filipino people must wage ever-intensifying mass struggles in order to muster enough strength to force Aquino out of power.

The ruling regime and system want the people to go through the elections as a means of transitioning to a post-Aquino regime. As in 2010 and 2013, US imperialism will be mobilizing its machinery for political intervention to ensure that the automated elections of 2016 will favor its chosen candidate.

It is through the process of arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses that mass activists and mass organizations arise and grow. The mass movements in both urban and rural areas train, temper and develop the mass leaders and activists. The Party recruits as candidate members the most advanced activists who undergo revolutionary mass education and accept the Party Constitution and the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution. It is a matter of course and reflective of social reality that the candidate members are recruited from the ranks of workers and the educated youth in the urban areas and the peasantry in the countryside.

The Party membership is deeply rooted among the toiling masses of workers and peasants and is of national scale. Even then, there is uneven development in the Party organization. The Party membership needs to be increased so that there is greater leeway for deploying Party cadres and members where there is an absence or scarcity of them, especially in the countryside.

In expansion areas, experienced cadres can combine with the locals who are desirous of revolution. The educated youth who are Party members and mass activists have integrated themselves with the toiling masses by learning from them their conditions and needs and finding out firsthand what way they can serve the people on the revolutionary road.

There should be no illusion that the ongoing peace negotiations with the reactionary government will soon lead to comprehensive agreements on social, economic and political problems as basis for a just and lasting peace. The biggest obstacle in the peace negotiations is the antinational, antidemocratic and antipeople character of the reactionary government and its current officials who regard the negotiations as the means for the capitulation and pacification of the revolutionary forces and the people.

What is good about the peace negotiations is that the NDFP is able to broadcast the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution and help bring about the victory of the revolution in the long run or before then help bring about truce and cooperation with a government that is not led by the Party but which adopts patriotic and progressive policies to deal with the severe crisis brought about by imperialism and reaction.

In the meantime, the Party and the people have no choice but to persevere in the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords. The crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system inflicts terrible suffering on the people but generates awareness of the need to wage armed revolution for the national and social liberation of the people. Summary of urgent tasks of the Communist Party of the Philippines

As the crisis of the ruling semicolonial and semifeudal system deepens, the tide of revolution rises ever higher. The Communist Party of the Philippines must continue to take advantage of the favorable conditions to advance the revolutionary movement to greater heights. The leadership and entire membership of the CPP must hold fast to the following tasks:

1. Resolutely and vigorously strengthen the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally in keeping with its role as the vanguard of the Philippine proletariat and revolution. We must be good at employing proletarian theory, including the lessons we have culled from our own revolutionary practice, as guide in analyzing and solving the current problems we face in carrying out our revolutionary tasks.

2. Lead the Filipino people in condemning the Aquino regime for its puppetry, corruption, exploitativeness, brutality and mendacity. It must support the people's struggle to oust the Aquino regime as a step towards the overthrow of the entire ruling system or before the rise of a patriotic and progressive transition government. We must continue to effectively, promptly and militantly articulate and advance the sharpest critique of the regime's schemes, frustrate and defeat its attempts to deceive and coerce, as we arouse and mobilize the people in massive protest actions and campaigns. The Filipino people's rich experience in past struggles against, and ousting corrupt, puppet and repressive regimes clearly shows the futility of mere regime change and the need for revolution

to overthrow the entire social system.

3. Intensify and advance the people's war towards the stage of the strategic stalemate along the general line of the people's democratic revolution. It must seize and control the initiative by launching more frequent and sustained tactical offensives with occasional blows to the head of the enemy. It must generate plans to expand the NPA and the people's militia, increase their firepower and raise their capability in terms of military tactics and techniques. It must completely defeat the AFP's Oplan Bayanihan. The Party wields absolute leadership over the people's army as it launches guerrilla warfare to accumulate strength and weaken the enemy nationwide on the basis of an ever expanding and deepening mass base.

4. Expand and consolidate the revolutionary mass base in the countryside. It must ensure the rapid expansion in the number of full-fledged mass organizations. It must raise the capability of the Party cadres and activists to expand and consolidate the basic Party organizations, the mass organizations, the units for self-defense and civil defense, the organs of political power and its programs for education, public health and land reform.

5. Wage widespread campaigns for land reform and other mass struggles in the countryside. Mobilize the peasant masses in big numbers in inter-district, provincial, inter-provincial or region-wide mass struggles.

6. Expand and consolidate the urban-based mass organizations. It must aim for a dramatic expansion in the number of organized workers and students as key to the expansion of other democratic movements. It must develop the capability to wage coordinated mass struggles on a nationwide scale. It must wage various mass movements on a wide range of issues to advance national independence and democracy. It must launch and intensify an anti-imperialist study movement and propaganda war.

7. Adopt and employ the policy and tactics of the united front to reach and mobilize the people in their millions against foreign monopoly capitalism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

8. Support the struggle of the national minorities for self-determination, democracy and affirmative action. It must defend the rights of minority people against the transgression of foreign mining companies and plantations and against the brutal campaigns of the military to drive them away from their ancestral land.

9. Support the overseas contract workers and other overseas Filipinos.

10. Uphold and promote proletarian internationalism among communist parties of the world and anti-imperialist solidarity among all peoples of the world. We must actively contribute to the resurgence of proletarian revolutionary parties as well as the broad anti-imperialist movement, especially in taking advantage of the protracted global depression and crisis of monopoly capitalism to advance proletarian and peoples' struggle and unity.

# *Generate Revolutionary Resistance in Response*

## *to Global and Philippine Crises*

**47<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Statement Issued on December 26, 2015**

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On the 47<sup>th</sup> anniversary of its reestablishment under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism on December 26, 1968, the Communist Party of the Philippines celebrates with the Filipino people its accumulated and current ideological, political and organizational victories. It is determined more than ever to lead and advance the Philippine revolution along the general line of the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war.

As the advanced detachment of the proletariat, the Party leads the current stage of the revolution and the consequent stage of socialist revolution. On this day, we salute and honor the tens of thousands of Party cadres and members, the thousands of Red commanders and fighters of the New People's Army, the tens of thousands of people's militia members, the hundreds of thousands of self-defense unit members and the millions of mass activists who have achieved victories through their arduous struggle, hard work and sacrifices. We accord the highest honor to the revolutionary heroes and martyrs by drawing inspiration from them and by waging an ever fiercer struggle for national liberation and democracy.

We have fought and defeated a series of brutal regimes directed by the US and the local reactionaries to destroy the Party and the revolutionary movement. These regimes include the 14-year Marcos fascist dictatorship and the successive regimes pretending to be democratic but in fact representing the same oppressive and exploitative classes.

We have frustrated the latest reactionary regime of big compradors and landlords, the US-Aquino regime, in its objective of destroying or reducing the New People's Army to inconsequence. Its US-designed Oplan Bayanihan failed in its aims despite the deployment of 70 percent of its combat battalions against the revolutionary forces.

Instead of inflicting strategic damage to the NPA, the deployment of 24 percent of enemy combat forces in Eastern Mindanao has resulted in the intensification and advance of the people's war in this area. The inspiring example of the revolutionary forces and people of Eastern Mindanao and the intensification of tactical offensives elsewhere have served to strengthen and advance the people's war nationwide.

The adversaries and detractors of the revolution prate mockingly that the people's war has not yet succeeded in seizing the presidential palace in Manila. They seek to obscure the fact that the revolutionary people's government of the workers and peasants has arisen in the countryside and is steadily spreading. The organs of democratic political power have a mass base running into millions and enjoy the support of tens of millions outside of the guerrilla fronts. They govern a large part of the country and carry out programs of mass education, land reform, production, health, cultural upliftment, self-defense and justice.

The conditions for advancing the Philippine revolution are excellent. The crisis of the world capitalist system is ever worsening. The capitalist powers continue to fail in lifting the global economy from crisis and depression. They keep on passing the burden of crisis to the people thus aggravating the economic and financial crisis as well as escalating inter-imperialist contradictions bringing about widespread conditions of state terrorism and imperialist wars of aggression. The Philippines is one of the few countries in which the illusion of economic growth is conjured from time to time by large inflows of portfolio investments. But whenever this money flows out, the country suffers an abrupt economic downturn.

The economic, social and political crisis in the Philippines is fertile ground for the advance of the revolutionary movement. The people suffer the heavy burden of escalating oppression and exploitation. They are thus driven to protest and rebel.

The crisis conditions provide ample tinder for the revolutionary party of the proletariat to spark a major upturn in the people's revolutionary resistance. The CPP and all revolutionary forces must lead in carrying out an all-out effort to expose the increasing inability of the ruling system to rule in the old way, and to arouse, organize and mobilize the people to wage mass struggles and take the road of revolution.

In performing its revolutionary role and duty in the Philippines, the Party demonstrates to the proletariat and peoples of the world that the road of revolution is available against imperialism and all reaction. The US-instigated

neoliberal economic policy of unbridled greed, the recurrent and worsening economic crisis and the increasing use of state terrorism and wars of aggression have laid the basis for an unprecedentedly widespread revolutionary resistance.

### ***Protracted crisis of the world capitalist system deepens and worsens***

Under monopoly capitalism, especially under the US-instigated economic policy of unbridled greed, the drive to extract higher profits by squeezing wages and adopting higher technology inevitably leads to, and further aggravates, the crisis of overproduction. The use of finance capital, particularly the expansion of money supply and credit in an attempt to override the crisis, raises the profits and asset values of the monopoly bourgeoisie, bails out the banks and the big corporations, artificially raises consumption and boosts military production ahead of the recovery of civil production and employment. But it generates bigger financial bubbles resulting in worse financial crises on top of the worsening economic crisis.

The world capitalist system is in the throes of a general crisis, involving the recurrence and worsening of economic and financial crises. The 2008 financial meltdown has resulted in a global depression that is comparable in duration and severity to the Great Depression of the 1930s. Slight upturns do occur but are followed by longer downturns in country gross domestic products (GDP) and the world gross product. The official figures for these, like the current estimated rate of global economic growth of 2.8 percent for 2015, are bloated by government deficit spending, public debt, financial market transactions and private spending that do not raise employment and incomes.

Production and employment continue to fall or stagnate in industrial capitalist countries and worse in the underdeveloped countries. Governments in industrialized countries engage in financial bailouts for the benefit of the big banks, investment houses and favored defense industries. They wantonly expand money supply and credit. Faced with budget deficits, they adopt austerity measures, including sharp cutbacks on social spending, reduction of government employees and deep cuts in workers' wages.

Total global outstanding debt (including household, corporate and government debt) has grown by 62 percent in eight years, from US\$142 trillion in 2007 to an estimated US\$230 trillion by end-2015. It has become impossible for debt of such magnitude to ever be repaid with total global GDP of only around US\$60 trillion whose growth is slowing down. The US and China are showing stress from the massive weight of the public debt, yet, the European Union (EU) is following the same path of quantitative easing (wanton printing of money without equivalent newly produced value). Global public debt, largely incurred by several imperialist countries with high deficits, is set to become the biggest ever financial bubble. This is set to burst anytime soon and is bound to cause unprecedented devastation.

The global growth rate of employment dipped to an average 1.2 percent annually in the 2007-2014 period, compared to the 1.7 percent in the previous 1991-2007 period. Unemployment and underemployment continue to rise, both in the urban and rural areas, especially in Africa, the Middle East, Southern Europe, and Latin America. Asian countries officially show low rates of unemployment, but these are due to high rates of so-called informal employment or odd-jobbing that comprise up to 85 percent of total employment in some countries. Most megacities of the Third World have a low degree of industrialization and teem with millions of people—mere oddjobbers suffering slave-like conditions under irregular and short-term hirers.

The disparity in global wealth distribution has increasingly widened. The wealthiest big bourgeoisie constitutes less than 1 percent of the world's population but owns nearly 50 percent of the world's total wealth. Ninety percent of them are based in North America and Europe. They enjoy lower tax rates and amass superprofits from plundering public assets and human and natural resources of foreign countries. Poverty is becoming rampant even in the developed countries, with the working class receiving less income and less social benefits and the middle class shrinking. The peoples of the underdeveloped countries suffer far worse conditions of poverty.

The US and other imperialist powers are stepping up war production in compliance with the crisis-driven demands of monopoly firms in the defense industry as well as in pursuit of the objective of keeping and expanding economic territory and geopolitical interests. The protracted and worsening crisis of monopoly capitalism is generating chauvinism, racism, religious bigotry, fascism, state terrorism, proxy wars and wars of aggression. The US, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) member states and Zionist Israel remain the principal aggressors and are the most aggressive in provoking and undertaking military actions to weaken their adversaries in West Asia (Middle East), Central Asia, Africa and on the borders of Russia.

There is no end in sight for the general crisis of monopoly capitalism and the trend towards bigger wars, especially because the imperialist powers cling to the neoliberal economic policy. All attempts to moderate or lessen the areas of economic and military conflict, through such international forums such as G7 and G20 summits, United Nations (UN) and Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development processes, treaty-mandated conferences such as World Trade Organization (WTO) , Rio+20 and annual climate talks, and other big-region mechanisms such as Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation, have failed and have resulted in more gridlocks.

The unipolar world dominated by the US after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War has gradually given way to a multipolar alignment of conflicting trade and economic blocs and their corresponding political-military alliances. US imperialism has practically undermined itself by outsourcing consumer manufactures, expanding military expenditures, and financializing its economy. But it continues to maximize its remaining clout in the International Monetary Fund, World Bank and WTO. In a vain attempt to keep its dominant position in global finance and trade, the US is aggressively pushing to impose the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) Agreement on its EU allies and adopting the same approach with its Pacific Rim allies through the Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP) Agreement. It is using secretive talks, backdoor deals, blackmail and double-talk to have the TTIP and TPP agreements passed, despite their flagrantly repellent pro-US big corporate biases.

After the ruling revisionist cliques in the former Soviet Union and China fully embraced capitalism, in the years of 1989-1991, the US and its allies had no choice but to accept the entry of Russia and China into the club of the global capitalist elite. While the capitalist powers collude in exploiting and oppressing the Third World, the new players have asserted their own interests and have thus aggravated the crisis of the world capitalist system and the inter-imperialist contradictions.

While coping with its own internal crisis and stabilizing itself with high oil earnings for a while, Russia, under Putin, has managed to protect and expand its own economic and geopolitical interests within the Commonwealth of Independent States and with other neighboring states along the borders with EU. In recent years, it has dealt with and contained the successful US subversion of western Ukraine and installation of a fascist pro-US puppet regime in Kiev. The aggressive war unleashed by the Kiev puppet regime against the ethnic-Russian people's republics in Novorossiya and Crimea has resulted in the latter voting to rejoin Russia.

The US persists in carrying out provocations against Russia, such as seeking to subvert it, together with other ex-Soviet states, expanding the NATO to its borders, undermining the ties between it and EU states, imposing sanctions and suspending/excluding it from the G8. Russia in turn has consolidated its western flanks by setting up the Eurasian Economic Union (EEU) with four other former Soviet republics. It has also extended its own inroads of influence to the West by exerting major diplomatic roles in Central Asia and Middle East affairs, particularly in Syria and Iran, and by offering economic cooperation to the worst crisis-stricken EU countries. Most importantly, it has strengthened its bilateral economic and security relations with China.

China is coping with an economy overheated by excessive public and private construction, overproduction of steel and other industrial products, runaway expansion of money supply and credit (many times worse than that in the US) and other internal troubles of a social and environmental character. These problems put China at a long distance from the US in per capita GDP. At any rate, China continues to export surplus capital and expand its overseas operations in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and has launched an ambitious two-pronged strategic link to Europe through the Silk Road Economic Belt (SREB) and the Maritime Silk Road (MSR).

The US maintains a dual policy of colluding and contending with China. But in recent years, it has increased the aspect of contention, with the so-called strategic pivot to East Asia and the US-headed TPP which excludes China. The US strategic pivot to East Asia is designed to block China's projection of its armed forces beyond its borders and to push internal forces towards further expanding privatized capital and bourgeois politics. The US is taking advantage of China's disputes with neighboring countries over South China Sea claims, as well as with Japan over the Daoyu islands in the East Sea. It has maneuvered the Philippines into allowing the reestablishment of US military bases under the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA) and has openly enjoined Japan to revive its militarist posture as a foil to China.

Aside from bilateral agreements, Russia and China have availed of multiple platforms to strengthen their alliance for countering the unwelcome pressures and challenges from the US and its closest allies. In economic terms, the BRICS bloc (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) has consolidated itself as a global alliance

with ample resources to counter the US-Canada-EU-Japan axis. BRICS now has its own New Development Bank (NDB), in addition to the China-led Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), with ample resources to counter the IMF-World Bank and undertake large projects, such as SREB and MSR.

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), initiated by China and Russia, has expanded to include eight Eurasian member-states and India and Pakistan. This is in addition to the Russia-led EEU. In geopolitical and military terms, the SCO-EEU combination has the potential to countervail the US-NATO alliance on its western flanks and US-Asian allies on its eastern flanks.

Following the Ukraine crisis of 2014, several long standing hot spots have flared up anew this year in the Middle East and Africa. The occupied Palestinian territories have erupted anew in what may develop as a third intifada against Zionist Israel. The continuing civil strife in Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Libya, Afghanistan, Kurdistan, Sudan and Nigeria have been made more complicated by US interventions. The worst barbarisms are being perpetrated by US-created, trained and armed terrorist groups such as the ISIS (also referred to as IS, the Islamic State or Daesh), which are further funded and coddled by US client-states like Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Israel, Jordan and Qatar.

The imperialist wars of aggression and local and regional armed conflicts have intensified contradictions between imperialist blocs and their regional proxies and allies. These have resulted in unbearable economic and social catastrophes leading to millions of refugees within countries and regions and now surging in large numbers towards Europe. Russia's military support for Syria in the drive against the ISIS, Turkey's shooting down of a Russian combat plane, the Paris terrorist attacks and the retaliatory French-British bombing of Syria, have triggered a dangerous chain of events that could lead to an escalation of war involving imperialist bombs and boots on the ground.

Official GDP statistics are used as basis to claim that certain regions like East Asia and Africa are enjoying high growth rates and a "growing middle class". But such growth is fueled by capital flows from imperialist countries, mostly hot money from hedge funds that do not build industrial plants nor promote lasting employment. Instead, these funds go to financial markets and unsustainable economic activities such as construction, real estate, tourism, and telecommunications-based services, and the consequent government tax revenues go to black holes like military expenditures, bureaucratic operations and corruption. All these aggravate the debt problem and deepen and worsen the underdevelopment of the Third World.

Imperialist countries are able to shift the burden of the crisis to the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America because their impoverished agrarian and semifeudal conditions provide the monopoly capitalists with cheap labor and raw materials and lower operating costs. Such conditions are maintained through neoliberal policies promoted through puppet civilian bureaucrats and big bourgeois control of local finance. As a result, entire countries are thrown into widespread social and political turmoil wherein the masses of workers, peasants and other working people suffer intense exploitation and oppression.

A favorite theme of imperialist propaganda is the supposedly fast growing "global middle class", with the highest growths seen in Asia, combined with the supposed 50 percent reduction of global poverty rates compared to 20 years ago. But this is just statistical deception, as the so-called poor, low-income, and middle-class brackets globally have been pulled down to rock-bottom minimums. The middle class in the underdeveloped countries are on more or less the same level as the poverty thresholds in the US. The imperialist propaganda, even if sugar-coated by post-2015 UN promises of further reducing global poverty, cannot hide the expanding and deepening conditions of extreme and systemic poverty, and worsening exploitation and oppression of the majority of the world's toiling masses of workers and peasants. Even in the imperialist countries and so-called emerging or middle-income economies, the crisis and protracted depression have greatly pulled down the working and living conditions of the working class and petty bourgeoisie. The imperialist powers spearheaded by the US, the EU and Japan and their subalterns in underdeveloped countries add the neoliberal policy of unbridled exploitation in the name of "free trade" to the neocolonial foundation of exploitation.

The US is still the chieftain of the imperialist powers. Since the end of World War II, the US has been responsible for the killing of at least 35 million people in wars of aggression and massacres, and for the displacement of far more millions of people due to the mass killings and destruction of social infrastructure mainly by bombardments. In recent decades, regardless of the ruling party in power, the US has been guided by the neoconservative line of "full spectrum" global hegemony in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. This line has whipped up fascist lawmaking, state

terrorism and wars of aggression under various pretexts such as pursuing a perpetual and borderless “war on terror,” regime change, humanitarian intervention, and even the “war on drugs.” The US rationalizes its aggressive policy by claiming to secure the freedom and wealth of its citizenry. But in fact a major cause of the economic and financial crisis afflicting the American people is the heavy cost of war production, maintenance of more than 800 military bases abroad and wars of aggression.

In recent times, the US and its NATO allies have wantonly targeted and destroyed sovereign states, waging wars of aggression against countries assertive of national independence, such as the former Yugoslavia, Iraq, Afghanistan and Libya and causing the overthrow of anti-US governments such as in Ukraine, Yemen and Venezuela. They continue to make war provocations in Eastern Europe against Russia. They have unleashed wars of aggression against states that control strategic energy sources, raw materials and routes. They use sanctions, blockades and war threats and provocations against so many countries, including Cuba, Venezuela, Syria, Iran and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. They use Zionist Israel, Saudi Arabia, Turkey and rightist armed oppositions and jihadi groups like ISIS and Al Qaida affiliates as attack dogs. They are hostile against the Palestinian and other peoples in the Middle East, Africa, and Central and South Asia. The US is actively pushing Japan, Australia and South Korea to join its war provocations in East Asia.

The US-led imperialist powers have become so driven by militarism and war that they use the same mindset and machinery with impunity against their own peoples at home, especially in the face of rising people's resistance. They have adopted even more reactionary and draconian policies and measures, including outright fascist laws, full-spectrum surveillance, and heavily militarized police actions against ordinary citizens under the pretext of combating terrorism, common crime, drug use, and other petty offenses.

The innumerable crimes against humanity perpetrated by the US and other imperialist powers are white-washed by big-bourgeois media which whip up chauvinism, racism, religious bigotry, Islamophobia, terrorist-baiting and war hysteria within the imperialist countries. The aim is to draw away the people's attention from the capitalist roots of the social crisis, quell social discontent and mass resistance and obscure the need for revolutionary class struggle. To win votes, fascist, Neo-Nazi and ultra-Rightist political parties wage hate campaigns in the media and allow hate crimes to spread against refugees, asylum-seekers, migrant workers, and even second-generation immigrants especially those of color, victimizing women and youth in particular.

The wars of aggression and big-power terrorism launched by the US and its worst allies and puppets inflict terrible suffering on the people—killing and wounding hundreds of thousands and destroying their homes, livelihood and social infrastructure in orgies of bombing. Thus, the people are driven to wage armed resistance. This continues even after the US and its allies apparently succeed with their aggression and occupation of a country. In fact, they are compelled to phase out their occupation forces due to heavy damages inflicted by the people's resistance.

The US and its allies were able to bring down the Saddam regime in Baghdad, Iraq but the Sunni officers and men under the Baath nationalist leaders regrouped to fight the foreign aggressors and the Shia puppet government. They were also able to bring down the Taliban government in Kabul, Afghanistan but armed resistance has continued not only from the Taliban armed forces but also from other armed organizations that have emerged. Having overthrown the Qaddafi regime by bombing and arming various militia organizations which are now fighting each other, they have found cause for further intervention to the continuing ruination of Libya.

The countries devastated by imperialist wars of aggression and proxy wars in the Middle East and Africa have become breeding and playing grounds for jihadist organizations, like affiliates of Al Qaida and the ISIS. Despite its propaganda against Al Qaida after 9-11, the US has armed and used Al Nushra, an affiliate of the Al Qaida, to wage war on the Assad regime in Syria. It has also created, trained and supplied the ISIS to punish its own puppet government in Baghdad for becoming too close to Iran and also to wage war on the Assad regime in Syria and open the way for US and NATO intervention there.

The absence of a revolutionary and effective Communist Party in countries attacked by the US and its allies have enabled jihadists to seize the armed political initiative after secular nationalist governments are brought down. Previously in countries such as Iraq and Syria, the Baathists were able to maintain their regimes against threats from the US and Zionist Israel because of support from the Soviet and other revisionist-type communist parties. The absence of truly revolutionary communist parties in Tunisia and Egypt allowed Islamic parties to take power during the so-called Arab spring until the US-bred military bourgeoisie took over.

Wherever the US and its allies unleashed wars of aggression, Communist parties ought to lead the people's revolutionary movement for national liberation. Conditions are favorable for truly revolutionary communist parties to arise and initiate revolutionary armed struggles in other global regions. By waging wars of aggression and proxy wars in the Middle East and Africa, the US undermines itself by going into high military expenditure, overreaching in more than one direction. Thus, it actually loses focus on countries where revolutionary Communist parties are waging armed struggle.

The most exemplary of the armed revolutionary movements are those waging people's war and gaining victories either under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and/or an anti-imperialist program of national and social liberation. The armed revolutionary movements are in the Philippines, India, Palestine, Colombia, Peru, Turkey, Kurdistan and elsewhere. The Kurdish people and their revolutionary forces have benefited most directly from the current armed conflicts in the Middle East. They fight back the attacks of the ISIS and Turkey in Syria and North Kurdistan and arm themselves in the process as well as establish organs of democratic power.

The exploitation and oppression of the proletariat and the people throughout the world, made more acute by the economic and social crisis, are pushing them to fight back in various ways and forms available to them—from spontaneous and localized protests and strikes, to nationally coordinated strikes and mass campaigns, and all the way to generating broad and sustained people's movements for national and social liberation in the imperialist-dominated underdeveloped countries; and for socialism in the imperialist homegrounds.

Throughout the underdeveloped countries, workers in urban areas, mining districts and special economic zones persevere in the difficult work of building unions and launching trade union struggles. The peasant masses demand genuine land reform and are being mobilized for this purpose. Student-youth are being radicalized in growing numbers, and their protests inside the campus are overflowing into the streets and communities, where they link up with workers, semi-proletarians and other sectors. The most advanced workers and students are learning to link up with the peasantry and indigenous peoples in the rural areas.

In the advanced capitalist countries, including the US, EU, Japan, China and Russia, there is a marked rise of people's resistance movements. Among the workers, youth, women, minorities, migrants, and cultural and intellectual workers, there is growing interest and demand for an anti-capitalist or Marxist critique of capitalism and reaffirmation of socialism. In a few countries, such as Greece, Spain, and Portugal, mass movements with a clear anti-capitalist orientation are gaining strength. Despite complex twists and turns, progressive parties and parliamentary coalitions are learning both from positive and negative lessons.

The rate at which the general crisis of the world capitalist system is worsening generates conditions favorable for the rise of genuine revolutionary parties of the proletariat and revolutionary mass movements. So long as monopoly capitalism and reaction persist, there is no end to the epochal struggle of the proletariat and people against the big bourgeoisie. We are still very much in the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. As the crisis of imperialism worsens and deepens, the anti-imperialist and socialist movements will resurge with increasing resolve and vigor.

### ***Worsening crisis of the ruling system and the rise of revolutionary resistance***

For a while, from 2010 to 2013, the Philippine ruling system appeared to be exempt from the crisis of world capitalist system, if we were to simply look at the rise of the GDP. This was growing at a rate far beyond that of the world economy and was being touted as the highest in Asia in 2013. The content of the growing GDP was obscured. The money flow reflected by the GDP of 7.2 percent consisted of portfolio investments (hot money) that went mainly to the financial markets (stock, bond and money markets) to the extent of 65 percent, reducing to only 6 percent the proportion of money remittances of overseas migrant workers and the income from call center operations. The rest of the total money flow came mainly from government spending for bureaucratic operations, debt service and other counterproductive purposes.

The US deliberately gave the Aquino regime the special privilege of having the Philippines receive a large flow of money from hedge funds. The aim was to conjure the illusion of economic growth, sustain the private construction boom and generate government revenues for boosting military operations and appropriating large dole out funds for the conditional cash transfer and Pamana programs to make the US-designed Oplan Bayanihan successful.

Increased government spending, remittances of overseas contract workers and earnings of business call centers also served to maintain high consumption spending by a small part of the population.

Oplan Bayanihan became a big failure because of its antipeople character, the ineptness and corruption of the regime's civil and military bureaucracy and because of the superiority of the Party's strategy of protracted people's war and the tactics of intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. At the same time, the crisis of global capitalism reasserted itself relative to the Philippines. The flow of hot money began to subside in 2014 when the US announced it would slow down quantitative easing and possibly raise interest rates and because of China's even worse problem of wanton spending and credit for public and private construction.

The much-vaunted Philippine economic growth rate of 7.2 percent has gone down to 6.1 percent in 2014 and is expected to go further down to 5.8 percent in 2015. The World Bank blames slow government spending, negative net exports and the initial impact of El Niño. In fact, the neoliberal economic policy has undermined and reduced production output in agriculture and manufacturing. Manila government figures show that manufacturing has slowed down to 5.9 percent in the first quarter of 2015 from 7 percent in the first quarter of 2014. Agriculture continues to decline. Its share in the economy is 10 percent. The share of manufacturing is 23.2 percent, which is as low as in the 1950s.

Especially under the US-dictated neoliberal economic policy, one puppet regime after another has rejected national industrialization with genuine land reform as the basic policy for developing and expanding the domestic market. The US-Aquino regime is brazen in rejecting national industrialization. It favors foreign corporations and big comprador operations. It promotes schemes relying on the so-called global value chains and ASEAN integration under the control of the TNCs. The big comprador-landlords in collusion with foreign capital are hell-bent on pushing for an economic charter change to fully remove constitutional restrictions on foreigners to own lands and engage in all types of small, medium, and large scale economic ventures. This will allow foreign big capitalists to further exploit the country's natural and human resources.

The biggest gainers under the US-Aquino regime are the foreign banks and corporation and the big comprador firms. Their interests are in banking, insurance, real estate development, infrastructures, shopping malls, semi-manufacturing, mining, logging, plantations and the like. Public-private partnerships favor big comprador companies and foreign suppliers in infrastructure and energy projects. As a result, the wealth of the 10 richest Filipinos has risen exponentially from P650 billion in 2010 to P2.2 trillion in 2015. Top-level corruption of the Aquino ruling clique and its business favorites is frequently exposed, with particular instances involving hundreds of millions and even billions of pesos.

Social inequalities have worsened amid increasing unemployment rates, decreasing real income of the working people and even the middle social strata, soaring prices of basic commodities, social services and public utility charges (especially transport, electricity and water).

The drastic fall of semiconductor production and other semi-manufacturing as a result of global market contraction starting in 2008 has pushed up unemployment rates and further depressed wage levels. So far, more than ten million Filipino contract workers have left the country pushing their luck in unfamiliar lands and cultures under harsh working and living conditions, low wages and neglect by the Philippine government.

A two-tiered wage system is now being implemented under RA 6727 in which Tier 1 or the "floor wage" replaces the minimum, while Tier 2 or the "productivity wage" is set by individual firms. Short-term contractualization and flexible working arrangements continue to keep workers as temporaries and part-timers. Contractualization of workers runs as high as 90 percent of the labor force in many factories, service and commercial enterprises juxtaposed with a rapidly shrinking percentage of regulars who are either retrenched or reduced as contractals.

So-called tripartism allows the employers and government to put workers in a corner and defeat trade union demands. So-called self-regulation and voluntary compliance are rampant capitalist practices legitimized by the state. Working conditions are dismal and hazardous. The most basic health and safety regulations in the workplace are widely violated in the name of creating an "investment-friendly climate". A glaring example of the vicious collusion between capitalists and bureaucrats and their criminal disregard for the workers' welfare is the Kentex tragedy where more than 70 workers perished. Aggravating these are state policies such as Republic Act 6715 (Herrera Law), Wage Rationalization Law, Regional Wage Boards, "no union, no strike" enterprises, "end of contract" and other anti-labor acts. These have aroused the working class to widen and fortify their ranks, develop not only trade unions but revolutionary unions and other workers' associations in the factories and in the workers

communities. In some regions, the Party has led and supported successful struggles of exploited and oppressed regular and contractual workers in several factories and plantations.

The Philippines has an agrarian semifeudal economy but it has lost food self-sufficiency, particularly with regard to rice and corn production, due to the neoliberal economic policy of allowing rice and other food imports to swamp the market and discourage local production. At the same time, large plantations have been devoted to such export-oriented crops as rubber and oil palm and large tracts of land allocated for bioethanol production. Eventually, rice and other food imports have become more expensive amid dwindling local food production resulting in the further impoverishment of the peasant masses.

The Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program (CARP) and the CARP-Extension with Reforms (CARPER) have ended last year without having solved the problem of landlessness. Most of those who received certificates of land ownership awards (CLOA) have become unable to pay the amortization of the land to the Land Bank or have suffered family illness and crop failures forcing them to sell their land to rich peasants or money lenders. Government has resorted to various legal machinations and maneuvers to dispossess beneficiaries of the awarded land. The government and landgrabbers collude in reclassifying rice and corn land to other types of land exempt from land reform. This has become an effective scheme to evict farmers and divest them of their lands. Many huge landed estates previously subject to land reform remain undistributed to beneficiaries as a result of the landlords' legal maneuvers. In the case of Hacienda Luisita, the landed estate remains undistributed notwithstanding a Supreme Court decision, epitomizing the Aquino-Cojuangcos' contempt of legal institutions and arrogant display of big-landlord-bureaucrat-capitalist power. Land is rapidly being reconcentrated into the hands of landlords as well as local and foreign agri-corporations.

Sixty-six million Filipinos are living on PhP125 or less a day. Poverty is most widespread in the countryside. With land frontier exhausted since the end of the 1960s, the excess population in the countryside has tended to move towards the cities and swell the urban poor slums. In 2010-2014, the Aquino regime appropriated PhP178 billion to the Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program (4Ps) or Conditional Cash Transfer for dole-outs to poor households. This huge amount of money has failed to significantly reduce or even alleviate poverty. Hundreds of millions of pesos are dissipated through bureaucratic corruption. A hefty sum of PhP62.7 billion, almost twice the previous average annual allocation has been allocated for this program for 2016.

The Philippines is artificially buoyed up by a huge external debt of US\$75 billion as of June 2015, almost three times as large as the US\$27 billion foreign debt left by the Marcos fascist regime. Trade deficits have risen and have been covered by further foreign borrowing. Total public debt has risen to PhP5.847 trillion as of end July 2015. Of this amount, domestic debt has reached PhP3.89 trillion. Government deficit spending has exacerbated the rise of the local public debt.

The underdevelopment, widespread poverty, mass unemployment and the worsening crisis of the Philippine economy spur social unrest and revolutionary resistance. The workers are outraged by the neoliberal drive to push down their wages, draw them down to the level of short-term contractualization as temporaries and part timers, and suppress their democratic rights, especially their right to unionize and strike. Trade union leaders are being murdered to intimidate the entire working class.

The peasant masses have continued to suffer ever worsening conditions of feudal and semifeudal exploitation given the series of patently bogus land reforms over the past 50 years. The swindling political agents of the landlord class have now dropped their pretense at land reform with the end of CARPER. The peasant masses and the indigenous people suffer exploitation and oppression the most. Land reconcentration is occurring at the levels of the small, middle and big landlords. The worst of the big landgrabbers acquire the largest tracts of land with the active assistance of the reactionary government for the purpose of, or in connection with real estate development and speculation, plantations, mining and special economic zones.

The peasant masses are waging various forms of struggles to fight for and assert their land rights. They are waging campaigns to reduce land rent, lower rates of usury, raise the wages of agricultural and farmworkers, raise production and farmgate prices, lower rentals on farm tools and equipment, set up cooperatives and engage in mutual help. In some regions, occupation of abandoned and contested lands are being undertaken. Peasant organizations have launched nationwide protest campaigns with marches and peasant chains.

The indigenous peoples' right to ancestral domain is being viciously attacked. In attempts to grab land, the government aids the foreign and local land grabbers by subjecting the peasants, including the indigenous people,

to Oplan Bayanihan military and psywar operations. In AFP press releases, military operations are deceptively referred to as peace and development operations. Long neglected by the reactionary government, the people in the hinterlands have on their own put up schools and other social facilities. These are now being occupied and destroyed by the military troops and paramilitary groups of Oplan Bayanihan in the course of landgrabbing for the benefit of the foreign corporations and big compradors engaged in mining, logging and plantations. Local leaders and educators are being murdered. The people have refused to be intimidated and have fought back. They have gone on long marches from Mindanao and the Cordillera to rally the entire nation against the oppressors headed by Aquino.

The restless students and the out-of-school youth are launching militant mass actions against rising tuition fees, lack of jobs after graduation, the commercialization of education (including state colleges and universities), the imposition of the K+ 12 system to produce a docile work force for foreign and local exploiters, the reduction of public funds for the public school system and the increase of public fund for the military, police and intelligence equipment and operations.

The entire Filipino nation is appalled at the gross and systematic violations of human rights being perpetrated by the US-Aquino regime in carrying out Oplan Bayanihan.

The masses of worker and peasants continue to strengthen their unity with the urban petty bourgeoisie who suffer from grossly low incomes, shortage of job opportunities in the country, pressures to seek jobs abroad and are scandalized by the corruption of the ruling clique and high bureaucrats in general. The middle bourgeoisie has long been disgusted by the hostility of the US-Aquino regime to the cause of industrialization and indifference to demands for support to small and medium enterprises.

The US-Aquino regime is now extremely isolated. The possibility of Aquino being overthrown by a people's uprising, however, has been dissipated by the onset of the electoral struggle for the presidency in 2016. The bourgeois allies of the toiling masses and the dominant Church have lost interest in a people's uprising to overthrow him unless he commits another serious crime or blunder.

Even then, Aquino remains isolated by the exposure of so many scandals including pork barrel corruption under such headings as PDAF, DAP, off budget accounts, special funds and so on, the failure to provide timely and sufficient resources for the relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction of communities devastated by supertyphoon Yolanda, the designation of Gen. Alan Purisima (while suspended on corruption charges) as overall commander of the bungled Mamasapano operation, the appointment of corrupt officials to high positions on the basis of personal friendship, the special delivery of state contracts to business cronies and others. He also faces even bigger and more serious accountability, such as the rabid implementation of the neoliberal economic policy, gross and systematic human rights violations, and the aggravation of social inequality and injustices, unemployment and poverty.

The US-Aquino regime has utterly failed to destroy or reduce the New People's Army to inconsequentiality through Oplan Bayanihan and related political maneuvers. It has failed to exhibit good governance. Instead, it has been thoroughly exposed as corrupt and incompetent. It has done nothing but aggravate and deepen the semi-colonial and semifeudal conditions of underdevelopment and poverty.

Since 2010, the Aquino regime has made false promises to the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) in order to engage it in an indefinite ceasefire and have more military forces to deploy against the NPA. But the regime has failed to pass the Bangsamoro Basic Law (BBL) and has exposed itself for having taken the MILF for a ride.

Despite the ceasefire of the Manila government with the MILF, the NPA and other revolutionary forces in Eastern Mindanao have been able to overcome the increased deployment of enemy forces in their areas. In the meantime, the frustrations of the Bangsamoro over the intensified armed suppression in Mamasapano and other Moro areas, as well as the mutilation and non-passage of the BBL offer the possibility for a more extensive and intensive armed resistance by the Bangsamoro. The US-Aquino regime thought that it could rally the entire nation to its side by opposing China's encroachments in the West Philippine Sea and that it would be able to accuse and isolate the CPP-led forces as pro-China despite their long running criticism of the Dengist restoration of capitalism in China. But the Party and the revolutionary forces and people it leads have stood up for national sovereignty and territorial integrity. The CPP has condemned China's unjust claim of undisputed sovereignty over 90 percent of the South China Sea and in particular the grabbing of Panatag Shoal and the reclamations in the Spratlys—all in violation of the sovereign rights of the Filipino people over the exclusive economic zone and the extended

continental shelf in accordance with the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea. It has also condemned the Aquino regime for allowing Chinese state and private corporations to maintain and increase their business interests in the Philippines in the form of 40 percent share of the national power grid, large mining operations, plantations, financial firms, hotels, shopping malls and so on. While supportive of the Philippine case against China before the International Tribunal on the Law of the Sea and the Arbitral Tribunal, the Party has condemned the Aquino regime for using the maritime dispute to allow the US to reestablish military bases within “agreed locations” under the EDCA and to encourage Japan to intervene militarily in the Philippines. If the international tribunal decides in favor of the Philippines, China would have to give up its baseless claims of owning 90 percent of the South China Sea and change its tack in the international community and towards the ASEAN countries. The US would have no justification for establishing military bases in the Philippines under the pretext of protecting the Philippines from China. Thus, the patriotic and progressive forces and the entire Filipino people should be able to develop economic relations with China for advancing national industrialization instead of perpetuating and aggravating the underdevelopment of the Philippines.

The presidential electoral campaign circus has gone to town with disqualification suits, criminal charges and rumor mongering galore. This reflects in a concentrated way the contradictions of political factions among the reactionaries.

The ruling Liberal Party candidate Mar Roxas is well known as an exponent of neoliberal economic policy, a Wharton boy, a loyal representative of the big compradors and landlords servile to the US. He does not care about persuading the working people to trust him, except by superficially trying to mimic their hard work in photo snapshots. He is isolated by even bigger and more serious accountability, such as the rabid implementation of the neoliberal economic policy, gross and systematic human rights violations, and the aggravation of social inequality and injustices, unemployment and poverty.

Despite the huge amount of public and private funds already mobilized to support his campaign, Roxas rates low in poll surveys because of his close association with Aquino and the widespread perception of his own performance as inept. He is actually ridiculed for vowing to continue the Daang Matuwid policies of Aquino.

In trying to win over votes, all other major presidential candidates try to champion certain demands of the ordinary people, like ending top level corruption in government as well as rampant common crimes, engaging in industrialization to create jobs and so on.

The Party and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) are pleased that all five major presidential candidates in the 2016 elections are committed in varying degrees to the resumption of the NDFP-GRP formal peace negotiations.

Davao Mayor Rodrigo Duterte has been the most vocal and most forward in announcing his proposal to the NDFP for a coalition government and offer of a number of cabinet positions, and in indicating the patriotic and progressive grounds for a just peace. However, Sen. Grace Poe has run ahead of him in comprehensively defining the grounds for electoral alliance with the Makabayan Bloc including upholding national sovereignty and territorial integrity, respect for human rights, national industrialization and genuine land reform. There will be serious consequences if any of the major presidential candidates were to be disqualified or arrested with Roxas being perceived as extremely favored by his foreign and local patrons.

The most astute observers have declared that no matter how the poll surveys and even the actual voting go, what will decide the presidential elections will be the CIA and Aquino control of the automated electoral system to be run by Smartmatic-TIM which can be pre-programmed to “elect” officials as in the 2010 and 2013 elections. That a dubious foreign corporation is given a pivotal role in a national elections constitutes a flagrant and shameless violation of the people’s sovereignty.

The Party and the NDFP do not endorse any candidate, party and coalition in the electoral process of the reactionary system. They are outside of this system. But they do study and analyze how to regard and relate to the candidates, parties and coalitions within the ruling system, before, during and after elections, in connection with the civil war, in order to benefit the people and the peace negotiations.

It is good that there is the Makabayan Bloc which strives to pursue a patriotic and progressive line in carrying out the electoral struggle and seeking further alliances within the ruling system. The voting strength of the Makabayan Bloc is far bigger than the capability of Iglesia ni Cristo on a nationwide scale and is capable of electing patriotic and progressive candidates at various levels.

Even as the Makabayan Bloc and progressive party list groups concentrate on the electoral struggle, the various mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, youth, students, teachers, health workers, lawyers, artists, writers, human rights activists and other sectors should carry on with their own campaigns on burning issues and long-term issues in the national democratic mass movement. After all, the electoral struggle involves a few months every three years while the mass movement runs daily from year to year to arouse, organize and mobilize the masses for various forms of struggle.

The crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system provides the favorable objective conditions for the development of the subjective forces of the armed revolution. The Party leads the proletariat and the broad masses of the people along the general line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war. It commands the New People's Army to carry out the armed struggle and integrate it with the agrarian revolution and mass base building.

The worker-peasant alliance is strengthened in the course of the protracted people's war. And the organs of political power constituting the people's democratic government are established in the countryside. The revolutionary mass organizations are built and mobilized to support the organs of political power and to contribute their strength to the building of the national united front under the auspices of the NDFP. The subjective forces of the revolution and their alliances are being developed through struggles on a daily basis while the reactionaries have the illusion that their system will forever last so long as they have periodic elections.

### ***The Communist Party of the Philippines is firmly and effectively leading the Philippine revolution***

The Communist Party of the Philippines is firmly and effectively leading the Philippine revolution because it has correctly adopted the ideological line of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the general political line of people's democratic revolution and the organizational line of democratic centralism and accordingly carries out ideological, political and organizational work.

In ideological building, the Party has made available to Party cadres and members a large collection of classic and current Marxist-Leninist-Maoist study materials. These serve as texts and references for the basic, intermediate and advanced courses of the Party. It is always emphasized that grasping revolutionary theory and principles makes a cohesive and disciplined Party. It is emphasized even more that the theory and principles must be applied on the history and current circumstances of the Filipino people and the Party.

The Party has consistently used its Constitution and Program and Amado Guerrero's Philippine Society and Revolution for the basic Party course. It updates and augments these with new basic documents, analyses of current events and sustained works issued by the Party Central Committee through *Ang Bayan*. It has also issued works that serve the intermediate and advanced course. Among these are documents of the First and Second Great Rectification Movements and Armando Liwanag's Stand for Socialism against Modern Revisionism.

The ideological education of Party cadres and members is ever expansive as they are encouraged and instructed to take the intermediate Party course and learn about the revolutions of other peoples in the spirit of anti-imperialist solidarity and proletarian internationalism and finally the advanced Party course which seeks to provide them with sufficient knowledge of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, political economy, social science, revolutionary strategy and tactics and history of the international communist movement.

Those with high formal education are encouraged to read the study materials in advance of or beyond the Party study courses. But the Party has been cognizant of the difficulties of workers and peasants with lower formal education in reading study materials. There are simplified and illustrated materials in print and on video. Teaching res are motivated and trained to explain terms and issues in a language understandable to the workers and peasants. After all, the subject is essentially their oppression and exploitation and their struggle for liberation.

When ideological education is done well and promptly, it results in more knowledgeable and determined Party cadres and members who do their political and organizational work conscientiously, militantly and effectively. Otherwise, all kinds of work suffer. Ideological education is sometimes neglected because of preoccupation with practical work. At other times, there is a predilection for overly long study meetings in big batches of students, which cannot be easily repeated. There may be small or big study meetings, depending on the security situation. Study meetings can be properly scheduled to avoid protracted meetings.

We have observed that central staff organs and regional party organs and organizations that do ideological education well and promptly also do well in all kinds of work. There are no unnecessary delays in the education of the Party cadres and members who proceed to recruit more Party candidate members. Candidate-members

promptly become full members within the period of candidature and are encouraged to raise their level of knowledge through Party study courses. Thus, Party cadres and members keep on increasing with the majority being young.

The Party has been successful at carrying out the general political line of people's democratic revolution through the strategic line of protracted people's war against the semicolonial and semifeudal system. The working class serves as the leading revolutionary class in the current stage of the Philippine revolution and the consequent stage of socialist revolution. To win the revolution, it employs three weapons to arouse, organize and mobilize the people and defeat the enemy.

The first weapon is the Communist Party of the Philippines. It is the advanced detachment of the working class, which directs the revolutionary mass movement and coordinates the various forms of struggle. The second weapon is the revolutionary armed struggle, which is the highest form of struggle because it is for overthrowing the reactionary ruling state and installing the people's democratic government. The third weapon is the united front which brings about several types of alliances to win over the people in their millions and weaken, isolate and destroy the enemy in a revolutionary civil war or a patriotic war against foreign aggression.

The Party is now established on a nationwide scale in both urban and rural areas. In urban areas, it is based among the workers in factories, transport lines and urban poor communities. It is also based among the urban petty bourgeoisie, especially the educated youth, low income professionals and government employees. At the beginning, the proletarian revolutionaries came from the urban areas. As the revolutionary armed struggle progressed in the rural areas, more proletarian revolutionaries emerged from the ranks of workers in mining, logging and plantations, traditional farm workers and poor peasants and the young educated activists from the urban areas.

The Party carries out the strategic line of people's war to encircle the cities from the countryside and accumulate armed and political strength in the countryside until it gains the capability to seize the cities on a nationwide scale. For this purpose, the Party deployed Party cadres and members for work in the New People's Army and the rural communities at first in a few regions and soon enough on a nationwide scale. By 1977, guerrilla fronts of the Party and the NPA covered Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao.

The people's war is effective where revolutionary armed struggle, agrarian revolution and mass base building are integral components under the leadership of the Party through various levels of NPA command. The Party provides all Red commanders and fighters with political-military education and encourages them to win victories in order to build more NPA units with the arms seized from the enemy.

Agrarian revolution is undertaken through the two stages of minimum and maximum land reform. The minimum program is carried out extensively in all guerrilla fronts, consisting of the reduction of land rent, lowering if not elimination of usury, lowering of rent on tools and equipment, raising production and farmgate prices, setting up cooperatives and mutual-help, etc. The maximum program consists of distributing land for free to the tillers. More than a million peasant families are currently benefiting from both the maximum and minimum land reform program, with tens of thousands of hectares distributed to family beneficiaries nationwide over the past few years.

Mass base building is accomplished by forming the organs of political power (at first the barrio organizing committees and the barrio revolutionary committees) and the mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, youth, children and cultural activists. Municipal and sub-municipal level organs of political power are emerging in several regions. Chapters of the Pambansang Katipunan ng Magbubukid (National Peasant Union) have been organized at the sub-municipal, municipal and up to the district level. The people exercise their sovereignty through elections that are conducted freely, with secret balloting. Militia platoons are formed among the able-bodied for self-defense and for maintaining peace and order.

The general capability of the NPA is still extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. Offensive operations are carried out by small teams, squads, platoons and oversized platoons. In regions most advanced in people's war, the NPA has attained the capability to concentrate companies and even a battalion to carry out the most dramatic offensive operations against mining, logging and plantation enterprises and against field commands of the enemy.

So far, we have not accomplished the much-desired nationwide advance of the NPA from the strategic defensive stage to the strategic stalemate. The delay in achieving the strategic stalemate can be explained by the uneven development of the subjective forces nationwide and by the intensity of enemy reaction to the increasing tactical

offensives by the people's army. In criticism and self-criticism sessions and in sustained rectification campaigns, we must analyze what is preventing the people's army from carrying out its main duty of winning battles against the enemy through raids and ambushes. The first thing to look at is whether the Party is promptly and keenly carrying out the needed ideological, political and organizational work, whether there is stagnation or decrease of Party cadres and members and whether the work is lopsided.

However, all previous calls for reaching the threshold of the strategic stalemate have served to inspire our Party and the Red commanders and fighters to exert their best efforts to win victories in the people's war. As a matter of fact, in a few regions, the NPA has reached a certain level of strength and capacity as to allow greater interplay of initiative, flexibility and planning, wage more intensive and widespread guerrilla warfare, sustain tactical offensives and frustrate prolonged enemy campaigns.

The forces of the Party and the NPA in Eastern Mindanao must be cited for their heroic, wise and victorious example. They have demonstrated that they can grow stronger by fighting back against the most concentrated enemy attacks. Through more than ten years, they prevailed over such vicious enemy campaign plans as Bantay Laya and Bayanihan. One enemy chief of staff after another has been embarrassed by premature claims of victory. In the latest enemy campaign against the NPA in Eastern Mindanao, the premise is that the deployment of 24 percent of enemy combat forces (27 out of 113 battalions) would result in the defeat of 40 percent of total NPA strength.

Contrary to enemy expectations, the NPA in Eastern Mindanao has prevailed over its campaigns by taking advantage of the wide gaps in enemy deployment on rough terrain and has inspired the forces of the NPA in other regions of Mindanao and in the Visayas and Luzon to intensify their tactical offensives.

Most of the regional commands have responded to the Party's call to step up tactical offensives on the basis of their own capability and strength and after resolving problems through summings-up and criticism and self-criticism. Regions outside Eastern Mindanao benefited from the relative decrease of enemy forces due to the latter's concentration in Mindanao. In turn, the marked intensification of tactical offensives nationwide has significantly derailed the enemy's plan to further focus on and destroy the revolutionary forces in Eastern Mindanao. Thus, on a nationwide scale, the NPA has frustrated Oplan Bayanihan's aim of destroying or rendering it inconsequential.

In desperation, the enemy has organized paramilitary units to attack the Lumad indigenous people and murder their leaders. This has exposed the brutal character of Oplan Bayanihan and the US-Aquino regime which serves the interests of foreign companies and big comprador firms in landgrabbing and plundering the rich natural resources of Mindanao.

The Party has developed the closest alliance between the working class and peasantry by carrying out the highest form of struggle in the countryside. This basic alliance of the two largest classes, the most oppressed and exploited in Philippine society, is the foundation of the new democratic revolution, national unity and all possible alliances. To make the alliance of basic revolutionary forces, the toiling masses of workers and peasants join up with the urban petty bourgeoisie. The middle bourgeoisie can also be won over to a patriotic alliance. Even certain sections of the reactionary classes can be won over as temporary and unreliable allies in order to isolate and destroy the power of the enemy.

As the Party expands the united front, it exercises firmness of principle and flexibility in policy and maintains its independence and initiative. The point is to win over the masses in their millions, increase the strength of the revolutionary movement and isolate, weaken and destroy the enemy. The united front is a weapon applicable in various legal forms of struggle as well as in the revolutionary forms of struggle. It is carried out even more effectively because the Party and the people have their people's army that is deeply rooted among the toiling masses of workers and peasants.

It is a function of the united front to develop the cooperation of national and local officials of the reactionary governments in opposing policies and acts of national betrayal by the reactionary ruling clique and the gross and systematic violations of human rights by the coercive apparatuses of the state. It is also a function of the united front that the Party and other revolutionary forces encourage the critical participation of legal patriotic and progressives forces in the electoral process of the ruling system. It is further a function of the united front to develop close relations with armed movements of the Moro people against the reactionary state. Even the peace negotiations have a potential for promoting an alliance against foreign and feudal domination and laying the ground for

a just and lasting peace.

The organizational principle and line of democratic centralism has served the Party well in the maintenance and growth of the Party. The essence of democratic centralism is getting the information and proposals from all Party cadres and members through their leading organs and collective units and concentrating their will and strength for carrying out the urgent and long term tasks of the revolution. Centralism is based on democracy and guides democracy. The minority is subordinate to the majority. The lower organ is subordinate to the higher organ. The Central Committee, with members in different parts of the country has the Political Bureau and Executive Committee to make necessary and timely decisions. Depending on the significance and scale of decisions to be made, the Party holds its Congress and the meetings of the Central Committee, Political Bureau and Executive Committee, accordingly.

The Party continues to maintain and strengthen a nationwide organization, which is deeply rooted among the masses. In certain regions, the increased size and strength of the Party organization manifests the all-round advance of the revolutionary movement. In other regions, there may be major errors and shortcomings which adversely affect the organizational strength of the Party, including lapses in security which are not promptly and effectively corrected and result in the loss of cadres.

By whatever degree or frequency the enemy kills or captures leading Party cadres at whatever level, the leading organs have been able to replenish and strengthen their ranks with Party cadres and members from within the same region or area. Additionally, Party cadres have been transferred from one region to another to spread lessons from successful revolutionary struggles or reinforce or replenish a leading Party organ that has suffered dislocations and serious losses.

The revolutionary mass movement of various patriotic and progressive classes and sectors have generated highly conscious and militant mass activists who can be recruited immediately as candidate-members and sworn in as full Party members within the period of candidature stipulated by the Party Constitution. The background, bio-data and personality of the Party candidate-members as well as their basic understanding of the Party Constitution and Program are promptly checked and verified. Within their period of candidature, they undergo the basic Party course and perform their assignments in a Party unit.

The Party undertook a serious effort to increase its membership, registering a 33 percent overall growth. Although significant, greater effort is needed to harvest from the relatively broader mass base. The rate of increase has been adversely affected by disruptions in the mass base due to serious errors and enemy attacks.

The Party organs concerned and the Party branch or group that are responsible for developing Party candidate-members to full members sometimes or oftentimes neglect their duty to ensure the promotion of candidate-members to full Party members within or at the end of the period of candidature. The nonperformance of such duty hinders the continuous organizational growth of the Party. It would be edifying to study the relation of a stagnant or decreasing Party membership to the shrinkage of the mass movement and lack of well-rounded development of revolutionary work.

The Party Central Committee relies heavily on the regional Party committees for the organizational growth of the Party and on Party groups within national mass organization for strengthening central staff organs. It is problematic when a regional Party committee is immobilized for whatever reason and does not make and implement a periodic plan to educate, deploy and swear in promptly new Party members. It is also problematic when a regional Party committee fails to develop an increasing number of Party members for both urban and rural work and does not fulfil the continuous need in the countryside for Party cadres and members from among the workers and educated youth.

The Party organizations in the urban areas, especially in the National Capital Region, must develop their work in accordance with their two main responsibilities. There is a need to further invigorate the urban mass movement, organize and mobilize in greater numbers the workers, youth and students, women, professionals, urban poor and others, carry out more and larger protest actions, intensify the rifts within the ruling class and further isolate the ruling US-Aquino regime. Cadres and activists arising from and tempered in the mass movement must be deployed continuously and in large numbers to the countryside.

Regional Party committees have based themselves in the countryside. Sometimes some of them fail to give the prompt and proper attention to developing the city-based Party organization and to drawing from the urban areas workers and educated youth to become Party cadres and members. The Party cadres and members of peasant

origin always need to be augmented by workers and educated youth cadres for political responsibilities higher than the village level and for command and technical functions higher than platoon level.

There are central, regional, provincial and guerrilla front Party leading organs whose members are of advanced age and frail health. Such organs can be rejuvenated by including more members who are young and in their early middle age. A healthy and vigorous combination of young, middle-aged and senior Party cadres must be maintained in the aforesaid leading organs. While still capable, the senior members can continue with major tasks. Those who are sickly or with frail health must be looked after and properly located for their safety.

### ***Revolutionary tasks of the Communist Party of the Philippines***

The Communist Party of the Philippines and the Philippine revolution have withstood all attacks of US imperialism and the local exploiting classes. This is because the Party has clearly defined and carried out its ideological, political and organizational tasks. The Party must ably carry out such tasks in order to advance the Philippine revolution while the crisis of global capitalism and the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system is worsening and providing favorable conditions.

By all means, the Party must lead and advance the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war. No matter how long it takes, the strategic defensive must advance towards the strategic stalemate. This latter stage must develop for as long as it takes to build regular mobile forces, supported by the guerrilla forces, the people's militia, self-defense units or the mass organizations and the mass movement and prepare all revolutionary forces for the strategic offensive in the future.

The Party must continue to build itself ideologically. This is the first task and always the first requisite of Party building. To neglect it is to allow all kinds of subjectivism to arise, be it empiricism, dogmatism and outright revisionism. Without the constant study and application of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist theory guided by dialectical materialism and based on successful revolutionary practice, subjectivism can take the form of empiricism or basing oneself on experience without any theoretical guidance or direction; and can also take the form of dogmatism or relying on fixed ideas without concrete analysis of concrete conditions and developments.

Without the constant study and application of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist theory, we are liable to mislead ourselves or to come under the influence of the crudest ideology of the bourgeoisie, spread daily and most widely by the mass media, or by the most clever ideology of the bourgeoisie, generated by academic pedants who deliberately distort the theory and practice of the great communist leaders.

We must continue to study and build on the wealth of theory and practice that the Party has created under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It includes the basic documents of the First and Second Great Rectification Movements, the founding program of the Party, Philippine Society and Revolution, Stand for Socialism Against Modern Revisionism and the articles against neoliberalism, Gorbachovism, Dengism, Trotskyism and various schools and labels of anti-Marxism.

The Party has been able to create a treasury of Marxist literature in the course of successful revolutionary struggle and combatting wrong ideas and major errors within and outside the Party. It constantly applies theory to its practice and raises practice to the level of theory by regularly conducting assessments, summings-up of revolutionary practice, criticism-and-self-criticism, social investigation and class analysis and planning. Since the full restoration of capitalism in revisionist-ruled countries in the years of 1989-91, the Communist Party of the Philippines has stood at the forefront as a revolutionary party of the proletariat loyal to the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and relentlessly carrying out the people's democratic revolution with a socialist perspective. We have a party with a wealth of theory and practice to study in the basic Party course, to compare with previous and current revolutionary struggles in the intermediate Party course and to relate to the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in the advanced Party course.

We must have a plan to systematically carry out the three levels of Party study courses in order to strengthen ourselves ideologically. The more Party members who can finish the basic Party course during the period of candidature, the greater the number of Party personnel who can be relied upon to perform revolutionary tasks in the mass movement. The more who can finish the intermediate Party course and the advanced course as soon as possible, the more we can have cadres who can be in the leading organs of the Party and other revolutionary forces.

We must efficiently provide the basic Party course to all Party candidate-members. The courses can be given to small groups of five to ten participants anywhere in any room or under the sky and to bigger groups with better cover or more security precautions in areas of armed conflict. All Party members must be encouraged to read and

study the materials on their own even before taking a course. The study materials are easily available even in the internet. At every level of Party education, study materials must be simplified and accompanied by illustrated or audio-visual aid in various Philippine languages for the benefit of study participants who have less formal education. In addition to regular Party courses, Party units at all levels must diligently hold study sessions on such topics and articles as are useful for carrying out their revolutionary tasks, especially updates and Party analyses in *Ang Bayan* and other Party publications.

Theoretical education is meant to inculcate revolutionary principles and dialectical materialist methods of thinking and acting. There is no point in studying theory if it does not lead to a more comprehensive and deeper understanding of the general line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war, the recognition of friends and enemies of the revolution among the classes in the Philippine society, the use of such revolutionary weapons as the Party, the people's army and the united front; and the arousal, organization and mobilization of the masses for the seizure of political power.

The Party must ensure that the broad masses of the people are aroused, organized and mobilized in their millions through the mass organizations of various classes and sectors along the general line of people's democratic revolution as well as on the basis of specific class and sectoral interests. Periodic social investigation and class analysis must be conducted conscientiously at all levels in order to determine and grasp the concrete conditions on which the correct approach, tactics and methods for arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses must be based. A major factor behind the longstanding shortcomings in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the workers and failure to recruit them into their vanguard Party in large numbers has been the failure to keenly understand how neoliberal economic policies have aggravated the crisis of semifeudalism and concretely impacted on the trade unions and workers' movement. Consequently, the correct and effective tactics and methods of work for countering the neoliberal onslaught and hurdling the obstacles put up by the capitalists and the state are not firmly grasped and implemented.

As the party of the working class, the Party is deeply interested in the trade union movement and in developing therein a strong core of proletarian revolutionaries. There is a need to overcome economism and legalism and develop new tactics for the workers' strike movement and various types and forms of arousing and organizing the workers and carrying out massive and widespread workers' strikes with broad support from other sectors and from abroad. The trade unions must be turned into revolutionary unions, undertaking socialist education, developing proletarians conscious of their class and historic mission, raising economic struggles to political struggles, and keen to and undaunted by the schemes and attacks of its class enemies under the neoliberal regime.

The Party seeks to forge a strong alliance with the peasant masses and to realize agrarian revolution as the main content of the democratic revolution. Through the protracted people's war, the Party must integrate revolutionary armed struggle, agrarian revolution and mass base building. The New People's Army must be built as the principal weapon in carrying out the highest form of struggle for seizing political power. All Red commanders and fighters must undergo politico-military training and learn to fight by fighting. To gain the support of the peasant masses, the Party and the people's army must carry out the minimum and then the maximum land reform. They must build the organs of political power and the mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth, children and the cultural activists.

The Party must build the revolutionary united front for armed struggle. It must base this on the worker-peasant alliance which is best formed in connection with the people's war. The alliance must be expanded into an alliance of basic revolutionary forces which includes the urban petty bourgeoisie. This social stratum has such a strong influence in Philippine society that it can swing public opinion in favor of the revolution. The basic revolutionary forces must be expanded into a national united front that includes the national bourgeoisie.

Aside from accomplishing the alliance of all patriotic forces, the Party must take advantage of the splits among the reactionaries. It must have temporary even if unstable alliances with the lesser reactionaries in order to weaken, isolate and destroy the worst reactionaries as the enemy. In alliances with the national bourgeoisie and some of the reactionaries, the Party must maintain its own independence and initiative in order to preempt betrayals and surprise attacks at the expense of the revolutionary cause.

Alliances with the national bourgeoisie and with sections of the reactionaries can best be forged when the Party has an effective armed force and a strong mass base. These are respected by such allies and result in relations that are cooperative and fruitful in the interest of the people and the revolutionary cause.

The Party has been flexible enough to apply the united front policy on the electoral struggle within the reactionary ruling system. It has also gone so far as to undertake peace negotiations with the enemy ruling clique on the premise that truce and alliance is possible against foreign and feudal domination. But so far the crisis of the ruling system has not yet moved any ruling clique to forge a truce and alliance with the revolutionary movement. So far, every ruling clique since the signing of The Hague Joint Declaration of 1992 has chosen to use the peace negotiations to split the revolutionary movement and cause it to surrender. In this connection, the Party must continue to preclude any confusion or capitulation by constantly reminding the revolutionary forces and the people that the aspiration for a just and lasting peace can only be attained by fulfilling the people's demand for national freedom and genuine democracy. Indeed, there can be no peace agreement without addressing the roots of the civil war with basic social, economic and political reforms.

The Party must continue to uphold the organizational principle of democratic centralism. It is democracy guided by centralism and centralism based on democracy. The revolutionary will and capabilities of the Party membership is concentrated in Party congresses and elected leading organs operating under the principle of democratic centralism.

The Party of nationwide scale must be deeply rooted among the masses. It must expand and consolidate itself in order to accomplish greater victories in the revolutionary struggle. At various levels, we must have a recruitment plan for the purpose of Party expansion and an educational plan for the purpose of Party consolidation.

To expand the Party is to recruit more candidate-members from the mass organizations and the people's army. To consolidate the Party is to promote promptly the candidate members into full Party members by finishing the basic Party course within the period of candidature and to further activate them in the Party units to which they are assigned. Those who are already Party members are encouraged to get the intermediate and higher Party courses. The increase of Party members must result in the expansion of the revolutionary mass movement and the recruitment of a bigger number of candidate members than ever before.

The Party members must arise from or be deployed in various forms of mass organizations and various forms of struggle. The Party must fulfil the high demand in the people's army for Party members and mass activists who are of worker origin and educated youth. The urban-based mass activists can choose to fulfil the requirements of Party candidature either in the urban or rural areas. There must be an increasing number of Party members arising from or being deployed to the ranks of the workers, peasants and Red fighters.

Party leading and staff organs from the central level to the district level must see to it that the Party organization develops in both urban and rural areas and that there is a constant flow of young Party cadres and members from the urban to the rural areas so that certain political, professional and technical competencies can be transferred. When the Party in the countryside is isolated from the urban areas for a long while, senior Party cadres of more than 60 years at the regional level become predominant.

The length and style of work or study meetings of Party leading organs must be reformed. Meetings must be well prepared. Drafts are prepared in advance and the motions are collected also in advance. The presidium must see to it that all important matters are deliberated and decided within time limits. It is bad leadership to let meetings run for weeks and months and rob the attending cadres of precious time for work in their respective areas. It is also bad for security because the large amount of food and other supplies and the number of security personnel can be easily detected by the enemy.

The Party leading organs from the Central Committee to the provincial committees must have a three-thirds composition of senior, middle-aged and young cadres. The balance can be maintained by consistently promoting cadres to expand the number of committee members and increase the number of leading committees relative to the expansion of the Party and Party work. Senior cadres can opt to retire and, health permitting, be assigned as advisers to the committees to which they previously belonged. The Party must honor the comrades who retire and must provide them with sufficient security and health care.

There is a large number of overseas Filipinos. They are mostly migrant workers who have undergone secondary and tertiary education. They are also professionals working for international institutions and firms. They are also immigrants and permanent residents or even citizens abroad, especially in North America, who remain loyal to their motherland, and wish to support the revolutionary struggle of the Filipino people. They should be drawn to patriotic and progressive Filipino mass organizations. And the Party should organize within these mass organizations. At the same time, the overseas Filipinos can join non-Filipino institutions and organizations in the

host country.

The Party must develop relations of proletarian internationalism with Communist parties and workers' organizations abroad. The NDFP must develop relations of anti-imperialist solidarity with national liberation movements abroad and with anti-imperialist governments. The progressive mass organizations based in the Philippines and abroad must develop solidarity relations with all anti-imperialist and democratic forces abroad.

The Party, the NDFP and progressive mass organizations must encourage and rally the Filipino people at home and abroad to stand with the peoples of the world in struggle for national liberation, democracy and socialism against imperialism and reaction. The Philippine revolution is for the benefit of the Filipino people but it also contributes to the advancement of the struggle of humankind for greater freedom, democracy, development, social justice, cultural upliftment and international solidarity and peace. At the same time, the Filipino people are always grateful for the support they obtain directly and indirectly from the revolutionary struggles of other peoples.

**Forum on the GPCR in Amsterdam, May 29, 2016**

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It is important to celebrate and review the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) on its 50th anniversary. The GPCR gives us confidence in the current struggles for national liberation, democracy and socialism and gives us hope for the ultimate goal of communism. While the world capitalist system is now afflicted by unprecedented crisis, the GPCR gives humankind the hope that socialism can be attained and developed until communism is attained.

## ***1. GPCR influence in the reestablishment of the CPP Underscoring Mao's correct leadership in the ND and socialist revolution***

The Chinese revolution under the leadership of the working class, Communist Party of China and Comrade Mao Zedong has had a strong influence and impact on the Filipino people, especially the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the patriotic and progressive forces because it is a revolution that prevailed over semi-colonial and semifeudal conditions and against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism at the stage of the new democratic revolution and proceeded to the stage of socialist revolution and construction.

### *Position against modern revisionism and theory and practice of GPCR*

Filipino proletarian revolutionaries have always had the highest appreciation for Comrade Mao in leading the struggle against the rise of modern revisionism centered in the Soviet Union since the 1950s. So have they welcomed and supported Mao's theory and practice of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in order to combat revisionism, prevent the restoration of capitalism and consolidate socialism in China from 1966 to 1976.

The young proletarian revolutionaries reestablished the Communist Party of the Philippines in 1968 by learning from the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao and pronouncedly from the Chinese revolution. All these were underscored by their resolve to struggle and win the people's democratic revolution and proceed to the socialist revolution and build socialism in transition to communism.

### *Mao's theory of continuing revolution vindicated*

From 1966 to 1976, the GPCR was on the whole victoriously upholding, defending and advancing the socialist cause. But underlying the GPCR were the persistent efforts of the bourgeoisie to bring China to the road of capitalism. After the death of Mao in 1976, the Rightists headed by Deng Xiaoping in alliance with the Centrists carried out a coup d'état.

The coup brought to power the capitalist roaders and the class dictatorship of the proletariat was replaced by that of the bourgeoisie. By December 1978 the policy of capitalist-oriented reforms and opening up to the US-dominated capitalist world was proclaimed. The way was thrown wide open for the development of capitalism within China and for the integration of Chinese capitalism into the world capitalist system. In 1984, the communes were dismantled, thus breaking the alliance of working class and the peasantry.

The success of capitalist restoration in China proved that Comrade Mao was correct in posing the problem of revisionism and capitalist restoration and in putting forward as solution the theory and practice of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship. We owe to Comrade Mao a weapon by which to answer those who say that history cannot go further than capitalism and that socialism is dead. In fact, the people's struggle for national liberation, democracy and socialism is once more resounding in the world as crisis and wars beset the capitalist world, as monopoly capitalism knows no bounds for its greed and violence under the auspices of neoliberalism and neoconservatism.

## ***2. Current CPP view of Chinese society***

China is no longer socialist and CPC no longer a real CP. More on bureaucrat and private capitalism in China. Is China an imperialist power?

The view of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) is that Chinese society has ceased to be socialist since it came under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie through the successful coup in 1976. Since then, the bourgeoisie has taken over and changed the character of the ruling party despite the continued use of the name Communist Party. It has removed the proletarian revolutionaries from positions of leadership in the government,

army and police, the state economic enterprises and from the cultural institutions, the schools and mass media.

China has developed both bureaucrat monopoly capitalism based on the state-owned enterprises and a thriving private monopoly capitalism. These mutually support each other. The state sector of the economy has ensured the continued development of national industry and military production and has resisted the worst impositions of the imperialist powers, while Chinese private capitalism has enjoyed the benefits of collaborating with the state sector in promoting the big comprador capitalism in maintaining sweatshop production of consumer manufactures for export as well as in developing a big industrial bourgeoisie involved in heavy and basic industries providing supplies to the frenzy of private and public overconstruction.

#### *Consequences of the crisis of global capitalism*

The focus on the proliferation of sweat shops on the eastern coast of China and overheating due to the rapid spread of construction projects fueled inflation and corruption, which led to mass uprisings in Beijing and scores of cities in 1989. But the policy of incurring large public debt and continuing the private and public construction seemed to be able to keep high China's economic growth rate and tide China over during the Asian financial crisis of 1997, the global financial crisis generated by the US mortgage meltdown in 2008 and the ensuing public debt crisis of Europe. And now the China bubble bloated by extreme amounts of public debt for private and public construction to counter the shrinkage of export demand from US and the EU is bursting and causing further stagnation. The bad debts of local governments and private corporations can no longer be covered by further loose lending and the construction overdrive has to slow down as a huge number of office and residential buildings are unoccupied.

The dramatic decline of the Chinese economy since 2014 has come in the wake of the celebration of China as the second largest economy in terms of GDP although still far from the level of the priorly advanced capitalist economies in terms of per capita GDP. By Lenin's definition of the five economic features of imperialism, China qualifies as an imperialist power but still falls short of being fully such by virtue of the fact that it has not yet launched any war of aggression to occupy any country and turn it into a colony or semicolony in the course of expanding economic territory in the struggle for a redivision of the world. At any rate, China and Russia have further complicated and aggravated the inter-imperialist contradictions in the world.

#### *Polarization and class struggle*

At every stage in the development of Chinese capitalism, social polarization has occurred between the few who benefit most from exploiting the great mass of workers and the peasants who still number some 750 million. The most exploited have been the 150 million migrant workers and the great number of them who have been laid off by state and private enterprises due to the decline of exports and construction. The most militant and bloodiest uprisings on the widest scale so far have been those in 1989. But workers' strikes against deteriorating wage and living conditions and resistance of peasants to landgrabbing by local governments for the benefit of capitalist development projects have been spreading.

### ***3. Sino-Philippine relations and the maritime dispute Chinese taipans as factors in the Philippine economy***

Chinese taipans who are entrenched in the Philippines, like Lucio Tan, Henry Sy, the Salim group and others, are financed by China's banks and have grown big in finance, trade, real estate development, semi-manufacturing, plantations and mining. Philippine imports (mostly consumer manufactures) from China have increased because they are cheaper than those from elsewhere. In the aftermath of the Asian financial crisis of 1997, Philippine exports to China increased in the form of semimanufactures for the final assembly platforms in China and also in the form of mineral ores, which are underdeclared for the purpose of tax evasion.

#### *The maritime dispute in the South China Sea*

The Philippine and Chinese authorities collaborate in economic policy and trade relations even as the former cry foul whenever the latter make an encroachment on the exclusive economic zone (EEZ) and extended continental shelf (ECS) in the West Philippine Sea. By claiming to own 90 percent of the South China Sea, China is offending the Philippines and other ASEAN countries which have their EEZ and ECS under the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS).

#### *Prospects in the Arbitral Tribunal and possible further developments*

The Philippines has brought up a case before the Permanent Court of Arbitration (Arbitral Tribunal) in The Hague, pleading for the definition of the Philippine EEZ and ECS in accordance with the UNCLOS. The decision of the tribunal is expected to come out soon in favor of the Philippines. If that were the case, China would go into

tantrums and continue to prate that almost the entire South China Sea is under the indisputable sovereignty of China. But ultimately, China would calm down in the face of the world opinion and that of ASEAN. The Philippines will be able to have better diplomatic and trade relations with China. More than ever the US will have no reason to have its military forces based and deployed in the Philippines.

#### **4. US and China: collusion and contention**

##### *US-Sino relations in economic and security issues*

The relationship between the US and China in economic and security issues is one of collusion and contention. As the US increasingly declines strategically, it tends to be wary of countries it deems to be actual or potential rivals. Thus, it has become increasingly inclined to a policy of containment rather than of engagement towards China. It is determined to pressure China to restrain itself from siding with Russia and to undertake further liberalization of the economy and politics so that internal forces more friendly and more subservient to the US would prevail.

##### *Further US entrenchment in the Philippines under various pretexts*

Since the end of the Cold War, the US has used a series of false pretenses in order to justify further military entrenchment and intervention in the Philippines. It has used such pretexts as joint military exercises for training purposes, humanitarian missions, war on terror and now stridently for the protection of the Philippines from China in connection with the maritime dispute. But in fact the US maintains a neutral policy in the maritime dispute between China and the Philippines. It has not acted against the Chinese occupation of Scarborough Shoal and the reclamations in the Spratlys and has declared the maintenance of the freedom of navigation as its main interest.

##### *Developments in China affect the Philippines*

China is bound to become increasingly unstable in the years to come as a result of the long internal social polarization and class struggles and the current bursting of its big financial bubble. There will be intensifying contradictions within the ruling party and between the ruling party and the forces outside of it. The US has been trying to promote the Rightist forces within China that wish to cast away the Red flag or repudiate the Communist Party. But such a development could be the occasion of the dramatic resurgence of the proletarian revolutionary forces under the Maoist flag.

#### **5. China in the context of East Asia and the world**

##### *ASEAN, US-Japan security alliance, TPPA and US strategic pivot to East Asia*

To pursue its policy of containing China, the US is trying to use its traditional influence over the ASEAN, hype the US-Japan security alliance, exclude China from a Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement and carry out its so-called strategic pivot to East Asia. The so-called rebalancing of forces in the strategic pivot aims to concentrate 60 percent of naval assets and 50 percent of ground and air assets in the Asia-Pacific region. The so-called strategic pivot is actually a waste of resources because China will avoid a war with the US and the US is still very much bogged down in the bloody quagmires it has made for itself in the Middle East and Africa.

##### *Sino-Russia links in SCO, BRICS, AIIB and Silk Road and Belt projects*

The strategic partnership of China and Russia has emerged for quite some time. Becoming wary of the propensity of the US to unleash wars of aggression, they have been mainly responsible for putting together the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, pointedly against the US and the NATO. They have also formed the BRICS as an economic bloc, consisting of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa, to counter the worst US impositions. They have also formed the BRICS Bank to counter the IMF and US dollar dominance. China has established the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank by way of attracting investors in its plan to build the Silk Road and Belt as an outlet for surplus capital and as a new field of capital expansion.

##### *Worsening crisis: neoliberalism, state terrorism and persistence and possible spread of wars*

The crisis of the world capitalist system has been worsening at a rapid rate. The neoliberal economic policy has brought out the worst of monopoly capitalism by accelerating the accumulation and concentration of capital in the hands of the few and the unemployment of workers, impoverishment of the peoples and further underdevelopment of most countries. State terrorism has spread as the US and the puppet oligarchs try to suppress dissent and rebellion. And the US has stepped up war production as a major economic engine and has unleashed wars of aggression to expand economic territory for the multinational banks and firms.

#### **Conclusions**

*The Filipino people must pursue the Philippine revolution and explore united front with Duterte government*

The Filipino people must pursue the Philippine revolution. They cannot expect to win national liberation and democracy without relying on the exploited and oppressed masses of workers and peasants and developing various types of alliances. For the first time in the history of semicolonial politics in the Philippines, there is a president who has publicly expressed the wish to become the country's first Left president. We can explore the possibility of building a powerful patriotic and progressive alliance that may result in a government of national unity, peace and development.

*Arouse, organize and mobilize the masses against US imperialism and the local oligarchs, be vigilant and be ready for any eventuality*

We should persevere in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the broad masses of the people against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords. We must be ready for all eventualities. The conditions for the advance of the Philippine revolution are always becoming favorable because the social and economic crisis of the world capitalist system and the Philippine ruling system does not cease and keeps on worsening. The people are pressed by intolerable suffering to fight back and win political power against their exploiters and oppressors.

*Avail of all positive forces in the Philippines and abroad*

We must avail of all positive forces in building solidarity and gathering support for the Philippine revolution from our compatriots in the diaspora and from all the peoples of the world, including their parties, mass organizations and movements. The Filipino people must carry out the Philippine revolution not only for their own benefit but also for inspiring the people of the world to wage their revolutionary struggle. The Philippine revolution plays a signal role in the impending rise of revolutionary movements on an unprecedented global scale.

In concluding this presentation, let me stress that victory belongs to the Filipino people and the peoples of the world in the entire range of struggles for national liberation, democracy and socialism. The GPCR assures humankind that when socialism is attained there is a theory and practice to learn from and develop further in order to combat modern revisionism, prevent the restoration of capitalism and consolidate socialism until the stage of communism can be reached.

# *Preface to the French Edition of Philippine Society and Revolution*

August 2, 2016

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With the highest appreciation and deepest pleasure, I thank Comrade Christophe Kistler for translating *Philippine Society and Revolution* to French. His translation provides to the great number of French-speaking peoples a key to understanding the history and current circumstances of the Filipino people, their basic problems of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism and the people's democratic revolution as the solution to said problems.

The publication of the French edition responds directly to a demand for essential information about an armed revolutionary movement that has not only preserved itself but also has also grown in strength and advanced for nearly five decades in a country to which US imperialism attach a high strategic value as a bulwark for monopoly capitalist expansion and aggression in East Asia.

The book presents the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society, the current general line of people's democratic revolution, the motive forces and enemies of the revolution, the current tasks, and the socialist perspective of the revolution. It sheds light on the just, patriotic and progressive character of the Philippine revolution and explains why the ongoing people's war has surmounted tremendous odds and become one of the major and longest running revolutionary struggles against US imperialism and reaction.

It should be interesting for the French-speaking peoples to know that the current new democratic revolution in the Philippines is a continuation of the old democratic revolution of 1896 against Spanish colonialism that was inspired by the French revolution and resulted in the establishment of a bourgeois republic in 1899. For a long while, the Filipino people were the pioneer of the bourgeois democratic revolution in the whole of Asia and were the first to defeat a Western colonial power. But US imperialism carried out a war of aggression and completed the conquest of the Philippines by killing 1.5 million people from 1899 to 1913.

The protracted people's war in the Philippines has gained the attention of the French-speaking and other peoples for continuing the heroic revolutionary struggles against colonialism and imperialism and for prevailing over the Marcos fascist dictatorship and the pseudo-democratic regimes of the big compradors and landlords servile to and propped up by US imperialism. The US imperialists and their reactionary puppets have always sought to suppress the armed resistance of the revolutionary forces and people through violence and deception. But they have miserably failed.

The Filipino proletarian revolutionaries have excelled at combatting the ideological and political offensives of the big bourgeoisie even when these are laced by obscurantist "classless" or "supraclass" petty bourgeois jargon. They have also succeeded in combating modern revisionism, reformism and opportunism. Thus, they have the strength of will to lead the people in exposing, opposing and frustrating the most clever schemes of neocolonialism and neoliberalism.

The Philippine revolution is in the process of negating and outlasting the neoliberal policy of imperialist globalization. This is now unraveling, aggravating the crisis and problems of global capitalism and the Philippine semicolonial and semi-feudal ruling system and generating ever greater opportunities for the people to advance their revolutionary struggle. Inter-imperialist contradictions driven by economic monopoly competition are escalating. The wars of aggression and people's resistance are debilitating the imperialist powers. Opportunities for turning the imperialist wars to revolutionary civil wars are arising.

The perseverance, growing strength and continuing victories of the Philippine revolution can inspire other peoples to wage and advance their own revolutionary struggles and can contribute to the convergence of lethal blows on imperialism and reaction and to the weakening and ultimate defeat of these malevolent forces. Thus, we can look forward to a fundamentally new and brighter world of greater freedom, democracy, all-round development, social and environmental justice, socialism, international solidarity and peace.

The Filipino people's democratic revolution that is presented in *Philippine Society and Revolution* is guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It is led by the revolutionary party of the proletariat, the Communist Party of the Philippines, and is based on the worker-peasant alliance. It seeks to overthrow the joint class dictatorship of the big compradors and landlords and is fighting imperialist intervention and is prepared to fight further intervention

and aggression. It applies the strategic line of the protracted people's war, encircling the cities from the countryside to build the political and armed strength until the conditions are ripe to overthrow the class enemy that is entrenched in the cities.

The Communist Party of the Philippines has two powerful weapons: the armed struggle and the united front. The armed struggle is integral with the agrarian revolution and the building of the mass base. It has three probable strategic stages of development: defensive, stalemate and offensive. The united front involves an echelon of alliances, such as the basic alliance of workers and peasants, the progressive alliance of these toiling masses with the urban petty bourgeoisie and the patriotic alliance of the progressive forces with the middle bourgeoisie.

These alliances ensure that the revolutionary forces can take advantage of the splits among the reactionaries and mobilize the broadest possible alliance against the enemy as the narrowest target in the various fields and forms of struggle. The Communist Party of the Philippines wields the policy and tactics of the united front to serve the strengthening and advance of the armed struggle.

The people's democratic revolution has a socialist perspective. The socialist revolution begins as soon as the people's democratic revolution is basically completed. It aims to end the class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and to establish that of the proletariat, even as it takes the transitional form of the people's democratic republic. The socialist state of the working class carries out the socialist revolution and construction for an entire historical epoch and lays the ground for the ultimate victory of communism.

In this regard, the Communist Party of the Philippines adheres to Comrade Mao's theory and practice of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship by waging cultural revolution repeatedly in order to combat revisionism, prevent capitalist restoration and consolidate socialism. The Party has thus a means of understanding and explaining the course of revisionist betrayal in former socialist countries, learning important lessons from the past, winning victories in the current struggles and moving forward in the direction of socialism and communism.

The Filipino proletarian revolutionaries are resolved to carry out the new democratic and socialist stages of the Philippine revolution in order to contribute to the resurgence, advance and ultimate victory of the world proletarian revolution. They are determined to serve not only the Filipino people but also the peoples of the world in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and international solidarity of peoples against imperialism and all reaction.

**Jose Maria Sison**

**Author of *Philippine Society and Revolution***

**under the *nom de guerre* Amado Guerrero from 1968 to 1977**

**Utrecht, The Netherlands.**

**August 2, 2016**

Interview by *New Culture Magazine*, of the Communist Reconstruction Union of Brazil, December 2016

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1 – *What is your position towards Mao Zedong Thought or Maoism? Are there big differences between treating the theoretical contributions of Mao Zedong to scientific socialism as “Mao Zedong Thought” or “Maoism”? What would consist in taking Maoism as the third stage in the development of the theory of the practice of the proletariat? Would Maoism get in contradiction with the contributions given by other theoretical of scientific socialism, like President Kim Il Sung with its Juche Idea?*

JMS: There is no difference in content between Mao Zedong Thought and Maoism. When the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) used the phrase Mao Zedong Thought in 1969, all the major theoretical and practical achievements of Comrade Mao were encompassed. They are also encompassed in the word, Maoism, used by the CPP since the early 1990s. The phrase Marxism-Leninism-Maoism evokes continuity and advance. The appearance of the word Maoism is symmetrical to Marxism and Leninism.

Maoism has further developed all major components of Marxism and Leninism. In philosophy, Mao explicated materialist dialectics as applied by Marx in *Das Capital* and he penetrated further and elaborated on Lenin's reference to the unity of opposites as the most fundamental law of materialist dialectics. Previously, Engels had put forward the three laws of contradiction and Lenin focused on confronting empirio-criticism.

In political economy, Mao had an updated critique of monopoly capitalism up to bureaucrat monopoly capitalism in revisionist-ruled states and improved on the previous theory and practice of socialist revolution and construction in the Soviet Union. He elaborated on the relationship of the mode of production and the superstructure in the long socialist transition to communism.

In social science, he pointed to the proletarian class struggle against the bourgeoisie as the key link in all the mass struggles to advance the socialist revolution. He put forward the rectification movement as the way to deal with serious errors and to maintain and strengthen its integrity and effectiveness. He developed the strategic line of protracted people's war as the way for the peoples in underdeveloped countries to destroy the power of imperialism and reaction and achieve national and social liberation.

But what brings Maoism to the level of the third stage in the development of the revolutionary theory and practice of the proletariat is Mao's theory and practice of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in order to combat revisionism, prevent the restoration of capitalism and consolidate socialism.

Maoism does not reject but encompasses the principle and practice of self-reliance in Kim Il Sung's idea of Juche. It can encompass variations of emphasis on certain principles and policies in the application of scientific socialism in various countries with different historical backgrounds and circumstances. It is the constant duty of communist and workers' parties to integrate theory with concrete practice in various settings.

2 – *In Brazil, the theories of Mao Zedong concerning bureaucrat capitalism were not well studied. Could you explain what bureaucrat capitalism is and how does it manifest, nowadays, in the countries oppressed by imperialism?*

JMS: Bureaucrat capitalism simply means the corruption of state officials who use the state for the private accumulation of capital by themselves, their families and cronies. It may involve the state directly providing them with capital resources and privileges for their private business enterprises. It may also involve the establishment and operation of state enterprises for the benefit of private capitalists in various ways.

The government officials of the bourgeois state (and the revisionist-ruled state) are representatives and functionaries of the bourgeoisie. The high level officials are often members of the big bourgeoisie and are easily recognized as bureaucrat capitalists. These high bureaucrat capitalists recruit as their political agents and technocrats smart guys from the urban petty-bourgeois intelligentsia. These hirelings can also become big bureaucrat capitalists as they rise in rank in the bureaucracy and accumulate private assets in capital and land through corrupt practices.

3 – *It is known that the landlord system is one of the main characteristics of underdeveloped countries. How is the agrarian situation of the Philippines nowadays? How does the survivor of the semifeudal monopoly of the land in the Philippines relates with the situation of your country as a semi-colony of US imperialism?*

JMS: The Philippine social economy is still underdeveloped, agrarian, pre-industrial and semifeudal. The countryside is still ruled by the landlord class, while the cities are ruled by the big compradors. The landlords are still the most numerous and widespread exploiting class and the peasants are the most numerous and widespread exploited class in the Philippines. The landlords still own most of the land producing rice, corn, sugar and tobacco even as foreign and domestic holders of land operate plantations producing pineapple, banana, palm oil and rubber.

The big compradors are the chief trading and financial agents of foreign monopoly firms and are the wealthiest and most powerful in semifeudal society. They themselves are often big landlords to ensure control of agricultural exports in their hands. Thus, the cream of the ruling class is often referred to as the big comprador-landlord class. This is the class that dominates the present semifeudal economy in contrast to the overwhelming dominance of the landlord class in the feudal economy of the past, up to the end of the 19th century.

It was the US colonial regime that started the semifeudal economy and put the comprador big bourgeoisie in the top ruling position among the natives and mestizos at the beginning of the 20th century. By the time that the US shifted from colonial to semicolonial rule in 1946, the semifeudal ruling class of the big comprador-landlords had become well-developed. They became the principal trustees of the US and their political agents took charge of the bureaucracy from top to bottom.

*4 – The Communist Party of the Philippines has as one of the components of its political line the accomplishment of the new-democratic Revolution through the Protracted People's War, where the people's political power is built through the protracted armed struggle and the encirclement of the reactionary power of the old bourgeois State. What measures does the Communist Party of the Philippines take in the liberated areas, where it is at the head of all political, economic and cultural life? How are the liberated areas capable of sustaining themselves for so long in the face of the armed offensive of the old State? What is the extent of Red political power in the Philippines? What are the perspectives for the expansion of the liberated areas?*

JMS: The general line of the Communist Party of the Philippines is the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords. The political aim is to achieve national liberation, establish the people's democratic state and proceed to socialist revolution. The economic aim is to complete the land reform, industrialize the country, develop socialist industry and agricultural cooperation. The cultural aim is to develop a national, scientific and mass system of culture and education.

The CPP is the advance detachment of the working class and leads the revolution. It builds its branches in factories, farms, schools, offices and communities. It has organized the New People's Army as the main organization for defeating the enemy and overthrowing the ruling system. It has built aboveground and underground mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth, women, professionals, cultural activists and so on. The National Democratic Front encompasses the underground revolutionary forces in the united front. Towards building the people's democratic government, local organs of political power are being established.

The revolutionary forces and people carry out genuine land reform and turn backward villages into political, economic, social and cultural bastions of the revolution. Despite enemy campaigns of military suppression, the armed revolutionary movement has become strong by integrating Party leadership, armed struggle and mass base building. Red political power now exists in more than 110 guerrilla fronts with millions of people in substantial portions of 71 of 81 Philippine provinces.

The perspective and plan of the revolutionary movement is to advance from the stage of strategic defensive to that of the strategic stalemate by increasing the number of guerrilla fronts to 200, CPP membership to 250,000, the number of Red fighters with automatic rifles to 25,000, the membership of the mass organizations by the millions and the strength of the organs of political power at the village, municipal and provincial levels.

*5 – Is there still any performance of revisionist organizations in the Philippines? Do they have any influence among the masses? How does the CPP relates with these revisionist organizations?*

JMS: The revisionist party now calls itself the CPP-30. It has been rendered small and inconsequential as a result the anti-revisionist criticism and repudiation by the Maoist party since the 1960s. It has failed to shake off its notoriety for having been a running dog of the Soviet revisionist clique since the 1960s and for having openly capitulated to the Marcos fascist dictatorship in 1974. It does not have any significant mass following. Its main activity is showing up in revisionist gatherings abroad to slander and vilify the CPP, NPA and NDFP. The CPP

gives the revisionists a rebuff every time that they make an attack.

6 – *We know that, after the death of Mao Zedong, in 1976, a right-wing sector led by Deng Xiaoping emerges as the leadership of the Communist Party of China and initiates a series of policies that the Chinese government calls “reform and opening-up”. The emergence of this line in the power meant the end of the Cultural Revolution and the beginning of the capitalist restoration. Do you agree with the idea that nowadays China would be an imperialist country? Or that, even with all the changes, it still plays a positive role in the international arena?*

JMS: Indeed, the Dengist counterrevolution resulted in the restoration of capitalism in China and its integration in the world capitalist system. By Lenin’s economic definition of modern imperialism, China may qualify as imperialist. Bureaucrat and private monopoly capital has become dominant in Chinese society. Bank capital and industrial capital are merged. China is exporting surplus capital to other countries. Its capitalist enterprises combine with other foreign capitalist enterprises to exploit Chinese labor, third world countries and the global market. China colludes and competes with other imperialist countries in expanding economic territory, such as sources of cheap labor and raw materials, fields of investments, markets, strategic vantage points and spheres of influence. However, China has not yet engaged in a war of aggression to acquire a colony, a semicolon, protectorate or dependent country. It is not yet very violent in the struggle for a redivision of the world among the big capitalist powers, like the US, Japan, Germany and Italy behaved in joining the ranks of imperialist powers.

It is with respect to China’s contention with more aggressive and plunderous imperialist powers that may be somehow helpful to revolutionary movements in an objective and indirect way. China is playing an outstanding role in the economic bloc BRICS and in the security organization Shanghai Cooperation Organization beyond US control.

7 – *Some Latin American countries, like Venezuela and Bolivia, are facing political transformations in which sovereignty is affirmed and the contradictions with US imperialism is deepened. In the Venezuelan case, the Bolivarian government even speaks about transition to socialism. How do you evaluate those processes?*

JMS: The policies of Venezuela and Bolivia that are anti-imperialist, assertive of national independence and promotive of social reforms and socialist aspirations are admirable and deserve support. They deliver blows to imperialist hegemony and create opportunities for the advance of the revolutionary party of the proletariat and the popular masses. But it is doubtful whether the current enlightened and benevolent leaders of the Venezuelan and Bolivian government can carry out a socialist revolution without defeating the violent resistance of the imperialists and the local reactionaries.

8 – *The crisis in Syria was a theme that gained much repercussion in the year of 2013, as consequence of the direct maneuvers of US imperialism to enact a war against this country. It is known that these maneuvers were barred because of an unfavorable international conjuncture. In your opinion, which role would play a direct offensive against Syria in the logic of the US policy of world domination? How does the defeats suffered shakes the positions of the main imperialist power in the world geopolitics? What is the meaning of the cooperation between China and Russia to prevent a new alibi for war of the US government?*

JMS: China and Russia have made effective moves within and outside of the UN Security Council to prevent the US from bombing Syria and from igniting a regional war. By standing up for the national independence of Syria as well as Iran, they gain points from third world states. Thus, they increase their weight in dealing with the US and other imperialist powers in terms of inter-imperialist contention as well as collaboration.

The avoidance of war as a result of the diplomacy of Russia and China on the US is welcome. At the same, it is the lookout of Syria and Iran for allowing the US and its agents to enter freely their territories to search and inspect sites of chemical and nuclear stocks and activity. Also, it is not improbable that someday the US and its allies will bomb Syria and Iran on grounds of failing to comply with agreements. Agreements with the US did not render Yugoslavia, Iraq and Libya immune to US aggression.

# ***Unite and Strengthen the Party! Lead the National Democratic Revolution to Greater Heights!***

**Message of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines on the 48<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of its reestablishment issued on December 26, 2016**

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The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) joins all Party members and cadres, Red fighters and commanders of the New People's Army, all revolutionary forces and the entire Filipino people in celebrating the 48th anniversary of the Party's reestablishment on December 26, 1968. Let us extol all heroes and martyrs of the Philippine revolution who have selflessly served the people.

The Filipino people continue to wage and intensify their national democratic struggles amid the domestic and international crisis. For nearly half a century, the Party has led the Filipino people in waging their revolutionary struggles. They have together accumulated immense victories.

The Party is poised to lead the national democratic revolution to greater heights over the next few years and onwards to victory. It embraces and tirelessly studies Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in order to apply its theory and principles to sum-up our experiences, grapple with the current conditions and lay out the revolutionary path of advance.

## ***The Philippines is mired in a global and domestic crisis***

The entire world is mired in crisis. There are no exceptions. All capitalist countries are caught in the global quagmire of capitalist overproduction, financial crises, economic decline or stagnation. Likewise, the underdeveloped countries continue to suffer from foreign debt overload, trade deficits, rising prices of food and basic commodities, foreign plunder and environmental disasters. All over the world, people suffer from acute unemployment.

The neoliberal policy regime is increasingly isolated and discredited in the face of the protracted depression of the US and world capitalist system since 2008. It has utterly failed to bring about the reinvigoration of the capitalist system. In the past year, the capitalist world was rocked by upheavals such as the sharp fall of the China stock market in January and the Brexit (exit of the United Kingdom from the European Union). In the US, big capitalist Donald Trump is set to withdraw from the TPP and TPIP "free trade" talks and venture on his declared "US-first" policy to further boost US protectionism.

The neoliberal policies have brought about widespread destruction of productive forces, especially of the working class who are experiencing worsening forms of capitalist exploitation in all countries, including the highly industrialized capitalist powers. Various sections of the monopoly bourgeoisie are seeking a new approach to the crisis including a return to some sort of Keynesian economics.

The Philippine semicolonial and semifeudal system has been wallowing in a continuing and deepening crisis. The productive classes of workers and peasants are mired in poverty and socioeconomic difficulties as they suffer from chronic mass unemployment, low wages, contractualization and other oppressive labor policies, landlessness and landgrabbing, environmental plunder, rising costs of living and more frequent and more destructive natural calamities. The reactionary government fleeces the people with burdensome taxes while social services continue to deteriorate amid budget cuts, rampant corruption and state neglect.

Foreign monopoly capitalists, big bourgeois compradors and the landlord class continue to accumulate wealth and profit. They exploit workers especially in highly oppressive labor enclaves as well as centers of so-called "business outsourcing." In the countryside, they exact feudal land rent from land monopoly. They control vast tracts of plantation land operated directly by foreign-controlled agro-corporations and indirectly through so-called "contract-growing" agreements. The exploiting classes collaborate with bureaucrat capitalists to benefit from control of state funds and contracts.

The Filipino people are fed-up with the rotten ruling system. They seethe with revolutionary rage. They aspire to end the system of exploitation and oppression and are ever ready to wage revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the Party.

## ***Tasks for advancing the revolution***

In waging 48 years of revolutionary struggle, the Party has developed nationwide strength and prestige. It has

struck deep roots among the toiling masses of workers and peasants, as well as among other the urban petty bourgeoisie. It establishes links with the middle bourgeoisie and has formed tactical alliances and cooperation with some disenchanted sections of the ruling classes. The Party exercises leadership of the New People's Army and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP), as well as the growing number of local organs of political power representing the embryo of the people's democratic government.

The Party must further consolidate and strengthen itself ideologically, politically and organizationally in order to bring forward the national democratic revolution to greater heights. Using Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the Party must sum-up its experiences in order to identify and rectify its errors and shortcomings and carry out criticism and self-criticism.

We must focus efforts at completing the three-level study course of the Party. The task of leading study meetings should not be limited to cadres in education departments but must be shouldered by the biggest possible number of cadres. There must be a greater number of decentralized than centralized educational discussions and study meetings.

Ensure that candidate members of the Party complete the five-to-six-day Basic Party Course prior to becoming full members, that is, within six months for recruits from the basic classes, one year for those from the petty bourgeoisie and so on. The Intermediate Party Course must be completed by all Party members within a year of their full membership, and the Advanced Course, within two years.

The Central Committee will issue the necessary materials and guidelines to help accomplish these targets. The Party must firmly pursue the policy of boldly expanding its ranks without letting in a single undesirable. It can accelerate the recruitment of new Party members by developing the antifeudal mass movement as well as rapidly expanding of the New People's Army. At the soonest possible time, we must eliminate the backlog of activists who can be recruited as candidate members, as well as of candidate members who can be recruited as full members.

Within the year, all Party branches must plan out to build new branches by expanding to new barrios, factories, schools or colleges and communities, as well as by increasing the number of new NPA platoons. Ensure that all Party branches assemble all full members to approve an annual ideological, political and organizational plan and elect its executive committee.

The Party must further strengthen its leadership of the people's war by firmly directing the New People's Army in waging revolutionary armed struggle. The Party draws lessons, both positive and negative, from the successful advance of the revolutionary armed struggle in Mindanao, in order to address the stark imbalance between the development of the people's war in Mindanao, on the one hand, and the stagnation in Luzon and Visayas.

The Party and concerned commands of the people's army are intent on urgently resolving the overdispersal of NPA units in squads or teams in some regions in the counterproductive effort of covering a wide area with limited forces.

By deploying the strength of the people's army with the platoon as the basic unit and with front, inter-front and regional centers of gravity, we shall increase the NPA's capacity to exercise initiative and flexibility, have a sufficient core of Party cadres to ably lead the political and military work of the NPA, raise the morale of Red fighters and the masses, and enable them to carry out a slew of other tasks in waging agrarian revolution and base building. We can also accelerate the recruitment of new Red fighters and the formation of new platoons in order to cover wider areas of operation.

The Party must closely guide the NPA in developing the proper balance in its vertical and horizontal forces with the aim of conducting extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. The Party through the operational commands must wield the strength of the people's army at every given moment and given level, and develop the interplay and mobilization of forces in order to cause the wave upon wave advance of the people's war.

The local Party organizations in the countryside must be developed further. The Party must enable its local section committees to assume more responsibilities in leading Party branches in barrios and communities and in launching mass campaigns in order to unburden the NPA units and enable it to carry out its principal task of waging armed struggle. At the same time, the local Party section committees must develop its own armed units, both militias and full-time NPA units.

We must consolidate our mass base by actively carrying out antifeudal and antifascist mass struggles from the barangay to the municipal, district and even provincials levels; and waging anti-imperialist struggles against big

plantations and mining companies. We must invigorate political and cultural work among the masses, step-up the expansion of mass organizations, build the organs of political power and accelerate the recruitment of new Red fighters.

Through territorial and work conferences and other methods, the Party actively ensures the summing up and sharing of positive and negative lessons of Party organizations and undertakes the exchange of experiences of Party cadres and NPA commanders in order that the advanced experiences in some regions help accelerate revolutionary work in other regions.

The enemy has failed to suppress the advance of the revolutionary armed struggle in Mindanao despite sustained all-out military offensives since 2014. It will certainly fail in stopping the further advance of the NPA throughout the country.

Even as the people's war advances in the countryside, the mass movement of workers, student-youth and other democratic sectors must vigorously move forward in the cities to amplify the call for a national democratic revolution, support the people's war and fight for the democratic interests of the people.

Despite all-out efforts by the big capitalists and reactionary state to dismantle the unions of workers or prevent them from forming unions, the workers are ever eager to organize themselves and wage strikes and mass struggles to demand wage increases and an end to the flexible-employment schemes that subject them to extreme exploitation. In the face of worsening exploitation of workers, mass strikes are bound to erupt in the country in the coming years.

The peasant masses and minority people are waging mass struggles against landgrabbing and expansion of plantations, as well as against military abuses in the countryside. They must advance in nationwide mass struggles to demand land reform and oppose militarization of their communities. They have launched marches and caravans going to Manila to raise their protests. Urban-based democratic forces must generate all-out political, organizational and mass support for their struggles to draw national and international attention to their plight. They can also organize caravans to the rural areas in order to mobilize thousands from the cities to support the struggles in the countryside.

The Party calls on the activists among the student-youth to wage a cultural revolution to resist the continuing onslaught of imperialist ideology and colonial brainwashing through the dominant bourgeois mass media and the social media, as well as through computer games and various imperialist-sponsored trainings, scholarships and programs. Activists must carry out painstaking efforts at arousing, organizing and mobilizing the student-youth.

The Party urges the intellectuals to study the national democratic program and Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as tools for scientific inquiry and analysis and engage in social organizing and political activism. The Party urges the student-youth and other intellectuals to conduct social and class investigation among the toiling masses in order to study and help expose their concrete conditions.

The Party invites the best and the brightest among the student youth to join the New People's Army and serve in the people's war. Their integration with the workers and peasant masses in the people's army forges one of the most powerful creative force in history.

### ***Prospects of alliance and struggle with the Duterte regime***

At around the start of his term in July, Rodrigo Duterte, GRP 829 president, presented himself as a "socialist" and the first "Leftist president." He has had long friendly relations with the revolutionary forces in Mindanao and had expressed willingness to address the roots of the armed conflict. From a list of recommendees prepared by the NDFP, Duterte appointed Left personages from the national democratic mass movement to his cabinet and other government agencies.

Accordingly, the Party issued a policy of alliance and struggle, as an expression of the willingness of the revolutionary forces to forge cooperation along the patriotic and democratic aspirations of the people. At the same time, the Party is fully aware that key positions in his government remains in the hands of the Right. In particular, the reactionary armed forces remains firmly in the command of pro-US generals.

Thus, it is not altogether surprising that Duterte has blown hot and cold over his earlier grand declarations of an independent foreign policy. For several times now, he has announced his intention to abrogate the EDCA or the VFA only to backtrack soon afterward. He has also approved of the plan for the US military to conduct more than 250 military exercises in the Philippines next year, including the annual Balikatan exercises after having declared several times that US troops must be out of Philippine territory.

In terms of economic policy, he has largely relied on top managers and bureaucrats who are known exponents of the neoliberal prescriptions of the US-led International Monetary Fund-World Bank-World Trade Organization which perpetuated the worst of the neoliberal policies of the past regimes. The government's main economic managers and planners remain obsessed with attracting foreign investments by lowering wages and allowing foreign entities to own and operate large enterprises in the country. They repeatedly declare the need to do away with the constitutional limits on foreign ownership. Duterte himself seems to have set his sights on building the infrastructure for large labor enclaves that will integrate with China's Factory Asia blueprint.

Duterte has allowed the AFP to continue its armed operations in the countryside under Oplan Bayanihan. Not only do these trample on the spirit of the reciprocal ceasefire declarations, these have also brought about rampant cases of human rights abuses. There is also widespread condemnation of police and vigilante killings instigated by Duterte in his "war against drugs."

There is bound to be much uncertainty regarding the prospects of an alliance between the revolutionary movement and the Duterte government. There will be increasing instances of sharp differences and struggle as the people become increasingly restive over their worsening socioeconomic plight. They are fully-justified in advancing the national democratic struggle and demanding an end to the pro-imperialist, anti-people and antidemocratic policies.

The Party continues to support the peace talks and other means for possible agreement with the Duterte government on cooperation to realize basic patriotic and social reforms.

Indeed, the earlier enthusiasm over the NDFP-GRP peace negotiations has considerably waned because Duterte has refused to release all political prisoners through a presidential amnesty proclamation despite promising twice and agreeing to do so in the first round of peace talks,. Also, armed units of the AFP continue to be deployed in NPA guerrilla zones and guerrilla bases to conduct counterinsurgency intelligence and psywar operations resulting in widespread military abuses.

The unilateral ceasefire of the CPP and NPA has become increasingly untenable. Continuing Oplan Bayanihan operations, in particular, is forcing the NPA to engage in evasion maneuvers. There are bound to be armed skirmishes as the AFP conducts armed provocations. Thus, the termination of the CPP's unilateral ceasefire declaration becomes inevitable.

Nonetheless, the Party and the NDFP remain open to forging a bilateral ceasefire that would take effect simultaneous with the release of all political prisoners. The Party looks forward to the next round of talks on January 18-23 to be held in Rome, Italy.

The revolutionary forces estimate that negotiations on socioeconomic reforms and political and constitutional reforms can be completed in one or two years. This will give the Duterte government and the NDFP at least four more years to implement the agreements and help improve the situation of the people.

# ***Unite the Filipino People to Resist and Over-throw the Fascist US-Duterte Regime***

Message of the Central Committee on the 49<sup>th</sup> Party Anniversary on December 26, 2017

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The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines conveys its warmest greetings to the Filipino people and the entire membership of the CPP on the occasion of the 49th anniversary of the Party's reestablishment on the theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the general political line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war.

We salute all Party cadres and members for strengthening the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally, for successfully leading the New People's Army in advancing the people's war, for broadening the National Democratic Front, the revolutionary mass organizations and the local organs of political power, and for steadfastly marching at the head of the broad masses of the people in fighting for genuine national independence and democracy against the reactionary rule of the big bourgeois compradors and landlords subservient to US imperialism.

We pay the highest honors to all heroes and martyrs who have made the greatest sacrifice in order to advance the cause of the national democratic revolution. We recognize as well the contributions of so many veteran cadres and members who continue to dedicate their lives for the people's revolutionary struggle. The Filipino people are currently confronted with the Duterte regime's fascist tyranny, all-out war and headlong push toward a fascist dictatorship under the guise of a fake federal setup. Duterte and his militaristic minions are hell-bent on unleashing the full force of state terrorism to destroy the people's revolutionary and progressive forces and all resistance to his brutal puppet and reactionary rule.

The Party and revolutionary forces are resolved to resist and defeat the worst fascist onslaughts of Duterte through people's war, all-out mobilization of the exploited and oppressed masses and by building the broadest possible united front of all patriotic, democratic and positive forces and elements. The Party and revolutionary forces are optimistic that with arduous struggle and relentless hard work, they can overcome Duterte's fascist rampage and accumulate the all-rounded strength required to overthrow his fascist puppet rule and advance the revolutionary people's war to a new and higher level.

We are looking forward to mark the Party's 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary next year with even bigger and more momentous victories in the ideological, political and organizational fields. We will take the opportunity to look back at the Party's glorious history and celebrate the Party's heroic and indefatigable struggle as a way of looking forward and charting the future path of the national democratic and socialist revolutions in the country.

The Filipino people are suffering gravely under the Duterte regime's fascist tyranny, all-out economic liberalization and bureaucratic corruption. The entire Party and all revolutionary forces must exert vigorous effort to unite the Filipino people in a broad united front to resist and overthrow the fascist Duterte regime as they did the Marcos dictatorship and the Estrada regime.

## ***Build the broadest united front to overthrow the US-Duterte regime and its rule of fascist terror***

The Filipino people hold the US-Duterte regime responsible for perpetrating gross violations of human rights and other crimes through the use of state terrorism, imposing martial law in Mindanao and ordering the military to "flatten the hills" in unleashing an all-out war of suppression. The regime unleashed a wave of mass murder under its so-called war against drugs with an estimated 13,000 killed in one year alone, surpassing the number of killings under the 14-year Marcos dictatorship.

It carried out the brutal siege of Marawi City which was pounded by US-directed aerial bombardment and heavy artillery causing the massive destruction of people's lives, homes and civilian infrastructure. It carries out attacks against the toiling masses of peasants and workers, as well as against the Bangsamoro, Lumad, Cordillera and other national minorities. There are mounting cases of killings, massacres, illegal arrests and torture. There are unmistakable indications that Duterte's death squads have grown bigger and have been deployed nationwide and embedded within the police and military organizations.

The regime subjects civilian communities in the countryside to armed occupation, food blockades, military-imposed curfews and other forms of population and resource control, as well as drone surveillance, aerial bombings and shelling. Rural community schools and other socioeconomic initiatives are Red-tagged and attacked by

the military. Close to half a million people have been displaced from their homes as a result of AFP operations.

Duterte is obsessed with imposing a military and police approach to suppress the mounting clamor for fundamental social change amid the seething socioeconomic problems besetting the Filipino people. He made a complete turnaround from his earlier declaration of being a socialist and "the first Leftist president" in the country. He has totally reneged on his promises of sweeping reforms and of uplifting the lives of the impoverished masses.

The Duterte regime imposed its armed might on the Bangsamoro people through the Marawi siege and continuing deployment of large numbers of fascist troops in other Moro areas to carry out the armed suppression of Moro resistance. By doing so, Duterte wants all Moro groups to submit themselves to his watered-down Bangsamoro Basic Law or to his plan of a pseudo-federal government. Duterte is completely discredited for its failure to fulfill its promise of solving the illegal drug problem within the first six months. Worse, it has been exposed that his relatives (including son Paulo and son-in-law Carpio) and associates are involved in the smuggling and distribution of illegal drugs.

Duterte issued Proclamation No. 360 terminating the peace negotiations with the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) and thus, rejecting further efforts under his rule toward a negotiated solution to the long-running civil war. He subsequently issued Proclamation No. 374 to proscribe the CPP and NPA as terrorist organizations under the RA 10168 (The Terrorism Financing Prevention and Suppression Act of 2012). Duterte has willfully and maliciously followed the baton of the US imperialists who have long made use of including the CPP-NPA in its "terror list" to further justify military intervention in the Philippines.

The resort to terror tagging is a futile attempt to discredit and attack the Filipino people's revolutionary forces and their age long aspiration for national freedom and social justice. It also aims to cover-up the state-sponsored terrorism wreaking havoc on the lives and livelihood of the people. It sets the stage for a ruthless clampdown against the legal democratic and progressive forces. It is also an overt threat against all forces who are supportive or sympathetic to the Party and people's revolutionary government or are deferential to its authority. Duterte's vicious attacks against the Party and the national democratic forces aims to consolidate the support of the US government and AFP for his tyrannical rule. It serves his strongman ambitions of establishing a fascist dictatorship.

He perpetuates and practices corruption by making use of public funds to consolidate his rule and monopolize political power. The House of Representatives is a veritable rubber-stamp with Duterte's super-majority in place. The Senate is not much better in exercising independence or its much-touted role as a "fiscalizer." He has threatened the chief justice with impeachment to keep the supreme court toeing the line. Plans are afoot to railroad the revision and supplantation of the 1987 constitution next year through a constituent assembly to establish a pseudo-federal form of government where he will sit on top and at the center. The most detested plunderers and political dynasties as well as highly discredited politicians (Arroyos, Marcoses, Estradas and the like) are looking forward to be installed as ministers or officers of Duterte's federal government project.

Duterte has exposed himself thoroughly as a tyrannical chief executive of the oppressive and exploitative semi-colonial and semifeudal system. He is basically no different from previous reactionary puppet rulers, and in some ways, has proven himself much worse especially in terms of brazen use of fascist terror and gross disregard for human rights.

He is set on all-out liberalization of the economy in accordance with US imperialist imposition. He plans to take advantage of scrapping the 1987 constitution to push for the complete removal of constitutional provisions protective of economic sovereignty, national patrimony and Filipino entrepreneurs. . He has railroaded a new tax law which aims to increase government revenues by PHP 600 billion by imposing a heavier tax burden on workers and peasants through increased excise taxes on sugar-sweetened drinks, liquefied petroleum gas (LPG), diesel, kerosene, gasoline and other oil products, coal and other consumption goods and services. This is bound to cause further impoverishment of the toiling masses as the cost of living spiral up and real wages plummet.

Duterte's avowal for free land distribution was mere lip service. There are now increasing number of cases of land use conversion where peasant tillers and farm workers are evicted from their lands in favor of real estate and ecotourism projects and expansion of corporate plantations. Tens of thousands of peasants are denied control of their land by deceptive agribusiness venture agreements with big capitalist plantation owners.

The Duterte regime has perpetuated the policy of privatization under which the people continue to suffer from deteriorating public health, education and transportation, spiraling costs of communications, public conveyance, water, electricity and other utilities. The much lauded free tuition law is threatened with budget cuts to state

colleges and universities.

The Duterte regime is increasing allocations for the military to fund the formation of at least ten more battalions of combat troops and the purchase of new weaponry. In addition to definite allocations to the defense department, the Office of the President controls billions of pesos of discretionary and intelligence funds preferentially used for the military at the expense of more basic needs of the people.

The Filipino people abhor the Duterte regime for its false promises of reform and utter contempt of the toiling masses, for its subservience to the US imperialists after making false patriotic pretensions, for claiming to denounce corruption but using public funds to line the pockets of his loyalists and extend privileges to favored oligarchs and for perpetrating a campaign of death and destruction in complete disregard of human rights.

The Filipino people, therefore, demand an end to the fascist, puppet and corrupt Duterte regime. The people have the sovereign right to resist and overthrow an oppressive and tyrannical regime. They are fully justified to exercise this right as they did in getting rid of the Marcos and Estrada regimes.

Demonstrations are being mounted more frequently including those of Lumad, Bangsamoro, Cordillera and other national minorities exposing military abuses. There is a growing peasant movement to occupy and cultivate idle lands. Mass struggles have been carried out by workers, homeless people, jeepney drivers, students and other sectors. Duterte's plans and maneuvers to establish a fascist dictatorship have been met with increasing mass demonstrations over the past few months. These are dress rehearsals for bigger protest demonstrations to come.

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### ***Duterte's fascist tyranny gives people reason to wage revolution***

Ruthless fascist tyranny and all-out economic liberalization under the US-Duterte regime give the Filipino people all the more reason to wage a national democratic revolution with a socialist perspective. Anti-people and pro-imperialist policies of the Duterte regime exacerbate the oppression and exploitation of the toiling masses under the semicolonial and semifeudal system.

This system is characterized by complete lack of national freedom, economic backwardness, ever worsening forms of exploitation and oppression and all-pervasive bureaucratic corruption under the rule of reactionary classes of big compradors and landlords. All the worst facets of the semicolonial and semifeudal system have deteriorated over the course of more than 70 years.

Generation upon generation of Filipinos suffer from national humiliation and indignities inflicted by the US imperialists. They trample on Philippine sovereignty and prevent the country from attaining genuine national independence and economic development. The country is made to endure unequal treaties which give the US military extraterritorial rights on Philippine soil, a grave insult against every freedom-loving Filipino.

The country has been condemned to serving as a source of cheap natural and human resources. The local economy is backward, agrarian and non-industrial and is dependent on imported goods. Hundreds of thousands of hectares of land are controlled by big plantations devoted to pineapple, banana, oil palm and other crops for export. Millions of hectares of land remain in the hands of big landlords who rely on feudal and semifeudal exploitation of peasants and farm workers and where production remains largely small-scale and backward. The Filipino people are denied the right to make use of the country's mineral resources for domestic industrialization and manufacturing as these are extracted and taken away by foreign mining companies.

What local manufacturing exists is merely semi-processing and assembly of imported components which serve as an adjunct of the international production chain of foreign big corporations. There is no industrial base to speak of, much less of industrial production which address the needs of the domestic economy.

Economic productivity has been on a general decline, and at an increasingly rapid rate since the 1980s. Decline in manufacturing and agricultural productivity has made the economy ever reliant on imports of foreign consumer goods, which in turn, stymies domestic production.

Unemployment and underemployment rates continue to rise despite efforts to reduce the number through statistical sleight of hand. The acute shortage of available jobs compel thousands of Filipinos to leave the country daily to seek employment abroad where many suffer slave-like conditions and grave forms of abuse.

Under the semicolonial and semifeudal system, the Filipino people suffer more and more from landlessness, unemployment, slave wages, rising cost of living, widespread poverty, hunger, disease and an overall deterioration

of socioeconomic conditions.

Decade upon decade, the prevailing conditions of the vast majority of Filipinos have decayed. The Filipino people are strongly motivated to wage a national democratic revolution because they seek to put an end to their grievous sufferings. Drawing inspiration from the anticolonial resistance of their forebears, the Filipino people are determined to achieve national liberation or complete freedom to determine the country's destiny independent of US imperialist dictates and towards socialism.

The national democratic revolution aims to achieve social liberation and economic freedom. It aims to carry out land reform to address the main democratic demand of the peasantry, who comprise the biggest economic class in the country. There has been no genuine land reform in the Philippines over more than 100 years under US colonial and neocolonial rule. Whereas, upon the establishment of a people's democratic government, land reform in the Philippines can be completed in a couple of years.

Combined with land reform, the national democratic revolution aims to carry out national industrialization to modernize the economy and raise national productivity to enable it to provide the people food, water, clothing, shelter, medicine and other basic necessities, as well as respond to the people's needs for energy, transportation, communications and cultural upliftment. The NDFP's draft of the Comprehensive Agreement on Socioeconomic Reforms (CASER) gives a detailed road map of such a plan.

The national democratic revolution aims to establish a people's democracy and put an end to the rotten political system of the reactionary classes and its elite system of political parties dominated by ruling class dynasties and warlords. The people aspire to establish a people's democratic government. It is essentially a united front government or a coalition of such democratic classes as workers, peasants, the middle and petty bourgeoisie. It is under the leadership of the working class and has the NPA as its main armed force. It defends and upholds the people's civil, political, economic and cultural rights.

The seeds of the people's democratic government have long been sown and are sprouting in the form of people's committees in rural areas from the village level up to the municipal level. A growing number of these committees have been elected by people's assemblies.

### ***The Party and the people's democratic revolution continue to accumulate strength***

For almost five decades now, the Communist Party of the Philippines has persevered in leading the Filipino people in waging a people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war upon its inception, growth and advance. It has made great strides and accumulated highly significant victories. It has overcome continual all-out counterrevolutionary attacks by the local reactionary classes with the support of the world's most powerful imperialist power.

The Party has accumulated a treasure trove of valuable experiences and lessons both positive and negative in the past 49 years that we should fully and wisely use to vigorously advance the armed struggle to a new and higher level. It now has a much firmer understanding of the specific characteristics and requirements of every region and interrelationships between regions and major islands in fighting and defeating every counterrevolutionary armed offensive launched by the enemy. Party cadres should be good at learning from their own experiences and from the most advanced experiences from other fronts, units, and regions. We continue to seek lessons from the long history of revolutionary struggle of the Filipino people as well as the successful revolutions especially in China and Vietnam.

Adapting the strategy of protracted people's war to local conditions and particularities of an archipelagic country, the Party has self-reliantly developed the New People's Army from scratch in 1969 to a nationwide army of several thousand Red fighters, organized into platoons and companies with an arsenal of both modern high powered rifles and indigenous weaponry. At every stage, the Party integrates armed struggle, agrarian revolution and base building.

The people's democratic revolution has outlasted all past puppet administrations who tried and failed to destroy the revolutionary movement by launching counterrevolutionary strategic offensives one after another. In the past five years, it has steadily accumulated strength by seizing the initiative in frustrating the enemy's war of suppression, especially in the Mindanao regions.

The Party is carrying out rectification to overcome such problems as military conservatism, guerrillaism, failure to persist in developing and mastering the platoon as basic formation and building the vertical forces to steadily build up annihilative capability, overdispersal of forces into teams and squads over long periods leading to passivity and excessive vulnerability to annihilation and disintegration especially in conditions of intense enemy operations, and weak grasp of building company-sized guerrilla fronts and interconnected company-sized guerrilla fronts that are required for ensuring the wide and deep mass support for intensified and sustained guerrilla warfare. In the past year, the overall number of Red fighters continued to grow despite temporary setbacks in some areas.

The Filipino people and their revolutionary forces under the NDFP and the people's democratic government are co-belligerents with the reactionary state in the civil war that has raged in the past several decades. While waging people's war, the NDFP has engaged its adversary in peace negotiations in the past 25 years with the aim of forging agreements to resolve the roots of the armed conflict.

The Party is deeply rooted among the masses. It has thousands of branches and sections in rural villages, factories, universities and school campuses, urban communities, offices and among the mass organizations of workers, peasants, the semi-proletariat, national minorities, youth, women, small professionals and others. In the past year, the Party's membership swelled by several thousand new members and cadres. There is also a notable expansion in the number of Party branches and Party-led revolutionary mass organizations and mass activists. The entire Party is inspired by the successful Second Congress held last year which further strengthened its unity and determination to advance the national democratic revolution to even greater heights and which updated its basic documents and elected a new leadership.

The Party steadfastly adheres to the interests of the oppressed and exploited classes of workers and peasants and forges the basic alliance primarily by building the New People's Army, waging agrarian revolution and building local organs of political power. It further builds a progressive alliance with the petty bourgeoisie and a patriotic alliance with the national bourgeoisie. It takes advantage of splits among the reactionaries in order to isolate and target the most reactionary faction.

The Party continues to assiduously study and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism on concrete conditions in the Philippines. It constantly carries out social investigation and class analysis to grasp the concrete conditions and emerging trends and phenomena in the Philippine mode of production and the alignment and relations of class

forces. The Party carries out criticism and self-criticism in order to rectify errors and overcome shortcomings.

Under the Party's leadership, the people's democratic revolution has successfully moved forward against the international current of great, albeit temporary, setbacks and reversals in socialist revolution, as a result of the Soviet-centric modern revisionist betrayal from 1956 onwards and imperialist neoliberal political and ideological offensive from the 1980s onwards.

The Party supports international anti-imperialist unity and cooperation among people's organizations amid the increasingly insoluble global capitalist crisis of overproduction and the worsening conditions of the toiling masses and middle classes in both the global capitalist metropolis and in the vast international countryside of backward countries. At the same time, the Party continues to promote Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and international proletarian unity.

***Aim to win ever greater victories and advance the revolution***

The Central Committee calls on the entire membership of the Party to brace for more difficult struggles ahead amid the increasingly ruthless war being waged by the US-directed Duterte regime against the Filipino people and their revolutionary forces. At the same time, we must aim to win ever greater victories by continuously going deep among the people and rousing them to resist and wage all forms of struggle against the fascist tyranny.

The Party and all revolutionary forces must unite the Filipino people and lead their struggles against the fascist US-Duterte regime. The revolutionary forces must continue to inspire and embolden the people in order to resist the Duterte regime's fascist terror.

The national democratic mass movement has twice proven in the past that it can cause the overthrow of a reactionary regime by mounting demonstrations of hundreds of thousands or millions of people and combining with various social and political forces to isolate the reactionary clique and compel the military and police to withdraw support. By unleashing brutal attacks and gross violations of human rights, the Duterte regime is inciting the people to fight back, mount demonstrations and wage all forms of antifascist struggle.

The Party and the national democratic forces must lead campaigns and struggles to link the antifascist resistance against the Duterte regime with the people's anti-imperialist and antifeudal struggles. They must expose and denounce Duterte's subservience to US imperialism and campaign for an end to US military presence and intervention in the country. They must also call for an end to neoliberal policies in mounting workers' struggles against contractualization and for wage increases, in advancing the movement of homeless people to occupy idle housing projects, in the struggle of jeepney drivers against corporatization of transport services and so on. They must expose the big foreign mining and plantation interests that are behind the ruthless fascist suppression against peasants and national minorities. At the same time, they must continue to vigorously wage land reform struggles nationwide demanding the dismantling of haciendas and the scrapping of so-called agribusiness venture arrangements and similar arrangements which deny peasants ownership and control of land.

The revolutionary forces are keenly aware that the removal of the Marcos (1986) and Estrada (2001) regimes did not amount to a social revolution but allowed the national democratic forces to expand and gain strength. Similarly, by waging antifascist, antifeudal and anti-imperialist struggles against the US-Duterte regime, the Party and all revolutionary forces must be able to expand manifold its reach and membership. In particular, the New People's Army must be able to recruit more and more Red fighters as the Duterte regime clamps down more and more on legal avenues of democratic expression and struggle and give the people no other recourse but to join the armed revolution.

The NPA must intensify guerrilla warfare throughout the whole archipelago, launch tactical offensives against units of the AFP, PNP and attached paramilitaries, as well as punitive operations against the worst plunderers and corrupt officials, political and crime associates, and death squads of the Duterte regime.

We must frustrate the plan of the US-Duterte regime to defeat the NPA before the end of 2018. It aims to do so by concentrating its attacks first in the guerrilla fronts in the eastern and other Mindanao regions and then on Luzon and Visayas.

We will surely frustrate the counterrevolutionary plan of the US-Duterte regime as we did in the past puppet regimes. We must firmly lead the NPA in seizing the initiative, be good at planning, and in achieving fluidity by applying the guerrilla tactics of concentration, dispersal and shifting.

The various levels of command of the NPA from the national down to the guerrilla front must be able to direct and coordinate the guerrilla units and areas under their responsibility so that each and every unit and area is

guided and encouraged to actively fight and contribute, according to their actual situation and ability, to delivering repeated annihilative and telling blows against fascist forces where and when they least expect them while constantly pushing the enemy to overstretch, expose its weak parts and lose focus. Every guerrilla unit and area must know and do its part in order to fight and defeat the enemy's win-hold-win campaign strategy.

There can be different types of coordination in order to carry out counter-campaigns of annihilation and attrition at the interregional, regional and subregional levels, particularly in wide areas with thousands of barrios and hundreds of thousands of mass support covered by interlocking guerrilla fronts.

Other regions outside of Mindanao will do their utmost to carry out widespread campaigns of annihilation and attrition based on their strength and capability, build more platoons and companies, expand boldly the number of guerrilla fronts, and grow in strength and get prepared when the enemy decides to bring their focus on them.

The NPA should develop partisan and commando units to conduct sabotage operations against the enemy communications system, military hardware, intelligence system and supplies and punitive actions against specific targets in the urban areas, such as notorious human rights violators, corrupt officials, drug lords and other chiefs of criminal syndicates.

We must make the most of victories in tactical offensives, in political work and other spheres by systematically employing the gains to further strengthening the disposition and development of platoons and companies, horizontal and vertical forces and company-sized guerrilla fronts. We must always pay attention to the correct balance between consolidation and expansion and be good at advancing wave upon wave to intensify and advance guerrilla warfare in a sustained manner.

Duterte seeks to use sophisticated weapons provided by the US military. We must study these weapons, their capabilities and limitations, in order to adapt to them defensively and offensively. At the same time, we must plan to destroy or seize these weapons to use against the enemy.

While we carry forward the task of uniting the Filipino people to wage resistance against the Duterte regime, let us look forward to marking the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Party's reestablishment next year. Let us do so by continuing to fulfill the tasks specified in the three year (2017-2019) program promulgated by the Central Committee in its first plenum after the Second Congress.

Let us fulfill our targets for Party recruitment by applying the principle of boldly expanding without letting a single undesirable in. Let us build more Party branches in ever bigger number of factories, rural villages, urban communities, universities and so on. Strike deep roots among the people, uphold their interests and lead their struggles.

We must tirelessly conduct ideological consolidation. Concrete plans must be drawn up to fulfill targets for completion of the three level Party course. Let us regularly sum-up our experiences at various levels and in different areas of work.

Let us train more and more Party cadres and promote young cadres by conducting a thorough and comprehensive study and training program. Leading committees must initiate to conduct work conferences (on military work and army building, implementing the minimum and maximum program for land reform, waging antifeudal mass campaigns, mass work and base building and so on) to regularly sum-up our work and draw lessons from positive and negative experiences.

We must continue to deploy an increasing number of Party cadres from the working-class and young urban intellectuals to the New People's Army to serve as Red commanders and political guides of our ever growing number of guerrilla platoons and companies. Activists who are being persecuted and hunted down by the military and police can avail of the security of the NPA. We must expand, strengthen and deepen the revolutionary underground mainly among the basic sectors and middle forces in the cities.

The Central Committee instructs all leading committees to plan to mark the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Party next year. Let us take effort to recognize all the heroes and martyrs of the Party and the Philippine revolution. Let us carry out a cultural campaign to celebrate the accumulated victories of the Philippine revolution. Let us take the opportunity to sum-up our Party's entire history of 50 years, as well as our recent history of 25 years in order to chart the course for advancing the people's democratic revolution in the coming years.

Let us conduct a study campaign to reaffirm our adherence to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. There must be a campaign to study and review the classical writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao, as well as other great communist teachers. Let us mount a campaign to mark the 200<sup>th</sup> birth anniversary of Karl Marx and continue to

celebrate the centennial of the October Revolution. Let us study the concrete experiences in building socialism and how it was reversed through by modern revisionist betrayal. Let us study the grave capitalist crisis and how a socialist revolution remain the only solution.

The reactionaries and counterrevolutionaries taunt the Party for yet being unable to achieve complete victory after close to fifty years of waging a people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war. They obscure the fact that the ruling semicolonial and semifeudal system in the Philippines continues to decay and rot. It is moribund and must be completely terminated through a national democratic revolution.

By wielding its current strength and accumulated victories, and taking advantage of the objective domestic and international conditions, the Party is bound to accelerate its growth and achieve bigger victories in the years to come.

Overthrow the fascist US-Duterte regime!

Down with imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism!

Long live the people's democratic revolution!

Long live the Filipino people!

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Advance on the road of people's democratic revolution!

Fight for the socialist future and the ultimate goal of communism!

# ***Effect of the Institutional Development of the Communist Party of the Philippines until the Present***

Interview for an academic paper by Christine Montefalcon

January 11, 2018

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1. *How do you define the Communist Party of the Philippines?*

JMS: The CPP is the revolutionary party of the Filipino working class. Membership is on an individual basis. It is assumed that industrial workers easily understand the Marxist-Leninist theory and practice of the party. But individuals from other social classes can apply for membership if they accept the Constitution and Program of the CPP and are willing to remold themselves as proletarian revolutionaries or communists.

2. *Are there any benefits or services provided by the CPP to its members? What are they?*

JMS: The main incentive for CPP members is to serve the people and perform the leading role of the CPP in the people's democratic revolution at this stage of the Philippine revolution. To be a CPP member, one runs the risk of being imprisoned, tortured and martyred and must be aware of this risk before any consideration of material benefits or services, aside from the education, comradeship and collective work that satisfy the CPP member more than any material compensation. CPP members who have property and incomes are required to pay membership dues according to their means. CPP members who work full-time for the CPP receive salaries or allowances, health care and other forms of assistance from the CPP if they do not have any other source of income. To the extent of its influence, the CPP can also enable its appropriate and competent members to get employment in private and public enterprises and offices.

3. *Elaborate on the organizational structure of the CPP.*

JMS: Please consult the CPP Constitution. The Central Committee is the highest leading organ of the CPP. It has related central organs like the Political Bureau, Executive Committee, General Secretariat, Military Commission, National United Front Commission and Central Publishing House. Below the CC are the territorial leading committees of the following: regional, provincial, district, guerrilla front, section and local branches.

4. *Since the CPP has existed for quite a long time, has it grown, gotten smaller or stayed the same in the last few years? What are the significant factors or reasons responsible for this change?*

JMS: From its modest start of around 200 members in 1968, the CPP has grown large to its current level of nearly 100,000. It has not decreased but increased in the last few years. It has grown large nationwide because of the chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system. The workers, peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie are opposed to the escalation of oppression and exploitation. The CPP and the legal mass organizations can therefore easily arouse, organize and mobilize them for mass struggles against the reactionary government. The most advanced activists eventually join the CPP and the NPA to carry out the revolutionary armed struggle.

5. *Who are the people most likely to come into or leave the organization?*

JMS: Those who are most inclined to join the CPP are the workers, peasants and the urban petty bourgeois (especially the lower middle class intelligentsia). Those who are inclined to leave the CPP are the few who fail to grasp the theory and practice of the CPP, who cannot endure the sacrifices involved in the struggle and those who lack discipline and violate the rules.

6. *With regard to the social capital of the CPP, what major factors cause its change or development over the years?*

JMS: The CPP leadership and membership make advances in applying the Marxist-Leninist theory on the concrete conditions of the Philippines, in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses for struggle and in recruiting CPP members from the mass activists and Red fighters of the NPA. The CPP keeps on forming the mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, youth, children, cultural activists, units of the NPA, affiliates of the NDFP and the local organs of political power (committees of people's self-government).

7. *In concise terms, how was the social capital of the CPP during the pre-martial law, martial law, and post-martial law period?*

JMS: Before martial law of 1972, there were already legal mass organizations struggling for national and social liberation. They were forced underground by martial law and developed their strength even faster. They have developed into the component organizations of the NDFP and have grown nationwide and stronger up to now, even

after the Marcos fascist regime was replaced by anti-national and pseudodemocratic regimes.

8. *Do the leaders or members give high regard to the social capital of the CPP? Is it measured through any particular approach? How?*

JMS: Of course, the CPP leaders and members give high regard to the social capital. The revolutionary masses and their mass formations are the source of strength of the CPP. The CPP cannot advance in the revolution without the growing strength and support of the masses. Revolution is a mass undertaking.

9. *What are the usual problems encountered with regard to the social capital of the organization? Are there any efforts made to address and overcome the problem? Cite an instance.*

JMS: The law of uneven development applies on everything. It applies even on a CPP that is wholly advancing. There are strong parts and weak parts of the CPP in terms of expansion and consolidation. The rate of expansion may be faster or slower in relation to favorable conditions. The rate of consolidation may also be faster or slower. By consolidation, I mean provision of education, solid organizing and proper tasking. Errors and weaknesses are corrected through evaluation of work, criticism and self-criticism and clarification of tasks.

10. *With regard to the development of the party as an institution, what are the roles of the government? of the other organization? other civil society actors? the Philippine environment in general?*

JMS: The CPP, NPA and the revolutionary mass organizations build the people's democratic government in the form of local organs of democratic power in the countryside at the moment. This government has working committees in charge of public education, mass organizing, land reform, production, finance, health, self-defense, cultural activities and arbitration of disputes. The CPP, NPA, mass organizations and broad masses support the people's government and its working committees. They are underground in relation to the urban-based reactionary government of the big compradors, landlords and corrupt bureaucrats

11. *What events or external factors were highly significant to the institutional development of the Communist Party of the Philippines?*

JMS: The institutional development of the CPP has been pushed by the ever worsening crisis of the ruling system of exploiting classes in the Philippines. This means the escalation of oppression and exploitation which drive the people to revolt. When the reactionaries like Marcos or Duterte go for fascist dictatorship, the CPP and other revolutionary forces gain more strength. They become the rallying points of the people.

12. *Do you think that the people within the CPP generally trust one another especially now that the said organization is at risk? Do you think over the last few years this level of trust has gotten better, worse, or stayed about the same?*

JMS: Of course, the people within the CPP trust one another, especially because of the risks that they face. Their revolutionary comradeship is steeled by fighting their enemy and securing themselves from his attacks. The level of strength of the CPP has risen as proven by the growing strength in terms of membership and capabilities.

13. *How do you measure or evaluate the progress made by the CPP toward achieving its goals as an institution?*

JMS: I think that the CPP has been tremendously successful in building itself, the revolutionary mass movement, the organs of political power and the united front on a nationwide scale and so deeply among the millions of people, especially the toiling masses. In one more decade or so, it is possible for the CPP to lead to victory the

14. *What are your recommendations in strengthening the social capital of the CPP particularly in the Duterte administration?* JMS: Please consult the latest issuances of the CPP in <[www.philippinerevolution.info](http://www.philippinerevolution.info)>. The CPP has called on its membership and the people to overthrow the US-directed Duterte fascist regime. I think that this line will further strengthen the social capital of the CPP. The Filipino people detest fascist dictatorship, the extrajudicial killings, the rising tax burden, the corruption involved in pork barrel, excessive foreign borrowing, the sell-out of the West Philippine Sea and the continuing underdevelopment, rising unemployment and mass poverty in the Philippines.

Follow-up Questions:

1. *Can you please elaborate on the degree of participation of most of the members of the CPP?*

JMS: CPP cadres and members have various kinds of qualifications and various degrees of ability. Accordingly, they do revolutionary work in the CPP itself, NPA, the organs of political power, underground mass organizations, legal mass organizations, professional organizations, institutions, alliances and so on.

2. *Do you have any knowledge about the present number of the members?*

JMS: According to the latest CPP publications, the CPP membership is supposed to be in the tens of thousands or close to a 100,000.

3. *Do you think that everyone in this organization has an equal access to the services or benefits that the CPP is providing to its members?*

JMS: I presume that CPP members who work full time for the CPP are accorded necessary services and benefits. Those who live in the territory of the people's democratic government have equal access to services and benefits available to the people. Those employed by private enterprises, institutions and reactionary government gain access to services and benefits like other employees.

4. *How are new leaders selected?*

JMS: CPP leaders are recruited into the CPP from the ranks of the most resolute and militant mass activists. Then they rise from the Party branch to higher levels of responsibility functionally and territorially through the process of election by their own comrades.

5. *How are the decisions made within this party?*

JMS: Decisions on major issues after deliberation at the appropriate committee level are made by majority vote. Promotions of cadres (leaders) are done through nominations and voting. The CPP follows the organizational principle called democratic centralism. Please consult the CPP constitution to get the full definition of this term.

6. *How stable is the leadership? Is it harmonious or conflictive?*

JMS: The leadership is stable and harmonious because the CPP and members all adhere to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the general line of people's democratic revolution and democratic centralism. The leadership is centralized but is based on democracy and majority vote or consensus from the lowest level to the highest, the Central Committee. The mode of leadership is collective but the cadres assume personal responsibility. There is both a combination of freedom and discipline. During study, policy-making or work meetings, any member can express his or her opinion on issues, debate and make criticisms and self-criticism. But after a decision is made, the CPP members have to follow the decision even as anyone has the right to reserve his opinion until fully convinced.

7. *When did the peak of increase in the members happened? (The year or during what administration). What do you think is the reason behind this?*

JMS: CPP membership has increased from 1968 to the present, from one reactionary administration to another. There may only be a slower rate of increase from one year to another in particular regions and particular periods. From the first decade to the current fifth decade, the CPP membership has increased nationwide in absolute numbers.

8. *Do you think more and more workers are becoming aware of the oppression that is happening in the Philippines? Why?* JMS: Of course, more and more workers are becoming aware of their exploitation and oppression in the Philippines. The social and economic crisis keeps on worsening from year to year. Because of underdevelopment, the lack of national industrialization and land reform, the rise of actual unemployment and spread of mass poverty, the workers are forced to accept low wages, agree to short-term contractualization (endo every 5 months) and be deprived of job tenure and social benefits. Consequently, trade union and other democratic rights are effectively suppressed under the neoliberal economic policy. Twenty percent of the total work force are compelled to seek jobs abroad. The most unfortunate become oddjobbers and informal settlers in urban slums.

9. *You said that those who are inclined to leave the CPP includes those who lack discipline and violate the rules. Can you please explain the rules you mentioned about or probably cite some examples?* JMS: I have already explained to you in answer to follow up question No. 6 above how democratic centralism works, with regard to the relationship of centralized leadership and democratic base as well as the relationship of freedom and discipline. Every CPP member freely enters the CPP by accepting the CPP Constitution and Program for a People's Democratic Revolution. If someone does not accept these any more, he or she can also leave the CPP freely. No serious party or any other institution will allow a member to oppose or violate any of its basic principles and still remain a member in good standing. If you wish to study how serious errors and shortcomings have arisen and have been corrected in the CPP, I suggest that you study the facts and documents of the Second Great Rectification Movement (SGRM) of the CPP. This rectification movement strengthened the CPP in an all-round way from 1992 onwards.

10. *With regard to the social capital of the CPP and the major factors that caused its change or development over the years, do the internal and external environments play a role in the development that occurred among the CPP members?*

JMS: Of course, internal and external factors and environments play a role in the positive development of the CPP as well as in the occurrence of such major errors as those corrected by the SGRM. The strengthening of the CPP is well grounded on the membership of the toiling masses of workers and peasants. The CPP membership of those who come from the urban petty bourgeoisie is positive. But some of them fail to remold themselves completely as proletarian revolutionaries, retrogress and degenerate, overestimate or underestimate grossly the validity or strength of the bourgeoisie and spread bourgeois subjectivist ideas and lines of opportunism.

*11. Do you think that the social capital of the post-Martial Law CPP is a lot more intact than during the Martial Law period? What made you say so?*

JMS: The social capital of the CPP developed positively under the guidance of the First Great Rectification Movement (FGRM), CPP Constitution and Program and through revolutionary struggle during the Marcos martial period. But from 1981 to 1991, errors of subjectivism and opportunism (mainly of the ultra-Left or adventurist variety) occurred to reduce the extent of victories in the revolutionary struggle and threatened to undermine it further if the errors were not corrected. The CPP continued to advance from 1992 onwards under the guidance of the SGRM and rose to a higher level of development up to the present.

*12. Are revolutions the only means of gauging the strength of the Party? If not, what are the other means which indicate the strengthening of the Party?*

JMS: In fighting an oppressive state, the armed revolution is an important gauge of the strength of the CPP and is the highest form of struggle to achieve national and social liberation. But it is not the sole gauge of the strength of the CPP. The legal mass movement is a major complement of the armed struggle. It helps to strengthen the latter. If it does not become strong or fails to defeat eventually any fascist attempt to suppress it, the armed revolution can be weakened or can even become a lost proposition as in the aftermath of the 1965-66 massacres in Indonesia.

*13. What are the strong parts of the CPP's development and what are the weak parts respectively?*

JMS: The strong points of the CPP in its development are in its ideological, political and organizational (IPO) building. By ideological building, I mean integrating MLM theory with Philippine conditions and revolutionary practice and ensuring ideological and political education of members through the basic, intermediate and advance study courses. By political building, I mean pursuing the people's democratic revolution, arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses accordingly and building the people's army, carrying out agrarian revolution and building the bases and organs of political power. By organizational building, I mean following the principle of democratic centralism and organizing the CPP nationwide and among the toiling masses of workers and peasants. Errors and shortcomings in IPO building can weaken a communist party.

*14. How are evaluations done with regard to the correction of errors and weaknesses? Who does the evaluation?*

JMS: The Central Committee of the CPP undertakes the evaluation and rectification of major IPO errors and weaknesses that adversely affect the entire Party. Lower organs of leadership of the CPP (regional, provincial, district or guerrilla front and section committees) do likewise within their respective scope of responsibility. Anytime and anywhere Party units can engage in criticism and self-criticism sessions to deal with errors and shortcomings in a timely way within their scope of responsibility.

*15. What are examples of specific events that could be considered as rallying points or events which triggered revolutions?*

JMS: The Gomburza martyrdom ignited a national sentiment of resistance against Spanish colonialism. The arrest of Rizal led to the formation of the Katipunan as offshoot of La Liga Filipina. The Katipunan uprising of 1896 led to the sustained Philippine revolution until the defeat of colonial Spain.

The Katipunan-led revolution of 1896, the communist-led resistance against Japanese fascism and then against the US-directed puppet regimes after 1946 have been inspirational to the CPP in waging armed revolution from 1969 onward.

Immediately prior to the start of people's war in 1969, the mass movement of the 1960s, the First Quarter Storm of 1970, the Diliman Commune of 1971, the Marcos proclamation of martial law in 1972 and the entire run of fascist dictatorship and the subsequent pseudodemocratic regimes have been rallying points or triggers of armed revolution. Now, Duterte is in the process of imposing a fascist dictatorship on the people and is inciting them to struggle more resolutely and militantly for national and social liberation.

# ***Celebrate The 50-Year Achievements and Sacrifices of the Filipino People's Struggle for National and Social Liberation***

**Keynote Address to the Comrades and Friends in Australia, December 26, 2018**

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Dear comrades and friends in Australia. Thank you for inviting me to deliver the keynote address on the occasion of your celebration of the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Filipino people's struggle for national and social liberation led by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP). I feel highly honored and privileged to speak before comrades from fraternal parties and to all friends who are in solidarity with the Filipino people in the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle.

I agree with your theme: Celebrating the Gains and Sacrifices of 50 Years in the Filipino People's Struggle for National Freedom and Social Liberation. In accordance with your theme, I propose to discuss the great achievements of the CPP in the fields of ideology, politics and organization.

These great achievements have been made possible by daily hard work, heroic struggles against the enemy and tremendous odds and martyrdom. Before I go any further, let us pause for a moment of silence to express our highest respects to our martyrs and heroes.

## ***1. Ideological Achievements of the CPP***

The CPP founding cadres made a great achievement on December 26, 1998 by adopting the theory of Marxism-Leninism as the guide to the Philippine revolution. This theory encompasses the struggle for realizing people's democracy and socialism in the era of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution and combating modern revisionism to consolidate socialism and prevent the restoration of capitalism.

At its very founding, the CPP began to apply its theoretical guide to the history and concrete circumstances of the Filipino people. It recognized immediately the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society and the need for the people's democratic revolution with a socialist perspective, under the leadership of the working class. It was therefore able to put forward a comprehensive program of waging armed revolution.

Since then, the CPP has been clear about its ideological line and has always adhered to it in analyzing the national and international situation, in conducting revolutionary struggle and in improving work and style of work through criticism and self-criticism and rectification movements. The CPP was born out of the First Great Rectification Movement against the major errors of Right and "Left" opportunism in the old merger party of the communist and the socialist party since 1942 as well as against modern revisionism centered in the Soviet Union since 1956.

The Marxist-Leninist-Maoist foundation of the CPP has been kept strong by criticism and self-criticism in work and study meetings. With regards to major errors that occurred in the period from 1981 onward, the Second Great Rectification was launched in 1992 and conducted in order to criticize, repudiate and rectify these errors, which arose from a wrong view of Philippine society as having become industrial capitalist under the Marcos fascist dictatorship and no longer semicolonial and semifeudal.

The CPP cadres have made outstanding theoretical works not only on Philippine society and revolution but also on the international situation and trends. They have done excellent contribution to the critique of modern revisionism as the main danger in socialist society and in the analysis of capitalist restoration in the former socialist countries. They have also studied well the US-instigated policies of neoliberalism and neoconservatism and the general direction of the world proletarian revolution amidst the escalation of imperialist wars and plunder.

Tens of thousands of Filipino proletarian revolutionaries in the CPP have undergone three levels of ideological and political education. The basic level is the study of Philippine society and revolution. The intermediate level is the comparative study of the Philippine revolution and other revolutions abroad. The advanced level is the study of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, political economy, social science and the strategy and tactics of the Philippine revolution and the world proletarian revolution.

By virtue of its ideological foundation and its adherence to and application of the correct principles and methods, the CPP has been a firm and well-disciplined party, highly conscious of its internal conditions, the national and international conditions, and what is to be done in order to develop and advance the revolutionary cause of the working class and the rest of the Filipino people.

## **II. Political Achievements of the CPP**

The CPP has defined and developed the general political line of the people's democratic revolution through the strategic line of protracted people's war in correspondence with the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system dominated by US imperialism and operated by the local exploiting classes of big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists.

To carry out the revolution, the CPP has systematically built itself as the revolutionary party of the proletariat in close alliance with the peasantry as the most numerous exploited class in the Philippines and has successfully built the New People's Army (NPA) and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) as the instruments for carrying out the people's war and gaining the participation and support of the masses in their millions, respectively.

Since the US imperialists defeated the old democratic revolution within the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the CPP has created the largest revolutionary forces such as the following: the CPP itself as the advanced detachment of the working class, the people's army, the mass organizations and alliances of various classes and sectors interested in the new democratic revolution, and the local organs of political power, which constitute the people's democratic government.

The NPA is now operating in more than 110 guerrilla fronts in 73 of the 81 provinces of the Philippines. It has overcome all the strategic plans of military suppression carried out by the Marcos fascist dictatorship and the subsequent pseudo-democratic regimes. It has accumulated victories by carrying out tactical offensives against the enemy forces, the minimum and maximum program of the agrarian revolution and the mass base building, which involves the formation of mass organizations and the local organs of political power.

The NDFP has succeeded in expanding itself internally with its component organizations and externally by relating to other forces. It has built various forms of alliances: the basic worker-peasant alliance, the progressive alliance with the urban petty-bourgeoisie, the patriotic alliance with the national bourgeoisie and the broad alliance with sections of the exploiting classes against the most reactionary section, which is the enemy.

Through the broad united front, the CPP has caused the overthrow of two ultra-reactionary regimes, those of Marcos in 1986 and Estrada in 2001. The current broad united front is aimed at fighting the tyrannical Duterte regime to frustrate its scheme to establish a full-blown fascist dictatorship and overthrowing this as soon as possible because of its mounting horrendous crimes of treason, brutality, corruption and plunder against the people.

The CPP has made great political achievements not only because it has the correct principles, policies and line and adhere to these in practice but also because it is ever willing to face up to its errors and shortcomings through timely criticism, self-criticism and rectification movements.

The Second Great Rectification Movement successfully criticized, repudiated and rectified the "Left" opportunist errors of absolute verticalization in the NPA, militarism and adventurism that resulted in big losses of mass base and armed strength and even in crimes violative of due process in the latter half of the 1980s. It dealt also with the Right opportunist errors of seeking to take out the CPP and the working class from the united front in the early 1980s and becoming obedient to the pseudo-democratic regime of Cory Aquino.

Currently, the CPP is engaged in criticizing and rectifying the error of conservatism, over-emphasizing mass work and deploying mostly armed propaganda teams to the extent of neglecting the planning and implementation of tactical offensives by higher formations to increase the armed strength of the people.

At the same time, the rectification movement has the principled and practical purpose of defeating the strategic operation plan of the Duterte regime by waging guerrilla counter-offensives in Mindanao, Visayas and Luzon; and thereby gaining strength from the over-aggressive offensives by overstretched enemy forces.

The Duterte regime has concentrated more than 70 percent of the maneuver battalions of the reactionary armed forces in Mindanao in order to destroy the NPA. But the enemy campaign plan has utterly failed to accomplish its objective. It has not destroyed a single guerrilla front. But the tired and overstretched enemy forces are now vulnerable to guerrilla counter-offensives in Mindanao and elsewhere.

Under CPP leadership and on the growing strength of the NPA and NDFP, the people's democratic government is now advancing wave upon wave from the countryside in its protracted strategic encirclement of the cities. The time will surely come when this government shall have accumulated the armed strength and political power to overthrow the reactionary government of the exploiting classes, which is based in the cities.

The people's war in the Philippines stands out today both as a brilliant realization of the Philippine revolution

and as a torch-bearer of the world proletarian revolution, exactly at a time that the world capitalist system is in a worsening severe crisis, escalating the conditions of oppression and exploitation and thereby goading the proletariat and the people of the world to rise up against imperialism and all reaction.

### ***III. Organizational Achievements of the CPP***

The CPP adheres strictly to the organizational line of democratic centralism. This is centralism based on democracy. It has allowed the CPP to concentrate the will, strength and efforts of the Party rank and file against the enemy on the basis of democratic gathering of the fullest possible information at a given time and the democratic processes of making decisions from the grass roots to the level of the Central Committee.

Since its founding, the CPP has expanded nationwide and taken deep roots among the toiling masses of workers and peasants. In recruiting Party members and establishing Party branches, the CPP has run ahead of the people's army through legal and underground mass organizations. Although it relies mainly on the workers and peasants, the CPP values highly the formally educated youth of whatever class origin who are determined to learn from the masses, serve the people and take the road of revolution.

The CPP now has 70,000 members and plans to use this as basis for increasing its membership to hundreds of thousands in the next three years, as a result of the intensified revolutionary work and studies at the three levels of Party education. The members of the CPP come from the ranks of the activists of the mass movement of workers, peasants, national minorities, women, youth, professionals and advocates of human rights, just peace, environmental protection and other causes. They seek to fulfill the immediate demands of the proletariat and the people and are committed to the historic mission of the working class to bring about and build socialism.

The CPP has grown because it has consistently fought the oppressive and exploitative ruling system, from the tyrannical regime of Marcos to the current one of Duterte. Right now, the revolutionary mass movement is growing fast in the urban and rural areas because the broad masses of the people detest the traitorous, tyrannical, brutal and corrupt Duterte regime and strongly desire to get rid of it. The broad masses of the people are fiercely desirous of stopping the frenzied drive of the regime to establish a fascist dictatorship under the pretext of bogus federalism, a hierarchy of oligarchs, warlords and dynasties.

The CPP has built itself as a strong and powerful organization. But it is not immune to organizational errors and shortcomings, such as commandism, bureaucratism, sectarianism, ultra-democracy and liberalism. It is therefore ever alert to these unhealthy currents and overcome them when they arise in any organ or unit on any scale. They are dealt with promptly through criticism and self-criticism or in due course through a rectification movement of significant duration and scale.

Since May 1969, the CPP has selected and assigned personnel abroad in order to recruit Party members and build mass organizations among overseas Filipinos and to promote and develop anti-imperialist solidarity relations with host peoples and their organizations and fraternal relations with communist and workers' parties abroad. Patriotic and progressive Filipino mass organizations and CPP branches exist in the Asia-Pacific, North America, Europe, Middle East and other regions.

The CPP has been maintaining bilateral and multilateral relations with parties and people's organizations abroad on the basis of either anti-imperialist solidarity or proletarian internationalism. It has always sought mutual understanding and cooperation for mutual support and mutual benefit. It is ever grateful for the solidarity and support that it has thereby gained and is ever willing to reciprocate these according to its ability.

The CPP is determined to advance the Philippine revolution and attain total victory in order to obtain the national and social liberation of the Filipino people and in order to make significant contribution to the world proletarian revolution and to the various struggles of the people of the world for national liberation, democracy and socialism against imperialism and all reaction.

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Long live the Filipino proletariat and people!

Advance the people's democratic revolution!

Long live international solidarity of all peoples!

Long live proletarian internationalism and the world proletarian revolution!

# *On the 50 Years of the Filipino People's Struggle for National and Social Liberation*

December 30, 2018

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Dear Compatriots and Friends,

Thank you for inviting me to speak at this cultural celebration of 50 years of the Filipino people's struggle for national and social liberation under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP).

All of us appreciate the cultural and artistic performances and film shows that constitute the celebration. We are thankful to the NDFP and the Linangan Art and Culture Network as organizers and to the Basis voor Actuele Kunst (BAK) as host organization and to all the directors, performers and other contributors to the cultural celebration.

It is my task this afternoon to cite and commend the great achievements of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the Filipino working class and people to carry out the new democratic revolution against US imperialism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The CPP upheld and applied the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It was able to analyze the social history, revolutionary experience and current circumstances of the Filipino people. And it was able to carry out the First Great Rectification Movement, formulate the Party Constitution and Program for the People's Democratic Revolution.

The new democratic revolution is a continuation of the unfinished revolution started by the Katipunan in 1896. The old democratic revolution, which was bourgeois liberal in motivation, succeeded against Spanish colonialism in 1898 but was soon thwarted by the US war of aggression since 1899.

The CPP has assumed the responsibility of developing itself as the advance detachment of the working class and providing ideological, political and organizational leadership to the proletariat and the people in their struggle in a semicolonial and semifeudal setting to complete the democratic revolution and proceed to the socialist revolution.

Since the beginning, the Party has been determined to wield the weapons of revolutionary armed struggle to seize political power by encircling the cities from the countryside and to arouse, organize and mobilize the people in their millions through various forms of alliances under the general policy of the united front.

When we founded the CPP on December 26, 1968, the 75<sup>th</sup> birth anniversary of the great Mao Zedong, we who constituted the Central Committee were only twelve individuals representing some 80 full and candidate members of the Party. We had been leading mass formations since 1959 and built trade unions and various other types of mass organizations whose members ran into thousands.

Now, the CPP membership is in the tens of thousands. It is the largest and most powerful revolutionary proletarian party that has ever arisen in Philippine history. Its organized mass base of workers, peasants, national minorities, women, youth, professionals and other sectors run into millions. These are nationwide in scale and are in nearly all the provinces of the Philippines.

The CPP founded the New People's Army on March 29, 1969. It started with only nine automatic rifles and 26 other inferior firearms for the initial 60 Red fighters in the second district of Tarlac province.

Now, the Red fighters run into thousands and their units operate nationwide in 110 guerrilla fronts in 73 out of 81 provinces. The full-time Red fighters are augmented by tens of thousands of members of the people's militia and hundreds of thousands of members of the self-defense units of the mass organizations. These are active auxiliaries as well as reserve force for the NPA.

The NPA has surpassed the number, strength and scale of all previous revolutionary armies in Philippine history. Most importantly, it has grown in strength and advanced since 1969 by carrying out the strategic line of protracted people's war, using the countryside to accumulate strength and create the conditions for the strategic offensive to seize the cities.

At the moment, the NPA is striving to advance from the middle phase to the advanced phase of the strategic defensive in order to enter the stage of the strategic stalemate. It has a sound basis for the rapid advance of the revolution because of the tempering and accumulated experience of the revolutionary forces and the desire of the people for revolutionary change because of the worsening crisis of the ruling system and the escalating

oppression and exploitation.

The wide reliable rural mass base of the CPP and NPA is constituted mainly by the peasant masses who participate and benefit from the various stages of the agrarian revolution. It is the solid foundation of the local Party branches and the local organs of political power.

In carrying out the agrarian revolution in stages, the CPP relies mainly on the poor peasants and farm workers, wins over the middle peasants to neutralize the rich peasants, takes advantage of the contradictions of the landlords in order to isolate and destroy the power of the despotic landlords.

As a result of the advances in armed struggle and mass work, the CPP has been able to establish and develop the people's democratic government in the countryside. At first, the organs of political power are constituted by appointed cadres of the Party and the representatives of the masses and subsequently by those elected by the mass organizations or the masses in the guerrilla bases.

The people's democratic government is in charge of local administration, mass organizing, public education, socioeconomic programs, cultural activities, self-defense, settlement of disputes, the people's court, environmental protection, and social work to cope with enemy-caused and natural disasters.

The enemy is whistling tin the dark when it claims to monopolize political power in the Philippines. There are now two governments fighting each other. One is the revolutionary government of the workers and peasants and the other is that of the big compradors, landlords and corrupt bureaucrat who are servile to imperialist masters.

The CPP applies the policy and tactics of the national united front. It relies mainly on the workers and peasants, wins over the petty and middle bourgeoisie and takes advantage of the contradictions among the reactionary classes in order to isolate and destroy the most reactionary clique of the big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists.

The most consolidated organization of the united front is the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP), consisting of 18 allied organizations, including the CPP and NPA. The NDFP has been effective in promoting the revolutionary armed struggle and in conducting negotiations for a just peace.

It has frustrated all attempts of the enemy to make the revolutionary forces and people to capitulate and has firmly upheld its revolutionary principle and applied its national democratic program. There is no necessity to negotiate peace with an enemy that is hell-bent on destroying the revolutionary movement of the people.

The united front policy and tactics have been effective in advancing the revolutionary armed struggle and the various forms of legal struggle. As a result, the broad united front has been successfully applied to weaken and overthrow the US-instigated Marcos fascist dictatorship in 1986 and subsequently the corrupt Estrada regime in 2001.

At the moment, a broad united front has arisen to fight and overthrow the traitorous, tyrannical and corrupt US-Duterte regime in order to frustrate its scheme of establishing a full-blown Marcos-type fascist dictatorship under the pretext of charter change for federalism. This regime is culpable for treason, mass murder, corruption and other grievous crimes against the people.

Since its founding, the CPP has exerted all efforts to reach the overseas Filipinos. The more it has done so since the 1970s when overseas contract workers increased from year to year. More than 10 percent of the Philippine population, equivalent to 25 percent of the labor force has been compelled to seek jobs abroad. The CPP has built its branches among overseas Filipinos as well as mass organizations among migrant workers and other sectors in many countries.

The CPP has established comradely relations with communist and workers parties and movements abroad in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. It has promoted the relationship of Filipino mass organizations with their counterparts abroad in the internationalist spirit of peoples' solidarity.

The CPP has made significant contributions to the critique of imperialism and modern revisionism and reaction and to the upsurge of the revolutionary resistance of the proletariat and people. It has availed of bilateral and multilateral relations and conferences in order to unite, cooperate and coordinate with revolutionary forces abroad.

The CPP strives to do its best to achieve greater victories and aim for total victory in order to contribute to the resurgence of the world proletarian revolution and the national liberation movements amidst the intensification of all basic contradictions in the world, those between labor and capital, those among the imperialist powers and those between the imperialist powers and the oppressed peoples and nations.

We are proud that the CPP is now leading one of the foremost revolutionary movements in the world and is a torch bearer of the world proletarian revolution. We are confident that the proletariat and the people cannot accept the worsening crisis conditions of the world capitalist system and will break their chains in order to realize a fundamentally better and brighter world of freedom, democracy and socialism.

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Advance the people's democratic revolution!

Long live the Filipino people!

Long the international solidarity of the peoples of the world!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

January 16, 2019

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I am delighted and honored that the Turkish edition of my book, *Philippine Society and Revolution*, is published. I thank Alkan Arslan as the translator; Veli Aydin as director of the publishing group El Yayinlari; and the Yusuf Kose as writer of the introduction. I consider the translation and publication of the book as noble acts of revolutionary solidarity in support of the Filipino people's struggle for national and social liberation under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, as advanced detachment of the working class, against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of the comprador big bourgeoisie, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists.

Since 1969, *Philippine Society and Revolution* has been a basic text for the revolutionary education of the cadres and members of the Communist Party of the Philippines, the activists in the mass movement and allies who wish to enlighten themselves further. It has far reaching consequences, as manifested and reflected by the great accomplishments of the CPP and the Filipino people in the last 50 years of waging the people's democratic revolution and preparing for the socialist revolution.

The book is written in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist stand, viewpoint and method. This is dialectical materialism applied on the history and current circumstances of the Filipino people. Stages in the development of the people's struggle for freedom, the basic problems of the people and the revolutionary solution to these problems are presented.

Chapter 1 covers the following historical periods: the pre-colonial societies, the colonial and feudal rule of Spain, the old democratic revolution of 1896, the colonial and semifeudal rule of the US and the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system after the nominal grant of independence to the Philippines by US imperialism through puppet politicians of the local exploiting classes.

Chapter 2 describes such basic problems of the Filipino people as US imperialism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. These evil forces determine the semicolonial and semifeudal character of the ruling system. They relentlessly oppress and exploit the Filipino people and impose on them the rigors of ever worsening social, economic and political crisis which is chronic and can be ended only by revolution.

Chapter 3 puts forward the general line of people's democratic revolution with socialist perspective and the strategic line of protracted people's war as the solution to the basic problems of the people. The leading class in the revolution is the working class represented by the Communist Party of the Philippines. The main force of the revolution is the combination working class and the peasantry, both of which comprise more than 90 percent of the people.

The Party wields revolutionary armed struggle and the national united front as its most important weapons. The revolutionary armed struggle waged by the New People's Army is the principal and highest form of struggle because it is the instrument for the overthrow of the enemy and for the seizure of political power. The national united front is the instrument for engaging the people in their millions through the formation of various types of alliances on the basis of building the various mass organizations and the local organs of political power which are the foundation of the people's democratic government.

We, the Filipino revolutionaries, hope that the study and reading of the book by the Turkish comrades and people will help to enlighten them about the Philippines and the Filipino people and provide them with lessons, insights and perspectives that may be relevant to Turkey and the Turkish people as well as to other countries and peoples who need to confront the evils of imperialism, opportunism and reaction.

It is of the highest importance that the proletariat and people of the world unite against the common adversaries that oppress and exploit them. As a result of neocolonialism and the betrayal of socialism by the modern revisionists, the US and other imperialist powers have escalated the exploitation of the people under the neoliberal economic policy and unleashed state terrorism and wars of aggression.

All basic contradictions in the world are now intensifying; those between the imperialist powers and the oppressed peoples, those among the imperialist powers and those between labor and capital. The crisis of the world capitalist system is worsening. It is inflicting grave suffering on the people and at the same time driving them to wage revolutionary resistance. We are in a period of transition to the great resurgence of the revolutionary

movements for national liberation, democracy and socialism against imperialism and all reaction.

**Jose Maria Sison (Amado Guerrero, nom de guerre 1968-77)**

**Founding Chairman, Communist Party of the Philippines**

**Utrecht, The Netherlands**

**January 16, 2019**

## *On the Communist Party of the Philippines*

**Interview by Harsh Thakor, February 1, 2019**

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On 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary may the CPP be inscribed in golden letters and continue to illuminate the inextinguishable torch of liberation!! Hail the glorious achievements of the party and contributions of founding chairman Jose Maria Sison. Hail the perseverance on the mass line and unflinchingly practice of protracted people's war.

For half a century since it's reestablishment on December 26th 1968 the Communist Party of Philippines has displayed the tenacity of a rock, withstanding every hurdle. It has fought a protracted people's war for a duration of 50 years, longer than any Communist party ever. It has turned a red spark into a prairie fire. Such is the power of the torch of Marxism-Leninism -Maoism. It convinced me that no Communist party practiced mass line so penetratingly, deeply or correctly as the CPP after the reversal of socialism in China. No party has with such fortitude and clinical analysis and practice thwarted Right and "Left" opportunism within its ranks. It made the boldest of self-criticisms at many junctures in consonance with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It may have some flaws in theoretical plane on international questions but in practice true champions.

Being 50, the body of the CPP may be old or aged but it's soul blazes or extinguishes its spirit double that of quarter of a century ago. In spite of being engulfed with enemies all around to sabotage it, the CPP shimmers its torch like an inextinguishable light. Without doubt its Founding Chairman Joma Sison is one of the greatest Marxist theoreticians and leaders of recent times and the CPP is a torch bearer of the world revolution.

Of great importance were the efforts of the rectification campaigns which were major stepping stones in the carving out of the revolutionary mass line. In many ways the rectification line of 1992 was the turning point of the Philippine revolution with its upholding the GPCR and recognizing the revisionist character of Dengist China. Most timely that it took place when Soviet social imperialism and revisionist states collapsed in 1991. Equal emphasis was placed on combating "Left" and Right opportunism which represented urban putschist actions and withdrawal of mass movements on one scale and totally reformist and parliamentary work on the other. The struggle for combating deviations and striving for mass line was similar to blood running through the veins of a body. Revisionism was combated through revolutionary practice itself and not mere talk. I was most impressed how they handled times of crisis in several junctures and fought back with their backs to the wall. It depicted great dialectical approach like a surgeon performing continuous operations on the most serious patients.

Great planning was involved in every stage with the CPP traversing the most turbulent of waters. Above all, it did not impose itself on the masses but channelized every effort to establish itself as the true vanguard of the people. Brilliantly blended Marxist-Leninist methodology with creativity like an architect and artist blended into one. Genuine revolutionary organs of political power have been created similar to what the Chinese Communist Party did in the 1940's. I was astounded with how they blended political mastery with creativity. The New People's Army demonstrated phenomenal mobility and flexibility and was fully integrated in the lives of the broad masses. Above all it proved the authenticity of Maoism being invincible and correctness of theory of protracted people's war. It brilliantly blended centralization and de-centralization of party work and dispersal and concentration in the New People's Army work. Brilliantly blended Marxist-Leninist methodology with creativity.

With dialectical precision in practice and theory in several stages it controlled 'military' approach or left sectarian armed actions as well as 'legalistic' work and Rightist parliamentary work. It did not mechanically apply Mao's military theories but innovated them to the concrete Philippine conditions. It placed emphasis on higher party committees learning from the lower ones and activating them. It also struggled against trends that used pretext of mass movement to blunt armed offensives. Meticulous efforts were made to educate party cadres on the essence of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It published writings in accordance with level of the consciousness of different sections of the people. It always solidified the base when building the superstructure. Through the building of the National Democratic Front, it promoted the concept of united front.

With great diligence, land reform was initiated with the NPA directly involved in production. With most flexibility the Party has built bastions in the urban areas in trade unions. The NPA displayed great fluidity moving like a fish in water. It is also significant that the party membership was created from the mass activists of mass organizations which were like nurseries for schooling them.

What was most important is that it sowed the roots to create political bastions of power in the countryside solidifying the base with clinical precision to intensify the armed struggle. The alliance of the landless and poor peasantry with the middle and rich peasantry has been knit with meticulous application of Maoist ideology and similar to days of the 1940's in China an independent form of government has been formed which is a thorn in the flesh to the ruling regime.

The main reasons for its setback from the 1980's was its incorrect evaluation of the GPCR and neutrality towards Dengist China which made certain sections even vacillate towards supporting social imperialism. I also am somewhat skeptical as to the reason it reached a state that it had to negotiate with ruler Duterte. Also marginal theoretical flaws on international questions like supporting Hugo Chavez in Venezuela and Freedom Road Socialist Organization in America or even rightist groups in India. Still an outstandingly positive assessment of Chairman Mao's contribution and Maoism giving it the same meaning as CPC did in era of Mao.

In recent times what was most encouraging was its sporadic and timely armed actions challenging fascism of Duterte. Today it may not be directly encircling the cities but through building liberated base areas prepared the fuel or the roots of creating such a possibility. It has not reached the level of political power or intensity as Chinese Communist Party did by the 1940's or as strong revolutionary base but we must consider that we are in an era where no socialist country exists and where imperialist forces are twice as strong now than they were in the 1940's with the current impositions of neocolonialism and neoliberalism.

In many ways the rectification line of 1992 was the turning point of the Philippine revolution with its upholding the GPCR and criticizing the revisionist character of Dengist China. Most timely that it took place when Soviet social Imperialism and revisionist states collapsed in 1991. Of great significance towards the mass line after 1980 was their main rectification document of 1992, "Reaffirm our Basic Principles and Rectify Errors," "General Review of Important Events and Decisions from 1980-1991" and "Stand for Socialism against Modern revisionism." In the 1970's the most important works to study were "Rectify errors and Rebuild the Party" and "Constitution of the Communist Party of the Philippines," the "Program for a People's Democratic Revolution (PPDR)," the "Rules for Establishing the People's Government" and the "Revolutionary Guide to Land Reform." Also of great value was the communique of the Inter-regional conference of cadres of the CPP in Northern Luzon and Manila-Rizal.

In recent times what was most encouraging was its sporadic and timely armed actions challenging fascism of Duterte. Today it may not be directly encircling the cities but through building liberated base areas prepares the fuel or the roots of creating such a possibility.

Below I have recorded my Interview with Founding Chairman Joma Sison in Utrecht on December 27th and December 31st. I personally interviewed the great Comrade in the National Democratic Front Office in Utrecht, which was an experience in a lifetime. I had gone to attend the commemoration event of the 50th anniversary in Utrecht attended by around 400 people and 20 different nations. Before the interview I had written a brief summary. Also added notes which were sent later by Comrade Joma and from past literature of CPP (mainly Rebo-lusyon on rectification history.)

*HT: What led to the reorganization of the Communist Party of Philippines in 1969?*

JMS: The general secretary Jesus Lava was completely isolated from any mass movement. He adopted policies that first liquidated the remnants of the old people's army by calling on the armed units to turn themselves into organizational brigades, and subsequently also the party by adopting in 1957 what he called the single file policy of dissolving every party collective and ordering party members to form single files to which he sent his political transmissions from his Manila hideout. He had no significant connections with any mass movement nor with the remnants of the people's army which continued to exist as roving rebel bands in the plains of some provinces of Central Luzon.

The single event that broke the long period of reaction was the demonstration of 5000 students mostly from the state university, to oppose and stop the anticommunist witchhunt in 1961. The young proletarian revolutionaries initiated the mass protest action, without direction from the underground remnant of the old merger party of Socialist Party and the Communist Party (MPSPCP). Following their success, they expanded their study and organizing activities from the University of Philippines to other universities and gained leadership over students governments and campus publications. The young proletarian revolutionaries linked up with veteran cadres and masses in progressive trade unions and peasant associations. The mass movement of the youth, the workers and peasants grew steadily.

The Kabataang Makabayan was formed in 1964 as a comprehensive mass organization of students, workers, young peasants and young professionals. They became most active in promoting the study of the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao, and in creating Party groups within the mass organizations and party branches in localities to serve as the revolutionary core of the mass movement. They were also the most militant in launching workers strikes and mass actions to expose the antinational and antidemocratic policies of the reactionary government.

The Lava revisionist renegades wished to impose their line of indefinite parliamentary struggles on the proletarian revolutionaries and the people. Their line was engendered by their own bourgeois subjectivist and opportunist world outlook and encouraged by the line of Soviet revisionist renegades. The two-line struggle between the Lava revisionist renegades and the proletarian revolutionaries became so intense that the former wished to inflict physical harm on the latter. The task of demarcating themselves from the counter revolutionary revisionists and waging a relentless campaign against them was the order of the day. Preparations began with consolidation meetings of the proletarian revolutionaries and mass activists and drafting the documents of re-establishment "Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party" and the CPP Constitution and Programs for a People's Democratic Revolution (PPDR). The Congress of Re-establishment had only 12 delegates representing a few scores of party members and candidate members in the trade unions and youth movement. Soon after the reestablishment of the party in 1968 the proletarian revolutionaries linked up with the majority of the remnants of the people's army, with a rural mass base of 80,000 peasants, in the second district of Tarlac in Central Luzon.

In the urban and rural areas, the reestablished party inherited the fine revolutionary tradition of the proletariat as well as the senior and middle aged cadres of long drawn workers and peasant movements. The mass organizations of workers, peasants and youth condemned both the Lava revisionist group and the Sumulong gangster clique. The Lava revisionist renegades prated about parliamentary struggle as the main form of struggle but it was the proletarian revolutionaries who actually continued to lead the legal democratic movement.

The proletarian revolutionaries wished to create a nationwide party organization with a cadre and mass character, deeply rooted among the working people, and building a people's army waging protracted people's war. They realized they had to expand the party base from the region of Central Luzon. They also saw the necessity of creating guerrilla zones. Thus from the very outset members of the Party Central Committee were deployed in particular regions to facilitate nationwide expansion. They understood the importance of building guerrilla zones in different regions at various strategic areas.

The mass organizations were virtually nurseries for developing party members in significant numbers. The party members were recruited from the people's organizations in accordance with the mass line.

All types of mass organizations were built among workers, peasants, youth, women and cultural activists. In April 1969 the party led a legal peasant demonstration of 15,000 in Manila and another of 50,000 in Tarlac. Great mass demonstrations were led against the US occupation and war of aggression against Vietnam.

The urban based Kabataang Makabayan acted as the nationwide seeding machine of the national democratic revolution. It became the most important source of cadres who were immediately responsible for urban work. It encouraged the rise of progressive unions and federations such as KASAMA and PAKMAP and the transformation of reactionary into progressive unions.

A most crucial base was laid after the first rectification campaign from 1969 itself. It laid the basis for challenging the fascist rule of the dictator Marcos and firmly upheld that Philippines was an underdeveloped semi-colonial and semifeudal state, with only comprador type of industrialization, dependent on imported equipment. It criticized and repudiated the Right opportunist line and also the "Left" opportunist line that prematurely adopted the path of strategic counteroffensive which was ineffective and confusing.

The revisionist trend even denied correctness of Mao's theory, the need for the united front and mass activists. The forces of movement from 1972-77 laid the base in Mindanao. From 1979, new members of the Central Committee were selected mainly from the regional leaders. Struggles in the form of mass strikes developed in urban areas. The New People's Army was regularized, with 16 companies formed rapidly in Mindanao. The Preparatory Commission for the National Democratic Front was established in 1974 in accordance with the united front policy of the CPP.

In breaking out of the Merger Party of the Communist and Socialist Parties (MPCSP), the young proletarian revolutionaries launched the First Great Rectification Movement in 1966. This criticized and rectified the

subjectivist and the "Left" and Right opportunist errors from 1942 to 1966, the year when a scion of the Lava family imposed his revisionist line and grabbed leadership in the MPCSP. The proletarian leaders who developed from the workers and youth mass organizations pursued the rectification movement and prepared the way for the re-establishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines from 1966 to 1968.

The CPP waged rectification movements to overcome major errors in ideology, politics and organization. It successfully waged the Second Great Rectification Movement from 1992 to 1998 as an education movement in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to criticize and repudiate major subjectivist and "Left" and Right opportunist errors in the period of 1981 to 1992.

It debunked the Lavaite subjectivist notion that the Marcos fascist dictatorship had made the Philippine economy industrial-capitalist. This subjectivist error gave rise to Right and "Left" opportunist errors. The Right opportunists advocated a united front without the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat and kowtowing to the anti-Marcos reactionaries. The "Left" opportunists rejected Mao's strategic line of protracted people's war.

*HT: What was the cause or significance of the second rectification campaign?*

JMS: From 1988 onward, the mass base was eroded by 40 percent and then by another 20 percent and Right opportunism was ascendant. Some party cadres had shifted to Right or "Left" opportunism. They even rejected Mao. Thus the party literally had to be reinvigorated to be saved from death. NPA units were re-deployed for mass work. The Party successfully waged the Second Great Rectification Movement from 1992 to 1998 as an education movement in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to criticize and repudiate major subjectivist and "Left" and Right opportunist errors in the period of 1981 to 1992.

The Second Great Rectification Movement criticized, repudiated and rectified the Right opportunist error of taking out the leadership of the communist party and the working class from the national united front supposedly to attract more people and make the united front the main weapon of the struggle; and several trends of "Left" opportunism, the most damaging of which overstressed the verticalization of the NPA at the expense of horizontal deployment of the NPA for mass work and which upon failure resulted in blaming those tagged as deep penetration agents as causing the failure and subjecting them to punishment without due process.

As a whole, the CPP has learned well from the Second Great Rectification Movement by developing the correct balance between armed struggle and mass work and the center of gravity in a relatively concentrated force (eg, command platoon of a company or the command squad of a platoon) and the relatively dispersed force for mass work (two-thirds of a formation deployed on a wider scale). The line for the NPA is to wage intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. But the erroneous currents of conservatism and roving rebel bands, which neglect the waging of guerrilla tactical offensives by overemphasizing mass work by armed propaganda teams, has afflicted some regions for extended periods, especially in Luzon and the Visayas.

The 1981 plenum of the Central Committee encouraged the exponents of "Left" and Right opportunism to espouse urban insurrectionism and parliamentarism, respectively, by allowing both opportunists to spread doubts about the strategic line of protracted people's war. The Politburo meeting favored both types of opportunism. The "Left" and Right opportunists came together and confused the line and lumped both the liberal democrats and the anti-Marcos reactionaries as bourgeois reformists. They adopted the line of monopolizing victory in the antifascist struggle which was anticipated as forthcoming.

The line of strategic counter offensive and regularization encouraged the more blatant militarist line of combining urban insurrectionism with military adventurism in Mindanao from 1982 to 1985. Mass organizing was totally abandoned and underground cadres exposed themselves to the enemy in small provincial cities. There was also the trend of seeking military and financial assistance from the Soviet Union and importing heavy military weapons. Couriers were already dispatched to contact parties close to the CPSU.

In common with "Left" opportunists, the Right opportunists gave utmost importance to legal struggles, not revolutionary armed struggle. As early as 1978-79 one group of Right opportunists in the Manila-Rizal Party Committee provoked a struggle with the central leadership by insisting on the participation of the Communist Party of Philippines in the farcical elections held by the Marcos regime. The debate was erroneously formulated as one of choosing between participation or boycott in the elections. It led to disruptions in the Manila-Rizal Party Committee. The disruptive elements were meted out with disciplinary actions.

In 1981, the Right opportunists were already advocating replacement of the proletarian vanguard party with a

so-called vanguard front called 'New Katipunan.' However the Party thwarted this liquidationist proposal. The Right opportunist line ran so deep that so-called national democrats from the ranks of the masses were enrolled into the party without any Marxist-Leninist education. The Right opportunists proceeded to realize their concept of strategic alliance, which meant denying the role of the Party in the antifascist alliance. They reversed the trend of drawing cadres from the cities to the countryside.

Following the overthrow of Marcos dictatorship, the Political Bureau of the Party decided that the boycott policy was a major tactical error and forced the Party Chairman to resign. However the Right opportunists insisted that the error was a strategic one connected to the strategic line of protracted people's war.

From 1986 onward, the Right opportunists who advocated parliamentarianism as well as those who combined parliamentarianism with urban insurrection within the Party to collaborate with those outside the party, such as Christian democrats and bourgeois populists. Right opportunists openly supported Gorbachev revisionism and attempted to get rid of working class leadership, advocating that the Communist Party function openly. By 1988 the Right opportunists had virtually sabotaged the legal mass movement by colluding with the supporters of urban insurrectionism.

Right opportunists had misdirected personnel towards building foreign funded NGOs and building coalitions out of the same legal organizations towards parliamentarianism. Similarly the "Left" opportunists concentrated on forming small groups of armed city partisans and ordered them to launch indiscriminate killings, which provoked the enemy to assassinate mass activists and suppress the militant mass organizations. They virtually abandoned mass organizing.

From 1988, the bankruptcy of the Left opportunist line of combining urban insurrectionism with military adventurism by the conspiratorial and splittist faction supported Gorbachev's line in certain central staff organs, institutions and organizations. In 1990 they tried to usurp the authority of the central leadership and liquidate the party. They tried to replace the party as the center of the revolution with their version of National Democratic Front. They also attempted to amend the NDF program for a people's democratic revolution with a program of bourgeois nationalism. They wished to convert the NDF from a united front into an alliance with a hodge-podge of member organizations and individual members. A concept of an anti-imperialist democratic front was propagated combining the Left, Middle and Right against the US-Aquino regime supposedly to reach the objective of urban insurrection.

From 1986 onward, several inter-regional or regional party committees pushed to build absolutely concentrated companies and adopt some putschist or insurrectionist plan. However most of them complained about the unreasonable targets imposed upon them by the Left opportunists with regard to formation of companies and launching offensives.

The 1988 anniversary statement summed up the 20 year history of the Party and criticized the imbalances in revolutionary work. In 1989 conferences on mass work were held at regional and inter regional levels and cadres were redeployed for mass work, especially for recovery and expansion 1988 party anniversary statement called for rectification, the further strengthening of the party, and the intensification of people's revolutionary struggles. The 1990 party anniversary statement was critical of the errors of regularization and verticalization of the forces at the expense of developing the horizontal forces in stages and called for extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of ever widening and deepening mass base. The acute struggle between the proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois opportunist line intensified within the central organ of the party.

By 1990-91 the "Left" and Right opportunists were forced to retreat Earlier they made a concerted effort in disrupting the mass line. They tried to exploit the crisis faced by the central leadership by trying to usurp power and promote the counterrevolutionary rightist line.

Later in 1990, the Political Bureau nullified the erroneous concept of "strategic counter-offensive" and stopped it's implementation. The Military Commission of the Central Committee and the NPA Political Department held the National Central Conference on Political work in March-April 1990 supporting the proletarian revolutionary line.

A major campaign for educating cadres on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism was launched with many classic works reprinted for educating cadres.

*HT: What has been the role of the New People's Army?*

JMS: The CPP founded the New People's Army on March 29, 1969. It started with only 9 automatic rifles and

26 other inferior firearms for the initial 60 Red fighters in the second district of Tarlac province.

The NPA is the main weapon of the people for defeating the enemy and winning the revolution. Without it, the people have nothing. It carries out three integral tasks: revolutionary armed struggle, agrarian revolution and mass base building. It carries out a war of fluid movement and avails of the tactics of concentration, dispersal and shifting as circumstances require. It follows the strategy of protracted people's war, with three probable strategic stages: defensive, stalemate and counteroffensive.

The NPA applies the principle of centralized ideological and political leadership and decentralized operations, which is very appropriate to the archipelagic character of the Philippines even as the Party central leadership issues operational guidelines for the national, regional and lower levels to implement. Currently, the NPA is victoriously carrying out extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base in order to advance from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate.

Now, the Red fighters run into thousands and their units operate nationwide in 110 guerrilla fronts in 73 out of 81 provinces. The full-time Red fighters are augmented by tens of thousands of members of the people's militia and hundreds of thousands of members of the self-defense units of the mass organizations. These are active auxiliaries as well as reserve force for the NPA.

The NPA has surpassed the number, strength and scale of all previous revolutionary armies in Philippine history. Most importantly, it has grown in strength and advanced since 1969 by carrying out the strategic line of protracted people's war, using the countryside to accumulate strength and create the conditions for the strategic offensive to seize the cities.

At the moment, the NPA is striving to advance from the middle phase to the advanced phase of the strategic defensive in order to enter the stage of the strategic stalemate. It has a sound basis for the rapid advance of the revolution because of the tempering and accumulated experience of the revolutionary forces and the desire of the people for revolutionary change because of the worsening crisis of the ruling system and the escalating oppression and exploitation.

It strives to arouse, organize and mobilize the masses of the people in literacy and health campaigns, implementing land reform, and other campaigns, aside from military warfare. It regularly carries out training in self-defense and combat for guerrilla warfare and builds organs of political power. The Party gives free play to the autonomy of the mass organizations by working as Party groups within but not imposing the party line in a commandist or bureaucratic way. It stresses learning from the masses and not imposing Marxism on them. Today the New People's Army has thousands of Red fighters. One hundred ten companies exist. The movement today is in the stage of the strategic defensive.

The NPA has mastered the art of capturing weapons from the enemy camp and also the art of winning over members of the reactionary army through the military academy since the 1960's. It also treats captured enemy soldiers leniently.

In early years, meticulous mass work was done by the Kabataang Makabayan, youth wing, particularly in cities.

In the White Areas, the revolutionaries do not expose themselves to the enemy. In Red areas, already under the people's government, they lead the masses and conduct their activities openly, with security provisions against unreliable elements and possible enemy agents. If the Party does not trust the masses and is afraid of facing them, it cannot lead them in the revolutionary process and will wither away or disintegrate as a mere conspiratorial cabal.

The Party does not blindly eliminate all landlords. The tyrants among them are differentiated from the enlightened ones who are won over on a minimum platform. Instead of just eliminating the tyrannical landlords, they could be tactically asked to acquire weapons for the revolution on the pretext of fighting the NPA.

*HT: What is the policy of building united front and the basis of formation of the National Democratic Front?*

JMS: In developing the alliance of the working class with the peasantry in the antifeudal united front, the CPP has correctly taken the line of relying mainly on the poor peasants, winning over the middle peasants, and neutralizing the rich peasants in order to isolate and destroy the power of the landlord class. The CPP and NPA have taken the key role in carrying out agrarian revolution as the main content of the democratic revolution.

As it now stands, the people's democratic government has millions of people under its governance and influence. It is mindful of the class line in the national united front and in the antifeudal united front in being able to govern the revolutionary mass organizations and the broad masses of the people. The policy of the united front

guides the people's war as well as the various forms of legal struggle in the urban areas in order to promote the armed revolution and attract the support of the people in their millions. The CPP has built the united front as a weapon of the people for armed as well as for legal struggle. The united front is embodied in the National Democratic Front of the Philippines as the largest and most consolidated united front organization. The NDFP consists of 18 allied organizations bound together by patriotic and progressive principles and policies. And it has the flexibility to become the base for an even broader united front that takes advantage of the contradictions among the reactionaries in order to isolate and defeat the current enemy, which is the most reactionary clique in the country.

*HT: What are the political achievements of the CPP?*

JMS: Depending on the circumstances, they have carried out the minimum and maximum land reform programs. The minimum program involves rent reduction, elimination of usury, setting of fair farm-gate prices and promotion of agricultural production and sideline occupation through independent households and rudimentary cooperation. The maximum program involves the confiscation of land from the landlords and land grabbers and free land distribution and agricultural cooperation in stages.

Because of the people's army and advance of the people's war, the CPP has been able to build the local organs of political power nationwide, from the barangay level upwards. At the barangay level, the barangay organizing committees are appointed and then eventually the barangay revolutionary committees are elected. The local organs of political power constitute the people's democratic government of workers and peasants in opposition to the reactionary government of big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists.

They are composed of the representatives of the Party cadres, the masses and technically capable persons. They oversee and supervise mass organizing, public education, production, finance, self-defense, health and sanitation, cultural affairs, environmental protection, disaster relief and rehabilitation and the settlement of disputes. They are in charge of the people's militia and the people's court at the pertinent level.

Two conflicting governments exist in the Philippines. The reactionaries are talking nonsense whenever they say that the revolutionaries have not accomplished anything in 50 years by not being able to seize the presidential palace in Manila. They are even more absurd when they attempt to deny the existence and belligerent status of the people's democratic government and dismiss it as a mere nonstate actor. In fact, this government, duly constituted by the workers and peasants, is growing and advancing wave upon wave until it shall be able to overthrow every level of the reactionary government. At certain levels and in many areas in the Philippines, the reactionary government cannot function without its enlightened local officials obtaining the permission or cooperation of the revolutionary government. As it now stands, the people's democratic government has millions of people under its governance and influence. It is mindful of the class line in the national united front and in the antifeudal united front in being able to govern the revolutionary mass organizations and the broad masses of the people. The policy of the united front guides the people's war as well as the various forms of legal struggle in the urban areas in order to promote the armed revolution and attract the support of the people in their millions.

*HT: How did the CPP carry out ideological education?*

JMS: The CPP has educated tens of thousands of Party cadres and members in the theory and practice of MLM by providing them with three levels of Party study courses: basic, intermediate and advanced. These cadres are the ever growing hard core of the revolutionary mass movement, institutions of various kinds and specialized fields of work. Party education is meant to enlighten and inspire the Party cadres and members among the toiling masses of workers and peasants as well as among the middle social strata of the bourgeoisie.

The basic Party course provides Party cadres and members with a knowledge of Philippine history, the basic problems of the Filipino people and the people's democratic revolution. The intermediate Party course is on building the Party, the people's army and the united front, including a comparative study of successful revolutions led by the proletariat. The advanced Party course is devoted to gaining a comprehensive knowledge of materialist philosophy, political economy, scientific socialism, the strategy and tactics of proletarian revolution and the international communist movement.

The CPP has contributed greatly to the world treasury of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism by issuing ideological and political documents and by-lined works by CPP leading organs and cadres on the position of the Party on theoretical and practical issues, on building and developing the Party, the people's army and the united front, criticizing and rectifying errors and shortcomings and analyzing and opposing imperialism and reaction in the Philippines and abroad.

*HT: JMS, Why are you negotiating with Duterte whom you claim is a dictator?*

JMS: Yes, he is autocratic but he did earlier cooperate with the movement in Mindanao and supported progressive reforms. He made positive proposals in 2014. We thought that even if he had defects as a bureaucrat capitalist, we could utilize the contradictions among the reactionaries to split and defeat the ruling system. Duterte was the less reactionary and wished to cooperate five years ago. The policy of the united front was being applied to advance the revolution.

The Chinese Communist Party engaged in peace negotiations with the Guomindang and even had two great alliances with it first, against the northern warlords and next against the Japanese invaders. Mao himself engaged in peace negotiations in Chongqing in an attempt to prevent civil war with the Guomindang.

It is foolish and self-defeating for the Duterte regime to wage an all-out war and commit barbarous acts of state terrorism against the people and all democratic forces, whether these are engaged in armed struggle or not. The people's war in the countryside is advancing while the broad united front and democratic mass movement in the urban areas are rising up to oust the Duterte regime.

The Duterte regime needs the peace negotiations more than the NDFP does, even if the regime does it only as a futile tactic to confound the opposition and confuse the public. But the NDFP is highly principled and competent to stand firmly for the national and democratic rights and interests of the people in the exploration of peace negotiations, actual peace negotiations and otherwise.

It is the consistent policy of the NDFP to be open to peace negotiations with the Duterte regime despite its determination to seek the ouster of this regime. It is for the benefit of the people that the peace negotiations resume and stop the Duterte regime from proclaiming martial law nationwide, from calling off or rigging the May 2019 elections and from pursuing the scheme to impose a fascist dictatorship on the Filipino people via charter change for a bogus kind of federalism. The NDFP presumes that, when peace negotiations resume, the way is open to the forging of agreements on social, economic and political reforms that are desired and needed by the people.

*HT: What are your views on the criticism of sections of parties that claim that CPP has veered towards rightist path in International line?*

JMS: Let me make one thing clear. Infantile "communists" cannot distinguish issues and relations in ideology from those in politics. A communist party can have fraternal relations with other communist parties on a MLM ideological basis and friendly anti-imperialist relations with all sorts of parties. In mass work, which is; political, a Maoist deals with all sorts of people who have different thoughts and beliefs. There is no such thing as discovering and dealing only with ready-made Maoists among the masses. Also, a Maoist party does not prohibit the united front organization or the people from having proto-diplomatic and diplomatic relations with non-Maoist governments. Cooperating politically with a revisionist communist party does not mean supporting its ideological line or totally supporting its political line or practice. In the 1980's the "Left" opportunists in the CPP advocated establishing CPP relations with the CPSU. Instead the CPP allowed the NDF to act like the PLO and seek proto-diplomatic relations with certain revisionist countries like USSR or Eastern Europe on the basis of opposing US imperialism. The CPP never agreed with Dengist revisionism and capitalist restoration. It also never agreed with Soviet revisionism and social imperialism. The CPP analyzed and recognized the revisionist character of the Dengist CCP. In continuing relations with the revisionist CCP up to 1989, the basis was political rather than ideological. By the early 1990's, the CPP took an even more clear cut and elaborate stand against Soviet and Chinese revisionism.

The CPP has opposed the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) seeking to impose the principle of democratic centralism on communist parties in violation of the principle of equality and independence among them. At the same time, RIM exaggerated the status and role of the RCPUSA. Since the dissolution of the Comintern in 1943, communist and workers' parties have become equal to each other and independent from each other. There has been no Comintern Executive Committee to treat them as national sections of a world party.

The CPP has supported progressive and anti-imperialist non-Maoists like Hugo Chavez in Venezuela, Daniel Ortega in Nicaragua, Fidel Castro of Cuba and Kim Il Sung in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Politically they are more worthy than infantile "communists" who cannot distinguish ideological from political issues and ideological relations from political relations.

The "Left" opportunists in the CPP were the ones who hoped for military assistance from the Soviet Union or pro-Soviet parties from 1982 to 1988. They were accommodated by the CC of the CPP by letting the NDF to

explore the possibility of such assistance. By 1988 the Maoists in the CPP started to oppose the “Left” opportunists for major errors of line and crimes in violation of due process. By 1992, the Second Great Rectification Movement was launched, targeting mainly the “Left” opportunists. Stand for Socialism Against Modern Revisionism was issued.

*HT: Do you think Mao's military line of protracted people's war is universal?*

JMS: Mao made clear that because of the chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal country, protracted people's war is possible, starting from small and weak, the people's army can develop into one that is big and strong. It accumulates armed and political strength in the countryside until conditions are ripe for the seizure of the cities. Like Marx, he warned against playing with insurrection in the well-developed and highly centralized capitalist countries. So far in history, guerrilla partisan warfare can arise successfully under conditions of inter-imperialist war in capitalist countries like France and Italy in WW II.

Are there conditions of inter-imperialist war to divide the attention of the monopoly capitalist ruling class and military? Whether the war is carried out in the hinterlands or in the cities, can there be a people's army immediately to give battle to the highly organized security forces of the imperialist state? A number of those who advocate people's war in industrial capitalist countries presume that the ruling system is extremely rotten and that the people are already ready to rise up and it is only a matter of igniting the situation to rally the people to march on the centers of power. That is more like literary imagination than military science and tactics under the command of the Party based on materialist dialectics.

Mao was absolutely clear that protracted people's war, especially building a people's army from small and weak to big and strong over time, is possible only in semicolonial and semifeudal countries because of their chronic crisis and their wide physical and social terrain (countryside and peasantry) for guerrilla warfare to develop into a regular mobile warfare.

While there is yet no inter-imperialist war, genuine Communists can do what the Bolsheviks did like penetrating the reactionary army with cadres. The main thing is to do however is to form self-defense units among the workers and youth as the hard core of the proletarian masses. They can exist as self-defense groups during strikes or as athletic groups. For more than 75 years, the imperialist powers have avoided a direct war among themselves because they fear the probability of mutual destruction in a nuclear war. But it is also probable that the crisis and disintegration of the imperialist countries can be so grave and rapid that the masses can take power in cities through uprisings and not through a protracted people's war. The nuclear weapons of Soviet social imperialism became useless when the masses rose up to overthrow it.

*HT: How do you view the Maoist Movement since capitalism was restored in China?*

JMS: In China itself, the Maoist movement was defeated after the death of Mao and the coup engineered by Deng Xiaoping and his collaborators was successful. The GPCR was denounced, the communes were dismantled and capitalist reforms and opening up to the capitalist world were promoted. Analysis is needed to understand, draw lessons and overcome the defeat of Maoism in China from 1976 onward. The Chinese communists are trying hard to bring back the socialist revolution under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

The CPP admires the Maoist parties that have waged people's war in such countries as India, Nepal, Peru, Turkey and the like. In the 1980's the people's war in Peru was very promising. However, Comrade Gonzalo in Peru made a mistake in assessing that people's war was already in the stage of strategic equilibrium and in expecting urban insurrection as a shortcut to victory. He also underestimated the aspect of the united front. After his arrest, he put forward the line of stopping the people's war to give way to peace negotiations that are supposed to lead to the resumption of people's war.

I admire the Communist Party of India (Maoist). It adheres to the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as guide to revolutionary action. It practices the mass line and pursues protracted people's war with resilience and understanding. After being subjected to concentrated attack in North Telengana, it has reinvigorated itself in Dandkaranya to uphold the torch of Maoism. It has skillfully countered the attacks of the reactionary Indian paramilitary forces. Without mass support it could never have succeeded. It is starting to overcome weaknesses and shortcomings in urban areas and in building urban-based mass organizations. Being the proletarian revolutionary party in such a big population, the CPI (Maoist) can play a major role in the world proletarian revolution, like the Bolsheviks in the former Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China under the leadership of Mao. The CPP stands to benefit greatly from the advances achieved by the CPI (Maoist).

*HT: What is your view of the state of the world today?*

JMS: US imperialism is on the strategic decline. Acute contradictions are intensifying among the imperialist powers. The contention of the imperialist China with the US is of great political significance by way of challenging US global hegemony. Revolutionary forces can take advantage of the Inter-imperialist contradictions. Today fascism is rising worldwide, taking different shapes. Maoists can cooperate with non-Marxist but progressive Left sections of the people to combat fascism in Europe and elsewhere. A major feature in third world countries is the reign of neocolonialism and neoliberalism. They breed fascism. Neoliberalism and the so-called war on terror combine to promote the rise of authoritarian regimes and state terrorism. Duterte is already on the path of imposing a fascist dictatorship on the Filipino people. He has labelled the CPP and other revolutionary forces as terrorist. He is using all kinds of barbarities against the CPP and other revolutionary forces. He is also targeting all non-communist forces that are critical of his tyrannical regime. He has targeted for repression even the Catholic Church to discourage it from criticizing the criminal acts of his regime.

*HT: How do you see future of revolution in CPP?*

JMS: The CPP is very determined to defeat the tyranny of Duterte and the entire ruling system of big compradors, landlords and bureaucrats servile to US imperialism. Today the CPP has 75,000 members and leads a mass movement of people in the millions. It is in all spheres of society. It is marching from victory to victory because of its adherence to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as guide to action and because of its application of the mass line in pursuing the people's democratic revolution. It upholds and defends the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and understands Mao's theory and practice of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship through cultural revolution. This ushers in the third stage in the development of Marxism.

The CPP has excelled in leading the armed revolution that is among the longest running, strongest, and continuously growing armed revolutions for national liberation, democracy and socialism in the world. This armed revolution has proven correct Mao's theory and practice of protracted people's war. The CPP has developed this theory and practice in accordance with the specific characteristics of the Philippines in terms of social and physical terrain, with the peasant population as the most numerous class in the mountainous archipelago.

What makes the Philippine revolution most outstanding currently is that it has overcome a long running fascist dictatorship like that of Marcos and a long series of strategic operational campaign plans of US-lining pseudo-democrat-regimes to destroy it. The revolutionary forces and people have become strong precisely by fighting all the series of strategic operational plans that have been undertaken by the US and its Filipino puppet regimes. They have also combated and prevented all attempts of modern revisionism, reformism and opportunism to undermine and weaken the armed revolution.

# ***The Role of the Communist International in the Formation of the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands (1930)***

March 1, 2019

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We joyously celebrate this year the 100th anniversary of the establishment of the Third International or the Communist International (Comintern) by its First Congress in Moscow on 2-6 March 1919. The Comintern succeeded in encouraging the formation and development of Communist Parties in many countries and in advancing the world proletarian revolution. It has had far-reaching revolutionary influence and consequences beyond its 1943 dissolution.

The Comintern was the logical and necessary outcome of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which made Russia the center of the world proletarian revolution. It was in clear repudiation of the bankrupt opportunist and revisionist line of the Second International, which had turned the social democrats into social-chauvinist and social-pacifist subalterns of imperialism in capitalist exploitation, colonialism and waging aggressive war.

Even as the Bolsheviks were under the pressure of the Civil War and the foreign interventionist war of the Entente powers, Lenin saw the necessity of founding the Communist International in order to promote the proletarian revolution, especially in Germany and other European countries exhausted by World War I and disgusted with their rulers. He was motivated by the spirit of proletarian internationalism and he calculated that further revolutions in Europe would be helpful to the survival of the Soviet Union.

Concurrently, he recognized the revolutionary potential of the working peoples in the colonies in the East as the imperialist system was breaking down. It was the duty of the Soviet people to themselves and to other peoples to advance the world proletarian revolution. When the revolutionary flow in Europe ebbed, the revolutions of the East were bursting out, especially in neighboring China.

## ***1. The Communist International vis-à-vis the colonies like the Philippines***

The program of the Comintern optimistically declared that the imperialist system was breaking down and that there was ferment in the colonies, among the former dependent small nations, insurrections of the proletariat, victorious proletarian revolutions in some countries, dissolution of imperialist armies, complete incapacity of the ruling classes to guide the destinies of the people. The program expected the working class to create genuine order—a communist order—by destroying the rule of capital, making war impossible, abolishing state frontiers, changing the entire world into one cooperative community, and realizing the brotherhood and freedom of the peoples.

The great Lenin challenged the delegates to the Congress of Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the East in Baku on November 22, 1919: “You are representatives of communist organizations and communist parties of various Eastern peoples. I must say that the Russian Bolsheviks succeeded in forcing a breach in the old imperialism, in undertaking the exceedingly difficult, but also exceedingly noble, task of blazing new paths of revolution, whereas you the representatives of the working people of the East have before you a task that is still greater and newer. ... The period of awakening of the East in the contemporary revolution is being succeeded by a period in which all the Eastern peoples will participate in deciding the destiny of the whole world, so as not to be simply an object of the enrichment of others. The peoples of the East are becoming alive to the need for practical action, for every nation to take part in shaping the destiny of all mankind.”

In his “Draft Theses on the National and Colonial Questions” for the Second Congress of the Comintern on June 5, 1920, Lenin declared: “...the Communist International’s entire policy on the national and colonial questions should rest primarily on a closer union of the proletarians and the working masses of all nations and countries for a joint revolutionary struggle to overthrow the landowners and the bourgeoisie. This union alone will guarantee victory over capitalism, without which the abolition of national oppression and inequality is impossible.”

Lenin further wrote, “With regard to the more backward states and nations, in which feudal or patriarchal-peasant relations predominate, it is particularly important to bear in mind: first, that all Communist parties must assist the bourgeois-democratic liberation movement in these countries, and that the duty of rendering the most

active assistance rests primarily with the workers of the country the backward nation is colonially or financially dependent on”.

In the “Theses on the National and Colonial Questions” it adopted in July 1920 during its Second Congress, the Comintern proclaimed: “All communist parties must support by action the national-revolutionary movements in colonial countries. The form which this support should take should be discussed with the communist party of the country in question, if there is one. This obligation refers in the first place to the active support of the workers in that country on which the backward nation is financially, or as a colony, dependent.” The Program of the Comintern would subsequently include the following: “The Communist Parties in the imperialist countries must render systematic aid to the colonial revolutionary movement, and to the movement of oppressed nationalities generally.”

In its 5th Plenum in April 1925, the Comintern approved its first resolution on the Philippines. This urged the American communists to support the national liberation movement in the Philippines and to encourage the formation of a Communist Party from the revolutionized trade union and peasant movement as well as that of a national-revolutionary mass party from all groups actively campaigning for national independence. Through the Communist Party of the USA (then known as the Workers Communist Party up to 1930), the Comintern would take the task of encouraging and assisting the organization of the communist party in the Philippines.

The Filipino workers themselves would have to organize their own party, taking into account objective conditions and subjective capabilities. Since its Second Congress in 1920, the Comintern had adopted the terms of admission which required that all decisions of the Comintern are binding on all affiliated parties but at the same time enjoined itself and its Executive Committee to take into account the diversity of conditions in which the various parties have to fight and work and to adopt decisions binding only on matters in which such decisions were possible. II. Initial contacts with the Comintern and American communists

The Comintern established a number of revolutionary organizations of working people. These included the Red International of Labor Unions (RILU or its Russian abbreviation Profintern) which was organized in 1921 and the Peasants' International (or Krestintern) in 1923. Subsequently, subsidiary offices of these were established in China in order to cover the Far East and Pacific area.

Under the auspices of the RILU, the Conference of the Pacific (Oriental) Transport Workers was held in Canton, China on June 18-24, 1924. Five Filipino delegates were able to attend. To enable them to attend, the American Communist named Alfred Wagenknecht (otherwise known by his alternate names as William Elliot or Mateus Girunas) brought the invitation to the Philippines, made a survey of the labor organizations and arranged the trip of the chosen delegates who accompanied him to Canton.

The delegates came from various Philippine trade unions. They were able to meet and discuss with labor leaders from China, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Australia, USA, England, France and USSR. They were also able to bring home a resolution of the conference calling for the immediate independence of the Philippines from US colonial rule and another resolution urging the Asian workers and peasants to organize unions and struggle against imperialism and the local exploiters. Upon their return home, they were enthusiastic and formed a “Bolshevik secretariat” to issue a secret periodical.

The communication links with Comintern organizations, the flow of publications from the Communist International and consultations with visiting American, Chinese and Indonesian communists had begun and eventually helped to stimulate a leftward trend in the Philippine labor movement, amidst the worsening social conditions and upsurge of anti-imperialist and class struggles.

From 1924 to 1928, cadres of the CPUSA (known up to 1925 as the Workers Party of America and then as the Workers Communist Party), who were linked to the China-based RILU Pan-Pacific branch, visited the Philippines and interacted with Filipino labor leaders. They included Harrison George (who represented the union of the US railroad workers) and Earl Browder before he became the secretary of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat (PPTUS). They represented the CPUSA-led US Trade Union Educational League (TUEL) in the RILU's Pan-Pacific branch, located at different times in Canton, Hankow and Shanghai. A permanent Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat (PPTUS) was established. On behalf of American workers, Harrison George pushed a resolution expressing solidarity with the workers and peasants in the Philippines and support for their struggles for national freedom and emancipation from exploitation. In its 15th convention on June 30 to July 1, 1927, the Congreso Obrero de Filipinas (COF) declared its adherence to the PPTUS and pledged efforts towards the realization of the Program

adopted in the Hankow conference. The COF and the Kalipunang Pambansa ng mga Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (KPMP, National Federation of Peasants of the Philippines) affiliated with the PPTUS. The KPMP also started to communicate with the Peasants' International (Krestintern).

## ***II. Evangelista's visit to Moscow and Filipino workers as students***

In March 1928 the RILU invited Crisanto Evangelista and Cirilo Bognot of the COF to attend the 4th congress of RILU in Moscow. At the same time, the Peasant International also invited Jacinto Manahan of the KPMP to attend its conference. They passed through Shanghai in February to consult with Earl Browder and other PPTUS cadres. Evangelista and Manahan stayed for three months in Moscow. They had lengthy discussions with the Political Secretariat of the Comintern on the question of organizing the vanguard working class party in the Philippines.

The Secretariat adopted a resolution on April 20, 1928, "The Main Tasks of the Communists in the Philippines." It put forward the following: "the primary and necessary condition for the establishment of a communist party is the formation of an initiating communist group that has educated itself in the revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism, that has studied the principal lessons of the experiences of the international communist movement, that has learned how to apply that experience to the particular conditions of the working class movement in the Philippines, and that can undertake to transform gradually the Labor Party (Partido Obrero) into a party of the masses, into an effective communist party."

Evangelista proposed the sending of Filipino workers to study in Moscow in April 1928. He visited the Communist University of the Toilers of the East and talked with the director and educational coordinators of the Profintern and Krestintern. Earlier in October 1927, after his visit to the Philippines in September, Harrison George had already recommended that the Comintern invite six Filipinos every year to study in Moscow at the communist university.

Upon his return to the Philippines, Evangelista arranged for three young workers to study in Moscow. They studied at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East. This was a special secondary school for students from Asia, preliminary to admission to the higher institute Lenin School. The schoolmates of the Filipinos were from China, Indochina, Mongolia, Korea, India, Indonesia and the autonomous Soviet Asian republics in the Caucasus and Siberia. The biggest number of non-Soviet students were the Chinese.

The subjects in the university included dialectical and historical materialism, political economy, world history, history of the labor movement, natural sciences, physics and mathematics. They had rudimentary military training and educational tours. Their teachers were English speaking Soviet professors and an American communist cadre in the Comintern, Eugene Dennis, who gave lectures on trade unionism. He would later travel to the Philippines under the name of Tim Ryan.

One of the young Filipino workers finished the full course of three years and joined the KOMSOMOL or Young Communist League of the USSR. The American communist cadre Sam Darcy assigned to the Comintern gave him briefings on Party work. Upon his return to the Philippines in November 1931, he became active in the work of Party education. Another young Filipino worker who finished only two years of the course, returned earlier to the Philippines and became a delegate to the First Congress of the CPP on May 30, 1931.

In June 1929 two more Filipino workers were sent to Moscow to study at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East. One of them, Emilio Maclang, finished the three-year course and stayed on for one more year to translate texts and documents into the Philippine national language. Upon return to the Philippines in 1933, he was chosen as the head of the second line of leadership. He became the underground secretary of the CPP as soon as the open leaders of the CPP were imprisoned and banished in 1931.

American communist cadres appeared prominently as the most helpful to the Filipino cadres in the formation of the CPPI. But comrades of other nationalities, especially the Chinese were also helpful, especially because they had their own labor and youth organizations in the Philippines. The Philippine branch of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was established in the early 1920s, much ahead of the establishment of the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands (CPPI). "Comrade C" who led the aforesaid branch was a longtime close comrade of Crisanto Evangelista in the trade union movement.

The Chinese communists organized the Philippine Chinese Labor Federation (PCLF). This had close ties with the COF and the Partido Obrero. In October 1929 the Chinese Communist Party and its Young Communist League decided that the Chinese communists should assist the efforts of Partido Obrero in forming the

Communist Party of the Philippine Islands (PCCI). At the same time, the contacts of the PCLF with the Profintern were coursed through the leadership of the Partido Obrero. When the PPTUS transferred from China to Vladivostok, the PCLF continued to receive Chinese language publications through Partido Obrero.

### ***III. The founding of the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands***

In the year before the establishment of the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands (CPPI), the Great Depression engulfed the world capitalist system. The economic and social conditions deteriorated rapidly. The toiling masses of workers and peasants were restive. Workers' strikes and peasant uprisings spread. There was widespread clamor for national independence against the US colonial regime and class struggle intensified against the local comprador big bourgeois and the landlord classes. The objective conditions were rife for establishing the CPPI.

Twenty-seven out of the 35 labor federations and associations in the COF broke away to form the Katipunan ng mga Anakpawis ng Pilipinas (KAP, Proletarian Labor Congress of the Philippines). The KAP and the Kalipunang Pambansa ng mga Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (KPMP, National Federation of Peasants in the Philippines) became the organized mass base of the prospective CPPI. The PPTUS recognized the KAP as the legitimate representative of the organized workers in the Philippines. The CPUSA-led Trade Union Unity League (TUUL) reserved a seat in its National Executive Committee for a KAP representative by way of honoring the KAP.

After the formation of the KAP, the Committee for a Vanguard Workers' Party was set up in order to recruit the initial communist members. By June 1930, there were 96 of them. Fifty percent were industrial workers, 25 percent peasants and 25 percent handicraft workers and office clerks. Most were recruited from the KAP unions. At about this time, 60 Chinese communists from the PCLF and YCL were ready to join the CPPI but retained their autonomous all-Chinese nuclei.

A convention organized the Party on August 26, 1930 and elected the First Central Committee, with 35 members. The Political Bureau was composed of Crisanto Evangelista, Antonino D. Ora, Jacinto G. Manahan, Juan N. Feleo, Felix Caguin Urbano Arcega and the Chinese "Comrade C." It elected Evangelista as general secretary and Antonino D. Ora as chairman. Subsequently, the party was formally launched at a public rally on November 7, 1930, to mark the anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. During the rally, 3,000 of the 6,000 attending masses of workers and peasants filled up the forms to apply for party membership.

Among the aims of the CPP were the following: to struggle for the immediate, complete and absolute independence of the Philippines, to fight for the overthrow of American imperialism that dominates the Philippines, to struggle against the exploitation of the masses and to defend their liberties, to struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist system, to strengthen the unity of the labor movement and in particular the unity of the workers and peasants; to struggle against reformism and opportunism in the labor movement, to establish a Soviet or communist form of government under the authority and direction of the masses; and to unite with the revolutionary movement internationally, including the Soviet Union and liberation movements in the colonies.

Unlike other communist parties in East Asia, the CPPI was established legally and openly, despite its proclaimed aim of overthrowing US imperialism and the capitalist system. It was therefore vulnerable to illegalization a few months after its establishment. The US colonial authorities conducted close surveillance on and disrupted the legal mass actions of the newly-founded party in 1931. They made a mass arrest of the leaders of the CPPI and the delegates to the First Congress of the Party. They filed charges of sedition and illegal association against the party leaders, who were subsequently sentenced to imprisonment and exile in 1933 after a series of court appeals.

### ***IV. Founding congress of the CPPI***

Soon after the founding of the CPPI, the Comintern sent the American communist Eugene Dennis (Tim Ryan) to the Philippines in order to inquire into and report on the Party's situation and make recommendations. He reported that the CPPI had considerably broad influence and that its crystallization was of tremendous significance to the workers and peasants and to the revolutionary movement as a whole and laid the basis for the rapid development of the national liberation movement under proletarian class leadership. But he also found out that the party was lagging far seriously behind in the development of the strike movement among the workers (with only a few of the strikes led by the CPPI) and in organizing the growing mass discontent of the peasantry. Following the recommendations of Dennis in his "The Present Situation in the Philippines and the Immediate Tasks of the Communist Party," the Comintern advised the CPPI to hold the First Party Congress within six months and to make intensive preparations for it at lower levels of the party, including discussion of a draft program. The party

was warned that its legal existence would be of short duration because US finance capital was preparing to suppress the party. It was therefore advised to build an underground apparatus that was not isolated from the masses but still linked to them through mass organizations and mass struggles.

The CPPI took the Comintern advice and held its First Congress on May 30, 1931. The 400 delegates were very representative of the toiling masses. The resolutions tackled the political and organizational problems in line with Comintern recommendations. The spirit of proletarian internationalism was manifested by resolutions in solidarity with the Chinese workers and in support of the Soviet Union and by decisions strengthening ties between KAP and the PPTUS as well as with the Trade Union Unity League led by the CPUSA. The Congress passed a resolution formally applying for affiliation to the Comintern. The CPPI received a reply dated September 7, 1931, with the following content: "The Executive Committee of the Communist International greets the formation of the CPPI and approves the decision of the 1st Congress of the CPPI in May 1931 to request affiliation to the CI. This decision will be presented to the 7th World Congress of the CI for confirmation.

"The establishment of a new sector of the CI in the Philippines reflects the rapid growth of the national revolutionary movement in the colonial countries. Moreover, it marks an historical turning point in the development of the Philippine revolution away from the treacherous path of national reformism and on to the road of organized revolutionary struggle under the banner of the Communist Party, the vanguard of the working class. It indicates the developing revolutionary upsurge in the Philippines and the political awakening of the Filipino proletariat and peasant masses. It expresses their determination to fight for a revolutionary way out of the capitalist crisis, for the complete and immediate emancipation of the Philippines from the rule of American imperialism and its native lackeys, and for the establishment of a workers' and peasants' government.

The organized crystallization of the Communist movement in the Philippine Islands and its affiliation to the CI—the leader of the world organized revolution—further signifies coordination of the national liberation movement in the Philippines with the revolutionary struggle in other colonial and semicolonial countries and with the proletarian movement in the Soviet Union and in the capitalist countries, particularly in the United States; and represents the surest guarantee for the victorious carrying through of the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution in the Philippines. Simultaneously, it strengthens the international fighting front of the workers and peasants and colonial slaves the world over, and expresses their growing confidence to struggle under the leadership of the CI which alone is able to help and guide them to victory in their fight for final liberation from the yoke of imperialism."

#### ***V. Underground years of the CPPI, 1933 to 1937***

Immediately after the US colonial authorities cracked down on it in 1931, the CPPI membership of 2,000 abruptly shrank to only a few hundreds. It was a membership with a generally low level of ideological and political consciousness and with no experience and organizational preparation against repression. The CPPI leadership had not yet applied Marxism-Leninism comprehensively and profoundly on Philippine history and circumstances in order to define the character of Philippine society and the corresponding stage of the Philippine revolution, the friends and enemies of the revolution, the strategy and tactics, basic tasks and perspective of the revolution.

After serving their prison sentences, the CPPI leaders were banished to different provinces in the Philippines. They could have easily escaped their banishment and pursued the line of anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution. But they did not. They preferred to be where they were banished, although they continued their links with the CPPI underground.

As second line leader, Emilio Maclang who had studied in Moscow under the auspices of the Comintern took the place of Evangelista from 1933 to 1935. He could not stem the weakening of the CPPI organization. Rufino Tumbanda replaced him as general secretary from 1935 to 1938. He had been a Filipino member of the CPUSA and had founded the Filipino Anti-Imperialist League in Brooklyn. He carried the endorsement of the CPUSA on a bilateral basis and within the Comintern framework. He could not stop the shrinkage of the CPPI membership to only 197 in 1938.

Although the party membership remained small, the active party members within the KAP and the KPMP had wide influence in Manila factories and certain Central Luzon towns, respectively. Also, the CPPI-led League for the Defense of Democracy had increasing influence among the urban petty-bourgeois, especially the intelligentsia. Its core included a few university-based intellectuals as well as Filipino members of the CPUSA (Dr. Vicente Lava was a prominent example) who returned to the Philippines. The Popular Front was formed in 1936 as an antifascist

united front. It gave the underground CPPI a relatively wider room for maneuver.

Despite being underground, the CPPI could dispatch a three-man delegation to the exceedingly important 7th World Congress of the Comintern in 1934, with the assistance of the CPUSA. Because the congress was postponed to 1935, they had the opportunity to study for a year at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East.

The 7th Comintern Congress of 1935 laid stress on developing a broad antifascist and anti-war united front of communist and noncommunist forces and targeting fascist powers as the gravest dangers to humanity. The congress also approved the 1931 CPPI application for Comintern membership although conditionally due to the inability of the CPPI to station a leading cadre in the Moscow headquarters.

A batch of five Filipino young communists went to Moscow in 1935 via China and the Trans-Siberian Railway. They were escorted by CPUSA cadre Isabelle Auerbach, wife of the writer Sol Auerbach, otherwise well-known by his pen-name James S. Allen. The Filipinos were able to return in 1937 and 1938 via Western Europe and the United States. Further attempts of the CPPI to send Filipinos to Moscow through China and the Trans-Siberian Railway failed in 1936 and 1937 because of the full-scale war of aggression of Japan against China.

The CPPI had a highly creditable record of proletarian internationalism from the beginning. It supported the revolutionary movements of the Indonesian, Chinese, Indochinese, Malayan, Indian and other peoples against the colonial powers and their puppets. Filipino-Chinese communists belonging to the CPPI either supported the Chinese revolution from the Philippines or went to China to join the CCP and the people's army. Filipino members of both the CPPI and the CPUSA joined the Abraham Lincoln Battalion to fight on the side of the Spanish republicans against the fascist forces of Franco in the Spanish civil war.

#### ***VI. Legalization of the CPPI and Merger Party of the CP and SP***

The CPUSA directed James S. Allen (Sol Auerbach) in 1936 to go to the Philippines to promote among the Filipino communists the implementation of the antifascist popular front line of the 7th World Congress of the Comintern. It also mandated him to work for the release of the imprisoned and exiled CPPI leaders and the legalization of the CPPI and explore the merger of the CPPI and the Socialist Party led by Pedro Abad Santos. Allen travelled to the Philippines as a correspondent of the prestigious liberal US magazine, *The Nation*. He and his wife Isabelle Auerbach stayed in the country from August to November 1936.

They knew very well the underground CPPI general secretary Rufino Tumanda, who had been a CPUSA member in New York City. He arranged their meetings with Crisanto Evangelista, Guillermo Capadocia and Mariano Balgos in their places of exile. He eventually organized a conference of 25 central cadres for briefing James S. Allen and consulting with him about the situation, views and plans of the CPPI. He was also able to consult and develop close relations with Pedro Abad Santos, chairman of the Socialist Party, the Supreme Bishop Gregorio Aglipay of the Philippine Independent Church and personalities in intellectual circles.

On September 20, 1936 the CPPI Central Committee issued a manifesto entitled, "Forward for the Formation of the Popular Front." It called for an alliance of all labor, peasant and middle class organizations and political and social groups who were in opposition to the policies of the Commonwealth government, particularly the Quezon-Osmeña coalition and were willing to work for better social conditions and absolute national independence. It announced as the aim of the Popular Front "to save the Filipino people from the danger of imperialist war, dictatorship and fascism, to improve the conditions of the masses and obtain independence."

On New Year's Day of 1937, Quezon used his presidential powers to release the exiled CPPI leaders through conditional pardon. At first, they refused to accept the terms of release. But on October 16, 1937, they agreed to be released. Upon the request of the CPUSA, Quezon permitted Crisanto Evangelista to get medical treatment for tuberculosis in the Soviet Union, where he stayed for more than a year.

Against the reality of US colonial rule, the CPPI Central Executive Committee issued a statement on September 7, 1937 declaring that the immediate recognition of Philippine independence would save the Philippines from possible invasion by Japan. The statement prompted James S. Allen to write a long letter to Socialist Party chairman Pedro Abad Santos to explain that the demand for immediate independence or US agreement to such a demand would be precisely the invitation to invasion by Japan. The letter served clear notice to the CPPI to direct its fire against the threat from Japanese fascism. Much earlier in 1936, in view of the impending Japanese attack on Indochina, the Communist Party of Indochina had withdrawn the demand for independence from France upon the advice of the French Communist Party within the Comintern frame.

On August 18, 1938 James S. Allen was back in the Philippines to be present for consultations in the

preparation and holding of important gatherings of the CPPI. The CPPI Central Committee held a meeting on August 28-30, 1938 to discuss and approve the two documents, "Memorandum on the Chief Tasks of the CPPI" and "Independence, Democracy and Peace." The memorandum declared that the central task of the CPPI was to organize a national democratic front against Japanese militarist fascism as the main obstacle to the establishment of an independent democratic Republic of the Philippines and to ensure its security.

On October 29-31, 1938 the Third Congress of the CPPI was held, with the theme: For a National Democratic Front Against Reaction and Japanese Aggression, For Security, Democracy, Peace and Freedom! It marked the surfacing of the CPI from the underground to legality. The CPPI accepted the Commonwealth government, its constitution and the US promise of independence to be granted in 1946. The congress also served to merge the CPPI and the Socialist Party to become the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP). It approved a new party constitution and elected a new Central Committee, which in turn elected the Political Bureau. The highest party officials were Crisanto Evangelista as Chairman, Pedro Abad Santos as Vice Chairman and Guillermo Capadocia as General Secretary.

The threat of Japanese invasion was strongly discerned in the Philippines from 1938 onward. Japanese economic interests and pro-Japanese politicians, businessmen and organizations had become exceedingly conspicuous and alarming. Japanese aggression in China and against Indochina served as a forewarning to all Asian peoples. The Chinese residents in the Philippines were active in campaigning for support for China against Japanese fascism. The Spanish Civil War was also strongly felt in the Philippines as the Spanish super rich (Roxas, Soriano, Ayala, Zobel and Ortigas families) and the Spanish dominated Dominican and other religious orders provocatively sided with the Franco falangistas and as the progressive forces and the people opposed them.

In less than two months before the Japanese invasion on December 8, 1941, the CPPI Central Committee called on its organized masses to prepare for armed resistance and appointed a second line of leadership headed by Dr. Vicente Lava to assume the leadership in case the first line of leadership would be eliminated by the Japanese invaders. Indeed, Chairman Evangelista, Vice Chairman Pedro Abad Santos and General Secretary Capadocia were soon captured in Manila by the Japanese fascists.

The People's Army Against Japan (Hukbalahap) was founded only on March 29, 1942 and the plan for building the Barrio United Defense Corps was also laid out belatedly. The principal leaders of the CPPI did not heed much earlier the urging of "Comrade C" and other Chinese comrades in the Philippines to build the people's army and incorporate the Chinese fighters, whose units would come to be known as the Wa Chi. It would be in the course of fighting the Japanese occupation from 1942 to 1945 that the CPP would be able to develop armed revolutionary strength, carry out land reform, expand the mass base and establish local organs of political power.

The CPUSA disaffiliated from the Comintern in 1940 after the Voorhis Act was adopted by the US government, requiring the CPUSA to register with the office of the US Attorney General as a foreign agent of the Soviet Union seeking to overthrow the US government. The CPPI thereby lost its connection with the Comintern. On May 15, 1943, the Comintern adopted a resolution to dissolve itself because of the raging war conditions.

The final words of the resolution are the following: The Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International being unable in the conditions of the world war to call a congress of the Communist International: The Communist International, as the directing centre of the international working class movement, is to be dissolved.

The sections of the Communist International are to be freed from the obligations of its rules and regulations and from the decisions of the congresses of the Communist International.

The Presidium calls on all supporters of the Communist International to concentrate their energies on wholehearted support for and active participation in the war of liberation waged by the peoples and states of the anti-Hitlerite coalition for the speediest defeat of the enemy of the working class—German fascism and its associates and vassals."

# *On the Communist Party of the Philippines*

By Bekir, March 26, 2019

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1. *Liberation struggles are the struggles of decades, on state of people's war, in neocolonial countries and Communist Party of Philippines, celebrates its 50. anniversary, as a concrete verification for that. Primarily, for the qualitative competence of the interview, can you talk about the history of CPP?*

JMS: The Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) was founded on December 26, 1968. Subsequently, the CPP organized the New People's Army (NPA) on March 29, 1969.

Both revolutionary forces are committed to fight for the people's democratic revolution against the semi-colonial and semifeudal ruling system through protracted people's war.

Since their founding, the CPP and the NPA have become nationwide and deeply rooted among the toiling masses. They are in almost all the strategic points in the Philippine archipelago that are favorable for guerrilla warfare.

2. *What were the reasons of rectification movements and what were the results?*

JMS: The First Great Rectification Movement of 1965 onward criticized, repudiated and rectified the major ideological, political and organizational errors of the old merger party of the Communist and Socialist Parties, including its alignment with Soviet modern revisionism in the 1960s. It was necessary to conduct the rectification in order to lay the correct basis for reestablishing the CPP under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

The Second Great Rectification Movement criticized, repudiated and rectified the subjectivist notion that the Marcos dictatorship had industrialized the Philippines, the Right opportunist trend of capitulation and the "Left" opportunist error of premature regularization of the people's army and neglect of mass work.

Currently, the error of military conservatism is being corrected in order to stop the tendency in certain areas to overconcentrate on mass work and neglect the task of launching tactical offensives to change the balance of forces with the enemy.

3. *What's the political relation of different people's war organizations such as CPP, NPA and NDFP? Militarily, socially and on organizational basis, what's their power?*

JMS: The CPP is the advance detachment of the working class. It ensures that the people's democratic revolution would lead to the socialist revolution. It wields as its two powerful weapons the armed struggle carried out by the NPA and the united front which has taken its most consolidated form in the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP).

The NPA is the principal weapon for destroying the enemy and seizing political power. The NDFP makes sure that the people in their millions join and support the armed revolution.

The NPA realizes the antifeudal united front of poor peasants, farm workers and middle peasant, neutralizes the rich peasants, and takes advantage of the splits among the landlords. But the NDFP has a comprehensive coverage of all classes in Philippine society.

4. *We consider the united front as an issue to make difference on revolutionary struggles. Accordingly, can you evaluate us the NDFP?*

JMS: The NDFP has the widest latitude in building the united front. It builds the basic alliance of the workers and peasants, wins over the urban petty bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie, and takes advantage of the splits among the reactionary classes of big compradors and landlords in order to isolate and destroy the power of the worst enemy.

In the current civil war, the enemy is usually the reactionary ruling clique, which represents the exploiting classes and is a puppet to US imperialism.

5. *The status of dual power/two governments and civil war is a crucial topic. How and after which stages the democratic people's governments arise? How should the rest of the world know about people's governments? Is it possible one of the two governments abolish the other? If it is, how?*

JMS: Since the beginning of the people's war in the Philippines, the CPP has been building local organs of political power from the village level upward. These constitute the people's democratic government.

Two government now exist in the Philippines. One is the people's government of workers and peasants in the

countryside. And the other is the reactionary government of big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists that is based in Manila and other urban areas.

The CPP expects that in the long run, the people's army will seize the cities and the people's government based in the countryside will advance to replace the reactionary government in the cities. The revolutionary forces are advancing wave upon wave until they can take over the cities.

*6. The peace processes between a state and a revolutionary movement can be significant and gets positive results when executed with continuity of warfare. What can any peace process end up on Philippines?*

JMS: The peace process between the revolutionary government and the reactionary government cannot succeed for as long as the purpose of the reactionary government is to make the revolutionary government surrender only to let the oppressive and exploitative system to remain. The revolutionary forces of the Philippines will never agree to surrender. They demand social, economic and political reforms to address the roots of the armed conflict and lay the basis for a just peace. So far, the reactionary forces cannot agree with these demands and thus they are exposed as antipeople in the course of the peace negotiations.

*7. Can the Armed Forces of Philippines achieve its often suggested targets such as defeating the NPA after a certain period or on contrary would it serve for more NPA achievements?*

JMS: Because they are the running dogs of US imperialism and the exploiting classes, the reactionary armed forces can never defeat the NPA. The NPA has the just revolutionary cause and has the correct strategic line of protracted people's war.

I have called the Duterte regime the best NPA recruiter because it drives the people to join the NPA by its traitorous, tyrannical, brutal and corrupt character.

The regime is also the NPA's best transport and supply officer because it sends its troops to the countryside for the NPA to ambush and disarm.

*8. The uneven development law of imperialism incarnates on a form of a new arising imperialist axis. How do you see the imperialist redivision and specially China's position in this context?*

JMS: With the entry of China and Russia in the top circle of imperialist powers, the inter-imperialist contradictions in terms of economic competition and political rivalry have sharpened. The result is that the crisis of the world capitalist system has become more frequent and worse and the imperialist powers tend to promote state terrorism and unleash military intervention and wars of aggression.

The people suffer a lot from the escalating oppression and exploitation generated by the imperialist powers but they are driven to fight back. The current crisis, social and political turmoil. State terrorism and imperialist wars are prelude to the resurgence of the anti-imperialist and socialist movements.

*9. Philippines is one of the fault lines of imperialist redivision and the dependency connections of the country is on an interaction with the course of imperialist redivision conflicts. How does it affects both the revolution and the counter revolution forces in the time to come?*

JMS: The Philippines is becoming the focus of the sharpening contradictions between the US and China. US imperialism is still the more dominant military, economic, political and cultural force; but Chinese imperialism is quite aggressive in taking over the West Philippine Sea and trying to turn the Philippines into its debt colony.

The struggles between the two imperialist powers in the Philippines are causing serious splits among the local reactionaries. Under these conditions, the ruling system will become even weaker. It is highly probable that the reactionary armed forces would split seriously. In the meantime, the armed revolution is growing in strength and advancing. The CPP has already announced that the NPA will intensify its tactical offensives.

# How to Start Changing the World

Interview by Paloma Polo, April 2, 2019

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## Introduction

Jose Maria Sison and I met at his Utrecht office in 2013, after my first trip to the Philippines. A few months later, I returned to the Philippines, here I would spend three years doing social research and working in visual art projects. But before I returned, I wanted to interview the founder of the revolutionary party leading the movement for national and social liberation through protracted armed struggle in the Philippines.

Sison has been living in the Netherlands since 1987, trapped in exile as a recognized political refugee without citizenship or even the status of legal residency. In other words, he doesn't have any of the rights of a documented individual. Still, he perseveres, doing research, writing books and articles and voicing his views in Philippine and global issues.

It was easy to reach him, as he always makes himself available to those who are interested in the struggle of the Filipino people and his role in it. He welcomed me with the hospitality and cheerfulness that characterizes him. I had little idea about the Philippine revolution at the time, but he had the time and patience to entertain my endless questions and respond to my modes of inquiry.

That visit was the beginning of our enduring friendship and comradeship. Thanks to our lengthy and profound conversations, I learned and understood a great deal about the struggle of the new democratic revolution against the semi-colonial and semifeudal system that dominates the Philippines as well as about related issues on an interdisciplinary and global scale. Although Sison humbly claims that we learn from each other.

I have never met anyone with such a proactive and encyclopedic political will. His unfaltering dedication to all tasks seems effortless, natural and easy, as his working capacity is unparalleled. Sison has a deep commitment to his revolutionary principles and to serve the oppressed people with pure intellectual stamina, always on the lookout for the opportunity to advance the future he strives for, no matter what the challenge might be. When conceptualizing this book, I thought it would be of the utmost interest to show how a group of young petite-bourgeois university students joined up with workers and peasants and succeeded in reviving and developing what is now a revolutionary party of the working class, as well as an exceptional mass movement that unites workers, peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie. This cause has become strong through an epic 50-year long revolutionary struggle against a succession of repressive regimes: from the time of the Marcos dictatorship to the current days of Duterte's tyranny. During these last years, I have had the fortune and privilege of witnessing and gauging the many achievements of the new democratic revolution of the Filipino people.

Jose Maria, can you tell us a little bit about your family origin?

In my family, my great grandfather is revered. He accumulated the largest estate in Northern Luzon. He practically owned the land in the municipality of Cabugao to the extent of 85 percent, and he owned lands in three other nearby towns. During the Spanish period, he acquired the shoreline of the Ilocos region, from Badoc, Ilocos Norte to Sta. Lucia, Ilocos Sur, that's a distance of 80 to 100 kilometers. He practically owned it under tax declaration. It was planted with maguey for making a kind of rope which became stronger when steeped in salt water.

Then, what is the image?

Plenty

Pick one image.

As early as when I was in grade 3, I would hear stories from my classmates about their grandparents losing their lands, and sometimes our relatives also losing their lands because they could not collect taxes as Cabezas de Barangay, and their lands were subjected to public auction (subasta publica) and that was how my great grandfather acquired so much land.

You were present when that happened?

No. That happened in the third quarter of the 19th century.

You have to think of a describable image.

Ah. An image where I am involved?

Yes

I'm giving you deep historical background already?

*An image where you are involved.*

Don't you know that my ancestors up to the last quarter of the 19th century were all mestizos on the Spanish side? The Sisons, the Chinese mestizo (sangley) came only in the last quarter of the 19th century. My grandfather, who was a Sison, was the first Sison to be born in my town, in 1873.

*But you are still giving me historical context. Think of one image. The years when you were at grade school.*

Yes. The most striking and, I think, the one with a heavier social content, is about that. I would be scolded for saying irreverent things about my great grandfather.

*Scolded by whom?*

By my parents, and the main part of the scolding would be: "up to now what you're eating comes from your great grandfather."

*And what kind of things would you say about your great grandfather?*

I would say that the name of our town Cabugao meant Cando buclis agaagaw (Cando greedy grabber). Cando was my great grandfather's nickname.

*What is the formal name of your great grandfather?*

Don Leandro Serrano As a child, my great grandfather was what you call a "pamolo"... an "adoptee" of the Augustinian Friars. So he was a sacristan until he became a Fiscal Mayor and the person in charge administratively of financial matters. My parents said that he accumulated land because he was blessed by God and was hardworking. My family would not accept that he was a land-grabber. That scene will explain briefly but in a profound way my class origin.

*Who was in the classroom?*

I learned in grade four about the Philippine revolution, especially because my teacher came from an Aglipayan family that was very conscious of the history of the revolution. The Aglipayan Philippine Independent Church broke off from the Catholic church and became dominant in our region during the Philippine revolution.

So my teacher was teaching history in a very patriotic way. But then, when I was in high school in Ateneo, the American Jesuits would say that the revolutionary who began the Philippine Revolution of 1986 against Spain, Andres Bonifacio, was just a Tondo thug. They dismissed him just like that.

In the family we had a strong patriotic tradition because of my great grandfather. He and his male children were arrested by the Americans and brought to the Marianas Islands because they were blamed for the ambushes being done by the Filipino revolutionaries on American troops .

*So we are finished with this image?*

Yes. Feudal but patriotic. That's the character of my family.

Your political principles consolidated in your student years.

When studying Philippine history, you get to know of the Propaganda Movement—in Spain! The Philippine exiles held their meetings in Madrid and Barcelona. You cannot tell the story of the revolutionary Katipunan without mentioning the Propaganda Movement as the reformist prelude. The Katipunan was revolutionary in that it demanded national independence from colonial Spain whereas before, the Propaganda movement of Filipinos in Spain demanded the reform that the Philippines become a regular province of Spain. I matured as a progressive liberal by reading the works of Agoncillo and Majul, who were professors in the University of the Philippines and who focused on the Philippine Revolution of 1896. Agoncillo presented the Philippine Revolution as a revolt of the masses. Majul explained the liberal democratic principles of the constitution of the revolutionary government. In my own time, we spoke of creating the revolutionary university within the conservative university. I decided to organize the Student Cultural Association of the University of the Philippines (SCAUP). I already made up my mind to have this as a revolutionary study circle with two levels of education.

*One image.*

Study group.

*In UP, in which room of UP? In which class?*

In the liberal arts building. The Arts and Sciences building. We could choose any room that was vacant.

*And how many were you in the study group?*

Around 25. That was already big. It came to 25 when we were just beginning.

*Do you remember their names?*

Yes. Like Petronilo Daroy and Alice Guerrero. They became successful teachers and writers. Most would

become leaders of the national democratic movement. Others became academics, lawyers, economists and journalists. Then, some would later become cabinet members like Ruben Ancheta, senators like Heherson Alvarez and Orlando Mercado, a central bank governor like Jaime Laya, or the Supreme Court Chief Justice, Reynato Puno. There are too many of them to mention. Of course Julie, my wife, played a significant role in SCAUP at first, and then in the entire national democratic movement. She had an input in every major document of the movement. She has always been my ideological and political sparring partner.

*How did you become a Marxist?*

It was from 1958 to 1959 when I advanced from being a progressive liberal to a Marxist. In the SCAUP we had two levels of study. An open one on the national democratic line. And the discreet one was on Marxism. We had to be discreet about Marxism because mere study of it was illegal under the Anti-Subversion Law.

I should revert back to the Ateneo de Manila. The Jesuits used to call Claro Mayo Recto a crazy communist. He was an anti-imperialist senator and outstanding alumnus of the Ateneo. So I thought there must be something good about communists.

After Ateneo I transferred to Colegio de San Juan de Letran, in 1954. The Dominican friars ran this school. They were Spanish speaking, the school was not yet Filipinized. In their library, I found an anticommunist book about Communism. It quoted extensively from Marx and Engels and I was impressed by their ideas, as opposed to the Christian and anticommunist viewpoint of the author. The book was originally a doctoral dissertation for Fordham University, a Jesuit university in the US

In 1958, I read the *Communist Manifesto* for the first time.

*Did you read it in a study group?*

I read it on my own. I got the book from an institute funded by Rockefeller Foundation, the Institute on Economic Research and Development, at the University of the Philippines. That was the time of Kennedy. There was this talk about not being afraid of ideas and not even being afraid of guerrilla warfare because they can be countered.

The IEDR had Marxist books supplied by the Rockefeller Foundation. That is how I came across the *Communist Manifesto*

*So the Rockefeller Foundation donated the Communist Manifesto?*

The anticommunist introductions and annotations were, of course, there. But so were the full Marxist text.

*And did you discuss this Marxist text with other students?*

Yes, with other students who would become members of the SCAUP. At the same time I had a friend, Iljas Bakri, who was an Indonesian communist. He was a graduate student in business administration. We often exchanged revolutionary ideas.

*Why had he come to the Philippines?*

He had a scholarship. The Philippines was a center of education for South East Asian people. We were advanced in terms of education. That was the time when the reactionaries spoke of the Philippines as next only to Japan in economic development in the whole of Asia.

Bakri supplied me with Marxist books. And also, some faculty members had Marxist books. Julie and I rented the room of a political science professor in the UP teacher's village while he was out of the country on a scholarship in the US He had works of Mao. What we did not know at that time was that he was a research analyst of the intelligence agency. That is why he had those type of books.

*Going back, can you tell more about other members of SCAUP?*

Jaime Laya, he became the Central Bank governor and, before that, the Secretary of Education. That guy was a nice fellow. I stayed with him in a dormitory in Baguio. He was brilliant. I also remember him laughing all by himself while reading. And this guy was very, very thrifty. His coffee would turn more and more white because he kept on adding to it the milk available.

*What do you mean?*

We stayed in a Catholic boarding house, Patria, in Baguio. We would take just enough milk for our coffee. But he might have wanted to keep healthy with the milk. So his coffee would turn whiter and whiter until it was entirely milk.

Later as the Central Bank governor, he would be used by Marcos as Imelda's front man for acquiring highly priced paintings by European masters.

The paintings acquired by Imelda were to be displayed on the walls of the Central Bank but, in reality, the ones put up there were replicas. Imelda commissioned copies of the originals and kept the original paintings in her private collection. My friend, Jaime Laya, my SCAUP mate, was the Central Bank governor so this thrifty guy was being used for this purpose.

*Who else?*

Heherson Alvarez became a stalwart of the anti-Marcos group in the US. He used to be our main public speaker, the main stage actor during our mobilizations and rallies in the 1960s. He became senator when Cory Aquino took office as president of the Philippines.

*But you were a very good speaker.*

I preferred to be discreet, to remain in the background. I developed my speaking skills in school debates and elocution contests when I was a student, and then as a teacher.

*Why did you need to be discreet?*

It was a matter of prudence and appropriate tactics.

*But the English department of the University of the Philippines eventually discovered your political stance. How?*

In the making of the March 15, 1961 demonstration against the anticommunist witch-hunt hearings under the Committee on Anti-Filipino Activities (CAFA), we needed buses to move the students. So we went to the bus company to make arrangements. Petronilo Daroy and I were the only ones among the students who had some income that could guarantee our ability to pay. So we signed the contracts hiring 25 buses. But the one assigned to collect the fares from the students didn't do his job so we ended up being responsible for I don't know how much money, for the bus rental. The agent of the bus company kept on going to my university office every day and that alerted the department head and her clique.

The English department was the most politicized department in the UP. When I entered the department it was under the control of the Catholic militants but because they saw in my record that I came from Catholic schools they thought: here is someone of our kind. Also my academic record was good enough. But then, when they found out that I had a major role in the anti-CAFA demonstration, they would say in dismay: "oh, we cuddled a snake." They did not renew my appointment in the faculty.

The situation seethed some more when I debated with the department head over the content of the English 4 curriculum. It's a subject about great ideas of the world. We had a continuing debate which would be published in *The Philippine Collegian*, the main UP student publication. The debate was: why is it that great ideas of the world would include too many Catholic thinkers: Jacques Maritain, Etienne Gibson, Cardinal Newman and so on.

*Why are Marx and Engels excluded?*

The debate was fully publicized.

*Aside from your being uncovered as the promoter of the anti-CAFA demonstration and being fired from your teaching job in the university, what were other important consequences of the demonstration?*

Great success was attained with the anti-CAFA demonstration on March 15 1961, which was attended by over 5,000 students and other people. Despite the small size of the SCAUP we were able to bring about a broad united front of student organizations. By itself, the demonstration was celebrated by patriotic and progressive people as historically significant. It caused the underground leadership of the old communist party to invite me to become a party member.

*This was the first big progressive demonstration since when?*

The old armed revolution and the previous big mass movement in Manila were in the early 50s. The anticommunist crackdown was from 1949 to 1952. And the rest of the 1950s was a period of McCarthyism and the Cold War. So for us to have SCAUP in 1959 that was something highly significant. The 1961 demonstration that we organized was even more significant as a patriotic and progressive mass event.

Of course there had been big worker strikes before but those were mainly economic in character. Even as the main slogan of the anti-CAFA demonstration was to defend academic freedom of the university from state and religious intervention, it was also meant to defend anti-imperialist and antifeudal writings of professors and students. The student demonstrators broke the spell of anticommunist regimentation in the university.

*Where did it take place exactly?*

In the halls of Congress. The demonstration flooded into the hearing room of the Committee on Anti-Filipino Activities (CAFA) and literally disrupted the hearing.

That caught the attention of the CPP General Secretary, Jesus Lava, of the old party. He asked his nephew Vicente Lava Jr., to contact me. The latter was the son of the first Lava who became the first general secretary of the old communist party.

However, the invitation was not given to me promptly. I went to Indonesia to study the language during the first half of 1962 before I had the chance to accept the invitation. I met Vicente Lava, Jr. only in December 1962. Immediately we formed the executive committee to take the place of the already non-existent Central Committee. We were authorized to do so by the general secretary, Jesus Lava, who was merely hiding in Manila.

*But did you trust him? What was your strategy?*

Oh yeah, I trusted him as the nephew of Jesus Lava. I was not yet critical of the old party. I thought he represented the revolutionary movement.

*Where did you meet Vicente Jr.?*

In their house in Teacher's Village, next to the university. He had a big house because he was a high executive of the Colgate – Palmolive, Philippines. He was also a chemist like his father, Vicente, who had studied chemistry in Columbia University in New York where he had joined the Communist Party of the USA. The next brother, the lawyer Jose Lava, was the general secretary from 1948 up to the time he was captured in 1949. He was replaced immediately by the third brother, Jesus, a doctor of medicine. By 1963 I could still get along with the Lavas even if the labour leader Ignacio Laccina and I recognized the fact that the Lava cousins, Vicente Jr. and Francisco Jr. were not connected to the mass movement and thus they did not have much to contribute to the resurgence of the mass movement.

*Then you became critical of the Lavas?*

Yes, we would call them weekend warriors. Because they didn't have any connection with the mass movement.

*Your line of work had already begun on a different path as you had primarily focused on building the mass movement as the basis of the armed revolution.*

The anti CAFA demonstration brought about many important consequences. The SCAUP began to enjoy a high reputation among students. So we tried to expand our influence in the downtown universities in Manila. I convened study groups in different schools. That's how I came to know Satur Ocampo and others, who would become prominent revolutionary opponents of the Marcos dictatorship.

After I joined the old communist party, I recruited other student activists to join. We proceeded to expand relations with the leaders and members of trade unions and peasant associations. And we organized seminars for them as well as refresher course for veterans of the previous revolutionary movement. In due course, we were able to form the initial scores of proletarian revolutionaries who would rebuild the communist party and establish the New People's Army in the late 1960s.

*You brought together the smartest students—*

We recruited the students who had high marks as well as those who had interest in writing and those who were leading other campus organizations. Students with high marks were impressive to the freshmen and sophomores who elected them to the student government. The good writers became editors of the student publications. And, those leading other campus organizations were important in maintaining alliances with their organizations, including fraternities and sororities.

We propagated a progressive and patriotic line among the students: Continue the unfinished revolution along the national and democratic line. And it was up to all the members to study further at the level of Marxist-Leninist education. But we made sure that those whom we recruited understood the general line about continuing the unfinished revolution—the new democratic revolution or the people's democratic revolution led by the working class.

*And what about the peasants, what is their role?*

The peasants are the main force of the revolution. They are the largest exploited class in Philippine society. Their demand for land is the main content of the democratic revolution. From beginning to the end of the people's democratic stage of the revolution they are needed to establish people's power and to overthrow the ruling system. The working class is considered the leading force in the sense that it is the most progressive political and productive force and it is the class agency for carrying out the Philippine revolution from the people's democratic stage to the socialist stage.

*What was the refresher course for the peasant cadres? Who were these peasant cadres?*

The refresher course included a review of Philippine history, the role of the peasantry in the current democratic revolution, critique of the bourgeois land reform program and the revolutionary land reform program. Those who attended were veterans of the peasant movement, who had been outlawed in the anticommunist crackdown in the early 1950s. Many of them had just come out of prison and were eager to revive the peasant movement using as cover the bourgeois land reform program called the Agricultural Land Reform Code, pushed by president Macapagal. I used to feel flattered because I was the one lecturing to very old people. The peasant leaders who were released from prison would visit the trade union office of Felixberto Olalia, the president of the National Association of Federated Labor Unions (NAFLU). This was where *Malayang Samahan ng mga Magsasaka* (MASAKA / Free Peasants' Association), was conceived. Olalia became its first president. He was a labor leader of peasant origin, very much interested in the revival of the peasant movement.

*When was Masaka formed?*

In 1962. It was formed when I was not yet around. I was still in Indonesia at that time. But, by the time I came back to Manila, in the latter half of 1962, I became close to the peasants because I wrote the critique of the Macapagal Agricultural Land Reform Code—the bourgeois land reform law requiring the expropriation of some landed estate for redistribution to the tenants at an unaffordable price. The research and the writing I did for this publication was done under the auspices of Lapiang Manggagawa (Workers Party). It had under its wings MASAKA and the trade unions. So the text became basic educational material.

*What was that Workers Party?*

The Workers' Party was legal and aboveground. I could be a member of it even as I was a member of the underground old communist party. The two are different parties anyway. Then, in mid-1964, the Workers Party became the Socialist Party. I was elected its general secretary. Olalia, was elected vice chairman, and Lacsina chairman. Lacsina was junior to Olalia but he was, in his own right, an outstanding labour leader and a good articulator of the anti-imperialist line. But the much older Olalia didn't like being vice chairman to Lacsina. So one evening I went to his house. He had become lukewarm to the Socialist Party. He didn't want to be vice chairman. So I said to him: "you take my position, as general secretary." He liked it. So that's how I became vice chairman of the Socialist Party.

*Then, not so long afterwards, you set up formally the Kabataang Makabayan, why did you decide to do this?*

We formed the Kabataang Makabayan on November 30, 1964. As early as 1961, we, in the student movement had conceived of Kabataang Makabayan as a comprehensive youth movement for students, young workers, young peasants, young professionals and so on. We considered it an effective way of laying the basis of a Communist Youth League for a nationwide revolutionary party of the proletariat.

*Why the youth?*

We considered the youth as playing a key role in the revolutionary movement as exemplified by the youth of the Philippine Revolution of 1896 who comprised the political leaders and generals of the revolutionary army; and the masses of the young women and men who constituted the mass membership of the Katipunan.

*How was the Kabataang Makabayan organized?*

In 1962 we deliberately joined Lapiang Manggagawa, the Workers Party, to have links with the young workers as prospective members of Kabataang Makabayan. Very early on we sent student teams to go to the Central Luzon villages where the Masaka was consolidating in order to do social investigation, hold cultural performances and link up with the peasant youth. We had in mind the young workers and peasants as the widest base of Kabataang Makabayan. We had young teachers and graduate students as SCAUP members. They were the first type of professionals we were able to engage. But eventually the students would also become professionals. So we already had young professionals by the time KM was formed in 1964. They helped a lot in making the KM a comprehensive and nationwide organization. The old party was over concentrated in Central Luzon and Manila and there were some members in Southern Tagalog. Their expansion efforts had not been successful. For example, the old party had an expansion force of about 100 men, a full company, in the North in 1949. Their mistake was going up to the mountain provinces without locals they could rely on. In the mountain provinces, if they don't know much about you, you would be treated like the Spaniards trying to get in. You would be welcome apparently but, while you're asleep, the natives would take action against you.

*They would get killed?*

Oh yes.

*Now, what did you do?*

In Baguio, the mountain city, we availed of an organization of students belonging to the various tribes. It was called BIBAK, standing for the five mountain provinces—Benguet, Ifugao, Bontoc, Apayao and Kalinga. Now, if you have the students on your side, then you have an effective bridge to the various tribes. One has to find the proper way to reach the people who otherwise could be hostile.

*What kind of actions did KM put forward?*

In 1965 we had the omnibus rallies to protest against the US Military Bases Treaty and the Laurel Langley Economic Agreement. The students conjoined with the workers and peasants to hold a demonstration of 25,000 people. We also had demonstrations against the US war of aggression in Vietnam.

*Perhaps you could tell us about a significant one, the big mass action against US President, Lyndon Johnson, in October 23, 1966.*

We only had a picket line consisting of leaders of mass organizations. We were arrested on that evening, October 23. It was my first time to experience arrest. We were protesting against the US war of aggression in Vietnam and against Johnson's attempt to round up more support from US client states in Southeast Asia, especially the Philippines. On the same night, Manila Mayor Villegas ordered the police to release us.

*How come?*

There was a political contradiction between Marcos and Villegas. And Villegas had a high regard for me, especially because one of his assistants was a fellow creative writer and a close friend of mine, Andrés Cristobal Cruz. The following day, a big demonstration of 25,000 came and there were clashes in the vicinity of the Manila Hotel, where President Johnson was billeted. We were able to demonstrate inside the grounds of the Manila Hotel but then, we sensed that the military were coming, we moved out. Since a big number of demonstrators, especially from the UP and Lyceum came, we were able to move out. The Manila chief of police James Barbers advised the officer of the Marines to make an open way so that the demonstrators inside the Manila hotel grounds could get out. But then more demonstrators came and there were clashes around the Manila Hotel.

*How did you start the NPA and the people's war?*

First, we established the Communist Party of the Philippines in Barrio Dulacac, Alaminos, Pangasinan on December 26, 1968. Some three months afterwards we founded the New People's Army in Barrio Sta. Rita of Capas, Tarlac on March 29, 1969. In the mountains of Tarlac, we carried out politico-military training with cadres from Isabela in Northern Luzon and also with the KM activists from Manila. The first trainees that we had from Isabela were children of former fighters of the old People's Army (the Huks) who had fought against the reactionary government up to the early 1950s. Magsaysay had created the National Resettlement and Rehabilitation Administration (NARRA), an agency of the President Magsaysay's Economic Development Corps. The NARRA put up resettlement areas where former Huks could live together with former soldiers. So we got three young men from that resettlement area. We would train them and automatically their parents and other old folks from the old movement perked up. They were keen to resume the armed revolution.

*And who was giving the training?*

I took care of the political side of the training. Commander Dante and others took charge of the military training although I also enjoyed demonstrating to the trainees how to shoot accurately at fixed and moving targets.

*How did you learn how to shoot?*

I was marksman of the UP Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC). This military training was a requirement for university students during my time. I often practiced shooting, especially after I was stabbed in early 1968 and I felt risk to my life. I used to do dry shooting. Aiming at everything, and also drawing fast.

*Did you ever join the military operations of the NPA? What was your most intense experience of a fire fight?*

I wanted to join the military operations. But the comrades in the NPA used to say: "There are things you can do that we cannot do. So why do you want to take away our job. Our job is to fire at the enemy. But it will be more difficult to replace you if you get shot." At the beginning, even those assigned to publications wanted to join the tactical offensives. But there were the Red fighters assigned to carrying out the offensive. At any rate, it is unavoidable to be in danger like the others in a guerrilla front. When you camp or when you march, there is always a danger of being ambushed by enemy troops and you must be ready to fight back. I was in the midst of several fire fights in 1977. It was around the forest camp we had in the mountainous border of several provinces in western Central Luzon. The closest firefight was only some 200 meters away.

*What happened?*

I called it an extension of New Year's Eve when there's a lot of fireworks. We could hear the helicopter and the shooting. It was nearby.

As I said, it was just after New Year. So, the joke was "this is an extension of the New Year." This was in the boundary of Bataan, Pampanga and Zambales, where we held the conference of the Central Luzon Regional Party Committee. The enemy got wind of our presence there, but they didn't exactly know where we were. And so they made probing attempts and spotted our mobile sentry, which they attacked, using a helicopter gunship. So that was the first notice. Our mobile sentry was practically wiped out. There was also a group that wanted to meet up with us in the mountains. They were ambushed just about 200 meters away from our place. When the enemy established that I was there they tried to organize 1500 troops because the area was big. But we were able to slip out.

*How?*

We used the old trails of Bataan to reach Mariveles on the seaside. The forest there was already in secondary growth. We used the old logging trails and we were following the river. We had been briefed that, once in Mariveles, we could take a boat and land near a nightclub in Olongapo where relatives of the comrades would meet us. But there was no night club and no relatives so we had to look for another place in Subic. From there, I was fetched by an Irish comrade who was a religious missionary. During those years, my most reliable conveyors when-ever I was being brought to another region were Irish priests, like Jack Hynes. When Filipinos see a white guy they think he is an American. We called them the frog men, those internationalist friends who helped in transport and communications. The least suspected people. They were instrumental, especially in my moving from one region to another and in arranging meeting places. They were already party members. They had become Marxists. They were not just allies. And I saw the development of some. They would first accept historical materialism but not yet dialectical materialism. Eventually, social practice kept on remolding their mind until they reached the level of dialectical materialists.

*Ok, but going back in time. What further significant organizations did you establish after the formation of the Kabataang Makabayan?*

We had the idea of establishing a united front organization movement for the advancement of nationalism. For this purpose I initiated the formation of the Movement for the Advancement of Nationalism (MAN). We appropriated the term nationalism for a number of years to mean anti-imperialism. So that's as late as 1966.

*Why did you think it was necessary to create a specific movement for the advancement of the patriotic nationalist element?*

To further engage the middle social strata, to attract the urban petty bourgeoisie, and even the national bourgeoisie because we were pushing the line of national industrialization, that is so very essential.

*And this line of work was successful?*

Yes, it was successful. We were able to hold the big demonstrations. We already had Kabataang Makabayan, MASAKA and the Socialist Party. But in 1967, MAN would be divided because of the break between the Lava faction and our group. The Lava revisionist faction expelled from the old communist party the proletarian revolutionaries, who proceeded to re-establish the Communist Party under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

*How did the split happen concretely?*

In December 1965 I was assigned to do what we called the general report. It was going to be the first political report since the last one done by Jesus Lava, which he wrote sometime in the early 1960's. I did a review of the history of the party, especially in the period of 1941 to what was then the present. I traced the errors and shortcomings, especially since 1942, which led to the weakening and defeat of the revolutionary movement. Naturally the responsibility fell on the three Lava brothers who were successive CPP general secretaries. And the Lava scion Francisco Lava, Jr. objected. At the same time, there would be a break between the two Lava cousins, Vicente, Jr and Francisco, Jr. over personal and family matters involving their macho kind of behavior. Thus, meetings of the Executive Committee were hampered and became rare. Eventually, Francisco Jr. tried to usurp leadership over the entire committee, with-out the committee electing him. Lacsina and I opposed the usurpation made by Francisco, Jr. What happened then.

We prepared to re-establish the CPP. This was formalized by a public statement on May 1, 1967, which appeared in the *Beijing Review*. The opposite statement of the Lava group was published in the *Information Bulletin* in

Prague. After April 1966, we went full blast on the first rectification movement. The preparation of documents of rectification, the drafts of the Constitution the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution (PPDR); so, the preparations for the founding of the Party took more than two years. It was not just a one day arrangement, December 26, 1968, which is the anniversary date of the Re-establishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines. I took at least three weeks to approve the documents. We just picked one day symbolically, December 26, to honor Mao because it was his 75<sup>th</sup> birthday.

*And you were all united in the underground.*

In a little house in Alaminos, Pangasinan.

*I thought that you decided to do the celebration on the 26th to keep it discreet, as it coincided with Christmas.*

The main consideration was to honor Mao. Although one can easily comment oh, that's clever because celebrations would be under the cover of Christmas.

*How were the celebrations?*

Actually there were no celebrations. But certain comical things happened. We thought that the enemy had already gotten wind of the meeting when we heard a big thump on the ground. One of our three guards, who fell asleep on a tree branch fell! So...that was the big thump. The comrade who fell from the tree would later become a famous NPA commander in Isabela. We ate rice that was not cooked enough, it was almost raw rice, so we all had stomach problems.

*What a glorious day, huh?*

Yes.

And were the founding members also senior cadres from the 1930s and 1940s?

Against the Lava group we had on our side Lucio Pilapil, the labor leader who was a central committee member in 1930, when the founding of the old party took place. Max Gutierrez, a Central Committee member in the 1930s, was also with us. We had Pablo Jacinto, who used to be the Communist League chairman, soon after the war. Among the remnants of the old People's Army we had commander Dante, whose real name is Bernabe Buscayno. I met him for the first time in November 1968, just before the founding of the party. He wanted to break away from the command of the old people's army because of the degeneration of said command, and he was happy about a new Communist Party being established and its army being envisioned. Then, when we eventually discussed the armed struggle, he asked: "what would be the name of our army?" The "New People's Army," I responded. "Ah, that's nice!", he replied. Soon after the NPA was formed, on March 29, 1969, we had the first plenum of the CPP Central Committee in May 1969, in order to include in the Central Committee the cadres of the NPA and some peasant leaders.

*Did your party get external support in these early years?*

The old party and the reestablished CPP received only small tokens of support from abroad. At this point in time, they amount to practically nothing. The re-established CPP has been self-reliant. It's okay to have external assistance so long as you don't become dependent on it, and if you receive any assistance, big or small, it should become a little part of the far bigger advance of the revolutionary movement.

*But it must be hard to begin the people's war.*

Yeah! In fighting the enemy, we started with nine rifles, automatic rifles.... In one year and a half, we had 200.

*How did you get the 200 rifles?*

Through ambushes and raids. This is something exemplary to NPA Red commanders and fighters up to now. We have gone a long way.

And times are different—

The NPA now operates and fights nationwide in 110 guerrilla fronts, with the direct support of many more armed personnel in the people's militia and the self-defense units of revolutionary mass organizations. The enemy can only concentrate in certain parts but the ever growing NPA can hit in so many other areas.

*What legacy do you wish to leave?*

In my own view, my legacy includes my theoretical and practical contributions to the advancement of the Filipino people's struggle for national and social liberation, the perseverance of the proletariat and people in anti-imperialist and democratic struggles amidst the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system and the eventual resurgence of the world proletarian-socialist revolution.

September 10, 2019

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## **I. Origins**

Spain colonized the Philippines more than 300 years since the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Still lacking national consciousness, the people engaged in more than 200 localized revolts intermittently. But these were defeated. Spain was therefore able to impose a colonial and feudal system on the people who were still in diverse types of highly localized communities.

But the centralized system of oppression and exploitation resulted in the formation of national consciousness among the oppressed and exploited people. They ultimately realized that the system could rule over them because they were divided in disparate communities and were thus vulnerable to subjugation with the use of the sword and the cross.

The revolutionary organization Katipunan started the Philippine revolution in 1896 when it called for national independence of the Filipino people against Spanish colonialism. At that time, the leadership of the revolution had a bourgeois liberal ideology and targeted the Spanish colonial administration and the religious orders owning vast landed estates.

The Philippine revolution won against Spanish colonialism throughout the archipelago in 1898. But the US had its own plan of colonizing the Philippines. It engaged Spain in a war through which it would take over Spain's colonial possessions. In December 1898, the US and Spain made a treaty in Paris which effected the sale of the Philippines to the US for 20 million US dollars.

The US launched a war of aggression against the new Philippine republic, starting on February 4, 1899. The Filipino people fought heroically and valiantly. But the US prevailed with superior military force. With 75,000 troops with machine guns and cannons, it massacred 1.5 million Filipinos up from 1899 to 1913. It was also able to coopt a number of leaders of the Philippine government who came from the landed class.

The US started laying the ground for a new colonial regime in 1902 with the capitulation of the key leaders of the Philippine government, even as the national resistance was still going on. By the second decade of the 20th century, the US had consolidated its power over a colonial and semifeudal ruling system.

By 1930 the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands (CPPI) was established mainly by Filipino trade union leaders, under the auspices of the Third Communist International and the US Communist Party. The CPPI upheld Marxism-Leninism as guide to action and promoted the class leadership of the proletariat in the struggle for national independence and democracy. The CPPI was banned soon after its founding and its leaders were arrested and convicted on the charge of sedition for which they were imprisoned or exiled. But in 1936 the US allowed the puppet president Quezon to release these leaders from prison or exile in connection with the international antifascist united front developing against the fascist powers. The CPPI merged with the Socialist Party to form one party in 1938.

After the Japanese invasion of the Philippines in 1941, the merger party decided to form the People's Army Against Japan (Hukbalahap) in 1942. By fighting the invaders, this army became strong mainly in Central Luzon, a region adjacent to Manila, and enabled land reform, the strengthening of peasant and other mass organizations and the establishment of local organs of political power.

Were it not for certain major errors of the leadership of the merger party during World War II and the succeeding years, the Filipino people and their revolutionary forces would have emerged far stronger and more capable of overcoming the return of US imperialism and achieving national liberation and democracy. Instead, US imperialism was able to dominate the Philippines again and turn it to a semicolonial and semifeudal system run by puppet politicians representing the big comprador and landlord classes.

Because of its errors, the merger party weakened itself, the people's army and other revolutionary forces to the extent that they became insignificant and close to total destruction from 1952 onwards. It became the task of young proletarian revolutionaries from the youth, trade union and peasant associations to revive it from 1963 onwards and to leave it when the revisionist elements became obstructive to the advance of the revolutionary movement.

## **II. General line**

The Communist Party of the Philippines was reestablished on December 26, 1968 in accordance with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the theoretical guide to action, the general political line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war and the organizational principle of democratic centralism.

We applied Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the study of the history and concrete circumstances of the Filipino people and we were determined to apply it further to the realization and development of the Philippine revolution. We considered ourselves fortunate that our revolutionary knowledge and vision of the socialist and communist future were enriched by the teachings of Comrade Mao in the practice of the cultural revolution.

But we were absolutely clear that our general political line was to pursue and realize the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war against US imperialism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. We were continuing the unfinished revolution that was started by the Katipunan but was frustrated by the US imperialist war of aggression. But it was also clear to us that we are carrying out a new democratic revolution led by the working class in the era of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution.

In carrying out the general line, we consciously built the three revolutionary weapons of the Filipino people: the CPP as the advanced detachment of the working class and the leading force of the revolution, the New People's Army as the main instrument for destroying the state power of the reactionary classes and for guaranteeing the rise of the people's organs of democratic power, and the national united front, supported by the antifeudal united front in the countryside.

The CPP builds itself ideologically through the study and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It conducts social research and investigation and issues statements and acts on important concerns. Organs and units at various level collect adequate reports for collective discussion and decision-making. Party schools are run at basic, intermediate and advance levels for cadre formation. The Party conducts politico-military training for cadres and fighters of the people's army, people's militia and self-defense units.

The CPP builds itself politically. It arouses, organizes and mobilizes the masses. It conducts political education on the general line and on the burning issues. It exercises absolute leadership over the people's army. It builds various types of mass organizations of the workers, peasants, indigenous peoples, women, youth, professionals and other people. To invigorate and make them effective, they are mobilized in campaigns to inform, protest and make demands or to carry out constructive programs and projects.

The CPP builds itself organizationally. It recruits from the ranks of the most committed and most militant activists of the mass movement, especially from the organizations of the toiling masses of workers, peasants and lower middle on a nationwide scale. It follows the principle of democratic centralism, which means centralized leadership on the basis of democracy. It observes conscious iron discipline as well as democracy in collective discussions and decision-making.

Under the leadership of the Party, the NPA carries out the strategy and tactics of protracted people's war. It encircles the cities from the countryside. It avails of the physical and social terrain of the countryside which allows it to grow from small and weak to big and strong over a long period of time. It must rely on the peasantry as the main force of people's war. This shall develop in three probable strategic stages: defense, stalemate and counter-offensive. The main form of warfare can advance from guerrilla warfare to regular mobile warfare and finally to regular warfare.

The NPA carries out agrarian revolution in order to gain the trust and confidence of the peasant masses and satisfy their democratic demand for land. According to the circumstances, the NPA carries out the minimum land reform program of rent reduction, elimination of usury, improvement of the wages of farm workers, raising the prices at the farm gate and promoting agricultural production and sideline occupations. When possible, the maximum program of land confiscation from the landlords and big corporations for free distribution to the poor peasants and farm workers are carried out.

The NPA engages in mass-base building in the countryside and applies the antifeudal united front policy of relying mainly on the poor and lower middle peasants, winning over the middle peasants, neutralizing the rich peasants and taking advantage of the splits among the landlords in order to isolate and destroy the power of the despotic landlords. The NPA encourages and supports the mass organizations of the peasants and other sections of the people, builds the organs of political power and trains the people's militia and the self-defense units in every village.

The national united front implements the revolutionary class line of developing the working class as the leading force and the peasantry as the main force, winning over the urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie and taking advantage of the splits among the reactionaries in order to isolate and destroy the power of the enemy, which is the ruling clique of big compradors and landlords subservient to US imperialism. In case of aggression by an imperialist power, the current civil war becomes a national war against such aggression.

The most consolidated form of the national united front is the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP), which consists of 18 revolutionary organizations. While the NDFP itself is already a formidable united front, it is always open to a broader united front in order to isolate and destroy the power of the current enemy. It employs all forms of legal and illegal struggle. It develops all forms of revolutionary forces and allies. It engages in all forms of struggle inside and outside the ruling system.

Like the CPP, which always strives to develop relations of proletarian internationalism with other communist and workers' parties and movements, the NDFP always strives to develop relations of internationalist solidarity with all peoples and their anti-imperialist and democratic parties and organizations. It develops relations of friendship, mutual support and cooperation between the Filipino people and other peoples of the world on the basis of seeking a new and brighter world against the oppressive and exploitative conditions under imperialism and all forms of reaction.

### **III. Development**

When it was founded in 1968, the CPP had only 80 full and candidate-members. They led trade unions, youth organizations and other types of mass organizations whose members ran into thousands, but not yet more than 25,000. Now, the CPP membership is in the tens of thousands. Its organized mass base of workers, peasants, national minorities, women, youth, professionals and other sectors run into millions.

The CPP has become the largest and most powerful revolutionary proletarian party that has ever arisen in Philippine history. The mass base is nationwide, in nearly all the 81 provinces of the Philippines and is deeply rooted among the toiling masses of workers and peasants. This has been realized by waging the people's democratic revolution through the strategic line of protracted people's war. The CPP had a wide basis for nationwide expansion because of the thousands of mass activists in the youth organizations, trade unions and peasant associations led by the CPP cadres. It also engaged in politico-military training for hundreds of committed and able-bodied activists for possible expansion of the prospective people's army in as many as five regions.

After only three months from its founding in 1968, the CPP founded the New People's Army on March 29, 1969 and expanded the CPP mass base by 80,000 people with the integration of the veteran fighters of the old people's army in the second district of Tarlac province. The NPA started with only 9 automatic rifles and 26 other inferior firearms for the initial 60 Red fighters. NPA expansion teams without firearms were immediately deployed to prepare guerrilla zones and acquire firearms from localities.

Now, the Red fighters run into thousands and their units operate nationwide in more than 110 guerrilla fronts in 74 provinces. More than 90 percent of NPA firearms have been seized from the enemy and the rest have been acquired as gifts and through purchases. The full-time Red fighters are augmented by tens of thousands of members of the people's militia and hundreds of thousands of members of the self-defense units of the mass organizations. These are active auxiliaries as well as reserve forces for the NPA.

The NPA has surpassed the number, strength and scale of all previous revolutionary armies in Philippine history. It is now striving to advance from the middle phase to the advanced phase of the strategic defensive in order to enter the stage of the strategic stalemate. The advance of the revolution is assured by the tempering and accumulated experience of the revolutionary forces and the desire of the people for revolutionary change because of the worsening crisis of the ruling system and the escalating oppression and exploitation.

The wide reliable rural mass base of the CPP and NPA is constituted mainly by the peasant masses who participate and benefit from the various stages of the agrarian revolution. It is the solid foundation of the local Party branches and the local organs of political power. In carrying out the agrarian revolution in stages, the CPP applies the antifeudal united front as earlier explained.

As a result of the advances in armed struggle and mass work, the CPP has been able to establish and develop the people's democratic government in the countryside on a nationwide scale. At first, the organs of political power are constituted by appointed cadres of the Party and the representatives of the masses and subsequently by those elected by the mass organizations or the masses in the guerrilla bases.

The people's democratic government is in charge of local administration, mass organizing, public education, socioeconomic programs, cultural activities, self-defense, settlement of disputes, the people's court, environmental protection, and social work to cope with enemy-caused and natural disasters.

The enemy is deluding itself when it claims that the Philippine revolution has failed because after the last 50 years the CPP has not yet captured the presidential palace in Manila. In fact, there are now two governments fighting each other. One is the revolutionary government of the workers and peasants; and the other is that of the big compradors, landlords and corrupt bureaucrat who are servile to imperialist masters.

By applying the national united front policy and tactics, the CPP has been effective in advancing the revolutionary armed struggle and the various forms of legal struggle. As a result, the broad united front has been successful at isolating and ousting from power the most hated enemy regimes, like the US-instigated Marcos fascist dictatorship in 1986 and subsequently the corrupt Estrada regime in 2001.

At the moment, a broad united front has arisen to fight and overthrow the traitorous, tyrannical, brutal and corrupt US-Duterte regime in order to frustrate its scheme of establishing a full-blown Marcos-type fascist dictatorship through a series of extremely repressive measures of state terrorism and under the pretext of charter change for federalism. In the grossest way, this regime is culpable for treason, mass murder, corruption and other grievous crimes against the people.

The tyrant Duterte is obsessed with seeking to destroy the CPP, NPA and other forces of the Philippine revolution. He announced that he would destroy the revolutionary movement before the end of 2018. When he saw his impending failure, he moved his deadline for destroying the movement to the second quarter of 2019. Subsequently, he and his subalterns have moved their deadline 2022 in the face of the growing strength of the revolutionary forces and the people.

The Filipino people fully recognize and detest the antinational, antidemocratic and anti-people character of the Duterte regime in terminating the peace negotiations with the NDFP in order to push through its scheme of fascist dictatorship. This regime faces the prospect of political destruction even before the end of his term in 2022. Whether Duterte can finish his term or not, the Philippine revolution will outlast his rule and will continue to grow in strength and advance.

The CPP has established comradely relations with communist and workers parties and movements abroad in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. It has promoted the relationship of Filipino mass organizations with their counterparts abroad in the internationalist spirit of peoples' solidarity. It has also fostered the solidarity relations of overseas Filipinos and their organizations with the host peoples and other guest communities in scores of countries.

#### ***IV. Setbacks and rectification***

The great achievements of the Philippine Revolution in more than 50 years have been realized by building the CPP, the NPA, the mass organizations and the organs of political power through hard work and fierce struggle, which involve overcoming tremendous odds in the objective situation, the violent and deceptive assaults of the enemies and the setbacks that are due to subjectivist and opportunist errors and shortcomings of the revolutionary forces.

The tremendous odds in the objective situation not only from the domestic semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system but also from the world capitalist system. In fact, US imperialism has dictated on Filipino puppet regimes the preservation and aggravation of the domestic system of oppression and exploitation and has provided a wide range of counterrevolutionary weapons, including the ideology of anticommunism and the hardware to surveil, track and kill people.

The CPP resumed the armed revolution of the Filipino people when the US was waging the Cold War to spread anticommunism in the Philippines and the Soviet Union was also spreading modern revisionism to discourage armed revolution through Filipino revisionist renegades. Worse external conditions seemed to go against the Philippine revolution when the Soviet Union collapsed and US imperialism became the sole superpower. But the CPP became inspired by the continuing revolutionary movements abroad and focused on taking advantage of the chronic crisis of the Philippine ruling system, the growing inability of the ruling classes to rule in the old way and the rising desire of the Filipino people for armed revolution. It became even more determined to strengthen itself and wage the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war. The CPP has been able to overcome all the strategic campaign plans of military suppression and psywar unleashed by the reactionary ruling

system from the 14-year fascist dictatorship of Marcos through the subsequent pseudo-democratic regimes of Corazon Aquino, Ramos, Estrada, Arroyo and Benigno Aquino III to the current tyrannical regime of Duterte who idolizes Marcos and aspires to rule as fascist dictator. In the course of the revolutionary struggle, there are times when the attacks of the enemy can be damaging to the people and the revolutionary movement. But the scale and duration of the damage has never eliminated any regional organization of the CPP or regional command of the NPA or any of the various forms of people's struggle in any region of the Philippines.

In fact, the major subjectivist and opportunist errors of certain renegades have been more than damaging than the offensives unleashed by the enemy. The CPP has benefited greatly from criticizing, repudiating and rectifying the major errors of the series of Lava brothers acting as general secretary of the merger party.

Vicente Lava committed the error of Right opportunism from 1942 to 1946 by adopting the passivist "retreat for defense" policy and welcoming the return of US imperialism to the Philippines. Jesus Lava committed the error of "Left" opportunism from 1948 to 1949 by taking the adventurist line of aiming to win the armed revolution in only two years without need of land reform and mass work. Finally Jesus Lava committed the error of Right opportunism again from 1950 to 1962 by issuing orders to liquidate the people's army in 1955 and the merger party in 1957.

So far, the biggest errors committed by certain renegades in the CPP are the subjectivist one of reconsidering the semifeudal character of the Philippine social economy as industrial capitalist (in effect praising Marcos for supposedly industrializing the country) and the "Left" opportunist one of prematurely regularizing and verticalizing the NPA and neglecting mass work for the purportedly to speed up military victory.

These errors resulted in serious shrinkage of mass base and more effective enemy attacks in certain regions at different periods from 1985 to 1992, limiting gains from the overthrow of the Marcos fascist dictatorship. Worst of all, the renegades scapegoated comrades and allies in good standing as "deep penetration agents" and meted out undeserved punishments. The Second Great Rectification identified the major errors, criticized, repudiated and rectified them.

The rectification movement resulted in raising the level of theoretical and political education in the entire CPP rank and file and caused the recovery and advance of the revolutionary forces in the areas adversely affected by the errors. Thus, from 1992 onwards the Philippine revolution gained in strength and advanced. The CPP was able to play a major role in the overthrow of Estrada in early 2001.

In subsequent decades, the problematic phenomenon of conservatism arose in Luzon and Visayas, while the forces of the NPA in Mindanao were able to adopt the correct combination of combat and mass work in order to strengthen the NPA and the mass base. Conservatism is characterized by overconcentrating on mass work and neglecting the task of launching tactical offensives against the enemy by over-dispersing small NPA units (squads or teams) over wide areas and reducing effective command over them. The overdispersal of small NPA units renders these vulnerable to enemy offensives. They can be easily put in purely defensive positions and upon their destruction their previous mass work comes to nothing.

The need for full-time combat units of the NPA to take the initiative in launching tactical offensives is also sometimes prejudiced by overdependence on the people's militia and the self-defense units of the mass organizations, which should be properly assigned to internal security tasks in the main. The result is that the NPA commanders at higher levels and even the NPA units themselves adopt civilian ways for extended periods at the expense of politico-military training and combat operations.

The Second Congress of the CPP identified conservatism as a major error and launched a rectification movement against it. There is unanimity in rectifying the error by comprehending further the strategy and tactics of people's war and by redeploying the NPA units in such a way that there is a center of gravity for the people's war and a sufficient proportion of fighters dispersed for mass work. The periodic rotation of Red commanders and fighters is undertaken to give every NPA formation or unit the chance to experience and learn combat and mass work.

#### **V. Prospects**

The prospects for the further advance and ultimate total victory of the Philippine revolution are bright. This is guaranteed by the continued worsening of the chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system. The inability of the ruling class to rule in the old way is demonstrated by the recurrence of the open rule of terror from Marcos down to Duterte. The ruling system continues to decompose and heighten the people's desire for revolutionary change. The conditions are therefore favorable for the growth and advance of the CPP, NPA and

other subjective forces of the revolution.

There is no let-up in the worsening of the socioeconomic crisis. The whole economy and the reactionary state are bankrupt and dependent on rising taxes and domestic and foreign debt. While import-dependent consumption is favored, the agricultural and industrial sectors are deteriorating. Underdevelopment, unemployment and poverty are rampant as the foreign monopolies rake in superprofits from the exploitation and export of natural resources and importation of consumer goods and the local big compradors and landlords increase the exploitation of the people.

The socioeconomic crisis generates political crisis within the ruling system. The ruling classes of big compradors and landlords, together with their political agents, brazenly engage in the plunder of public resources. Divided into political factions, they compete in using criminal means in order to keep power and enrich themselves. The current Duterte regime is escalating the repression of the people as well its political rivals within the ruling system. The regime and its political rivals are engaged in a competition for influence and control over the reactionary armed forces and police.

The regime tries to win the support of two imperialist powers, the US and China, which are now increasingly at odds with each other. To gain the support of the US, it has pledged to destroy the revolutionary movement, it has allowed the reestablishment of US military bases within the puppet military camps and it has promised to amend the constitution to allow US corporations 100 percent ownership of all kinds of business enterprises. To gain the support of China, it has sold out Philippine sovereign rights over the West Philippine Sea and the rich marine and mineral resources under it in exchange for high interest Chinese loans and overpriced infrastructure projects.

But the regime is not getting everything in its favor from the two imperialist powers. The US resents Chinese interference and obstruction of the freedom of navigation in the South China Sea, China gaining control over the telecommunications system in the Philippines and turning the Philippines into its own debt colony. The US remains the dominant imperialist power in the Philippines and is in a position to instigate a coup against Duterte among the pro-US military officers. At the same time, China is not promptly delivering on its promised infrastructure projects while it is still compelling Duterte to make more explicit declarations of sell-out and treason. Even then, he has already made enough declarations of puppetry to China that the people and a significant number of pro-US military officers are already enraged against him.

Even when the US had not yet declined strategically as much as now and had not faced any overt challenge of political rivalry from China, the Filipino people and the revolutionary forces could successfully wage the new democratic revolution against the US-supported reactionary government of big compradors and landlords. It can be expected that the escalation of inter-imperialist contradictions, especially those between the US and China, would aggravate and complicate the contradictions among the reactionary political factions of the big compradors and landlords and result in advantages for the Philippine revolution. In any case, the revolutionary forces will continue to advance on the basis of the mass participation and support of the people.

The depredations made by the tyrannical, treasonous, mass murdering, corrupt and swindling Duterte regime inflict great suffering on the people but at the same time drive them to rise up in resistance. By its own gross and systematic crimes against the people, the regime is unwittingly compelling the people to join the armed revolution and provide support to the revolutionary forces such as the CPP, NPA, the mass organizations and the local organs of political power.

The protracted people's war has enabled the growth of the people's government in the countryside and all the revolutionary forces on a nationwide scale.

On the basis of the experience and strength they have already gained, the revolutionary forces will gain further strength from year. The CPP will strengthen itself ideologically, politically and organizationally. The NPA will strive to develop guerrilla warfare intensively and extensively on the basis of widening and deepening mass base during the strategic defensive, build companies and battalions as combat units in the strategic stalemate and mobilize entire battalions and regiments for the strategic offensive. At the same time, the NDFP shall strengthen its component organizations and develop broad alliances with others forces in order to isolate and destroy the enemy, whether this be a domestic ruling clique in the civil war or an imperialist power in a war of national liberation.

The Philippine revolution will be able to take advantage not only of the crisis of the domestic ruling system but also the crisis of the world capitalist system. All the imperialist powers will continue to shift the burden of crisis to the oppressed peoples and nations. But the contradictions within and among the imperialist powers will sharpen.

The Filipino people will carry out the Philippine revolution not only to realize their own national and social liberation but also to help the working class and all oppressed peoples and nations to advance in their own revolution. They will benefit from mutual support and cooperation under the principles of proletarian internationalism and internationalist peoples' solidarity.

# ***On the Future of the Communist Movement***

**Interview by Alan Robles, *South China Morning Post*, September 16, 2019**

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## *1. How strong are the communists right now?*

JMS: The membership of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) is about 100,000. It is nationwide in scale and is deeply rooted among the toiling masses of workers and peasants as well as people from various social sectors.

The CPP leads the New People's Army (NPA) which has thousands of Red fighters and operates in 120 guerilla fronts in 74 out of 81 Philippine provinces. It has formed mass organizations of various classes and sectors, whose members run in the millions. The Party/ CPP performs the leading role in the thousands local organs of political power which constitute the people's democratic government.

The Duterte regime taunts the CPP and revolutionary movement for not being to capture the presidential palace in Manila. But the CPP has been outstandingly successful in building the people's democratic government in the countryside. And the people and territory it governs continue to expand. The revolutionary government is advancing in waves in the direction of supplanting the reactionary government of big compradors and landlords from the localities up to the national level.

At certain levels of the reactionary government in certain areas, officials who cannot function without cooperating with the revolutionary movement. That was the case of Duterte having had to cooperate with the revolutionary movements while he was Davao City mayor.

## *2. Can they be crushed? How? How soon? Why not?*

JMS: The CPP and the revolutionary movement it leads cannot be crushed because in the first place they work and fight to realize the people's demands for national and social liberation against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. They are pursuing the general line of people's democratic revolution with a socialist perspective. Socialism is not yet in the current agenda but is the bright future foreseen.

By pursuing the strategic line of protracted people's war, the NPA under CPP leadership avails of the countryside and the peasant majority of the nation as the wide base and area for maneuver against a militarily superior enemy. In response to the enemy's strategic offensive, the NPA takes the strategic defensive but launches/undertakes tactical offensives in order to capture and accumulate arms over a long period of time.

The NPA operates nationwide and is deeply rooted among the peasants and indigenous peoples. The military machine of the regime can never have enough troops and equipment to destroy the NPA all at once. It can focus only on a few areas where it undertakes uneven and porous operations of encirclement. The NPA has proven that it can gain more arms from its operations of counter-encirclement and by initiating tactical offensives in other areas where the enemy forces are weak.

The CPP is clandestine to the enemy and is protected by the people's army and by revolutionary mass organizations. Just to kill one communist, the Duterte regime has to kill at least 1000 noncommunist people. This is obvious from the wild red-tagging being made by the military and police. One more important thing: the CPP is very capable of defending itself with the people's army and mass support.

## *3. Why have all previous attempts failed?*

JMS: All previous attempts to destroy the CPP and the revolutionary movement have failed because the CPP always strengthens itself ideologically, politically and organizationally. It adheres to the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the guide to action, the general line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war and the organizational principle of democratic centralism.

The theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism provide the fundamental revolutionary principles and the historical lessons that inspire the CPP cadres and members to wage the revolution under the leadership of the working class within the context of the Philippines and the world. By understanding Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the CPP cadres and members are prepared to wage revolutionary struggle for any length of time in the epochal struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

The CPP has analyzed the history and current circumstances of the Filipino people. It has analyzed the semi-colonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society and has identified the basic problems of the Filipino

people, such as imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. These are the targets of the Philippine revolution. And the CPP has built its proletarian class leadership, the people's army and the national united front as the weapons by which to defeat the reactionary state.

All previous attempts to destroy the CPP and revolutionary movement by military means have been frustrated because of the general line of people's democratic revolution and the integration of revolutionary armed struggle, agrarian revolution and mass-base building in the implementation of the strategic line of protracted people's war.

#### *4. Why has communist movement lasted this long?*

JMS: The CPP and the revolutionary movement have lasted for so long because they uphold their revolutionary principles, ceaselessly strive to strengthen themselves ideologically, politically and organizationally and fight for the national and democratic rights and interests of the Filipino people, especially the toiling masses.

The Marcos fascist dictatorship and the subsequent pseudo-democratic regimes have been detested by the people as instruments of US domination and of the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords. Such regimes can be distinguished from each other only in terms of extent and intensity of oppression and exploitation.

Each regime has tried to destroy the CPP and revolutionary movement through strategic campaign plans made by US advisors and pro-US military officers in the AFP. By violating human rights and using brute force, every regime has unwittingly driven an increasing number of people to join the armed revolution. It has been practically the chief recruiter of the CPP and NPA.

Whenever it sends military forces to seek out the NPA and attack the people in the countryside, it practically acts as the transport and supply officer of the NPA. The NPA lays the ambushes and command-detonated mines to get the arms and other supplies from the intruding military forces. More than 95 percent of the arms of the NPA have been captured from the reactionary military and police. The rest have been either donated or bought.

#### *5. What is the key to destroying the communist movement?*

JMS: The CPP can be destroyed only if it violates its correct revolutionary principles, policies and general line, commits grave errors and fails to rectify them. Sheer military force or even higher technology from the other side cannot defeat the CPP's revolutionary struggle for the national and social liberation of the Filipino people. Under the leadership of the CPP, the New People's Army can defeat enemy forces piece by piece and seize weapons cumulatively. That is what has been happening in the last more than 50 years.

The CPP remains ideologically strong by constantly undertaking its three levels of theoretical and political education: basic, intermediate and advanced. It requires the correct application of principles in understanding and solving problems through concrete analysis of concrete conditions. It consistently opposes idealism and subjectivism and criticizes and rectifies errors along this line in the course of study as well as in the course of work.

The CPP remains politically strong because it adheres firmly to the general line of people's democratic line and opposes any "Left" or Right opportunist deviation or error. Periodically and promptly, all CPP organs and units assess and evaluate their work to correct errors and shortcomings, improve work and advance. Major errors that run for a long period of time and do serious damage to the revolutionary movement are subjected to a rectification movement of ideological and political education for as long as necessary.

The CPP remains organizationally strong because it follows the principle of democratic centralism. This is centralized leadership on the basis of democratic discussions and decision-making by consensus or vote. Once a decision has been taken, it is followed by everyone as a matter of discipline. But the decision can be reviewed if it proves to be wrong or not supported by certain facts. There is both discipline and freedom within the CPP.

#### *6. What's so different between the government and military's latest strategy and the strategies of the past 50 years?*

JMS: The latest strategy under Executive Order 70 and Oplan Kapatagan are no different from previous strategic campaigns. The so-called whole nation approach is a recycling of previous strategic campaigns designed by US advisors and their pro-US military assets in the AFP. It serves the interests of the US and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords. The differences are not in substance but merely in style. The commander-in-chief Duterte is an unabashed ruffian who publicly calls on his armed minions to go on rampages of mass murder and to rape women. He aims for the militarization of the entire government and society. As a result, the military officers expose their incompetence and corruption by taking over or meddling in civilian departments and agencies of the government.

Military and police officers are preoccupied with enriching themselves by dipping into the resources of various

non-military agencies of government, faking surrenders and encounters to get cash rewards and promotions, releasing criminals from prison by taking bribes and using checkpoints and patrols for the purpose of extortion and mulcting. Thus, the number of military officers and men for combat duties is greatly reduced. They would rather enrich themselves than take more risks in the battlefield.

Even if more of them were deployed for combat against the NPA, they are rendered blind and deaf because of the people's ardent support for the NPA. The joint or separate AFP and PNP military operations are often successfully thwarted through ambushes, command-detonated mines, sniping and other tactics of the NPA. Many of the Duterte regime's military and police avoid combat by pretending to undertake "civic action," "peace and development operations," "community support" programs and such other fancy missions.

*7. Aren't there good elements in the armed forces? What can they do amidst the less than noble military officers?*

JMS: Even in the reactionary armed forces, there are always good elements, who take seriously the need for patriotism, democracy, integrity and honest service. These good elements have emerged in major historical events. They rose up in 1986 to withdraw support from Marcos in 1986 and from Estrada in 2001.

Right now, there are predominantly junior officers who are increasingly criticizing corruption and human rights violations by officers above them. They are most vocal among themselves in asserting their patriotism and condemning Duterte's sell-out to China of the West Philippine Sea and its rich mineral and marine resources.

They are most revolted by Duterte's violation of national security by allowing China to take over and control the telecom system in the Philippines and to allow the Chinese cell towers to be based in AFP military camps and to be guarded by military personnel, instead of private security guards. They consider Duterte a traitor and a dumbo for mixing up in AFP military camps the Chinese cell towers and the US facilities under the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement.

Duterte faces the prospect of being ousted by a military withdrawal of support from him as consequence of his treasonous acts and the intolerable rot he has abetted within the AFP. As in 1986 and 2001, the military withdrawal of support can occur in conjunction with the intensification of people's war, gigantic protest mass actions in the streets, rebukes by the Catholic and other churches and denunciations by political and business leaders offended by Duterte's brutality, corruption and maladministration.

# ***Interview on James Richardson's Communism: The Genesis of the Philippine Communist Party, 1902-1935***

**Interview by Teo S. Marasigan, October 22, 2019**

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*Ka Joma, I am Teo S. Marasigan, a columnist for Pinoy Weekly. I am writing a review on James Richardson's Communism: The Genesis of the Philippine Communist Party, 1902-1935, published in 2011.*

*As a scholar, Richardson is admirable for the volume of the stream of historical references. His book, Light of Liberty: Documents and Studies on the Katipunan, 1892-1897 [2013] clarifies the history of the Katipunan for its use of heretofore new documents never used before.*

*From the book you can discern that he was close to the couple William and Celia Pomeroy. You can similarly read the same in his introduction to the book Prisoner: Life as a Political Prisoner in the Philippines, 1952-1962 [2009] by William Pomeroy.*

*In some of his essays in journals his defense of the PKP is consistent against criticisms of the PKP, and it can be said that his defense is good. His book says that when the CPP was newly established, he had hoped that the PKP and the CPP could unite.*

*One new thing Richardson did in the book is to link the establishment of the CPP in the so-called "Third Period" of Communist International, which existed from 1928 to 1933 and has weakened since then.*

*This was proclaimed at the sixth congress of the International in July-August 1928. According to this, the global capitalist system faced sharp contradictions and in one burst of successes of socialist revolutions.*

*One major implication in the practice was opposing reformist "social democracy" which shortly would be called "social fascism." It seems logical, since the major opponents of the working class imperialism and the ruling classes were clearly corrupt and needed to be targeted by the Communist leadership.*

*According to historians, the Communist International itself criticized this analysis, and many say it has been a "disaster" for the global Communist movement. [Matthew Worley, editor, In Search of Revolution: International Communist Parties in the Third Period, 2004.] The Third Period and its analysis by Communists and historians are controversial. According to Richardson, in the CPP's implementation of this policy which resembles an "ultra-left" mistake, though he did not use that phrase (1) it invited extreme repression, and (2) it became separated from many possible allies at that time. I am an attentive reader of yours. I don't know if I just didn't notice, but I don't remember that you directly or indirectly laid out your analysis of the Third Period in your writings and interviews. In addition to using your response to Richardson's book review, I will take advantage of the opportunity to ask questions about the Third Period.*

*TSM: What is your view of the general analysis and tactics of the so-called "Third Period" of Communist International?*

*JMS: The general analysis and tactics conceived of and applied in the "Third Period" of the Comintern had as its main basis and main point of reference the history and circumstances of the Soviet Union and Europe and the general trends of crisis and consolidation of the world capitalist system and the flow and ebb of proletarian revolution since the October Revolution of 1917.*

*The first period that followed World War I brought about the October Revolution of 1917, the revolutionary flow in Europe and defeat of the working class, especially in Germany when the Right-wing social democrats suppressed the revolution of 1918-19 led by the Spartacists. The period also encompassed the foreign interventionist war in the Soviet Union. The defeat of the interventionist war further incensed the international bourgeoisie against the Soviet Union and the Comintern in its second and third periods.*

*The second period (most of the 1920s) included the separation of leftwing socialists from the rightwing social democrats in several European countries to form communist parties, the rise of the fascists headed by Mussolini in Italy, the consolidation of capitalism on a global scale and the unstable and debt-laden Weimar Republic administered mainly by the social democrats on behalf of the monopoly bourgeoisie.*

*The third period (1928 to 1935), ushered in by the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, saw the high tide of socialist revolution and construction in the Soviet Union, the dismal crisis of the world capitalist system since the 1929 US stock market crash, the rise of fascism in Europe, the resurgence of proletarian revolutionary parties and movements and disdain for the reformism of social democratic parties in Europe and the US*

The ideologues of the imperialists, including social democrats and Trotskyites, blame the communists for supposedly enabling the rise of Hitler and the Nazis in the so-called third period of the Comintern by denouncing the social democrats as social fascists and thereby preventing an antifascist united front. It is like blaming the Filipino communists for the Marcos fascist dictatorship.

This is perverse logic, blaming the victims (the German communists and the proletariat) for the crimes of the fascists. It covers up the fact that the German monopoly bourgeoisie used the social democrats and fascists in sequence against the communists and the proletariat.

In the first place, the social democrats bloodily suppressed the revolution of 1918-1919 and administered the bankrupt Weimar Republic on behalf of the monopoly bourgeoisie. History has proven that the monopoly bourgeoisie uses the social democrats and the fascists as its alternating arms.

We see again the rise of fascism in Europe even before the communists can regain strength because the monopoly bourgeoisie fears the growing social disorder as a result of the crisis and stagnation of global capitalism since 2008 and is deliberately using fascism as the necessary complement for neoliberalism and as the pre-emption of the resurgence of communists.

*TSM: What is your view of the analysis that "social fascism," puts communists in a position of simultaneously combating fascism itself and "social fascism" in that period?*

JMS: Communists always have the task of safeguarding themselves against both Right and "Left" opportunism within their own ranks as well as against both social reformism and fascism in any society ruled by the big bourgeoisie.

During the so-called third period, it was correct for the German and other communists to do the foregoing as well as Stalin had to contend with opportunist trends represented by Bukharin and Trotsky and with real outright imperialist agents and the kulaks resisting collectivization.

In recent history in the Philippines, it was perfectly correct for the CPP to criticize as clerico-fascists, the reformist Christian democrats, masquerading as social democrats, even as the CPP was confronting the Marcos fascist dictatorship and delivering the main blow against it.

Fr. Archie Intengan and Norberto Gonzales of PDSP deserved to be called clerico-fascists as they took inspiration from Franco fascism, dedicated themselves to rabid anticommunism and went to reactionary military camps during the Arroyo regime to agitate military officers to unleash bloody attacks against the CPP, NPA and NDFP under Oplan Bantay Laya.

Classical social democrats or revisionists who are not yet in power or have a share of power allowed by the monopoly bourgeoisie are basically reformist, shun revolutionary change and are used by the monopoly bourgeoisie to conjure the illusion of democracy and to attack and discredit the revolutionary party and movement of the proletariat.

Social democrats expose themselves as social fascists when they outrightly support severely repressive measures or the bourgeois state's open rule of terror. Remember that the Right wing social democrats in power headed by Friedrich Ebert suppressed the workers' revolution of 1918-1919 in Germany.

The social democrats in the main proceeded to administer the German capitalist system on behalf of the monopoly bourgeoisie and competed with the fascists in blocking the rise of the communists to power in the so-called third period.

But not all social democrats are indivisibly the same everywhere all the time. They can constitute themselves and behave differently according to different circumstances. Under certain circumstances, communists can have an alliance with Left-wing social democrats against the Right-wing social democrats.

Lenin and Mao have taught us how to apply the policy and tactics of the united front. Build the basic revolutionary alliance of the working class and peasantry, win over the middle forces and take advantage of the splits among the reactionaries in order to isolate and destroy the power of the most reactionary force at every given time.

In temporary alliances with unreliable forces, the communist party has to apply unity and struggle skilfully and maintain independence and initiative. The nature and composition of the alliance changes according to the circumstances and needs of the revolutionary party and masses.

*TSM: What do you think of the view that because of the analysis of "social fascism" and its corresponding tactics, the communists became weaker and the fascists grew strong in many countries at the time the so-called "Third Period Communism" was being implemented?*

JMS: It is wrong for the anti-communists to blame the communists for “weakening” themselves and “strengthening” or “enabling” the fascists by criticizing and denouncing the social fascists. The overwhelming fact is that the monopoly bourgeoisie has used both social democrats and fascists against the communists.

Social democrats who actually become social fascists win the support of the monopoly bourgeoisie by suppressing the communists and the proletarian masses, as did the avowed “socialist” Mussolini who took power as a fascist in 1922 and as did the social democrats who suppressed the revolution of 1918-1919 in Germany and served the monopoly bourgeoisie in the Weimar Republic by using both the persuasive and coercive powers of the bourgeois state.

However, sometimes there are Left-wing social democrats who oppose the fascist-inclined Right wing social democrats. Condemning and considering all social-democrats as indivisible constant enemy of the communist party, irrespective of the circumstances and the balance of forces between revolution and counterrevolution, is contrary to dialectical materialism, historical materialism and the policy and tactics of the united front.

Remember that the First International was a mix of scientific socialists, Proudhonists, agrarian revolutionaries and so on and the Second International included those to be characterized as Right wing and Left wing socialists. The Third International had the distinctive advantage of being based in the Soviet Union, the first long-lasting socialist country on one-sixth of the surface of the earth.

Lenin taught us how to fight pseudo-socialists and reactionaries on the basis of principles and also how to work within reactionary institutions and avail of alliance to reach the masses in the millions. The Rightwing socialists and the Trotskyites were disrupters of the antifascist united front. They are wrong in claiming that communists are to blame for the lack or weaknesses of what ought to have been an effective antifascist united front.

*TSM: The analysis of “social fascism” and its supposed weaknesses is often used, and as well “Third Period” Communism” to criticize Stalin. How do you view this analysis in relation to Stalin’s leadership?*

JMS: The categorical and incorrigible Right-wing social democrats and Trotskyites as well as other reactionary ideologues play the role of agents of imperialism and fascism by claiming that Stalin himself was responsible for setbacks of communist parties and the rise of fascism, especially in Germany because of the condemnation of social fascism and the military line of revolutionary class struggle in the so-called third period of the Comintern.

Within his own national scope of responsibility, which was then the bulwark of the world proletarian revolution, Stalin scored unprecedented great achievements in socialist revolution and construction by arousing, organizing and mobilizing the Soviet people in their millions in the so-called third period.

It is absurd to hold Stalin responsible for the rise of fascism in the imperialist countries. Fascism was the product of the severe crisis of the capitalist system and the failure of the social democrats, liberal democrats and other stripes of bourgeois democrats to solve the crisis.

The monopoly bourgeoisie was culpable for using the fascists upon the failure of the social democrats to stabilize the capitalist social order in Germany and in the face of the growing communist party.

For a while from the so-called third period to World War II, the imperialists could use fascism and wreak havoc but ultimately they faced the mighty counter-offensive of the Soviet Union and its Red Army under the leadership of Stalin.

*TSM: What is the developing theory about the so-called Third Period Communism that when victory is approaching, communist attacks sharpen on reformists and ideological formations between communists and imperialists and the ruling class? Up to what is this sharpening. Will they be aligned to enemies? Is this a shift from being primarily alliance (and secondarily struggle) with them in the long struggle of laying the foundation for victory?*

JMS: It is idealistic, anticommunist and wrong to have the fixed idea that communists who are approaching victory must do away with some allies for no principled reason at all. When reformists and other reactionaries find it necessary and reasonable to join a revolutionary alliance, they are open to changes in mentality and political position as they see the benefits of the revolution for the people and their positive role in developments.

There is abundant proof that in socialist society noncommunist individuals, masses, organizations and institutions (including religious) enjoy the freedom of thought and belief, express themselves freely and contribute to socialist revolution and construction, without having to join the communist party. Alliances of communists and noncommunists have continued even after the revolutionary seizure of power from the exploiting classes.

But there can be a series of die-hard reactionaries and anticommunists to struggle against one after the other as the revolution progresses. The imperialists and the reactionary classes are also capable of grooming one set of

their defenders after another against the proletarian revolution and socialist system. It is the task of the revolutionaries to defeat them one after another as they arise.

The Bolsheviks had to overthrow Kerensky for definite offenses even if he was a previous ally against Czarism. After being an ally, Socialist Revolutionaries violently opposed the Bolsheviks and tried to kill Lenin. The Bolsheviks had to fight them. Stalin had to fight Bukharin and Trotsky because they opposed with their respective Right and "Left" opportunist lines the socialist revolution and construction.

*TSM: Do you think the "Third Period Communism" really affected the establishment of the CPP until 1935, before the united front antifascist policy that was attempted in 1936 in the country?*

JMS: It was during the so-called third period of the Comintern that the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands (CPPI) was established in 1930. The establishment of this party was in accordance with Comintern general policy to create national sections wherever possible. This party did not face any problem of contending with social democrats, having to call them social fascists and refusing any united front with them.

And it did not presuppose that in the absence of social democrats to denounce as social fascists European-style, it must substitute them with utter hostility with the national reformists who pleaded for national independence from the US colonial master or with social reformists like the liberal democrats and the Jesuit-educated intellectuals who studied the papal social encyclicals and raised the slogan of social justice to head off the communists.

That the CPPI could be established only in 1930 involves the particularities of Philippine history and circumstances. As regards united front work, Crisanto Evangelista and his co-founders of the CPPI did not shun it despite any latter-day presumption of influence by the "third period". They actually engaged in united front work before and after the establishment of the CPPI.

Before the establishment of the CPPI, they engaged in united front work for demanding the immediate, complete and absolute national independence of the Philippines. With regard to the uprisings from 1931 to 1935, which included those of the Colorums in Tayug, the Tanggulans, the Sakdalistas in 1934 and Asedillo in 1934-35, the CPPI criticized and repudiated the leaders as anarchist and adventurist but expressed sympathy for the rising masses who clamored for national independence and social justice. It denounced Benigno Ramos and other Sakdalista leaders as fascist because they worshipped Japan and eventually collaborated with the Japanese fascists.

Even while outlawed on the false charge of illegal association and sedition by the US colonial authorities from 1931 to 1936, the CPPI had fraternal relations with the Socialist Party that arose in 1933. They cooperated as well as competed in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the peasants and farm workers against the landlords of Central Luzon. The alliance was so good that the two parties decided to merge as one party in 1938. There was no social democratic party that the CPP could denounce in part or entirety as social fascist.

*TSM: My take from Armando Liwanag's "Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party," did little to focus criticism on the PKP's founding period. But at times when the old party was being criticized, it appears that "left" opportunism was the main. The following are examples:*

*(a) Without sufficient consideration of and safeguard against the oppressive and coercive character of the US imperialist regime and the domestic ruling classes, the Party was publicly launched on the 13th anniversary of the October Revolution. Within a short period, on May 1, 1931 and subsequently, the reactionary authorities took punitive actions against the Party. Cadres and members of the Party were arrested and imprisoned. Mass organizations under the leadership of the Party were banned. In 1932, the Supreme Court formally outlawed the Party and its mass organizations and meted out prison sentences to their leading members.*

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

*The question: Can this also be a reflection of the "Third Period Communism"?*

JMS: The quotes that you have made from "Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party" do not take guidance or cue from any advocacy or critique of so-called third period communism. They are based on facts about the CPPI from 1930 to 1932. In the First Great Rectification Movement of 1966 to 1968, the CPP did not accuse the leadership of Crisanto Evangelista of either Right or "Left" opportunism because said leadership did not wilfully and systematically carry out either one.

The CPPI was legalistic and had practically no clandestine layer of cadres and members. The colonial spies could trail all the CPPI members attending meetings at the house (Templo del Trabajo) of CPPI Chairman Antonio Ora from 1930 to 1931. Thus, the CPPI was vulnerable to suppression by the US colonial authorities and their Filipino puppets. It had few members because it was just beginning and had the tendency to recruit solely or mainly from the trade unions and the industrial workers. It was not because of any systematic sectarianism or ultra-Leftism against any social democratic party or trend.

There was simply no social democratic party that it contended with in the Philippines and could have denounced as social fascist. The Socialist Party was established only in 1933 with the positive motivation of Pedro Abad Santos to carry out the tasks left aboveground by the outlawed CPPI. It was never hostile to the CPPI but even merged with it in 1938, as if to help it make up for its loss of opportunity in recruiting more members during its period of illegality, from 1931 to 1936.

Evangelista was good at reciting passages from the Communist Manifesto, at calling on the people to fight for national independence and urging workers and the rest of the people to struggle against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes in the direction of the communist future. But definitely, he and the CPPI had no clear general line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war of encircling the cities from the countryside from 1930 to 1935 or even up to 1940.

Based on further developments in the Philippines and abroad, especially in China, the CPP would have the distinct achievement of drawing up the general political line of people's democratic revolution and the strategy and tactics of people's war. The ideological, political and organizational achievements of the CPP surpass by far any such achievements of the old merger party of the communist and socialist parties.

*TSM. What is your view of Norman Lorimer's or Jim Richardson criticism of the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands at the time of the so-called "third period of the Comintern. Please analyze the criticism below. "Born in the midst of the Comintern's ultra-leftist "third period" the Party initially adopted an extremely militant stance that called directly for the overthrow of American imperialism, the removal of the bourgeois-landlord "native traitors" and the establishment of the Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Republic. An "armed uprising of the toiling masses," a manifesto of 1933 declared, was the "only way" of attaining independence," and although no concrete steps were taken toward embarking an armed struggle, open revolutionary rhetoric and a wave of strikes and demonstrations ensured the arrest and imprisonment of the first-ranking Party leaders. Under different circumstances, this display of governmental "White Terror" could have provoked a mass protest from sympathetic non-Party groups, but unfortunately the PKP's early militancy had been combined, again in line with Comintern thinking, with a rigorous sectarianism that minimised the value of relations with other anti-administration forces. Alternative opposition groupings, in fact, were attacked as manifestations of "social fascism" and their leaders lampooned (not always unfairly) as unwitting imperialist tools. Much potential sympathy evaporated and the PKP, drastically short of cadres, entered an unhappy period of illegality and isolation during which it failed to exert much influence over events even in critical areas of central and southern Luzon."*

JMS: The above quotation consists of general assumptions that do not apply on the Philippines from 1928 to 1935. It is onesidedly slanted against the CPPI and harps on the line that communists deserve what they get from the imperialist and reactionary adversaries. It is best to look at the facts.

In the years from 1928 to 1930, the CPPI was still being conceived of to be the genuine vanguard of the proletariat in contrast to the Partido Obrero, which was criticized as having become reformist, collaborationist with the ruling system and loose like its trade union base, the Congreso Obrero de Filipinas (COF).

The right wingers of COF were yellow labor leaders (leaders of company unions and sycophants to the Bureau of Labor) with no social-democratic pretensions whatsoever and took the initiative of rigging the elections within COF to drive out the left-wingers headed by Crisanto Evangelista.

Thus the left wing trade unions separated from the COF and formed the Katipunan ng mga Anakpawis sa Filipinas to serve as the worker base of the projected vanguard party of the proletariat. The Kalipunang Pambansa ng mga Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (KPMP) was also expected to be rural base of the party among the workers and peasants.

When in Moscow to attend the Profintern Congress in 1928, Crisanto Evangelista was encouraged and advised by the Comintern to realize the founding of the CPPI in accordance with Philippine conditions. He was not instructed to hunt down "social fascists" or even to emulate the Chinese communists who were already in the process of waging a people's war against the GMD headed by Chiang Kaishek who had betrayed the national

united front since 1927.

At its founding in 1930, the CPPI was not at all ultra-leftist by adopting the line of demanding and fighting for immediate, complete and absolute independence from US imperialism, criticizing the puppet leaders under the US colonial regime and vowing to mobilize the workers and peasants was ultra-Left or sectarian. Had the CPPI not adopted this line, it would not have been a Marxist-Leninist party but an outright ass-licker of the colonial and semifeudal ruling system.

The CPPI was newly born in 1930. And yet the US imperialists and its puppet constabulary were already crazed by anti-Bolshevism and were hell-bent on destroying the baby as soon as it was born. They used the brute power of the colonial state against the CPPI leadership and preoccupied it with arrests, detentions and internal exile from 1931 onwards. It is absurd to blame the CPPI for the wrongs done to it by US imperialism.

It is easier to find factual basis for saying that the CPPI had a Right opportunist tendency than that it was guilty of ultra-Leftism. The CPPI attended mass meetings with legal rally permits even if its leaders uttered agitational slogans, which the US authorities could misinterpret as seditious, despite the fact that the utterances did not result in any violent act as an immediate and direct consequence.

In fact, with regard to the issue of violence, the CPPI had no concrete plan to overthrow the ruling system by revolutionary violence and condemned as anarchist and adventurist the leadership of the short-lived Tayug uprising of 193, the Tanggulan unrest and Sakdal uprisings of 1934 and Asedillo guerrilla-type resistance from 1934 to 1935 which lasted for a year.

The CPPI had no people's army to wrongly deploy and misuse in any "Left" opportunist manner. It was not any ultra-Leftism or "Left" opportunism but the predetermined and unilateral anti-Bolshevism and anti-worker and anti-people malice of US imperialism that unleashed the unjust acts of persecution against the CPPI cadres, reduced the CPPI membership to a few hundreds and the weakening of its connections with the Comintern.

Even then, the CPPI was able to lead legal democratic struggles from the underground. The KAP and KPMP persevered in struggle despite the systematic attempts of the US colonial authorities to intimidate or bribe the leaders. It was also beneficial to the CPPI and the anti-imperialist and democratic movement that the Socialist Party, together with its own mass organizations, arose in 1933 and filled the gap left by the CPPI aboveground.

If not for the continuing core strength of the CPPI and the mass movements of the workers and peasants and the middle forces, the US colonial authorities and the Quezon administration would not have bothered to respond positively to the demands for the legalization of the CPPI and release of its leaders in accordance with the calls for Popular Front against fascism and in line with the Seventh Congress of the Comintern.

*TSM: Some say that the Communist International's repudiation of the "popular front against fascism" policy in the mid-1930s was proof that the Third Period policy was wrong. How do you understand this shift?*

JMS: By 1935 the fascist powers (Germany, Italy and Japan) had already consolidated their power in their respective countries and were clearly bent on pursuing expansion by war and by coordination among them as the Axis Powers. It was therefore necessary for the Comintern to adopt during the Seventh Congress a line of opposing the aggressive policy of these fascist powers at the level of countries, political parties and peoples.

There was readiness on the part of the Soviet Union and the imperialist countries opposed to the Axis powers (US, Britain, France and others) and the antifascist political parties to form the antifascist united front. Thus, the Seventh Congress opened a new period of promoting and realizing this united front among countries and within countries.

The major policy shift from the third to the fourth period was determined by major changes in the objective conditions and subjective factors. Whereas in the third period the Right wing social democrats were still relatively strong in Europe as a whole and were arrogant towards the communists, the current arose among the peoples, antifascist political parties and antifascist countries that the antifascist united front was necessity.

It is wrong to presume that the Comintern and communists were to blame for the rise of fascism and the anti-communist arrogance of the Right wing social democrats and all other reformists in the third period and to pontificate that the Comintern and the communists did their mea culpas and repentance in the fourth period.

The US no less had a major change of attitude and policy towards the CPPI and the Filipino communists it had outlawed and persecuted. It would allow James Allen of the American CP to approach Quezon for the release of the detained and internally exiled communist leaders. It was conscious of allowing the development of the Popular Front in the Philippines in order to counter the calls of Japan for the colonized countries to declare their national

independence against the Western powers and share in the bounty of an "Asian co-prosperity sphere".

Quezon himself was receptive to the proposal for releasing the communist leaders because he wanted to gain credibility for his slogan of social justice and maintain the political overhand over attempts of Emilio Aguinaldo to use the slogan of nationalism and his background as former president against the Quezon party. In sum, the international and domestic conditions favored the release of the communist leaders and legalization of the CPPI in 1936.

Whereas in 1934 the CPPI resumed contact with and sent delegates to the Comintern clandestinely, the communist leaders openly resumed their political activities and went to the Soviet Union after their release from prison and internal exile. Crisanto Evangelista went to the Soviet Union to brief the Comintern and to get treatment for his tuberculosis in 1937. The CPPI sought to restrengthen itself on the basis of its mass support, merging with the Socialist Party in 1938 and through united front.

*TSM: What is your view of how the CPPI dealt with the various groups when it was newly established until 1935? Was its mix of unity and struggle correct?*

JMS: The CPPI did relatively well in dealing with other political forces from its 1930 founding to its illegalization from 1931 to 1935. Even as it denounced US colonialism and the national reformists like the Nacionalistas and Democratas, it knew how to conform with legal requirements and deal positively with the bureaucrats, trade union and peasant leaders with various shades of opinion, the defenders of civil liberties and the broad masses of the people who clamored for national independence and social justice.

You must fully take into account that the CPPI was still a baby in the cradle when the US colonial authorities decided to pounce on it. I was still small and weak and it had no experience of revolutionary armed struggle as the Chinese party had. By having to wage legal struggle without any people's army to rely on, it had to use united front tactics of the legalistic sort. No amount of Comintern inspiration and influence could have allowed the CPP to bully any kind of reformist group, be it bourgeois nationalist, social democratic, liberal democratic or Christian democratic.

Even as it criticized the anarchism and adventurism of the leaders of the Colorums, Tanggulans and Sakdals, the CPPI expressed understanding of the social, economic and political root causes of the uprisings and expressed sympathy for the people's desire for national independence and social justice. Having previously been a member of an Independence Mission to Washington, CPPI leader Evangelista had close personal and political relations with Quezon and the Nacionalista Party even as he was critical of Quezon and the Varonas and Sottos as national reformists.

Sole preoccupation of the CPPI and its leaders with legal struggle dictated upon them to develop legal political relations with other non-hostile parties and to engage in unity and struggle within the bounds of legal struggle. The CPPI had totally no experience of revolutionary armed struggle and no experience of revolutionary united front for armed struggle until the Japanese invasion of the Philippines in 1941.

We cannot therefore expect the CPPI to have experienced and developed the united front in both legal and armed forms of struggle as the current-day CPP has done. I am not aware of any CPPI document that declares that the united front is mainly and essentially for armed struggle where the people's war has already broken out in connection with the chronic crisis of the Philippine ruling system. Definitely, the CPPI had no idea yet of CPP's united front line of relying mainly on the basis alliance of the workers and peasants, winning over the middle forces and taking advantage of the splits among the reactionaries in order to isolate and destroy one enemy after another.

## ***On Mao Zedong Thought or Maoism***

Questions by Prof. Regletto Aldrich D. Imbong (RADI), November 18, 2019

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*RADI: In a recent publication of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) entitled "Anniversary Statements (1992-2017)," I found out that it was only during the 26th anniversary of the CPP in 1994 that the term Maoism appeared (not in 1992 and 1993, as far as the said publication is concerned). Previous statements, like the "Rectify Errors, Rebuild the Party," in 1968 merely mentioned Mao Zedong Thought, despite the fact that Chairman Gonzalo of the Communist Party of Peru in 1983 supposedly affirmed the universality of Maoism. Can you please enlighten me with the CPP's appreciation of Maoism and the seemingly delayed upholding of the CPP of Maoism's universality?*

JMS: The adoption of the word Maoism, instead of Mao Zedong Thought, by the Communist Party of the Philippines is a matter of transcription and symmetry alongside the terms Marxism and Leninism. It is a reaffirmation of the earlier CPP recognition of the great contributions of Mao (under the rubric of Mao Zedong Thought) to the development of Marxism-Leninism in philosophy, political economy, party building (especially the rectification movement), the people's war and the proletarian cultural revolution in socialist society.

In the course of his leadership of the Communist Party of China (CPC) and the Chinese revolution, Mao together with his Chinese comrades had the modesty of being averse to glorifying himself by the term Maoism. In the literature of the Chinese CP, you will find summary references to his contributions in ideology and policy as "Mao's thinking" and "Mao's thought". It was only in the course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution that "Mao Zedong thought" graduated to "Mao Zedong Thought (with a capital T).

By that time, the CPC had already acclaimed Mao Zedong Thought as representing the third stage in the development of the universal revolutionary theory of the proletariat. Thus, it is false to say that Gonzalo was the first to sum up or synthesize the teachings of Mao or his theory and practice as constituting the third stage in the development of Marxist theory and practice. The foundation for the Marxist theory and practice of people's war was already established in the Leninist stage when the October revolution of 1917 shifted from the cities to the countryside in the civil war and war against foreign intervention.

Regarded as Mao's most important achievement to constitute the third stage of the development of Marxist theory and practice was not his theory and practice of protracted people's war but that of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship through cultural revolution to combat revisionism, prevent capitalist restoration and consolidate socialism. (Considered as the first stage in the development of Marxism was the formulation of its fundamental principles and critique of free competition capitalism by Marx and Engels. And the second stage of Leninism was the further development of Marxism by Lenin in the era of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution).

Before Mao died, he had achieved all theoretical and practical contributions that he was capable of in order to achieve the third stage in the development of Marxism. But the CPC called this the stage of Mao Zedong Thought. In the early years of the GPCR there was even an overenthusiastic notion within the CPC that after the solution of the problem of modern revisionism "imperialism was heading towards total collapse and socialism was marching towards world victory". But Mao himself cautioned in 1969 that it would take another 50 to 100 years to reach that desired goal.

Soon after Mao's death in 1976, the Dengist counterrevolution overthrew the proletariat in China. The Chinese state and CPC changed their class character. But they have continued to refer to Mao Zedong Thought formally and ritualistically, despite the official condemnation of the GPCR as a total catastrophe and the full-blast capitalist restoration and teaming up of China with US imperialism in promoting neoliberal globalization.

It is to the credit of Gonzalo that he took the initiative in 1983 to use the term Maoism, instead of Mao Zedong Thought, by way of posthumously showing a higher appreciation of Mao at least for some of his great accomplishments and for acclaiming Mao's theory and practice as third stage in the development of Marxist theory and practice. But it is absurd to assert that because of Gonzalo's "synthesis" he is responsible for making Maoism "universal" or that the universality of Maoism is reduced to the "universality of protracted people's war" and the prescription for a "militarized party."

As I have earlier pointed out, Mao himself constituted in his own lifetime Mao Zedong Thought or Maoism by

making great contributions to the development of Marxism-Leninism in philosophy, political economy, party building (especially the rectification movement), the people's war and the proletarian cultural revolution in socialist society. Mao Zedong Thought has gained universal significance long before Gonzalo called it Maoism. The universal significance of Mao Zedong Thought or Maoism does not depend in any way on Gonzalo who has not really summed up all the great achievements of the great Mao.

The worshipers of Gonzalo use his coinage of the term Maoism to evaluate him as the greatest Maoist after Mao. They should take him to account for his own conduct of leadership in his own country, his "Left" opportunist line before his capture in 1992 and Right opportunist line soon after his capture. These conflicting opportunist lines have brought about the decline of the people's war in Peru. And the mystique about him as being responsible for "synthesizing" Maoism should not be used as an ax against those who continue to wage people's war. Kautsky did not prove himself any better than Lenin when he protested that Lenin's ideas were not Marxism but Leninism. He was the first among all people to utter the term Leninism against Lenin himself.

*RADI: In the same 1994 anniversary statement mentioned in the previous question, the latter equated Mao Zedong Thought with Maoism (as stated, Mao Zedong thought OR Maoism), a criticism which is likewise charged by Dem Volke Dienen in First Critical Remarks about the Role of the Communist Party of the Philippines in the International Communist Movement (see <http://www.demvolkedienen.org/index.php/en/t-dokumente-en/12-dokumente/2726-first-critical-remarks-about-the-role-of-the-comm>) You have given the explanation that "there is no difference in content between Mao Zedong Thought and Maoism" in an interview by the New Culture Magazine of the Communist Construction Union of Brazil. For the Dem Volke Dienen, however, if both Mao Zedong Thought and Maoism were terms having the same content, there would be no difference as well in either saying Marxism or Marx Thought, or Leninism or Lenin Thought. However, the "ism" in Maoism has to be distinguished as it means the systematization and closed development of all the three components of Marxism "to a higher level and to a higher truth" and not merely as an individual contribution of a Chinese communist. What is your response to this critique?*

JMS: I had the good fortune of being in China in August 1966, when the GPCR was just beginning and Mao was being evaluated, appreciated and defended against his detractors and in relation to his great Marxist-Leninist predecessors. I had very enlightening conversations with members of the CPC Central Committee and the highest responsables of the CPC Higher Party School. They summed up the great achievements of Mao under the term Mao Zedong Thought, such as the following:

a. In philosophy, Mao elaborated on and developed Lenin's identification of the unity of opposites (divide into two) as the most fundamental law of materialist dialectics. He did so in such essays as On Contradiction, On Practice, Where Do Correct Ideas Come From? and On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People. He applied materialist dialectics in gaining higher knowledge from the dialectics of theory and practice, in carrying out the new democratic revolution through people's war and undertaking socialist revolution and construction.

b. In political economy, Mao had the advantage of learning positive and negative lessons from Stalin's policy of socialist industrialization and agricultural cooperation, the revisionist reversal of socialist revolution and construction and leading self-reliant socialist revolution and construction by using the basic and heavy industries as the lead factor, agriculture as the base of the economy and light industry as the bridging factor under conditions of imperialist blockade, revisionist betrayal and other adversities.

c. In social science, Mao developed further the theory and practice of the new democratic and socialist stages of the Chinese revolution. But his most important achievement in social science was in recognizing the problem of modern revisionism and the continuing fact of classes and class struggle in socialist society and in adopting solutions. He put forward a series of campaigns to uphold, defend and advance socialism, such as the anti-Rightist campaign, the Great Leap Forward, the socialist education movement and ultimately the cultural revolution as he faced greater resistance of the revisionists and capitalist roaders.

d. In party building, Mao adopted and developed further Leninist teaching on building the proletarian vanguard party. He excelled at developing the rectification movement as the campaign for educating the Party cadres and members in Marxist-Leninist theory and practice, as the method for identifying the errors and weaknesses and for saving the patient from the disease and as the way for the Party to better serve the masses, mobilize them, let them acquire power and come under their supervision.

e. In people's war, Mao had already demonstrated how the toiling masses of workers and peasants could defeat an enemy that was superior in military equipment and trained personnel through the strategic line of protracted people's war by encircling the cities from the countryside in semicolonial and semifeudal countries. By winning the new democratic revolution through people's war, the revolutionary proletariat and the people gain the power to proceed to socialist revolution.

f. The theory and practice of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship through the GPCR was regarded as the greatest epoch-making contribution of Mao. It was aimed at combating modern revisionism, preventing capitalist restoration and consolidating socialism. Even as the GPCR would be defeated by the Dengist counterrevolution, it still confirms and explains how socialism can be subverted and destroyed from within. Such a lesson will guide the forthcoming socialist revolutions.

Before, during and after the founding of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), the foregoing six components of Mao Zedong Thought or Maoism were already acknowledged and propagated in CPP publications and grasped by CPP cadres and members. What the Gonzaloites are doing is to tear apart Mao Zedong Thought or Maoism and exaggerate protracted people's war as prescription for all countries under all circumstances and require militarization of the party as the principal or essential elements of Maoism. This is not Maoism but a grotesque Gonzaloite distortion of Maoism.

In other articles, I have already pointed out that the Gonzaloites have well proven themselves as mere charlatans by claiming that protracted people's war can be done in industrial capitalist countries and by not doing any single armed tactical offensive anywhere for decades to prove their point. The militarization of the party is an anti-Maoist notion which runs counter to the principle that the Party, as the ideological and political leading force, commands the gun. In its Second Great Rectification Movement, the CPP opposed and defeated the "Left" opportunists who wanted to subordinate the Party to the army.

*RADI: Contemporary leftist philosophers like Alain Badiou, Slavoj Zizek, and Jodi Dean affirm the communist idea (although they have various interpretations of this idea) but strikingly glaring among them is their divergences in terms of the question of political organization which can be commonly described as a clear surrender of the Leninist vanguard party. Badiou, for example, a self-proclaimed Maoist and an heir to the May of 1968 of France, argues for a "politics without a party." Dean, on the other hand, argues for the necessity of a party but a party in an international level, not anymore the traditional state-bound communist party of the past that clearly claim as its aim the seizure of political and state power from the bourgeoisie. What is your insight in relation to the question of political organization in winning the struggle for communism and what was Mao's or Maoism's important contribution to this problem?*

JMS: It is absurd for Badiou to argue for "politics without a party". He is intellectually and practically a subjectivist and anarchist who seeks to disorganize the masses and lead them to the predominance of bourgeois parties and the bourgeois state. He is out of the world of class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Definitely, he is not a Maoist even if he proclaims himself to be a Maoist.

The first great socialist state would not have been established had there been no Bolshevik party to lead the toiling masses of workers and peasants in overthrowing the reactionaries and seizing political power. Without the CPC, the Chinese proletariat and people would not have succeeded in winning the new democratic and socialist stages of the Chinese revolution.

Jodi Dean is somewhat better than Badiou in recognizing the need for a revolutionary party. But while being internationalist, the proletarian revolutionary party has to win the revolution within national boundaries. For Lenin and the Bolsheviks to win the Great October Socialist Revolution, they had to oppose the social pacifism and social chauvinism of the Second International.

It is relevant to recall that the Third International or Comintern tried to run a world party with local communist parties as national sections. But came 1943 the Comintern had to dissolve itself because it could not communicate and instruct or advice the CPs who were engaged in the bitter anti-fascist wars. Consequently, the principles of equality, independence and mutual support and cooperation were adopted in the comradely relations of communist and workers' parties.

In the bitter struggles against the well-organized bourgeoisie and imperialist powers, the proletariat as the leading class in the revolution must have a political party. It must have an ideological, political and organizational line to defeat the enemy. It must grow in strength by being intimately linked to the toiling masses. It must arouse, organize and mobilize them in their own best interest. The mass base generates the mass activists and the

best party cadres and masses. The party can defeat the enemy and win the revolution only with the participation and support of the masses.

We can learn from Mao and Maoism how to build the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally, how to do social investigation and mass work, how to arouse, organize and mobilize the toiling masses and how to avail of the people's war and the united front to reach and mobilize the masses in their millions. Mao taught us how to use the rectification movement in order to correct errors and shortcomings and thereby further strengthen the Party. He insisted on the mass line of mobilizing the masses and gaining strength from them from one stage of the revolution to a new and higher stage.

Some petty bourgeois intellectuals have the high flown disdain for nation-states and political parties. But these are progressive products of history in relation to the backward conditions of colonial and feudal domination. And for the proletariat to defeat the bourgeois states and parties, it must create the socialist state under the leadership of the proletarian revolutionary party. Before the classless communist society can be achieved, socialist states and communist parties are needed to fight and defeat imperialism and the local reactionary classes

I need not comment on Slavoj Zizek because you do not raise any specific point about him. You do not have to. He is a chameleon and charlatan who poses as a philosopher, flip-flops from pro-Stalin to anti-Stalin statements and plays with phrases like a child playing with his toys. I suggest that you look into how Noam Chomsky describes him.

*RADI: Alain Badiou interprets the Great Cultural Proletarian Revolution (GPCR) as a novelty as it is the first revolution to happen in a socialist state in the same way that the Paris Commune was the first revolution to happen in a capitalist state. However, in his reading of the GPCR, Badiou reinforces his stand of the "politics without a party" as the Communist Party of China then (and now) became intertwined with state power, the machinery which he claims must be abolished rather than seized. In this way, his notion of emancipatory politics advances the claim of a politics "at a distance from the state," claiming that restraint rather than seizure should now be the model of contemporary political procedures. What is the correct Maoist view concerning the relation between the party and the state? Can we say that the Mass Line constituted a significant contribution to this problem?*

JMS: There would have been no GPCR as a "novelty" for Badiou had there been no CPC that established a socialist society that was being subverted by the capitalist roaders and that needed the GPCR to combat the capitalist roaders and consolidate socialism. The Dengist counterrevolution defeated the GPCR precisely because the revisionist or capitalist roaders were able to retain and eventually enlarge their power and authority within both the Party and state.

As shown in the examples of the Soviet Union and China, when the ruling party of the proletariat is undermined by modern revisionism and the capitalist roaders, the character of the state changes from socialist to capitalist. In the first place, no socialist state and society can ever arise and develop if there were no revolutionary party of the proletariat that leads the people's army and the masses in overthrowing the bourgeois state.

During the GPCR, the most extensive kind of democracy arose, with Mao rallying the masses of Red Guards and the people to bombard the bourgeois headquarters in the Party and state and calling on the Party and the People's Liberation Army to support the Left. Under the leadership of the CPC, revolutionary committees arose to lead the masses in communities, factories and farms. But in the course of the class struggle, the Rightists and the ultra-Leftists also generated an anarchy of factions behind which the capitalist roaders maneuvered to retain their positions in the CPC and state in collaboration with the Centrists in order to defeat the GPCR ultimately.

It is in accordance with Maoism or the teachings of Mao that the CPP has strengthened itself ideologically, politically and organizationally and has built the mass movement as its and at the same time the local organs of political power as the embryos of the future people's democratic state. The sum of these local organs of political power may be considered the provisional revolutionary government of the workers and peasants. These organs of political power can be formed only because there are the Party, the people's army, the mass organizations and the united front that support and enable them.

*RADI: In my dissertation, I argue that contemporary communist hypothesis must consider three terms, each of which are dialectically related with each other: party, state, and mass movement. I argue further that the possibility of communism could only be if the nature of the party is "a party in scission," that is, a party which, while utilizes state power to suppress reaction, also immerses itself with the mass movements. What is Maoism's greatest lesson to the question of political organization (a question which Lenin brilliantly answered in What is to be Done)? Did Maoism modify, in one*

*way or another, the question of vanguard leadership (especially if we take into account the lessons of the GPCR)?*

JMS: You are on the correct track by considering the party, the state and mass movement, each of which are dialectically related to each other. Even if only one of these is lacking or is weak, it is impossible to achieve the full development of socialism, which is the precondition to communism. If there is no genuine communist party, there can be no socialist revolution and no socialist state to establish.

If there is no socialist state, there is no way to promote the forces and factors of socialism and pave the way to the communism. Without the class dictatorship of the proletariat, there is no way to suppress reaction and to prevent the bourgeoisie from reemerging and taking power. A ruling communist party or socialist state cannot survive and progress without relying on the mass movement.

Mao adhered to the Leninist concept of a vanguard party representative of the proletariat as the most advanced political and productive class that is most interested in socialism. In the course of the new democratic and socialist stages of the Chinese revolution, Mao and the CPC had ample time and opportunity to develop the CPC as the leading force and the various types of forces that brought about the Chinese socialist state.

In an all-round way, the CPC benefited from the line of relying and trusting the masses and constantly arousing, organizing and mobilizing them in communities and work places in the course of fighting the enemy and building a socialist society. The Party was in the lead and at the same time at the core of mass formations. In both ways, it drew strength from the masses.

It is also pertinent to mention that, after the death of Lenin, Stalin and the CPSU carried forward Leninism in Party building, mass mobilization and in socialist revolution and construction. He built a powerful socialist state that could defeat fascism and subsequently challenge US imperialism and the world capitalist system. He carried out well the Leninist task of promoting the building of communist parties in many countries through the Comintern.

The Chinese revolution would not have won victory and would not have established the Chinese people's democratic state (gliding into the socialist state) if not for the vanguard role of the Chinese Communist Party, the mobilization of the masses, the use of the people's army to destroy the reactionary state and the readiness of the people to build further as the new democratic government the local organs of political power established in the course of people's war.

## ***Author's Preface to the Spanish Edition***

### ***of Philippine Society and Revolution***

**May 16, 2020**

As the author, I am happy and thankful to the *LibrosML* for publishing *Philippine Society and Revolution* in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and solidarity between the Filipino people and Spanish people and for the purpose enlightening the Spanish people regarding the Philippine revolution. I wrote this book in 1969 in my capacity as Chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and under the *nom de guerre* Amado Guerrero.

Since then, it has been a basic document of the CPP and source of knowledge of the proletariat and people of the Philippines and the world about the history of the Filipino people, their basic problems consisting of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism and the new democratic revolution, with the socialist perspective, as the fundamental solution to these problems and as the way to national and social liberation under the leadership of the proletariat.

To this day, the book is being widely read in the Philippines and continues to inspire the Filipino people to wage the Philippine revolution because the basic problems, which are analyzed and critiqued, continue to determine the semicolonial and semifeudal character of the Philippine ruling system and subject the Filipino people to extreme and intolerable conditions of oppression and exploitation.

This book should be interesting to the Spanish readers because Spain and the Philippines have had close relations since the 16<sup>th</sup> century until now. As a colonial power, Spain conquered and dominated the Philippines, imposed a centralized system of administration and developed a feudal economic system. In accordance with the unavoidable law of contradiction in history, Spain created a unified system of colonial and feudal system over most of the Filipino people and in the process caused them to unite and fight for national and social liberation in the old democratic revolution led by the liberal bourgeoisie in 1896.

In the course of the colonial relations between Spain and the Philippines, the Spanish and Filipino peoples developed their own relations in the direction of revolutionary change, solidarity and mutual support. Progressive Spanish leaders and people, who themselves were involved in the liberal democratic movement against absolute monarchical rule, encouraged and supported the Filipino exiles like Jose Rizal, Marcelo H. del Pilar and Graciano Lopez Jaena to form the Propaganda Movement in Spain and advocate liberal democratic reforms for the Philippines since the 1880s.

But the fraternal relationship of the Spanish and Filipino peoples was not limited to the propagation of liberal democracy. My grand uncle, Isabelo de los Reyes, who was arrested in Manila for being a *filibustero* supporting the Philippine revolution, was transported to Spain for imprisonment at the Castle Montjuïc in Barcelona. While in prison, he learned about Karl Marx among the thinkers who had influenced his fellow Spanish political prisoners from the working class.

After the outbreak of the Spanish-American War of 1898, he was released from prison by the Spanish authorities and was allowed to campaign against US imperialism in Spain and other European countries. He found common cause with the Spanish people because by February 4, 1899, the Filipino-American war started because the US sought to conquer the Philippines and become the new colonial power. He was able to return to the Philippines and was the first Filipino leader to bring home the works of Marx. He proceeded to establish the modern trade union movement in the Philippines to replace the old gremio or guild system among the workers.

The fraternal solidarity and mutually supportive relations between the Spanish and Filipino peoples continued to develop into period of the Third International. Spanish and Filipino delegates to the congresses and conferences of the Comintern met and interacted. In the course of the Spanish Civil War, overseas Filipino workers in the US joined the Lincoln Brigade organized by the US communist party to fight on the side of their Spanish comrades. They also encouraged their Filipino and Spanish comrades in the Philippines to oppose the Franco fascist influence among the big compradors and landlords of Spanish ancestry and to join the revolutionary side of the Spanish Civil War.

There is a great amount of information to be told about the revolutionary solidarity of the Spanish and Filipino people and the proletarian internationalist bonds of Spanish and Filipino communists and workers. In the brevity

of this preface, I can mention only some of the most outstanding manifestations of Spanish-Filipino solidarity in order to encourage others to provide more information as well as to develop further the revolutionary solidarity of the Spanish and Filipino proletariat and people.

I hope that *Philippine Society and Revolution* can serve as a key text for the Spanish readers to gain a comprehensive and profound understanding of the history, basic problems and the ongoing revolutionary movement and socialist direction of the Filipino proletariat and people, to build Spanish-Filipino solidarity formations and cultural exchanges (including study delegations) and to develop further the spirit of proletarian internationalism, militant solidarity and mutual support of the Spanish and Filipino proletariat and people.

We must strengthen our unity in the common cause and struggle for greater freedom, democracy, social justice, all-round development and the socialist future against monopoly capitalism and all reaction, especially at this time when the neoliberal policy of unbridled greed is unravelling and the forces of imperialism and counter-revolution seek to perpetuate the system of oppression and exploitation by unleashing fascism, the terrorist state and wars of aggression.

## Comments on Alex De Jong's Anti-CPP Statements

Interview by Michael Beltran, June 24, 2020

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*Please comment on the statements of Alex de Jong in his interview with me pertaining to the Communist Party of the Philippines and the Philippine revolution.*

1. Michael Beltran (MB): *How would you measure success in a revolution?*

*Alex De Jong: This goes back to what you consider to be socialism. If you define socialism as the self-emancipation of the working masses, then the success of a movement cannot be determined by how many rifles it has, how many party members it has or how many people it can mobilize. You measure in which rights are won, how confident are the working masses to mobilize on their own terms without being led by a vanguard party.*

*What is for example, the level of organization among working people, are they able to defend themselves among neoliberal reforms.*

*Another contradiction with the CPP, they say year after year, we are making progress, but they also say, year after year, things are getting worse for the Filipino people. So what then do your victories mean, are they all irrelevant until you take power in the future? It's a moment that I don't think they are anywhere near and I don't see them being any closer to that goal than they were in the 1980s.*

*How do you measure how close a society is to socialist transformation? The CPP would measure that in terms of rifles and party members. Another way is in terms of rights won, victories for the working class, defeating ruling class offensives, and the ability of the working class and other working classes as classes in themselves independent from political organizations.*

Jose Maria Sison (JMS): *De Jong suffers from having blinders of his own making and misrepresenting the entire range of revolutionary forces and toiling masses of workers and peasants in the Philippines for easy demolition in his mind. The CPP has never said that the number of rifles that the NPA has is the sole determinant of the success of the revolutionary movement of the people.*

The CPP has always taken into account the worsening crisis conditions of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system, the desire of the people for revolutionary change and realization of national and social liberation, the adoption and implementation of the general line and program of people's democratic revolution and the development of such revolutionary forces as the vanguard proletarian party, the mass organizations of workers, peasants and other people, the people's army and its auxiliary forces, the organs of democratic political power, the united front formations and level of outrage and militancy of the unorganized masses.

The revolutionary forces of the Filipino people as well as the legal democratic mass organizations and movements have publicized what is their respective levels of organized strength, their programs and declarations and more importantly their activities and campaigns against neoliberal policies and related matters.

The CPP started from scratch in 1968, with a few scores of Party members although with 10,000 youth activists, trade unionists and a few veterans of the armed revolutionary movement. In the last more than 51 years, the CPP has become nationwide and deeply rooted among the toiling masses. It leads a people's army, various types of mass organizations and the local organs of political power which constitute the people's democratic government. All these revolutionary forces constitute a solid base for advancing on the urban areas and eventually defeating the class enemy.

Contrary to the claims of the Duterte regime, the Trotskyites and other Philistines that the revolutionary movement is a failure until it seizes power in Manila, I wish to call attention to the fact that the revolutionary organs of political power are already governing thousands of barangays, hundreds of municipalities and scores of districts within the range of more than 110 guerrilla fronts. They do administration, land reform and other social programs, production campaigns, health work, self-defense, judicial work, disaster relief, environmental protection and so on.

There is no other combination of revolutionary forces and people in the Philippines but the one led and inspired by the CPP which is closest to the socialist revolution. In the programmatic view of the CPP and all other revolutionary forces, the Filipino people and the Philippine revolution must first complete the stage of fighting for, realizing and winning the national and democratic rights of the people against foreign and feudal domination by

overthrowing the big comprador-landlord counterrevolutionary state.

Upon the seizure of political power in the stage of new democratic revolution, the proletariat and the people can begin the socialist revolution, with due attention to transitional measures to be undertaken. A dyed-in-the-wool Trotskyite like De Jong does not accept the two-stages of the Philippine revolution and can never understand how Trotsky and the Trotskyites have consistently sought to attack genuine communist parties and find themselves on the side of counterrevolution.

2. MB: *What do you mean by advocating for pluralism within the Left?*

*De Jong: A crucial step based on socialism based on self-emancipation is democracy, and that means recognizing the value of pluralism within the rev left. I think vanguard parties are created in the course of the struggle, but it is rare that only one exists in history. Parties go through a process of merging splitting, changing. And that's all over the world where the left in general is very weak. And that's a necessary process everywhere too. That means we have to re-learn a lot of things, and figure out a lot of things. And the strength of the CPP is that they just deny this need, and say nothing has changed that they have all the answers, I can understand the appeal of that. But I think we don't have all the answers and to figure out all the answers we need more cooperation among the left.*

JMS: There are several grouplets of Trotskyites with varied conflicting origins in the Philippines. They are under the influence of Trotskyites in the US, UK, France, The Netherlands, Japan and Australia. They have a talent for splitting among themselves as to be expected of petty-bourgeois factionalists overreaching for socialism under semicolonial and semifeudal conditions.

They have weakened each other instead of strengthening themselves, by attacking each other. Take for example the well-known conflict between Popoy Lagman and Sonny Melencio, financed and influenced by their respective Japanese and Australian mentors. But they are all united in opposing the current general line of people's democratic revolution under proletarian leadership and with socialist perspective and in carrying the notion that they gain self-importance and size by attacking the CPP. They specialize in sniping at the CPP from the flanks in coordination with whichever is the incumbent or incoming ruling clique in the Philippines.

It is wrong for De Jong to say that the strength of the CPP comes from denying the need to cooperate with others and from presuming that it knows all answers to all questions. The CPP constantly teaches its cadres and members to learn from the masses and cooperate with allies. It promotes and carries out the broad united front policy of building the basic worker-peasant alliance, winning over the middle social strata and taking advantage of the splits among the reactionaries in order to isolate, weaken and defeat the enemy, which is currently the Duterte tyranny.

It has alliances with Left liberals in professional and occupational organizations and religious-minded revolutionaries like those in the Christians for National Liberation and Muslims in the Moro Revolutionary Liberation Organization. These are honest opponents of the Duterte tyranny unlike the most obnoxious Trotskyites who talk in an ultra-Left way but specialize in attacking the CPP and in fact serving the counterrevolution.

Like the Bolsheviks, the CPP has become the revolutionary vanguard party of the proletariat by building itself ideologically, politically and organizationally, engaging in a life-and-death revolutionary struggle and strengthening itself in the process, learning from the masses, giving full play to democracy as the basis for making decisions from one level to another and using criticism and self-criticism and rectification movements to correct errors and improve work and the style of work.

3. MB: *What do you mean by: The revolution and socialist consciousness is happening "behind people's backs".*

*De Jong: That's what I mean, happening behind people's back. The vanguard party carries an idea of a socialist future and consciousness but this is not the consciousness of the masses that they organize. The UG orgs are on the basis of ND, and I think that says something about how they view socialism as something that is implemented by the party.*

*And that comes into play against Duterte. You can mobilize against him in defense of liberal bourgeois democracy in order to keep the broadest united front, but of course everybody knows that the current regime is a product of the previous liberal bourgeois democracy. And I think that is the analysis the CPP makes internally, they know that you have to go beyond the system of elite democracy to prevent this from happening again. But that's not the basis on which they mobilize.*

*And they don't appeal to their workers to defend their class interests, as workers against the government. They call on people to defend bourgeois liberal democracy in order not to break the united front with figures who are liberals.*

JMS: The CPP, the people's army and the revolutionary mass formations spread and follow the general line of

people's democratic revolution with a socialist perspective. They never conceal the socialist direction and future of the people's democratic revolution. And they always answer questions about socialist revolution in study meetings as well as in public meetings.

As in the time of the people's struggle against the emergence and entrenchment of the Marcos fascist dictatorship, the CPP and the revolutionary mass movement are once more calling for antifascist, anti-imperialist and antifeudal as an emphatically combative synonym for the people's democratic revolution.

The antifascist condemns the attack on and violation of the civil and political rights of individuals, groups and nonexploitative classes. The anti-imperialist condemns the attack on and violation of national sovereignty and independence. And the antifeudal condemns the feudal and semifeudal forms of oppression and exploitation in the countryside and carries out agrarian revolution as the main content of democratic revolution in favor of the peasant majority of the people.

De Jong is a brazen liar beyond redemption when he says that the CPP and the revolutionary movement do not appeal to the workers to defend their class interests, as workers against the government. He always resorts to making his own straw figure to demolish with his own verbiage.

The CPP itself and the underground organizations of the workers have resolutely and militantly upheld, defended and advanced the class interests of the working class against the counterrevolutionary state, the imperialists and the big bourgeoisie in the Philippines. As regards the legal trade union movement, you can refer De Jong to the historical and continuing struggles of Kilusang Mayo Uno and related workers' organizations in the class interest of the proletariat as well as in the national and democratic rights of the entire Filipino people,

4. MB: *Do you think a strong communist party is a requirement for a strong left wing movement in Europe or the world.*

*De Jong: Yes. But how do you get to these strong parties? If parties are the expression of a certain relationship of forces, of social mobilization and awareness. Then the first step is the ability to fight of the popular and working class.*

*A strong communist party will be the expression of a strong working class movement. I don't think you can start this process by declaring party and start recruiting people bit by bit. Real mass parties are the expression of social contradictions. You see how Mao's original party and army, he didn't start with a small group, they had 300k soldiers who came out of nationwide insurrections. You see that also with the Bolshevik party that had 60k members before the first world war and then it balloons, so in that sense.*

JMS: De Jong is not competent ideologically, politically and organizationally to talk about building a communist party. I do not think that he has any experience in organizing any communist party beyond his small cocoon of Trotskyites and using the computer to attack the CPP and other communist parties.

As far as I am concerned, a communist party that succeeds at waging revolution grows in strength from being small and weak to big and strong by having the correct ideological, political and organizational line and by arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses and engaging in various forms of revolutionary struggle that culminates in the armed overthrow and defeat of the class enemy. In the course of the revolutionary struggle, the communist party recruits its cadres and member from the revolutionary mass movement.

5. MB: *Any recommendations to the CPP?*

*De Jong: Stop intimidating and harassing other leftists. Stop making the claim to have a monopoly on truth.*

JMS: In the Philippines, the Trotskyites who hate the CPP are so few and are on the wayside casting malicious statements and false claims against the CPP. They have been ineffective in their counterrevolutionary activities and have thus been ignored by the CPP and by the revolutionary mass organizations.

The most service that they give nowadays to the counterrevolutionary state in the Philippines is to talk and write against the CPP. In this regard, the CPP has let them wallow in their own shit. I think that with regard to some elements who have a Trotskyite background but who have some amount of mass following and are willing to join the broad united front formally or informally, the CPP is well known to have been open to cooperation with them within the framework of the broad united front.

## ***Comments on Certain Views Against the CPP***

**Reply to the Questions of the Journalist Michael Beltran, June 26, 2020**

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1. *Critics from a Trotskyite standpoint say that the CPP's measure of success primarily banks on quantitative developments such as how many rifles it has won and how many new party members it has recruited. Moreover, they claim a disjunct in the Party extolling the advancement of the revolution yet the conditions are worsening for the Filipino people, making the seizure of political power a sole determinant in political development. Do you think this is fair? What are your thoughts on this?*

Jose Maria Sison (JMS): That is an unfair comment. Trotskyites suffer from having blinders of their own making. They deny and misrepresent the entire range of revolutionary forces and toiling masses of workers and peasants waging the people's democratic revolution. The CPP has never said that the number of NPA rifles is the sole determinant of the success of the revolutionary movement of the people. That is not the way the CPP thinks and acts. The accusation of militarism is well disproved by the CPP leading the toiling masses of workers and peasants in revolutionary political struggles against the tremendous odds posed by US imperialism and the local exploiting classes.

The CPP has always taken into account the worsening crisis conditions of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system, the desire of the people for revolutionary change and realization of national and social liberation, the adoption and implementation of the general line and program of people's democratic revolution and the development of such revolutionary forces as the vanguard proletarian party, the mass organizations of workers, peasants and other people, the people's army and its auxiliary forces, the organs of democratic political power, the united front formations and level of outrage and militancy of the unorganized masses.

The revolutionary forces of the Filipino people have declared from time to time what are their respective levels of organized strength, their programs and declarations and more importantly their activities and campaigns against neoliberal policies and related matters. All these debunk the Trotskyite slander. The broad range of legal democratic forces is encouraged by the organized political strength of the workers and peasants. The CPP would not have survived and overcome all the US-directed campaigns of military suppression since the time of Marcos if not for the political work of the CPP and the resulting wide and deep-going mass support for the revolution.

The CPP started from scratch in 1968, with a few scores of Party members, supported by some 10,000 youth activists, trade unionists and a few veterans of the old armed revolutionary movement. In the last more than 51 years, the CPP has become nationwide and deeply rooted among the toiling masses. It leads a people's army, various types of mass organizations and the local organs of political power which constitute the people's democratic government. All these revolutionary forces constitute a solid base for advancing on the urban areas and eventually defeating the class enemy.

Contrary to the claims of the Duterte regime, the Trotskyites and other Philistines that the revolutionary movement is a failure until it seizes power in Manila, I wish to call attention to the fact that the revolutionary organs of political power are already governing thousands of barangays, hundreds of municipalities and scores of districts within the range of more than 110 guerrilla fronts. They do administration, land reform and other social programs, production campaigns, health and sanitation work, self-defense, judicial work, disaster relief, environmental protection and so on.

There is no other combination of revolutionary forces and people in the Philippines closest to the socialist revolution but the one led and inspired by the CPP. In the programmatic view of the CPP and all other revolutionary forces, the Filipino people and the Philippine revolution must first complete the stage of fighting for, realizing and winning the national and democratic rights against foreign and feudal domination by overthrowing the big comprador-landlord counterrevolutionary state.

Upon the seizure of political power in the stage of new democratic revolution, the proletariat and the people can begin the socialist revolution, with due attention to transitional measures to be undertaken. The Trotskyites do not accept the necessity of the new democratic stage in the two stages of the Philippine revolution. Because of their fatally wrong line, they cannot grow in the Philippines. Like Trotsky, the Trotskyites think that they can grow by vilifying the genuine communist parties, now guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Their anti-CPP obsession

practically puts them on the side of counterrevolution.

2. *Similarly, these detractors advocate for pluralism within the left. Because the left worldwide can be considered weak, much needs to be re-learned in terms of strategies and methods. For them, the vanguard parties must go through a necessary process of re-learning, merging and splitting to accommodate a number of different answers to their challenges. Conversely, the CPP supposedly denies the need for this. What can you say about this critique of the CPP's notion of a vanguard party?*

JMS: In the Philippine context, what may be loosely called the Left of the political spectrum consists of the anti-imperialist and democratic forces, otherwise called patriotic and progressive. In class terms, these are motivated mainly by adherence to the rights and interests of the toiling masses of workers and peasants. The CPP always considers it of the utmost political importance to appeal to and rely on these forces and masses of the Left. It is a big lie for anyone to caricature the CPP as denying the need for these diverse Left forces to be put into revolutionary play and aroused, organized and mobilized for the purpose.

It is absurd for anyone to claim that the strength of the CPP comes from denying the need to cooperate with others and from presuming that it knows all answers to all questions. The CPP constantly teaches its cadres and members to learn from the masses and cooperate with allies. It promotes and carries out the broad united front policy of building the basic worker-peasant alliance, winning over the middle social strata and taking advantage of the splits among the reactionaries in order to isolate, weaken and defeat the enemy, which is currently the Duterte tyranny.

It has alliances with Left liberals in professional and occupational organizations and religious-minded revolutionaries like those in the Christians for National Liberation and Muslims in the Moro Revolutionary Liberation Organization. These are honest opponents of the Duterte tyranny unlike the most obnoxious Trotskyites who talk in an ultra-Left way but specialize in attacking the CPP and in fact serving the counterrevolution.

The CPP adheres to the Marxist-Leninist principle and line of building itself as the advanced detachment of the working class or the revolutionary vanguard party of the proletariat. Like the Bolsheviks, the CPP has become the revolutionary vanguard party of the proletariat by building itself ideologically, politically and organizationally, engaging in a life-and-death revolutionary struggle and strengthening itself in the process, learning from the masses, giving full play to democracy as the basis for making decisions from one level to another and using criticism and self-criticism and rectification movements to correct errors and improve work and the style of work.

In contrast, there are several grouplets of Trotskyites with varied conflicting origins in the Philippines. They specialize in slandering and attacking the CPP. They are under the influence of Trotskyites in the US, UK, France, The Netherlands, Japan and Australia. They have a talent for splitting among themselves as to be expected of petty-bourgeois factionalists overreaching for socialism under semicolonial and semifeudal conditions. By attacking each other, they have weakened each other instead of strengthening themselves. Take for example the well-known conflict between Popoy Lagman and Sonny Melencio, financed and influenced by their respective Japanese and Australian partners.

They are all afflicted with a certain kind of political schizophrenia. They can flip-flop from bourgeois liberalism and factionalism in line with their anti-Stalinist obsession to ultra-Left phrase-mongering about socialism as the urgent main issue under semicolonial and semifeudal conditions. They oppose the current general line of people's democratic revolution under proletarian leadership and with a socialist perspective. They try to gain self-importance and please the reactionaries by attacking the CPP. They specialize in sniping at the CPP from the flanks in coordination with the psywar agencies of whichever incumbent or incoming ruling clique in the Philippines.

3. *I have heard phrases of the CPP's revolution "happening behind people's backs" in that the masses are mobilized on the basis of democratic struggle whereas socialist consciousness is absent from the equation. For them, socialism is not something implemented by the vanguard party alone, and hence, there is a disjunct between the mobilizing methods of the CPP and the socialist program it espouses. How do you respond to this? Basically, they are purporting that the CPP is not advancing proletarian consciousness among the masses.*

JMS: There is nothing wrong for the CPP to propagate and carry out the general line and program of the people's democratic revolution, with the proletariat as the leading class and with socialism as the direction of the current democratic struggles against the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system. Socialism is openly discussed as the bright future of the Filipino people that commences upon the overthrow of the current unjust social

system. It is not something “happening behind people’s backs.”

The CPP, the people’s army and the revolutionary mass formations spread and follow the general line of people’s democratic revolution with a socialist perspective. They never conceal the socialist direction and future of the people’s democratic revolution. They explain fully the two stages of the Philippine revolution: the new democratic stage and the socialist stage. And they always answer questions about socialist revolution in study meetings as well as in public meetings.

The masses of workers led by the CPP as well as those coming from other class origins who wish to remold themselves as proletarian revolutionaries or communists are well educated on socialism as the historic mission of the working class on top of the immediate necessity of the democratic struggle against the current ruling system. The peasant masses also understand that they will benefit from free land distribution in the agrarian revolution and they will go through cooperativization and mechanization in the socialist society.

Right now, as in the time of the people’s struggle against the emergence and entrenchment of the Marcos fascist dictatorship, the CPP and the revolutionary mass movement are once more calling for antifascist, anti-imperialist and antifeudal struggle as an emphatically combative expression for the people’s democratic revolution.

The antifascist line condemns the attack on and violation of the civil and political rights of individuals, groups and nonexploitative classes. The anti-imperialist line condemns the attack on and violation of national sovereignty and independence. And the antifeudal line condemns the feudal and semifeudal forms of oppression and exploitation in the countryside and carries out agrarian revolution as the main content of democratic revolution in favor of the peasant majority of the people.

The Trotskyites are rabid anticommunists pretending to out-communist the communists. They are brazen liars beyond redemption when they say that the CPP and the revolutionary movement do not appeal to the workers to defend their class interests, as workers against the government. They use outright lies to construct their own straw figure which they demolish with their verbiage.

The CPP itself and the underground organizations of the workers have resolutely and militantly upheld, defended and advanced the class interests of the working class against the counterrevolutionary state, the imperialists and the big bourgeoisie in the Philippines. The revolutionary work and influence of the CPP in the trade union movement are so strong that every reactionary regime has tried to red-tag the legal trade union movement for the purpose of state terrorism and anticommunist suppression.

*4. One recommendation for building a strong communist party in the Trotskyite fashion is to start with a strong mass base already and that it should be born out of a strong, existing and active resistance and that they are the expressions of social contradictions, not necessarily of a ideological drive to do so. In your many years of party building, what can you draw from your experience about successful party building?*

JMS: I have already pointed out that when the CPP was re-established in 1968, it was so small and weak with only a few scores of members. But it based itself on and was benefited by the mass movement of workers, peasants and the middle social strata in the entire 1960s. The CPP further grew in strength not just by building itself in exclusive closed-door study sessions but by further developing and drawing recruits from the revolutionary mass movement through various forms of struggle.

In developing the revolutionary mass movement, the CPP, the New People’s Army and the National Democratic Front help each other out. As far as I am concerned, the Trotskyites are not competent ideologically, politically and organizationally to talk about building a communist party and are not qualified to give a serious fact-based critique of the party building and mass work done by the CPP. If you examine the record and activities of the current Trotskyites, they have no experience in organizing any communist party beyond their small echo chambers and using the computer to attack the CPP and other communist parties.

The CPP has become one of the most formidable forces in the upsurge of the anti-imperialist and democratic struggles and resurgence of the world proletarian revolution. It has grown in strength by having the correct ideological, political and organizational line, by arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses and by engaging in various forms of revolutionary struggle that are aimed at the armed overthrow and defeat of the class enemy. In the course of the revolutionary struggle, the communist party recruits its cadres and members from the revolutionary mass movement.

*5. Trotskyists have regularly made claims that the CPP has an existing policy to attack them. Specifically, that there*

*are even assassination orders within the NPA to target other members of the left. This is done supposedly to defend the CPP's "monopoly of truth." What can you say about this? Why do you think they have made such claims?*

JMS: The most malicious and most unbelievable lies of the Trotskyites are their false claims that the CPP has an existing policy to attack them and that specifically there are even assassination orders within the NPA to target other members of the Left. They should present facts so that the CPP and the NPA can answer the charges. It is not enough to ascribe a false motivation to the CPP like "defending its monopoly of truth."

Genuine Marxist-Leninists like those in the CPP do not believe in medieval dogmas of infallibility and monopoly of truth. The CPP has a materialist-scientific philosophy and methods of cognition and practice. It engages in periodic and timely criticism and self-criticism and rectification movements against major errors. In political work among the masses, it has the line of learning first from the masses their needs and demands through social investigation and class analysis before trying to teach them about anything. In its organizational life, the CPP upholds the principle of democratic centralism and bases its decision-making on democratic discussions of the facts and issues at the various levels of leadership.

In the Philippines, the Trotskyites who hate the CPP are so few and are on the wayside casting malicious statements and false claims against the CPP. They have been ineffective in their counterrevolutionary activities and have thus been ignored by the CPP and by the revolutionary mass organizations. Even if they are rabid anticommunists in the clothing of super-communists or overanxious socialist, they do not deserve any kind of physical punishment so long as they use only their mouths and computers against the CPP.

In my experience of Trotskyite malice, there is one Filipino Trotskyite who used his masteral dissertation against the CPP to ingratiate himself with a foreign intelligence agency and executed a written testimony against me in connection with the false murder charges against me in 2007. And he has continued to publish a stream of slanderous articles against the CPP. I have been happy enough to win my cases in court against false charges of murder and terrorism. I do not even think of any physical counteraction against any of my detractors. I am satisfied with debunking the lies and false charges.

The most service that the Trotskyites give nowadays to the counterrevolutionary state in the Philippines is to talk and write against the CPP. In this regard, the CPP has let them wallow in their own shit. I think that with regard to some elements who have a Trotskyite background but who have some amount of mass following and are willing to join the broad united front formally or informally, the CPP is well known to have been open to cooperation with them within the framework of the broad united front.

## ***Trotskyite Attacks on the CPP and the Philippine Revolution***

**Interview by Michael Beltran, August 25, 2020**

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1. *It is well-known that Joseph Scalice has been attacking your writings and you personally in violent anticommunist and anti-Stalinist language since 2017. Why did you criticize him only this recently? If you were aware of him before, what has been your view of him?*

Jose Maria Sison (JMS): My attention to Joseph Scalice was called recently by a Filipino artist friend, Max Santiago, who complained that his art work had been stolen by Scalice for a malicious purpose. The art work carried my and Duterte's images in order to encourage peace negotiations in 2016. Scalice used the art work to dish out the following lies: that the peace dialogue was a betrayal of the people and that the CPP and I supported Duterte for two years from the time he assumed the presidency in 2016.

I have been aware of the rabid anticommunist and anti-Stalinist writings of Scalice for quite some time, long before now. I have ignored him because American comrades and friends have told me that he was already well-exposed as a Trotskyite and as a paid agent of the Central Intelligence Agency, paid to focus on the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and my writings and make a career out of attacking and misrepresenting these.

They have told me that the distortions and lies he makes to attack the CPP and me are so obviously false, illogical and unbelievable that they are ineffective propaganda and patently supportive of counterrevolution. Thus, I thought that I would devote my time to far more important tasks than to spend time writing to debunk Scalice.

2. *How do you respond to his claim that engaging in peace negotiations with the Duterte regime is a form of betraying the people? And what about his claim that the CPP supported Duterte's war on drugs and the extrajudicial killings?*

JMS: Only a Trotskyite can interpret peace negotiations between two warring parties as support for Duterte and betrayal of the people. It is also an outright lie that the CPP supported the Duterte regime and his extrajudicial killings of poor people for two years. The peace negotiations practically came to an end in August 2016 when Duterte released only 19 political prisoners and reneged on his promise to amnesty and release all political prisoners.

As early as July 2016, the CPP and New People's Army (NPA) condemned Duterte's war on drugs when it became utterly clear that it was butchery aimed at the poor people and intended to intimidate the broad masses of the people. On their own independent account, human rights organizations and legal democratic forces promptly addressed and denounced the "kill, kill, kill" program of Duterte. It also became obvious that the bogus war on drugs was meant to aggrandize the Duterte crime syndicate and install Duterte as the supreme drug lord.

3. *Why is it that various groups of Trotskyites and crypto-Trotskyites, including those who quarrel among themselves, have united to accuse the CPP of having enabled Duterte to become the President and commit all the grave crimes that he has committed? Why do the Trotskyites attack the CPP and all the patriotic and democratic forces at a time when they are intensifying the struggle against the Duterte tyranny and building a broad united front against him?*

JMS: Trotskyites are special agents of US imperialism. They have played that role since Trotsky betrayed the Bolshevik party and the Soviet Union. They have always specialized in attacking communist parties engaged in revolutionary struggle more than their formalistic and ritualistic denunciations of capitalism.

It is not a surprise at all that they attack the CPP and the national democratic movement most viciously because in a sneaky way they support the brutal but futile campaign of the US and the Duterte puppet regime to destroy the CPP and the revolutionary movement. The Trotskyites, the US imperialists and Duterte share a common hatred for the CPP and the revolutionary movement of the Filipino people.

4. *Scalice holds the view that the old Communist Party of the Lavaite revisionists and the Communist Party of the Philippines guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism must betray the people as a matter of course because they are supposed to be similarly Stalinist. Is it valid for Scalice to equate the Lavaite party supporting the Marcos dictatorship with the blatant lie that CPP has enabled and supported the Duterte tyranny?*

JMS: Scalice boasts of himself as a Philippine historian. He is a big fake. He does not even know that the Lavaite party was already revisionist and anti-Stalinist like the Trotskyites when that party supported the Marcos fascist dictatorship from its start in 1972 to its end in 1986. I have already exposed the big lie of Scalice that the CPP was the enabler and supporter of Duterte for two years after he assumed the presidency.

It is a matter of public knowledge that the people's war led by the CPP has never been ended, in contrast to the perpetual prattle of the Trotskyites. But I wish to clarify that the CPP admires Stalin for building socialism in the Soviet Union and defeating fascism among his great achievements. But the CPP is critical of Stalin for presuming the end of classes and class struggle in 1935 and for mistakes in the handling of contradictions within socialist society.

In the case of Trotsky, he deserved to be expelled from the ranks of the Bolsheviks for his counterrevolutionary position. Lenin has criticized Trotsky so many times as an unpredictable petty-bourgeois subjectivist and opportunist. Lenin and Stalin forgave many of the muddled ideas and flip-flops of Trotsky. But Trotsky exhausted the tolerance and patience of the Bolsheviks when he became brazenly counterrevolutionary and opposed the socialist revolution and construction in the Soviet Union because he had the crazy notion of having to attain first a permanent seamless world revolution.

5. *In the Trotskyite World Socialist Web Site, a certain Peter Symonds echoes the claim of Scalice that you have threatened his life with your criticism of him as a "pathologically rabid anticommunist and CIA psywar agent posing as an academic Trotskyite?" And in this connection, he goes into the overstretch that the CPP kills dissenters among its ranks just like Stalin supposedly did.*

JMS: Why should I threaten the life of any sick guy I have ignored for so long? He can wallow in his own saliva. The CPP stopped the unjustified killings done by the Trotsky-type commandists and adventurists after they failed with their scheme of premature regularization of the entire people's army. The Second Great Rectification Movement repudiated and criticized the mistakes and crimes of those Trotsky-type rascals. It was a campaign of ideological and political education.

6. *What do you say about the claim of Scalice and other Trotskyites that the CPP and its "front organizations" supported the fascistic Duterte when he won the presidency in 2016 and staged rallies in his support? Is it fair for Scalice to refer to the patriotic and democratic mass organizations as front organizations of the CPP?*

JMS: BAYAN and other patriotic and democratic organizations held rallies to ventilate and present what they called the People's Agenda and the social, economic and political reforms that ought to be taken up in the peace negotiations. They were acting as peace advocates on behalf of the people. It is malicious and mendacious of Scalice to present their peace advocacy as supporting Duterte. At the same time, he exposes himself as a red-tagger, communist-baiter and anticommunist agent by calling them front organizations of the CPP. Scalice is as vociferously malicious as that tin can general Parlade.

7. *Is it true that Rafael Mariano, chairman emeritus of the Kilusang Magbubukid sa Pilipinas (KMP) and Joel Maglungsod, vice president for Mindanao of the trade union umbrella organization Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU) were CPP nominees to the Duterte cabinet? And by the way, are not the Trotskyites engaged in red-tagging for the benefit of the Duterte death squads?*

JMS: The CPP did not nominate anyone as CPP representative to any cabinet or sub-cabinet position in the Duterte administration. I told Duterte publicly that he could appoint anyone on his or her individual merits for patriotism, competence, honesty and diligence but that he could not appoint anyone as CPP representative while the people's war and the peace negotiations were still going on. In this regard, Scalice is both a liar and incorrigible anticommunist agent of imperialism and reaction. Indeed, he is practically a wild informer for the benefit of the Duterte death squads.

8. *How true is the claim of the Trotskyites that the CPP is not really a communist party but a mere nationalist organization of Stalinism and that its adherence to "two-stage theory" is aimed at putting socialism off the agenda and making the working class and peasant masses support the "progressive wing" of the bourgeoisie?*

JMS: The CPP is a proletarian revolutionary party and is both patriotic and proletarian internationalist. In accordance with Lenin's teaching, the CPP carries out the people's democratic revolution with a socialist perspective and under the leadership of the working class against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. At the basic completion of the people's democratic revolution through the seizure of political power, the stage of socialist revolution begins in the same manner as the Great October Socialist Revolution did in 1917 and the Chinese socialist revolution did in China in 1949.

The Trotskyite notions of permanent revolution that oppose socialist revolution and construction in one country after another and denies the need for the two-stage revolution in underdeveloped countries like the Philippines, without an industrial capitalist foundation, are complete nonsense and bankrupt. The Trotskyites also do not

understand the need of the national united front policy and tactics of relying mainly on the basic alliance of workers and peasants, winning over the middle forces and taking advantage of the splits among the reactionaries.

The Trotskyites are sneaky supporters of the imperialists and big compradors against the legitimate and benign aspirations of the middle bourgeoisie and the rest of the people for national industrialization. Thus, the Trotskyites will continue to be cultist grouplets and never gain any significant following. They can only make false theorizing and propaganda against the revolution.

9. *What do you say about the assertion of Scalice that your classic work, "Philippine Society and Revolution" (PSR), is not a Marxist work but a nationalist tract?*

JMS: A Trotskyite is not in any position to make the judgment whether my work is Marxist or not. PSR is so Marxist-Leninist that the Trotskyites have made attacking it a major occupation in their futile attempt to sabotage the Philippine revolutionary movement.

Genuine communists in the Philippines and abroad have long recognized the PSR as an analysis of the history and concrete circumstances of the Filipino people and the product of the application of the Marxist-Leninist materialist-scientific outlook and materialist dialectics.

It is futile for the Trotskyites and other counterrevolutionaries to try to discredit this book because it has generated further writings along the proletarian revolutionary line and more importantly it continues to guide and motivate Filipino revolutionaries to wage revolution and make great achievements.

10. *How true is the claim of the Trotskyites that the CPP no longer commands the respect and support of broad layers of working people in the Philippines that it did in the 1970s and 1980 and that it has fragmented into rival parties that compete with each other to ally with one or another faction of the Philippine bourgeoisie in return for crumbs of privilege and power?*

JMS: The great achievements of the CPP are not something to sneeze at by the Trotskyites. Their imperialist masters and reactionary mates in the Philippines still consider the CPP and the revolutionary movement as the main threat to the rotten semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system, after more than five decades of trying to destroy the revolution.

The CPP has tens of thousands of members, deeply rooted among the toiling masses and highly motivated to wage revolution. It has built the New People's Army with thousands of Red fighters, augmented by people's militia with tens of thousands of members and self-defense units of mass organizations in hundreds of thousands. It has developed mass organizations of various classes and sectoral categories whose members total in the millions. It has built alliances of various types under the auspices of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines. It has led local organs of political power, which comprise the People's Democratic Government.

There are now two governments in the Philippines: one is the revolutionary government of workers and peasants and the other is the counterrevolutionary government of big compradors, landlords and bureaucrats. After several decades of trying in vain to sabotage the revolution and assist the counterrevolution, what have the Trotskyites accomplished in the Philippines ideologically, politically and organizationally? Nothing but being an occasional nuisance like a scavenger fly.

# ***Concerning the Communist Party of the Philippines, the Philippine Revolution and the International Situation***

**Interview by Angel Marrades Rodriguez, *Recifrando la Guerra***

**October 19, 2020**

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*1. Your personal political experience began with your militancy in progressive patriotic organizations. How was this experience like and to what extent is it still important?*

JMS: To understand the importance of what little we could do for a start in 1959 on the campus of the University of the Philippines, you must know that the old Communist Party in the Philippines had been nearly decimated and the backbone of the old people's liberation army had been broken in 1952 to 1954. Waging its Cold War in the Philippines, US imperialism directed the puppet government to enact the Anti-Subversion Law in 1957 and use it for conducting anticommunist witchhunt in collaboration with the US Central Intelligence Agency and clerico-fascist elements in the dominant Catholic Church.

We, the patriotic and progressive student activists and teachers, were not frightened at all by the Anti-Subversion Law which threatened to mete out the death penalty to anyone who was pointed to as a communist leader by two witnesses. Instead, we were challenged to fight US imperialism and the local exploiting classes. We invoked the academic freedom of the university and its constituents to do research, issue publications and speak out on any issue in the public interest. We made it a point to write and speak for national and democratic rights against foreign and feudal domination.

We formed the Student Cultural Association of the University of the Philippines (SCAUP) in 1959 and I was elected the Chairman. We openly announced the objective to study and learn from the revolutionary history of the of the Filipino people against Spanish colonialism and then against US imperialism and to strive to continue the unfinished national democratic revolution, no longer under the leadership of the liberal bourgeoisie but under that of the proletariat. At the same time, we secretly conducted study meetings on the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism in relation to Philippine history and current circumstances of the people.

We issued publications and conducted study meetings and mass protest actions on current national issues on and off the campus. The so-called Committee on Anti-Filipino Activities (CAFA) of the Philippine Congress held a series of hearings from 1959 onward in order to subject the progressive faculty members and students to anti-communist witchhunt. On March 15, 1961, the SCAUP succeeded in organizing 5,000 students to protest in front of Congress. And then we stormed into the hearing hall and scuttled the hearings.

For the first time since the crackdown in the early 1950s, we succeeded in holding a demonstration in the thousands in order to defend the publication of our anti-imperialist and antifeudal writings. We were able to put a stop to the anticommunist inquisition and generate a movement of defiance and resistance against US imperialism and the ruling system along the line of national liberation and democracy.

*2. In the 1960s, you created organisations such as MAN and MASAKA to mobilise sectors from different social classes which supported a patriotic and a democratic-oriented struggle for the liberation of the Philippines. What led you to split from the PKP, organization where you formerly were active in, and the construction of the new party in 1968?*

JMS: In the 1960s, I played a key role in the organization of several major mass formations like Kabataang Makabayan in 1964, in the consolidation of Lapiang Manggagawa (Workers' Party) and its reconstitution as Socialist Party in 1964 and 1965 respectively and in the formation of the Movement for the Advancement of Nationalism as an anti-imperialist and democratic united front. I had no part in the organization of MASAKA in 1963 but I was subsequently put in charge of the refresher courses for the veteran peasant cadres openly on the worker-peasant alliance and discreetly on Marxism-Leninism.

Following the success of the anti-CAFA demonstration in 1961, the student leaders of SCAUP were highly appreciated by the leaders and masses of students in other universities in Metro Manila. Thus, we were welcome when we made a campaign to form student groups like the SCAUP to carry out openly the study of the national democratic struggle and discreetly the study of Marxism-Leninism as theoretical guide.

The authorities in my department in the university did not like my role in the anti-CAFA demonstration and they did not renew my teaching fellowship and graduate scholarship. Thus, I gained time organize secret study

circles in Marxism-Leninism in several universities. I even found time to travel to Indonesia to study the Indonesian language and the mass movement there in the first half of 1962.

I joined the Lapiang Manggagawa (Workers' Party) for political education work among the trade union members in the latter half of 1962. I became the head of the research and education department of the party. I was in charge of research, drafting party statements, issuing publications and holding seminars. The student activists from various universities joined the workers in seminars. Later on children of veteran peasant leaders from the rural regions close to Manila also joined.

Soon enough, we were able to launch mass actions on national issues against the reactionary government and its pro-imperialist policies, especially economic and military subservience to the US. Even before I joined the old Communist Party (CP), we in the SCAUP adopted a plan in late 1961 to form in the next two years a comprehensive youth organization, consisting of students and young workers, peasants, teachers and other professionals to be called Kabataang Makabayan (KM, Patriotic Youth). We envisioned this as a force to assist the working class in leading the movement for national liberation and democracy.

I joined the old CP in December 1962 upon the invitation of its general secretary Jesus Lava through a nephew of his. He designated me immediately as a member of the Executive Committee which he formed and expected to be the embryo of the Central Committee, which he wished to reconstruct in the course of time. Since some years ago, there had been no single Party collective organ or any Party branch in existence. Lava was merely hiding himself in Manila without connection to any mass base or armed force since probably 1957 when he issued the "single-file policy" which practically liquidated the old CP.

Within the Executive Committee of the old CPP, I learned from internal documents of the old CPP and from my conversations with veteran worker and peasant cadres the facts about the errors of the series of Lava siblings who had become general secretary of the party (Vicente from 1942 to 1947, Jose from 1948 to 1950 and Jesus from 1951 to 1964). To know the errors fully, you can read the document titled "Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party". I wrote the draft of this document in accordance with the decision of the five-man Executive Committee in 1965. But the document was rejected by the majority, consisting of three close relatives of Jesus, for being critical of the series of Lava general secretaries.

Vicente Lava was responsible for the Right opportunist error called "retreat for defense policy" which echoed the policy of the pro-US guerrillas called "wait and watch" policy which meant doing intelligence work in preparation for the US reconquest of the Philippines from the hands of the Japanese fascists. Jose Lava was responsible for the "Left" opportunist line of "winning victory in two years' time" of the armed struggle, without minding the needed mass work and agrarian revolution. After Jose was arrested, Jesus Lava lost interest in the armed struggle and he swung to Right opportunism by deciding to liquidate the people's army in 1955 and the old CP itself in 1957,

It was my criticism of the history of subjectivist and opportunist errors of the series of Lava general secretaries and the emergence of highly important current issues in 1964 to 1966 that led to the two-line struggle in the old CP and eventually the breakaway of the proletarian revolutionaries, including myself, from the old CP. The current issues then involved the refusal of the Lavaite revisionists to make a definite plan for the resumption of the people's war and to take a definite stand against Soviet modern revisionism.

*3: How are democratic and national objectives linked to the objectives of the Socialist Revolution and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat?*

JMS: The general line of the CPP is to carry out the people's democratic revolution, with a socialist perspective, through protracted people's war against the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system dominated by US imperialism and run by the local exploiting classes of big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists.

The national and democratic objective is to achieve the national and social liberation of the Filipino people by defeating US imperialism and the local exploiting classes. The CPP is now fighting a civil war against the local exploiting classes but is ready to fight a war of national liberation in case the US unleashes a war of aggression.

It is by carrying out the people's democratic revolution that the working class as the leading class builds the people's army as the main component of the dictatorship of the proletariat or the worker state. Upon the completion of the people's democratic revolution through the seizure of political power, the working class can commence the socialist revolution and socialist transformation of the economy because it has the state power to take all the commanding heights of the social, economic and political life of the nation.

*4. What role has Maoism played during the construction of the CPP, which after all was founded on Mao's 75th*

birthday on 26 December 1968. Did Maoism's embrace mean to break with the previous PKP? Personally, how did you come to Mao and how did his thought influence you? To what extent were you compelled by the Chinese Cultural Revolution?

JMS: We as proletarian revolutionaries broke away from the old CP which we called the Lavaite revisionist party on issues directly pertaining to its history since 1942 up to the circumstances of 1964 to 1966 in the Philippines as well as pertaining to international issues, especially the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism.

We were critical of the subjectivist and opportunist errors of the series of general secretaries from the same family from 1942 to 1964 and to the revisionist line of their followers that armed struggle should be avoided and that the legal mass movement should run on indefinitely without any clear plan to resume the armed struggle. We took the position that within the next 4 or 5 years the armed revolution should resume on the basis of the nationwide spread of the mass movement and the deep roots of the party among the workers and peasants.

On international issues, we stood firmly for Marxism-Leninism against Soviet modern revisionism. We took the side of the Chinese CP on all major issues in the ideological debate. We expressed our position frankly on these issues which the Lava revisionist renegades tried to avoid. At first, they posed as having no position and then being neutral or centrist from 1962 to 1964 and finally admitted that they were pro-Soviet revisionist after all.

We were guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in reestablishing the Communist Party of the Philippines. We applied this theory in the criticism, repudiation and rectification of the Lavaite errors that afflicted and weakened the old party from 1942 to the 1960s as well as in the analysis of Philippine history and the social circumstances and adoption of the general line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war against US imperialism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

I had the good fortune of being in China in August 1966, when the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) was just beginning. I had very enlightening conversations with members of the CPC Central Committee and the highest responsables of the CPC Higher Party School. I went back to China in 1967 to make a nationwide tour. It was at the seminar in Beijing to celebrate the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the "Talks at Yen'an Forum" when I met Comrade Mao Zedong personally. This was covered by the Beijing Review.

*5. Despite it being such a broad topic, which lessons might be drawn from the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution? How has this historical experience been studied by the Philippine revolutionary movement?*

JMS: Comrade Mao brought to a new and higher stage, the third stage, in the development of theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism, by putting forward the theory and practice of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship through cultural revolution (starting with the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution) to combat revisionism, prevent the restoration of capitalism and consolidate socialism.

The GPCR brought to the peak Comrade Mao's theoretical and practical achievements along the Marxist-Leninist line. It is the most important component of Mao Zedong Thought on top of its other components. It serves to underscore the series of major contributions Comrade Mao made in philosophy, political economy, social science, rectification movement in party building and protracted people's war in the new democratic revolution. The CPP has sought to learn the principles and lessons involved in the theory and practice of the GPCR and in the earlier components of Mao Zedong Thought.

In philosophy, Mao elaborated on and developed Lenin's identification of the unity of opposites (divide into two) as the most fundamental law of materialist dialectics. He applied materialist dialectics in the process of gaining higher knowledge from the dialectics of theory and practice, in carrying out the new democratic revolution through people's war and undertaking socialist revolution and construction.

In political economy, Mao had the advantage of learning positive and negative lessons from Stalin's policy of socialist industrialization and agricultural collectivization. He criticized the revisionist reversal of socialist revolution and construction. And he put forward the line of self-reliant socialist construction by using the basic and heavy industries as the leading factor, agriculture as the base of the economy and light industry as the bridging factor under conditions of imperialist blockade, revisionist betrayal and natural calamity during the Great Leap Forward.

In social science, Mao developed further the theory and practice of the new democratic and socialist stages of the Chinese revolution. But his most important achievement in social science was in recognizing the problem of modern revisionism and the continuing fact of classes and class struggle in socialist society and in adopting

solutions. He put forward a series of campaigns to uphold, defend and advance socialism, such as the anti-Rightist campaign, the Great Leap Forward, the socialist education movement and ultimately the cultural revolution as he faced greater resistance from the revisionists and capitalist roaders within his party.

In party building, Mao adopted and developed further the Leninist teaching on building the proletarian vanguard party. He excelled at developing the rectification movement as the campaign for educating the Party cadres and members in Marxist-Leninist theory and practice, as the method for identifying the errors and weaknesses and for saving the patient from the disease and as the way for the Party to better serve the masses, mobilize them, let them acquire power and come under their supervision.

In people's war, Mao had already demonstrated how the toiling masses of workers and peasants could defeat an enemy that was superior in military equipment and trained personnel through the strategic line of protracted people's war by encircling the cities from the countryside in semicolonial and semifeudal countries. By winning the new democratic revolution through people's war, the revolutionary proletariat and the people obtain the state power to proceed to socialist revolution.

The theory and practice of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship through the GPCR was regarded as the greatest epoch-making contribution of Mao. It was aimed at combatting modern revisionism, preventing capitalist restoration and consolidating socialism. Even as the GPCR would be defeated by the Dengist counterrevolution, it still confirms and explains how socialism can be subverted and destroyed from within. Such a lesson will guide the forthcoming socialist revolutions.

We the Filipino proletarian revolutionaries have studied the GPCR as the answer to the problem of modern revisionism arising in socialist society in view of the degeneration of the bureaucrats and intelligentsia in the Soviet Union and elsewhere. At the same time, we benefited from its underscoring of the proletarian revolutionary line of Comrade Mao in the new democratic and socialist stages of the Chinese revolution.

Like the Paris Commune of 1871 being defeated by the bourgeoisie, the GPCR was defeated by the Dengist counter-revolution and capitalist restoration but it laid down the basic principles and methods for future adoption and further development in confronting the problem of revisionism and degeneration in future socialist societies.

*6. The restoration of Capitalism in China did not stop the revolutionary movements that were taking place in India or in the Philippines, as well as those which would develop later in Peru or Nepal. How do you view absence or waning of revolutionary movements across the globe, other than the Philippine movement itself and its counterpart in India? Do you consider it the result of an ideological crisis, and therefore a political crisis, within Maoism?*

JMS: We can be confident that the ever recurrent and ever worsening crisis of overproduction and the tendency of imperialist powers to use state terrorism and wage wars of aggression generate the conditions for the irrepressible rise of anti-imperialist and democratic struggles and the resurgence of the world proletarian revolution, despite the twists and turns and setbacks that it might undergo. Let me explain.

In my lifetime, I saw how the world anti-imperialist struggle and proletarian revolution peaked in the 1950s, with one third of humanity already governed by communist and worker parties and the national liberation movements advancing against colonialism, imperialism and neocolonialism, after the fascist powers failed to destroy the Soviet Union and stop the Chinese revolution. Then, the Soviet Union itself came under revisionist rule in 1956 and so did China in 1976. Both became capitalist, with the Soviet Union collapsing in 1991.

From 1991 to sometime around 2008, the US enjoyed being the winner in the Cold War sole superpower in a so-called unipolar world while the recurrently worsening crisis of overproduction and the endless US wars of aggression accelerated the strategic decline of the US. The US and China became main partners in the propagation of the neoliberal policy of imperialist globalization for four decades. Now, they are locked in a bitter inter-imperialist competition and rivalry. The capitalist restoration in both the Soviet Union and China has aggravated in a big and deep-going away the crisis of the world capitalist system.

The advance of anti-imperialism, democracy and socialism is cumulative but is not always on a straight line. There are the twists and turns, ups and downs in history on varying scales of geography and time. On the whole at the moment, we the proletarian revolutionaries observe the intensifying inter-imperialist contradictions and the unravelling of the extremely anti-proletarian and anti-people policy of neoliberalism. We now see the rise of the anti-imperialist and democratic struggles all over the world. And we can see the conditions for the resurgence of the world proletarian revolution precisely because of the intensifying inter-imperialist conflicts.

The revolutionary movements in the Philippines, India and elsewhere can take pride in the fact that they have

continuously stood up as torch bearers of the world proletarian revolution even in the decades of setbacks of the socialist cause on a global scale and decline of certain revolutionary movements as those in Peru or the cooptation of other revolutionary movements as in Nepal. But the conditions have arisen once more for the resurgence of the anti-imperialist struggles and the resurgence of the world proletarian revolution.

Revolutionary movements have their own share of errors and weaknesses from time to time but Comrade Mao has provided the principles and methods of the rectification movement. Entire revolutionary movements may suffer a big decline like that in Peru where the first ten years of its armed struggle in the 1980s was very heroic and promising. But only the proletarian revolutionaries in that country can rectify the errors and weaknesses of the movement. That is also true in the case of Nepal in which the Prachanda party in power is now being challenged by proletarian revolutionaries who are striving to resume the people's war.

*7. I would like to pose the same question regarding People's War in Nepal, which, as you already know, concluded with the revisionist's victory. What reasons do you think lies behind the defeat of Nepal's revolutionary movement, a revolution which in fact was relatively close to achieving the victory over the State? What is the CPP's position regarding to Prachandaist revisionism and the current situation in Nepal?*

JMS: Like the people's war in Peru, that in Nepal was a ten-year phenomenon which was brilliantly carried out up to the point of inflicting hard and heavy blows on enemy military forces based in Kathmandu, forcing the bourgeoisie to compromise and even the monarchy to dissolve. The Prachanda leadership stopped the people's war before it could smash totally the bureaucratic and military machinery of the reactionary state and was satisfied with the dissolution of the monarchy as the victory of the democratic revolution.

But the Marxist-Leninist line is for the proletariat through its revolutionary party to lead the new democratic revolution and to seize political power in order to commence the socialist revolution. It is not merely to overthrow the feudal monarchy but more essentially the bourgeois state. Otherwise what purports to be a proletarian revolutionary party is merely performing a bourgeois liberal task and backing out of the proletarian-socialist revolution.

*8. How do you regard the People's War led by the Communist Party of Peru – Shining Path? And your opinion on Chairman Gonzalo?*

JMS: The people's war in Peru broke out in the early 1980s as an exceedingly happy and inspiring event for the proletariat and people not only in Peru but in the whole world in the face of dismal events, such as the Dengist counterrevolution and capitalist restoration in China adding up to the continuing degeneration of Soviet modern revisionism and to the self-defeating adventures of Soviet social imperialism.

But I think that certain problems or errors afflicted the party leadership and revolutionary movement and made them decline in the course of their ten years of armed struggle, especially after the capture of Abimael Guzman. But it is up to the proletarian revolutionaries of Peru to do their criticism and rectification of errors, even as many revolutionary observers have noted that the Gonzalo leadership had been ultra-Left sectarian and failed to use the united front fully as one more weapon in the course of the people's war and that after his capture he swung to the Right by toying with peace negotiations as his possible way out of prison, with no safeguards against confusing the revolutionaries and the masses.

*9. Historically, Great Leadership has been Maoism's hallmark, but unlike what happened in Peru, your role in Philippines has been substantially different? Could you elaborate on this?*

JMS: Out of modesty, the Chinese comrades even during the enthusiastic years of the GPCR shied away from touting Mao Zedong Thought as Maoism as if on the same plane as Marxism and Leninism, even as paradoxically they asserted that Mao Zedong Thought was the third and so far the highest stage of the development of the theory and practice of the revolutionary proletariat. As label to the great contributions of Mao, Mao Zedong Thought had evolved from previous labels like "Mao thinking" and then "Mao thought", with a small letter t.

It is to the credit of the CP of Peru and the RIM that they were ahead of all other entities in using the label Maoism to supplant Mao Zedong Thought. But they were not only for the symmetry of Maoism in relation to Marxism and Leninism. They claimed that in adopting the label of Maoism they were determining and defining its content to shame all other CPs for being off the line by not using the term Maoism. Worst of all, Gonzalo or the CP of Peru adopted the phrase, Gonzalo Thought, with the immodest claim that the phrase signified his own definition of Maoism as the third stage of Marxism-Leninism and his Thought as the brilliant further development, despite the fact that he had not yet won total victory in the Peruvian revolution.

The CPP in 1994 and soon after the CP of India (People's War, later Maoist) followed suit in using the word Maoism in lieu of Mao Zedong Thought for definite reasons: First, they accept the great contributions of Mao to the development of theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism constituting the third stage after Marxism and Leninism; and second, it is a matter of language symmetry to use Maoism instead of Mao Zedong Thought alongside Marxism and Leninism

To this day, CPP frowns on the immodest practice of certain parties naming their guiding theory after their principal leaders, like Gonzalo Thought, Prachanda Path and Avakian's New Synthesis. These labels are immodest and are manifestations of puerile idolatry and the leaders' own self-indulgence and self-glorification. Communists should selflessly do the best they can to wage and advance the revolution and forget about seeking personal fame or claiming for oneself the credit that belongs to the revolutionary forces of the proletariat and the people. It was not Marx and Lenin themselves who labelled their collection of ideas and actions with their respective names.

*10. Going back to the ideological crisis seemingly haunting Maoism, how do you assess the fact that both Naxalites and Filipinos have not been able to serve as support bases to relaunch the Revolution in other countries?*

JMS: The very cause of socialism has been in crisis in the last 70 years because of the rise of modern revisionism in the Soviet Union and then in China, the restoration of capitalism in these two big countries and the imposition of neoliberalism on the whole world by the imperialist powers. It is a good thing that in the last 50 years there have been Maoist parties leading the armed revolution in the Philippines and India, with current populations of more than 100 million and 1.38 billion, respectively.

Compared to the far bigger crisis of socialism in the last 70 years, it is much less of a crisis of any kind, ideological or otherwise, that so far it seems only the CPP and CPI (Maoist) are carrying out armed revolutions that have a socialist perspective. It is a good thing that these two parties are engaged without let-up in armed revolution. But there are other Maoist parties in other countries already waging armed revolution or preparing for it, despite let-downs in the decline of armed revolution in Peru and the revisionist turnaround of Prachanda in Nepal. The rapid worsening of the crisis of the world capitalist system and the rise of anti-imperialist struggles on a widening scale signal the resurgence of the world proletarian-socialist revolution.

The CPP and the CP of India (Maoist) are parties that seriously carry out the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war in their respective countries. They also seriously carry out international work in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and anti-imperialist solidarity with all peoples. They are conscious of their revolutionary struggles being contributory to the world proletarian revolution, seek international support and are ever ready to share their ideas and experience.

But neither of them claims to be the leader or center of the world proletarian revolution. They have joined anti-imperialist as well as communist international organizations, conferences and seminars. But they do not make the immodest claim of being the center of authority or line-setter for the entire communist movement, unlike certain small groups calling themselves Maoists and exaggerating one component of Maoism like protracted people's war and obfuscating other components of Maoism.

Like those who were called infantile communists by Lenin, there are infantile Maoists whose main activity is to prance around and preach dogmatically that protracted people's war is doable at all times in all kinds of countries irrespective of the actual state of domestic social conditions and inter-imperialist conflicts. But if you look at the biographies of these infantilists in imperialist countries, they have been babbling about people's war for at least two decades to make themselves look superior to the real Maoists who are actually waging protracted people's wars.

These pseudo-Maoists do not do any serious mass work and do not set up any self-defense organization among the people for possible armed resistance. They are little chicks in comparison to the fascist gangs. These infantile Maoists are a fringe phenomenon and do not involve or cause any serious crisis of Maoism. Neither is it a crisis that certain genuine Maoist parties are still in the process of trying to reach the level of armed struggle and prominence already achieved by the CPP and the CPI (Maoist).

*11. In 1977 you were arrested by the Marcos dictatorship, and would not be released from prison until 1986 under the new Corazon Aquino government and her "national reconciliation" policies. However, shortly after that you had to go into exile, and since then you remain in Utrecht. Could you narrate how your imprisonment was and what it meant for the revolutionary movement? In a context of increasing repression, how did the party confront the arrest of its main*

leader?

JMS: I am happy and proud to say that when I was captured in 1977 the ideological, political and organizational foundation of the revolutionary movement had become solid and strong. The Marxist-Leninist ideological and political line was well-established by basic, intermediate and advanced courses of study among CPP cadres and members, by the rectification movement against the Lavaite errors from 1942 onward ("Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party") and by the analysis of Philippine history and society and (Amado Guerrero's book *Philippine Society and Revolution*) and by the CPP Program for a People's Democratic Revolution.

From a little over 100 CPP members in 1969, they were already in the thousands in 1977, nationwide in scale and deeply rooted among the workers and peasants. From only nine automatic rifles at the start in 1969, the NPA had increased them to more than 2000 automatic rifles in 1977. From only tens of thousands of mass activists in 1968, they were already in the hundreds of thousands in various types of mass organizations in 1977. The rural mass base had been 80,000 in only one district in Tarlac in 1969. There was a total of two million people as mass base in some 40 guerrilla fronts in 1977. They were also under the governance of the local organs of political power or the people's democratic government.

The foundation of the revolutionary movement was so strong that it could withstand the major errors of subjectivism and opportunism in various regions at various times from 1981 to 1991. These errors could not stop the general advance of the movement even if they reduced the rate of advance. They became the target of timely rectification campaigns as well as the Second Great Rectification Movement from 1992 to 1998, under the guidance of the CPP document "Reaffirm Basic Principles and Rectify Errors".

When the fascist dictator Marcos was overthrown by gigantic mass actions and by withdrawal of support from him by the reactionary armed forces, the CPP had only about 6000 full-time Red fighters with automatic rifles nationwide. These were not enough for seizing any major city and changing the balance of forces which was still in favor of the US and the reactionary classes. But the broad antifascist united front was strong enough to free all political prisoners, including myself. The legal forces of the national democratic movement was a formidable and decisive force in mobilizing the gigantic mass actions.

I went back to the university to teach political science for one semester and had the opportunity to write a book *Philippine Crisis and Revolution* to confront the pseudo-democratic government of Cory Aquino before I left the Philippines on August 31, 1986 for a lecture tour in the Asia Pacific region. Just like my political detention from 1977 to 1986, my stay abroad from the latter part of 1986 to the present has not adversely affected the general advance of the revolutionary movement in the Philippines. I intended to return home but the Aquino government cancelled my passport and fabricated a new charge of subversion against me. Thus, I was constrained to seek political asylum in The Netherlands, instead of delivering myself to the enemy.

*12. The "EDSA Revolution" took place in 1986, leading to the end of Marcos' dictatorship. It can be asserted that during this period the Communist Party and the New People's Army presented themselves as the vanguard of this democratic movement. However, it was Corazón Aquino, supported by the USA, who finally managed to take the control of the country. How did the revolutionary movement face this historical moment? What mistakes led to the later dissolution of many political cadres?*

JMS: Since its founding in 1968, the CPP had always described itself as the advanced detachment of the Filipino working class and as the leading force in the people's democratic revolution as a matter of principle, policy and line. The extent of development of the revolutionary movement was significantly large despite the tremendous odds but it was not yet enough to overthrow the entire ruling system. It was just enough to cause the overthrow of the Marcos fascist dictatorship and participate in the broad united front to overthrow Marcos and release all the political prisoners. US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists were still dominant.

During the 14-year resistance against the fascist dictatorship from 1972 to 1986, the CPP had grown to some tens of thousands. The NPA had acquired 6000 automatic rifles through armed struggle and had organized auxiliary and reserve forces like the people's militia and the self-defense units of the mass organizations. A few millions of people were in underground mass organizations and under the governance of the people's democratic government. The legal mass organizations of the national democratic movement could muster hundreds of thousands of demonstrations in Manila. But these were not enough to overthrow the entire ruling system.

As part of consolidating her power, Cory Aquino asked for ceasefire negotiations in Manila. A ceasefire

agreement for 60 days was reached for the purpose of negotiating the substantive agenda for the peace negotiations. But the ceasefire negotiations were surveilled by enemy intelligence and would lead to the arrest and killing of some negotiators and staff. Before the ceasefire agreement ran out, the presidential security guards murdered and injured peasant demonstrators and their urban supporters in the infamous massacre near the presidential palace on January 23, 1987. This led to the discredit of the Aquino regime and further inflamed the people's war.

The most important guarantee for the continuance of the Philippine revolution is the perseverance of the CPP, NPA and NDFP on the road of protracted people's war along the line of the people's democratic revolution with a socialist perspective. In time of a crackdown on patriotic and democratic forces in urban areas, they have somewhere to go in the countryside in order to fight even better and in a more advantageous way for the national and social liberation of the people.

*13. In 1992, as you argue in your texts, the Second Great Rectification Movement was launched to correct errors of the party's political line and the deviations thereof. Both of a left and right-wing nature. Would you say that the revolutionary movement was strengthened? To what extent were the objectives of the Second Great Movement of Rectification achieved for the current revolutionary period?*

JMS: The Second Great Rectification Movement (SGRM) was launched in 1992 to rectify the subjectivist and opportunist deviations from the CPP's correct ideological, political and organizations line. The CPP and the revolutionary movement became much stronger as a result of the SGRM). They became more vigorous and more productive.

Mass work was emphasized to make up for the loss of mass base due to the premature formation of NPA companies and neglect of mass work. Increased Party recruitment and expansion of mass organizations also made up for the loss of CPP members and activists who had been punished without due process by the "Left" opportunists when their line was grossly failing from 1985 to 1988.

Where the errors had taken effect, the rectification movement resulted in the reinvigoration of the revolutionary forces and expansion of the mass base. The strong guerrilla fronts helped the guerrilla fronts that had been weakened by the errors. Before 2000, the NPA was able to kill one general in the field and capture another one. And a third general defected to the NPA.

I cite the cases of these generals to indicate that the revolutionary movement became stronger and was successful in both annihilation and disintegration of the enemy. By 2000 and 2001, the CPP was once more able to cause the overthrow of a president, Joseph Estrada, for corruption but also once more could not yet overthrow the entire ruling system.

Because of the SGRM, the revolutionary movement made great strides up to 2005. The CPP membership grew by some tens of thousands. The guerrilla fronts increased to more than 120 from about 40 in 1986. The NPA increased by the thousands and exceeded the losses in areas where these resulted from errors.

The underground mass organizations and the local organs of political power continued to gain adherents by the millions. But there was a downside to the emphasis on mass work by the SGRM to combat the purely military viewpoint and the previous premature regularization of NPA forces in the 1980s.

All NPA units were so preoccupied with mass work that they could not respond effectively with counter-offensives against the enemy campaigns of suppression from 2005 onward. It would take some time before the decision was made to have one third of every NPA platoon and company on combat duty with short rest periods and two-thirds for mass work.

Combatants are rotated so that everyone has combat experience and contribute to the drive for increasing the arms of the NPA by launching tactical offensives to wipe out enemy units. The long-running plan of the CPP is to raise the armed strength of the NPA from 10,000 high-powered rifles to 25,000 in order to reach the strategic stalemate and launch tactical offensives with companies and battalions.

*14. The NPA promotes the creation of "New Power" and the "People's government", what do they consist of and how are they organized? What role does "Remolding" play in this in the last decades?*

JMS: Building the new power or the people's democratic government means creating the local organs of political power from the level of villages up to the municipal, district and provincial levels. The people's government serves to shadow the reactionary government and render services to the people by carrying out land reform, raising production, improving the social infrastructure, providing health, education and other social services, settlement of disputes, internal security and people's self-defense, disaster relief and environmental

protection.

Depending on the circumstances, the Red organs of political power can either fight and supplant the local governments of the reactionary classes or engage them in united front cooperation against the higher level of reactionary government or the entire national reactionary government. The Filipino people are quite experienced in having their own revolutionary system of government against a foreign colonial power or a tyrannical government.

Remoulding means ideological, political and moral remoulding. The proletarian revolutionaries of whatever class origin should take the proletarian class stand by grasping the basic concepts of Marxism-Leninism not only by reading books and attending formal courses of study but having close relations with the toiling masses, learning from them through social investigation and class analysis, engaging in mass

work to arouse, organize and mobilize them and joining them the struggles to advance the revolution.

*15. One of the main questions which the revolutionary movement must address concerns the entry in urban centres. This seems to be a military question pertaining to the guerrilla's work and which strategy to pursue. Nonetheless, it could also be linked to the relationship between the Party and the people and how both connect. In this way, what efforts are being undertaken to achieve the aforementioned aims?*

JMS: Prior to the resumption of the armed revolution in 1969, there was nearly a decade of developing the legal anti-imperialist and antifeudal or national democratic movement. The legal forces of this movement prepared the ideological, political and organizational factors for resuming the armed revolution. Even when Marcos outlawed them when he proclaimed martial law in 1972, the aforesaid forces went underground and facilitated the integration of thousands of mass activists in the armed revolutionary movement.

In the specific conditions of the Philippines, encircling the cities from the countryside in the protracted people's war, involves a certain class line. It means that the revolutionary party of the proletariat must base itself among the peasant masses as the basic revolutionary ally of the proletariat. The great number of peasants and the vast scale of the countryside provide the wide social and physical terrain for maneuver in order to preserve the people's army, fight the enemy and accumulate arms seized from the enemy through ambushes and raids.

At the current strategic defensive stage of the people's war in the Philippines, the CPP has stressed waging intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. The CPP hopes to produce from the guerrilla warfare squads, platoons and companies in the maturation of the strategic defensive the companies and battalions that shall carry out regular mobile warfare in the strategic stalemate.

While the revolutionary armed struggle is mainly in the countryside in the Philippines, the NPA has also the armed city partisans and commando units to carry out certain types of offensives in urban areas, highways and centers of logging, plantations and mining operations. These are areas relatively well-guarded by the enemy but they are isolated and vulnerable. With mass support, the NPA can learn how to approach and attack these targets. Tactical offensives against valuable sites of the enemy compels him to take defensive positions and have less forces for offensives against the NPA in the countryside,

*16. How has the NPA developed its relations with the native people? How does the NPA manage to respect native culture with the idea of building a new society?*

JMS: Since the years of developing the national democratic movement in the 1960s and since the resumption of the reestablishment of the CPP in 1968, serious attention has been paid by the revolutionary movement to indigenous people who are some 15 per cent of the population but occupy large parts of the Philippine territory, which are in the hilly and mountainous regions and are favorable for people's war. It was of the highest social concern of the CPP that their oppression and exploitation must be solved, that they exercise their right to national self-determination, wage revolution for their national and social liberation, enjoy respect for their previous roles in the revolutionary struggles against colonialism and imperialism and for their cultural heritage and avail of their terrain which is exceedingly favorable for people's war.

The CPP, NPA, NDFP and the mass organizations gave the highest priority to the political education and organization of the workers, peasants, students, teachers and other professionals from the indigenous communities. Thus, since the beginning, they have played a major role in the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war. Many of them have become leading cadres in the central and regional organs of all revolutionary forces. And their peoples enjoy self-determination, autonomy and self-government in their communities. Where the local communities are mixed in border areas, the rule of proportionate representation is

followed in order to allow their participation in discussing issues and making decisions.

The Program of People's Democratic evolution which is being implemented by the CPP, NPA, NDFP, the mass organizations and the local organs of political power criticizes the oppression and exploitation of the indigenous people and other national minorities in the following terms: "National minorities in the Philippines have been abused and grossly neglected. US imperialism, the local reactionary government and the Christian churches have too long regarded the national minorities as mere objects of bourgeois charity and Christian proselytization. The four-million people belonging to the national minorities, especially those of Mindanao and the mountain provinces, can be powerful participants in the revolutionary overthrow of US imperialism and feudalism. The bourgeois government, reactionary scholars and Christian chauvinists talk loud about national integration but they stand in reality for the exploiting classes that are the main sources of abuse and oppression".

The Program declares the following course of action: "The main concern of the national minorities is land; the abuses of landlords, loggers and landgrabbers; and exploitation in mines and plantations. A new type of leadership, a revolutionary one must be encouraged to rise among them so as to supplant the traditional leadership that has failed to protect them and has merely contributed to and participated in their exploitation. With regard to naturalized Filipinos and foreign nationals, the class approach must be firmly taken so as to do away with "Malay" racism and chauvinism".

*17. Focusing now on the affective relationships between individuals who live within the New Power bases created by the NPA where it is assumed that a couple's matters affect those involved the community or corresponding unit. Seeing that in the stages leading to socialism there is a coexistence of elements belonging to the class society and those representing the new society that is to come, can the institution of marriage be explained as the product of class society?*

JMS: The CPP has promulgated a Code on Family Relations for Party members and the masses. When a Party member intends to court someone, he or she must inform his or her Party branch. If the other party in the courtship is not a Party member, efforts are exerted to develop him or her at least a Party candidate-member before the marriage is approved and realized so that the couple will be helpful to each other in revolutionary work. The couple are required to remould themselves and develop as proletarian revolutionaries.

There is the assumption of romantic or sexual attraction between the parties in the courtship but the relations must be developed and raised to the level of proletarian class love and revolutionary partnership. Marriage among Party members is monogamous. And there is a recourse to divorce if incompatibility, infidelity or political betrayal by the offending party is proven. Care of the children if any is taken into account.

Among the masses in the guerrilla fronts, the most responsible official of the people's democratic government, the CPP, NPA or any of the mass organizations concerned can approve the marriage and be the officiating officer. But the partners may also get married upon the approval of their religious organization of choice. They may step out of the guerrilla front to hold the marriage ceremony officiated by an official of the reactionary government or religious organization, as a matter of social custom, a matter of united front policy and a matter of letting as many relatives and friends as possible of the couple to attend the marriage ceremony.

All couples, whether they belong to the CPP or not, are required to follow the policies, laws and regulations that govern family relations and all matters pertaining to good social relations for the benefit of the community. Good social relations involve respect for fundamental freedoms and democratic rights and cooperation to realize social, economic, political and cultural reforms for attaining social justice and better conditions of life.

*18. In 2016, Duterte's election victory was welcomed as an opportunity to relaunch the peace negotiations and as a president who could be progressive against US imperialism. How do you assess those positions? Were they correct?*

JMS: Duterte had a long record of being a bureaucrat capitalist and an unreliable and unstable ally of the NDFP in Southern Mindanao in a number of struggles against the common enemies, including the reactionary military and other bureaucrat capitalists. One more point: he was a former student of mine in political science and became a member of the Kabataang Makabayan.

When he became presidential candidate, he offered to form a coalition government with the NDFP if elected and unconditionally to amnesty and release all political prisoners even before the start of the peace negotiations. Still the electoral parties of the legal democratic movement, the Makabayan Bloc, did not support him but Grace Poe. Even then, Duterte offered peace negotiations when he became president.

He did not issue any general amnesty for all political prisoners but offered to appoint to his cabinet four communists to entrap the CPP in the position of capitulation. But I told him publicly to appoint people on their

individual merits because there was yet no peace agreement. Instead of amnesty for all political prisoners, only 19 of them were released and he tried to obtain indefinite protracted ceasefire in exchange. We rebuffed him. Thus, the peace negotiations practically died in the water in April 2017 although there were actions and statements from both sides manifesting both break down of the peace negotiations and attempts to revive the peace negotiations.

In undertaking peace negotiations, the CPP and NDFP have to be guided united front policy and tactics. They could not just dismiss the Duterte's offer peace negotiations without exposing him first as being actually hostile to peace negotiations. To reject outright Duterte's offer of peace negotiations would have made the CPP and NDFP appear as the bellicose party and they would thus be offending the broad range of peace advocates and millions of people.

*19. There is a clear trend to identify Duterte's government and Marcos' dictatorship. It is obvious that Duterte is undertaking a repressive policy against the Filipino people which might be similar to Marcos' rule. How may this strategy when addressed by the Party be advantageous for the revolutionary movement, taking into account the experience of the so-called "EDSA Revolution" ?What result can the revolutionary movement expect from an eventual fall of Duterte?*

JMS: As you observe, it is positive or beneficial for the revolutionary movement to stress the similarity of the Marcos and Duterte regimes for taking a repressive policy against the Filipino people. Indeed, they are similar in engaging in the open rule of terror. Duterte has signed into law his state terrorism law in the name of anti-terrorism. And he openly idolizes Marcos and emulates him in butchery and plunder.

If Duterte were to fall before or soon after 2022, it will be because of gigantic mass actions and the consequent withdrawal of support from him by the pro-US reactionary military officers. These pro-US military officers will still be able to transfer power to the Vice President or the opposition presidential candidate in 2022 in a way similar to the instalment of Cory Aquino as president in 1986. The legal forces of the national democratic movement have the capacity to mobilize people for gigantic mass actions. But the NPA does not yet have enough armed strength to seize power in Manila.

In the meantime, it is best for the NPA to accumulate armed strength in the countryside and help the people's government to strengthen itself there. All efforts are exerted to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance, win over the middle social strata and take advantage of the splits among the reactionaries. The best thing that can happen by way of taking advantage of the splits among the reactionaries is when they fight each other violently. But that is not yet going to happen soon.

*20. What is the current situation in Philippines after the pandemic? How has been this situation been managed by the Filipino Revolutionary Movement and which work or task has been set with regard to Filipino People?*

JMS: Even before the COVID-19 pandemic, the crisis of the ruling system had become worse than ever before. Since the pandemic lockdowns, Duterte has used his emergency powers to apply more repressive measures against the people and steal the public money promised to support the medical fight against the pandemic and to provide economic assistance to the people who have been deprived of their jobs and other means of livelihood. The people are hungry and exceedingly angry against the Duterte regime.

The legal forces of the national democratic movement are using the social media and webinars to take up issues against the regime and encourage the arousal, organization and mobilization of the people in all possible ways despite the lockdowns implemented by the military and police.

In the countryside, the revolutionary forces have more freedom of action because of lessened number of troops as a result of their preoccupation with enforcing the lockdowns. But in a number of areas in the countryside, the military are engaged in so-called focused military operations. But the space is wide in the countryside for maneuver by the NPA for the purpose of evasion, defense or offense.

*21. Amid a global pandemic, toward which direction does Duterte's bourgeois foreign policy point to? Is it still favourable towards the USA or do you think it is shifting in towards China?*

JMS: Duterte has always remained loyal to US imperialism. He has retained all treaties, agreements and arrangements that make the US still dominant over the Philippine economy, politics, culture and the military. And the big deal between the US and Duterte is for the latter to eliminate the armed revolution and give the US unlimited ownership of land, natural resources, public utilities and all businesses.

The big deal between the Duterte and China is for the latter to deliver the promised high interest loans amounting to USD 24 billion for overpriced infrastructure projects. But China has been slow on fulfilling its

promise because it wants Duterte first to surrender in an outright and flagrant manner Philippine sovereign rights over the West Philippine Sea. Duterte is getting more Chinese money from the Chinese criminal triads smuggling in illegal drugs and operating casinos in the Philippines.

Serving two imperialist powers that are now conflicting can become a big problem for Duterte. He has allowed China to build and militarize seven artificial islands in the West Philippine Sea, to own 40 percent of the national power grid and worst of all to have China Telecom erect cell towers in military camps and assist the military and police in improving their communications system. At the same time, the US maintains personnel and facilities in these military camps under the Visiting Forces Agreement and Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement.

22. *What is the position adopted by the CPP as to the existing rivalry between China and the USA, currently materialised by a trade war?*

JMS: The CPP condemns the US and China as imperialist powers because of their respective violations of Philippine national sovereignty. The US and China were the two main partners in the propagation of the neoliberal policy in the last four decades. But now they are increasingly in conflict with each other because the US policy makers have come to the conclusion that China has taken advantage of its two-tiered economy (state capitalism and private capitalism) to achieve strategic economic and military goals, has manipulated trade and currency policies to gain undue advantage, has used its export surplus and foreign exchange reserves to export capital and take over markets and has stolen US technology from US subsidiaries in China and research laboratories in the US

The US government has to blame China in order to mislead the American public about the crisis of overproduction in the world capitalist system, to obfuscate the fact that the US government had committed the folly of overspending for US military forces abroad and for wars of aggression and making concessions to China such as outsourcing manufacturing to it (to avail of cheaper Chinese labor at the expense of employment in the US), increasing US investments in China after the mass uprisings of 1989 in scores of Chinese cities and allowing China to enjoy large trade surpluses and to undertake ambitious projects like the Belt and Road Initiative.

The crisis of overproduction in the world capitalist system has become so bad that the inter-imperialist contradictions are worsening and the service sector and public debt bubbles are already in the process of implosion. The inter-imperialist contradictions of the US and China have taken center stage because they are now the biggest economies and the US finds convenient as well as necessary to oppose China as its chief economic rival capable of reproducing and rebranding products that used to carry US brands and as its main political rival with hi-tech military weapons.

23. *Given the current situation characterised by an increase of global tensions and struggle among imperialist powers, how do you assess the current international situation? Is there any country which might bolster Philippines' revolution? What is your opinion about countries such as Cuba, North Korea, or Venezuela?*

JMS: Neoliberalism is unravelling. It has served to aggravate the crisis of overproduction. The inter-imperialist contradictions are intensifying. The US and China are now cutting each other down. We can expect that the imperialist powers become more engrossed with their own internal problems even as they are at the same time entangled in inter-imperialist contradictions and they overextend themselves in so many other countries in acts of aggression.

The worsening crisis of the world capitalist system is generating conditions favorable to the Philippine revolution. Being in an archipelago, the Filipino people have to be self-reliant in waging revolutionary struggle. In their history, they were able to defeat Spanish people and were the very Asian people to defeat a Western power and then they were able to give a good fight against the rising imperialist power of the US from 1899 onward.

I admire the anti-imperialist forces and peoples of Cuba, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and in other countries for standing up against US imperialism and waging struggles against it and its lackeys. Their just struggles serve to support the Philippine revolution. In turn, the Philippine revolution supports their own struggles.

Good if the US gets tied down in its own home ground and in many other countries so that it has less force to focus on the Philippines. It is also good if any revolutionary force in another country can extend moral support and concrete assistance to help the Filipino people in their revolutionary struggle. But it is best that the Filipino people rely on themselves and not to become dependent on foreign assistance even when it materializes.

The ongoing people's democratic revolution in the Philippines has proven that it can grow in strength and advance even as the big socialist countries are gone and no foreign country of whatever kind has extended any kind of assistance for the armed revolution. The Filipino people are confident that they will be making greater strides on their own as the crisis of the world capitalist system worsens and the imperialist powers and the local reactionary classes find themselves in a worse situation than ever before.

24. *In one of your documents, "On the Question of People's War in Industrial Capitalist Countries" you deny any chance of waging a People's War in an imperialist centre. Can you elaborate on this? What should be the role played by revolutionaries in these countries? How can the revolutionary proletariat get constituted as ruling class if it is not applying the tenets of the People's War?*

JMS: To be precise, I have stated that the protracted people's war that is possible and viable in a semicolonial and semifeudal society like pre-1949 China and current India and Philippines cannot be universally doable in any imperialist country at any time. Under conditions of direct inter-imperialist war like World War II, without the use of nuclear weapons, it was still possible to do partisan or guerrilla warfare for a number of years in both the urban and rural areas of Western Europe.

Right now, the farm population in the imperialist countries has become quite small. In both the US and Norway where a few infantile Maoists are blabbering about carrying out a protracted people's war, the farm population is around two per cent of the national population and consists of both monopoly farm capitalists and rich farmers, using a great deal of mechanization, unlike the traditional landlords of China exploiting a great mass of poor and middle peasants using primitive tools of agriculture.

Mao's strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside in protracted people's war works in countries where the peasants are the majority of the national population and the semi-feudal economy is in chronic crisis. Mao himself said that protracted people's war, which could be done in China, cannot be done in any imperialist country with a highly unified and centralized economy and system of communications and with a paucity of poor and middle peasants.

Let the infantile Maoists start armed struggle now in the countryside of the US or Norway. They will be wiped out in less than 30 minutes by SWAT teams of the local police. Until now, no group advocating protracted people's war has started it in any imperialist country. Small conspiratorial armed groups with no wide mass base among the workers or in an oppressed national community can go far within an imperialist country, as soon as the shooting starts.

There should be no confusion between Mao's practice of protracted people's war in semicolonial and semifeudal China as a particular form of warfare and the general Marxist concept of the proletariat overthrowing the bourgeois state by armed force as taught since a long time ago by the Communist Manifesto. Especially when a group calls itself Maoist, it should understand why protracted peoples war was possible in China and why since then we have not seen such type of warfare occurring and succeeding in the imperialist countries.

Revolutionaries in imperialist countries can propagate the line in the Communist Manifesto, Civil War in France and in Lenin's State and Revolution for the proletariat to establish its class dictatorship by overthrowing the bourgeois state. Towards that goal, the communists can develop a strong working class movement through effective ideological, political and organizational work attuned to the worsening crisis of the capitalist system and prepared to fight the desperate effort of the monopoly bourgeoisie to use fascism against the working class.

It is easily conceivable, based on historical experience and current circumstances, that politico-military preparations can be made for the overthrow of the monopoly bourgeoisie, such as exercises in mobilizing the people for mass protests and blockades against the class enemy, the formation and training of self-defense units in trade unions and other mass organizations as well as in communities, Bolshevik-style work within the imperialist army for future mass defections of the troops to the revolutionary side, discreet accumulation of weapons in the hands of the revolutionaries, and so on and forth.

25. *Has the CPP ever intended to reconstitute the Communist International? What do you think of the International Party and its role? Formerly within Maoist movement itself, there have been some attempts, where the Revolutionary International Movement can be highlighted. What is your opinion on this matter?*

JMS: I do not speak for the CPP in this interview. And I am not aware of any intention of the CPP to reconstitute the Communist International. But I think that it makes more sense for the CPP to do its best in leading the Philippine revolution for the time being in order to make significant advances and thus make a significant

contribution to the worldwide anti-imperialist struggle and to the resurgence of the world proletarian revolution.

Those communist parties with more resources and with more political space can try to bring together communist delegations from various countries for conferences or seminars. But I do not think that it is wise and workable for any party or group of parties to constitute any international party that puts various CPs under the principle of democratic centralism as the RIM tried to do. RIM got into deep trouble over issues like Gonzalo's reported desire for peace negotiations and then Avakian's new synthesis.

Since the dissolution of the Third International in 1943 due to the conditions of World War II, the concept of an international communist party treating communist parties of various countries as national sections has become outmoded. The principle and practice have been for communist parties of various countries to be equal and independent and respect each other as such, whether they are in power or not or whether they are big or small. They are responsible for the application of Marxism-Leninism in their respective countries, while they are bound by the spirit and principle of proletarian internationalism.

*26. What can the Philippine revolutionary movement contribute to the International Communist Movement? Is the Philippine revolutionary movement currently the ideological vanguard within the international communist movement?*

JMS: At the moment, the CPP can make a significant contribution to the international communist movement by leading the Philippine revolution and in the process by growing in strength and making advances in the struggle. When it wins the Philippine revolution, then it shall have the resources and political space to host international conferences or seminars in the Philippines. What the CPP can do now is to share its revolutionary experience and views on domestic and international issues with other communist parties through publications, conferences and seminars.

In the meantime, the International Department of the CPP can facilitate the participation of CPP delegations in international anti-imperialist conferences and seminars. The CPP is convinced that it takes the correct position on national and international events and issues. But I do not think that the CPP is inclined to proclaim itself immodestly as the ideological vanguard of the international communist movement. That is best proven by revolutionary practice rather than by any self-proclamation.

# ***The Armed Revolution Will Grow in Strength as Long as Imperialism, Feudalism and Bureaucrat Capitalism Persist***

December 26, 2020

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When the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army were still small and weak from 1968 to 1972, Marcos exaggerated their size and strength and referred to them as his pretext for imposing fascist dictatorship on the Filipino people. He was supposed to nip them in the bud. But instead the fascist dictatorship became the biggest stimulus for the armed revolution to gain strength and spread nationwide.

All successors of the Marcos regime have boasted of being able to destroy the armed revolution with campaigns of military suppression and deception. All have failed miserably. Now the Duterte regime is trying hard to surpass the state terrorism and brutality of the Marcos fascist dictatorship. He will continue to fail in his futile attempt to destroy the armed revolution and will continue to drive more people to take the road of armed revolution.

## ***The armed revolution continues to grow in strength***

As long as the root causes persist, the conditions for the growth of the armed revolution will be fertile and the reactionary government and its imperialist masters will fail to destroy it. The root causes are imperialism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. They are accountable for the gross underdevelopment, high unemployment and mass poverty. They determine the semicolonial and semifeudal character of the ruling system and are responsible for the brutal and corrupt government that tries to preserve the status quo.

The people and their revolutionary forces are determined to fight for national and social liberation. They will continue to carry out the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war until they achieve total victory. The revolutionary movement is the direct opposite to the tyrannical, traitorous, mass-murdering, plundering and swindling Duterte regime. The crimes of this regime drive the people to take the road of armed revolution.

The people can never accept suffering forever the worsening chronic crisis of the ruling system and the escalating conditions of oppression and exploitation. The armed revolutionary movement has been tempered by thousands of battles and has already spread nationwide and taken deep roots among the people, especially the workers and peasants. The reactionary armed forces have admitted that the New People's Army has wiped out more than 13,000 of their troops, while they have killed more than 40,000 civilians in blind actions of reprisal since 1969.

According to the publications of the Communist Party of the Philippines, the point now is to develop the guerrilla fronts in every region to become revolutionary base areas, bring about the maturation of the strategic defensive and enter the stage of the strategic stalemate in due course. The frequent tactical offensives by NPA platoons and companies in the strategic defensive will pass to frequent tactical offensives by NPA companies and battalions in the strategic stalemate. The time will surely come when NPA battalions and regiments will accomplish the strategic offensive on a nationwide scale.

In every guerrilla front today, the Communist Party, the New People's Army, the revolutionary mass organizations, alliances, the National Democratic Front and the people's democratic government are thriving. There is no way that the brutal and corrupt Duterte regime and its armed minions can destroy the armed revolution for so long as the people condemn them as instruments of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

Under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the universal theory of the revolutionary proletariat, the CPP has correctly set the program and general line of the people's democratic revolution through the strategic line of protracted people's war. It started with only some 80 Party members and candidate-members on December 26, 1968 with an urban mass following of some 10,000 workers and youth with political education in the new democratic revolution with a socialist perspective. Now, it has tens of thousands of Party members and a mass following in the millions.

Everyday, the CPP recruits and develops a large number of new cadres and members through theoretical and political education, mass work in various classes and sectors, armed struggle and establishing Party branches and groups in localities and various types of organizations. It is simply impossible for the Duterte regime and its armed minions to stop the growth of the CPP. Their military, police and paramilitary operatives are too limited to spy on the accelerated and widespread recruitment, education and training of CPP candidate-members.

In fact, they are goading more mass activists in the urban and rural areas to join the CPP and the armed revolution, especially because of the red-tagging, arbitrary arrests, torture and murder, which are being perpetrated with impunity. Reminiscent of the Marcos fascist dictatorship, there is an upsurge of mass activists who wish to join the New People's Army. The Red commanders and fighters are striving to launch more tactical offensives in order to provide arms to the increasing NPA recruits.

The CPP has absolute leadership over the NPA. It has set the strategic line of the protracted people's war, which is to encircle the cities from the countryside and accumulate strength until conditions become ripe for the seizure of the cities. The NPA has grown self-reliantly through tactical offensives from a force of only 60 Red fighters with only 9 automatic rifles and 26 inferior firearms to nearly 10,000, augmented by tens of thousands of members of the people's militia and hundreds of thousands of self-defense units of mass organizations.

The CPP leads millions of people in the countryside because the revolutionary armed struggle is integrated with agrarian revolution and with mass base-building through the mass organizations and the local organs of political power which constitute the people's democratic government. There are more than 110 guerrilla fronts in the rural areas of 17 regions and in 73 provinces. The people's democratic government being developed in the countryside aims to overthrow the reactionary state in due time in the strategic offensive.

The CPP is determined to solve the problem of conservatism by having two-thirds of the NPA devoted to mass work and one third devoted to armed tactical offensives with short rest periods. The Red commanders and fighters are rotated to carry out mass work and armed tactical offensives. But all the time the entire NPA is alert to adopt the correct defensive and counter-offensive measures. Whenever advantageous, without the risk of decisive engagement at the expense of any guerrilla front, the highest possible concentration of the NPA strength in a guerrilla front can be used in a planned series of tactical offensives against the enemy.

The flexible tactics necessary for a people's war of fluid movement are made possible by knowing the strong points and most vulnerable points of the revolutionary and enemy side and by using concentration, dispersal and shifting the strength of the NPA in order to frustrate and defeat the enemy. The constant surveillance of the enemy by the NPA and the people provides the knowledge of the limits of enemy strength and capabilities on varying scales and allows the CPP and NPA to take the initiative in carrying out tactical offensives. The strength and capabilities of the enemy are not limitless. In fact, they have become extremely limited by the nationwide development of the revolutionary movement in the last 52 years.

When the enemy attacks in superior force, the NPA can retreat to deprive him of a target but he is given a fair share of land mines, sniper fire and even a lightning ambush on any column of his that is isolated. While in retreat from any guerrilla front, the NPA and the people observe the weak points of the enemy for the purpose of soonest possible tactical counter-offensives.

Elsewhere, NPA units can take full initiative to launch tactical offensives against the most vulnerable points of the enemy, which include small-unit detachments of the military, police stations, paramilitary units, and the security guards of plantations, logging sites and mines.

The leading organs of the CPP and the commands of the NPA are well aware of the continuous US military support for the Duterte tyranny and the total strength and deployment of the reactionary armed forces, police and paramilitary forces. They are determined to avoid decisive engagements which put at risk the entire strength of any guerrilla front. But they are well determined to seize the initiative in launching counter-offensives against the weakest points of the enemy. The NPA has learned positive and lessons in the course of overcoming and frustrating the various scales and sizes of enemy operations (intelligence, psywar and combat) and the use of drones and bombings.

Around 124 battalions or 40 brigades of the reactionary armed forces are deployed in the eight priority regions of Southern Tagalog, Southern Mindanao, Eastern Visayas, North Central Mindanao, Bicol, Northeast Mindanao, Negros and Far South Mindanao. Around 23 battalions have been spread thinly in Western Mindanao, Cagayan Valley, Ilocos-Cordillera, Central Luzon, Panay and Central Visayas. While they fail to destroy the armed revolution, the fascists are out to enrich themselves and beat themselves in the civil war by wasting public money on military overspending. The military budget for 2020 is more than Php 200 billion, overshadowing the budget for any of the vital social services, especially education, health, public housing, disaster relief and so on.

The main foundation of the revolutionary united front is being developed by the National Democratic Front of the Philippines, with its comprehensive range of 18 allied organizations. This is the united front for armed

struggle. At the same time, there is the broad united front of the legal democratic forces of the basic toiling masses, the middle social strata and the conservative opposition that are not engaged in armed struggle. The conservative opposition continues to be weak because of the tendency of the traditional reactionary politicians to join whoever is the new president until this moves into his lameduck years and it becomes increasingly isolated and weak.

The Duterte regime is going crazy by using anticommunist witchhunts, spreading guilt by association and equating the CPP with the NDFP as the revolutionary united front as well as with the broad united front of legal democratic forces of the toiling masses, middle strata and the conservative opposition. Any individual, organization or institution can be accused of being “communist” and therefore “terrorist”.

The regime is engaged in blind red-tagging, slander, extortion, arbitrary arrests, torture and murder. All these are being done to realize state terrorism and fascist dictatorship under the so-called Anti-Terrorism Act. But they grievously offend the people and drive them in general to engage in various forms of struggle and the most threatened young militants to join the NPA.

### ***On the enemy's rejection of peace negotiations***

To the disgust of the social activists, peace advocates, human rights defenders and the broad masses of the people, the Duterte regime has terminated the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations and designated the CPP and NPA as “terrorist” organizations since 2017. It has nullified all previous agreements and engaged in a rampage of brutal murders directed against NDFP consultants and against the CPP and NPA with the clear objective of ending the peace negotiations once and for all time and allowing Duterte to become fascist dictator.

Since then, the Duterte regime has engaged in “localized peace talks” for the purpose of psywar and intelligence against those known as close relatives and friends of suspected revolutionaries, has compelled local units of the reactionary government to issue persona non grata declarations against the CPP and NPA, stage fake surrender ceremonies and fake military encounters with those killed extrajudicially and issue press releases about payments to the fake surrenderers and fake community development projects. But in fact, public money is openly being pocketed by the corrupt military officers.

Duterte no less has put to shame the retired and active military and police officers by declaring publicly that he maintains their loyalty to him because he literally feeds them with money. To ingratiate himself with them, he has engaged in unprecedented military overspending, militarized his cabinet and allowed the active military and police officers to engage in corrupt practices in the acquisition of local and foreign supplies and in the implementation of the bogus war on drugs and the so-called counterinsurgency plans.

For as long as the tyrant Duterte and his loyalist military and police officers are hell-bent on continuing the civil war between the reactionary state and the broad masses of the people, there will be no more peace negotiations between the GRP and NDFP. The CPP, NPA and the NDFP have no choice but to continue the armed revolution as the sovereign right of the people to fight tyranny and state terrorism.

The CPP, NPA and the NDFP are not terrorists because they adhere to the international law on human rights and humanitarian conduct in the civil war and the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law. And they have always been willing to engage in peace negotiations in accordance with The Hague Joint Declaration of 1992. They are willing to negotiate with a future regime that will reject state terrorism and seek peace negotiations.

For as long as it is clear to the people that it is the reactionary government which rejects the peace negotiations with the NDFP, it is just and advantageous for the armed revolutionary movement to continue and intensify the people's war against the reactionary ruling clique and the entire ruling system. The armed revolutionary movement has grown in strength in long periods of intensified people's war, with no distraction and with no exposure of cadres and their connections by peace negotiations, such as in the long period of no negotiations with the Marcos regime from 1969 to 1986 and during long breakdowns of peace negotiations with the post-Marcos regimes.

The rapidly worsening crisis of the world capitalist system and of the Philippine ruling system are exceedingly favorable for the armed revolution of the Filipino people. The global economic depression that has beset the world since the financial meltdown of 2008 has resulted in less demand for the raw materials and semi-manufactures produced by the Philippines, in less foreign exchange income for paying the manufactured imports, in rising trade and budgetary deficits and in a rapidly rising public debt.

The Covid-19 pandemic has aggravated the crisis of the world capitalist system and that of the Philippine

ruling system. The lockdowns have drastically brought down the demand for the raw material and semi-manufacture exports of the Philippines as well as the demand for the cheap labor of Filipino men and women. Millions of overseas Filipino workers have returned home, greatly reducing the foreign exchange remittances to pay for the import of consumer imports and servicing the foreign debt.

Worst of all the Duterte regime has taken advantage of the pandemic to engage in massive corruption, escalate focused military operations and enact the law of state terrorism. The tyrant Duterte took emergency powers supposedly to realign this year's budget and next year's. He promised to provide mass testing, adequate medical services and economic assistance to those who have lost their jobs and other means of livelihood.

But more than 590,000 billion pesos for such purposes are unaccounted for and have been pocketed by Duterte and his gangster clique. He has increased the budget of the military and police for the purpose of repression and the enactment of the law of state terrorism to realize his scheme of fascist dictatorship even before expected charter change and proclamation of national martial law.

The tyranny and thievery of the Duterte regime have combined to bankrupt the Philippine economy and the reactionary government. The conditions for the armed revolution have become far more favorable than before the pandemic lockdowns. The broad masses of the people detest the regime for bringing about far worse conditions of mass poverty and misery and for scandalously imposing on them state terrorism and wasting huge amounts of public funds on military overspending.

The Duterte ruling clique has undermined its own economic and political position and has dug its own grave by engaging in flagrant plunder and repression. The broad masses of the people are now on the verge of coming out to the streets in gigantic numbers to condemn and oust the fascist tyrant. Even within the reactionary armed forces and police, there is a rapidly increasing number of groups of officers who have long resented the sell-out of sovereign rights over the West Philippine Sea to China and the favoritism bestowed by Duterte on the so-called Davao boys who have engaged in all kinds of criminality and corruption.

It is widespread within the reactionary armed forces and police that Duterte is physically and mentally sick and that he keeps himself most of the time in Davao for his dialysis after every few days. But he still pretends to be physically and politically strong enough to take all powers and become a fascist dictator or else to handpick a presidential stooge by using his power to rig the Comelec vote count as he did in the 2019 mid-term elections to gain overwhelming control over both houses of Congress.

At the same time, it is well known that he bought a presidential jet to be able to escape to China at anytime. He knows that his end is coming near with every month that passes. He has only one year and six months left of his 6-year term. And several judicial systems are after him. If the International Criminal Court fails to arrest him, the people's court of the people's democratic government is expected to run after him and all his principal accomplices in gross and systematic violations of human rights.

We know exactly the broad range of forces that converged against the fascist dictatorship from the assassination of Benigno Aquino, Jr. in 1983 to the downfall of Marcos in February 1986. The Duterte ruling clique is trying desperately to manipulate the rabid anticommunist and militarist elements in the conservative opposition to disrupt the broad antifascist united front by red-tagging the legal patriotic and democratic forces and slandering them as having "enabled" Duterte to become president and consolidate his presidency.

In fact, the biggest enablers of Duterte have been the traditional politicians who made an exodus to his regime as soon as he became president and turned overnight the previous ruling party into an emaciated and weak minority. The armed revolutionary movement has never stopped, despite short periods of ceasefires on grounds of promoting peace negotiations. And the legal patriotic and democratic forces have condemned the Duterte regime as soon as it terminated the peace negotiations in 2017. The regime is now angling that it can retain power by separating the entire conservative opposition from the impending gigantic mass actions.

Whether Duterte will succeed to rule the people beyond 2022 as a fascist dictator or to handpick his successor by rigging the 2022 presidential elections, there will be a highly explosive political situation from day to day. The broad masses of the people and the broad united front against the tyrant Duterte will be outraged and angered by the brazen violation of their sovereign will and by the rapid worsening of the socioeconomic and political crisis of the ruling system. As of now, the broad masses of the people are already seething with just anger over the rapidly deteriorating conditions of oppression and exploitation.

In order to ensure the realization of the gigantic mass actions on a nationwide scale for the ouster of the

Duterte fascist regime or its successor regime, the toiling masses of workers and peasants, the middle social strata of the urban petty bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie and the allies in the conservative opposition must be aroused, organized and mobilized to protest against the rapidly deteriorating socioeconomic and political conditions and the intolerable conditions of escalating oppression and exploitation.

They must protest and condemn the puppetry, brutality and corruption of the Duterte fascist regime and demand respect for the sovereign rights of the people, justice for the victims of human rights violations, return of the stolen public funds, economic and social assistance to all who have lost their jobs and means of livelihood and who have been victimized by the regime during the pandemic and aggravated crisis of the ruling system.

In the meantime, the armed revolution will continue. The CPP will continue to wage the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war and will aim for the bright future of socialism. The struggle for national and social liberation coincides with the worldwide anti-imperialist and democratic struggles and the foreseeable resurgence of the world proletarian-socialist revolution. The advance of the revolutionary mass movement has a direct bearing on the prospects of realizing a just peace in the Philippines.

That there is once more a brazenly brutal and corrupt regime reminiscent of the Marcos fascist regime proves that the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system continues to rot and has never been fixed by the pseudo-democratic regimes preceding the fascist regime of Duterte to remove the root causes of the armed revolution. Once more the worst of the ruling system comes out in the form of the traitorous, fascist, genocidal and plundering Duterte regime and generates the conditions and opportunities for accelerating the advance of the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war.

# ***The Revolutionary Movement In the Philippines Today***

**Address to the Book Launch of the Spanish Edition of *Philippine Society and Revolution*, September 26, 2021**

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Dear Comrades and Friends, I welcome all the participants in this web launch of the Spanish edition of *Philippine Society and Revolution*. I thank Templando el Acero for publishing the book, Paloma Polo and Venceremos for organizing this book launch and Malcolm Guy of the International League of Peoples' Struggle for his technical assistance. It is a high honor for me to be with all of you and to speak on the current situation of the revolutionary movement in the Philippines.

Philippine society persists as semicolonial and semifeudal. It is afflicted by foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. It is dominated chiefly by US imperialism, with the new imperialist power China trying to seize the West Philippine Sea. The basic exploiting classes are the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class. The basic exploited classes are the proletariat and the peasantry. And the intermediate social strata are the middle bourgeoisie and the urban petty bourgeoisie.

Philippine society is in chronic crisis. This has rapidly worsened under the neoliberal policy regime. The socioeconomic and political crisis has become so grave that it has resulted in the escalation of oppressive and exploitative conditions and in the reappearance of Marcos-type state terrorism under the current Duterte regime. This regime seeks to destroy the revolutionary movement. But its glaring crimes of treason, tyranny, mass murder and plunder are rousing the people to rebel and join the revolutionary movement.

## ***1. The Communist Party of the Philippines***

Since its reestablishment on December 26, 1968 under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the Communist Party of the Philippines has proven to be effective as the revolutionary party of the proletariat leading the Filipino people's new democratic revolution with a socialist perspective. It has become successful at building itself ideologically, politically and organizationally and overcoming all the strategic campaign of military suppression from the time of the Marcos fascist dictatorship to the present.

The CPP has developed central and lower organs of leadership capable of applying the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism on the concrete conditions of Philippine society and in the practice of the Philippine revolution. Study courses of theoretical and political education are carried out at the basic, intermediate and advanced levels for all Party cadres and members to raise the level of their revolutionary education at the rate that they are collectively and individually capable of.

The basic course ensures understanding of Philippine history, current circumstances, class struggle and revolution. The intermediate course involves comparative study of the Philippine revolution with other significant revolutions in the world. The advanced study course includes the study of the classical and current Marxist-Leninist-Maoist works in philosophy, political economy, social science, strategy and tactics, the international communist movement and the anti-imperialist solidarity of all peoples and nations of the world.

The CPP has set forth the general line of people's democratic revolution with a socialist perspective and the general strategic line of protracted people's war of encircling the cities from the countryside. While it considers and develops itself as the leading force of the Philippine revolution and instrument of the Filipino proletariat and people, it is also determined to wield and develop the New People's Army as the embodiment of the worker-peasant alliance and as weapon for defeating the enemy and seizing political power and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines as the instrument for realizing and accelerating the unity of the broad masses of the people in their millions against the enemy.

The CPP has drawn its cadres and members from the revolutionary mass movement, the various types of mass organizations and institutions, the urban and rural communities, the different places and lines of work, the people's army and the revolutionary organs of political power that constitute the people's democratic government. As a result, the Party has grown in membership from a few scores in 1968 to tens of thousands at present and exists in all provinces of the Philippines.

The CPP is guided by the principle of democratic centralism. This means centralized leadership on the basis of democracy. The CPP has a nationwide system of organization that is deeply rooted among the toiling masses of workers and peasants. It has organs of leadership at the central, interregional, regional, provincial, district,

municipal and village levels. And it is at the lead and core of the New People's Army in the guerrilla bases and zones. It is the leading component in the local organs of political power.

## ***II. The New People's Army***

The New People's Army carries out the principal task of revolutionary armed struggle, which is the people's war, for overthrowing the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system and enabling the people's democratic republic of the Philippines to arise under the leadership of the proletariat. The NPA follows the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside in order to accumulate armed and political strength before the nationwide seizure of political power in the cities.

The probable stages of the protracted people's war are the strategic defensive, strategic stalemate and strategic offensive. The NPA is now in the stage of the strategic defensive within which the NPA makes use of the countryside as the wide area for maneuver, avails of the support of the peasantry and the rural proletariat. The NPA is now waging extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare and launching tactical offensives with a variety of units, including teams, squads, platoons and companies.

The NPA is determined to increase its weapons and its platoons and companies, make the enemy bleed from thousands of wounds and change the balance of strength towards the maturation of the strategic defensive and pave the way for the strategic stalemate in which the NPA shall carry out frequent tactical offensives by companies and battalions to further change the balance of forces. The aim is to build the battalions and regiments for the nationwide seizure of the cities in the strategic offensive.

The NPA is now operating in all rural regions and in 74 out of the 81 provinces of the Philippines. It has more than 110 guerrilla fronts, consisting of guerrilla bases and zones. It uses the major tactics of concentration, dispersal and shifting. It conducts a war of fluid movement to frustrate and defeat the enemy's so-called campaigns of intelligence-driven focused military operations. The military, police and paramilitary forces of the enemy are hated as instruments of oppression and butchery by the broad masses of the people and do not have the numerical strength to cover more than 10 per cent of the Philippine archipelago at any given time.

The people's war is integrated with the agrarian revolution in order to gain the wide and deep support of the peasantry and the rural proletariat. The agrarian revolution consists of the sequence of the minimum and maximum land reform programs, depending on the strength of the mass movement, the CPP and NPA. The minimum program consists of rent reduction, control of interest rates and elimination of usury, raising of farm wages, improving prices of farm products at the farm gate and increasing production in agriculture and sideline occupation through rudimentary forms of cooperation among the peasants. The maximum program is the confiscation of land from the landlords and landgrabbing corporations and free distribution of the land to the peasants and farm workers.

The people's war is also integrated with the building of the mass base under the leadership of the CPP and with the assistance of the NPA. The mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth, women, cultural activists and children are built. The local organs of political power are also built. They are formed according to the line of antifeudal united front, with the party of the proletariat relying mainly on the poor peasants and farm workers, winning over the middle peasants, neutralizing the rich peasants, taking advantage of the splits between the enlightened and despotic landlords and delivering the main blow against the despotic landlords.

The local organs of political power constitute the people's democratic government and take charge of administration, land reform, production, social services, defense, settlement of disputes among the people, disaster relief and environmental protection. The NPA personnel who are in thousands are augmented by such reserve and auxiliary forces as the people's militia units with members who are in the tens of thousands (at least a platoon in every village) and the self-defense units of mass organizations (except children below 18 years of age) with members who are in the hundreds of thousands.

Under the direction of the CPP, the NPA has its own program of politico-military education and training in order to raise constantly the fighting spirit and skills of the Red commanders and fighters. NPA units are educated and trained to undertake combat duty, mass work, propaganda, production and the organization and training of the people's militia under the local organs of political power and the self-defense units of the various mass organizations.

## ***III. The National Democratic Front of the Philippines***

The National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) is the most consolidated formal organization for

carrying out the national united front policy of the CPP. It follows and realizes the revolutionary class line of developing the basic alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry, winning over the urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie, taking advantage of the contradictions among parties and factions of the reactionary classes of big comprador, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists and uniting the nation against foreign monopoly capitalism.

The NDFP has 18 allied organizations: the CPP, NPA, Revolutionary Council of Trade Unions, Katipunan ng mga Samahang Manggagawa (trade unions), Makabayang Kawaning Pilipino (government employees), Pam-bansang Katipunan ng Magbubukid (peasants), Malayang Kilusan ng Bagong Kababaihan (women), Kabataang Makabayan (youth), Katipunan ng Gurong Makabayan (teachers), Makabayang Samahang Pangkalusugan (health workers), Liga ng Agham para sa Bayan (scientists and technologists), Artista at Manunulat para sa Sambayanan (artists and writers), Lupon ng Manananggol para sa Bayan (lawyers), Christians for National Liberation, Cordillera People's Democratic Front, Moro Resistance and Liberation Organization, Revolutionary Organization of Lumads (Mindanao tribes) and the Revolutionary Organization of Overseas Filipinos and their Families.

The NDFP is a comprehensive united front of patriotic and progressive organizations. But within each class or sector, it carries out the united front policy. It carries out all forms of struggle in order to arouse and mobilize the broad masses of the people in their millions to join and support the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war. The main form of struggle it promotes is armed struggle and it works hard to develop the basic alliance of the proletariat and peasantry and win over the middle social strata. But it also promotes and engages in peace negotiations in order to propagate the program of the people's democratic revolution and to call for social, economic and political reforms as the basis of a just and lasting peace.

The NDFP observes closely the contradictions among the parties and factions of the reactionary classes of big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists to determine the enemy to fight at every given time and to develop the broad united front against such enemy among the local reactionaries. The NDFP also observes closely the economic, political and military interventions of the US and other imperialist powers in order to unite the people against these and to make them vigilant to the probable ultimate that the current civil war can turn into a war of national liberation in case of foreign aggression by US imperialism or any other imperialist power.

The NDFP promotes the organization of overseas Filipinos for the purpose of uniting and mobilizing them in support of the people's democratic revolution in their motherland. It carries out solidarity work along the anti-imperialist and democratic line by informing and encouraging foreign organizations and personages to support the Philippine revolution, cooperate with the organization of overseas Filipinos and develop partner relations with progressive or revolutionary organizations in the Philippines.

The NDFP engages in diplomatic and proto-diplomatic relations. It has relations with friendly governments which are anti-imperialist and progressive as well as with governments that have assisted in the holding of the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations abroad. The work of the NDFP in developing proto-diplomatic and diplomatic relations is aimed at immediately informing the international community about the Philippine situation and the Philippine revolution and gaining international support for the revolutionary movement.

#### ***IV. Prospects of the Philippine Revolution***

The US imperialists and their rabid puppets have long wanted to destroy the revolutionary movement in the Philippines, especially since the founding of the NPA under the leadership of the CPP in 1969. But the Filipino people, especially the toiling masses, have not only preserved their revolutionary forces but have made them stronger nationwide from decade to decade, frustrating the 14-year Marcos fascist dictatorship and every US-designed strategic campaign of military suppression unleashed by every puppet president, from Marcos to Duterte.

The CPP and the entire revolutionary movement have prevailed over the campaigns of suppression and mass deception by US imperialism and the local reactionaries as well as over the setbacks inflicted on the socialist cause and national liberation movement by modern revisionism and by the neoliberal policy, state terrorism and wars of aggression launched by the US and other imperialist powers. The most important and most decisive factor in the advance of the Philippine revolution from victory to victory is the self-reliant implementation of the correct line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

The chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system continues to worsen rapidly, inflict on the

people extreme conditions of oppression and exploitation and goad the broad masses of the people to join or support the revolutionary movement. The recrudescence of the open rule of terror like that of the Marcos fascist dictatorship in the form of the tyranny and state terrorism of the Duterte regime proves the decadent and moribund character of the ruling system.

The Filipino people are confident of prevailing over all the campaigns of counterrevolution and advancing the new democratic revolution towards the goal of socialism, The revolutionary forces are further growing in strength on the basis of their long experience and accumulation of knowledge. and skills in waging people's war. They are favored by the rapid worsening of the crisis of both the domestic ruling system and the world capitalist system. The latter is now characterised by the accelerated strategic decline of US imperialism and the sharpening contradictions among the imperialist powers, especially the US and China.

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the restoration of capitalism in the former socialist countries due to revisionist betrayal has resulted in the addition of two major imperialist powers, Russia and China, to the traditional imperialist powers headed by US imperialism and has further led to the rapid worsening of the crisis of global capitalism and the sharpening of inter-imperialist contradictions. The US and China used to be close partners in propagating and implementing neoliberalism. Now, they have become bitter political rivals and economic competitors.

The continuing upsurge of anti-imperialist and democratic mass struggles on a global scale against neoliberalism, fascism and wars of aggression is the consequence of the worsening crisis of global capitalism, the intolerable conditions of oppression and exploitation and the increasing inability of the imperialist powers to stabilize their own system. The widening and intensifying anti-imperialist and democratic mass struggles are the prelude to the resurgence of the world proletarian revolution.

# ***On the Communist Party of the Philippines, the Armed Revolution and the Duterte Regime***

Interview by Federico Miguel Segarra, *Agencia EFE*, October 28, 2021

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1. *Why did you decide to create the new Communist Party in the Philippines (CPP), and why did you decide to break with old PKP?*

JMS: My comrades and I decided to found the Communist Party of the Philippines on December 26, 1968 under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. We decided to break from the old PKP because of its revisionist line of indefinite legal struggle in the face of the chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system and because the old PKP sided with the revisionist CPSU on fundamental questions regarding the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism.

2. *Knowing that the proletarian revolutionary movements only survive in Nepal, India and the Philippines, why does the NPA still criticize the socialist revisionism and still embraces Maoism?*

JMS: The era of modern imperialism and the world proletarian revolution is not yet finished. The epochal struggle between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the proletariat is still continuing despite the setbacks caused by the betrayal of socialism by modern revisionism in the Soviet Union since 1956 and in China since 1976.

All the basic contradictions in the world capitalist system are intensifying: between capital and labor in the imperialist countries, between the imperialist countries and the oppressed peoples and nations and among the imperialist powers themselves. The contradictions of US and Chinese imperialism have taken the center of the stage in the world capitalist system.

The concatenation of anticommunism, neocolonialism, neoliberalism, state terrorism and endless US wars of aggression have proven to be bankrupt. Thus, there have been unprecedented upsurges of anti-imperialist and democratic mass struggles on a global scale since the financial meltdown of 2008. These are the prelude to the resurgence of the world proletarian revolution.

The revolutionary movements led by the Maoist parties in Nepal, India and the Philippines are the torchbearers in the transition to the resurgence of the world proletarian revolution. The addition of the new imperialist powers, China and Russia, to the ranks of the traditional imperialist powers like the US, UK, Western Europe and Japan is rapidly worsening the crisis of the world capitalist system.

3. *Until what extent did the NPA and the CPP played an important role in destabilizing Marcos regime?*

JMS: The people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war advanced rapidly nationwide in the Philippines after Marcos declared martial law in 1972 and imposed fascist dictatorship on the Filipino people. The armed revolution undermined and unsettled the fascist regime with the growth of the CPP, NPA, the underground revolutionary mass organizations, the National Democratic Front of the Philippines and the local organs of democratic power which constituted the people's revolutionary government.

The armed revolution became stronger because Marcos' policies of mass murder and plunder aggravated the crisis of the ruling system and then he had his intra-systemic arch rival Aquino assassinated in 1983. The CPP directed the NPA to intensify the armed struggle nationwide and encouraged the legal patriotic and progressive organizations to cooperate with the much-weakened conservative opposition in carrying out gigantic mass protest actions in Metro Manila and in the entire country until the 1986 overthrow of Marcos.

After the assassination of Aquino, the US decided to junk Marcos and then baited him into declaring the presidential snap election of 1986 in order to lay the ground for his ouster for electoral fraud. What finished Marcos was the anti-Marcos convergence of the US, the Catholic Church, most of the oligarchy, the conservative opposition, the rapid growth of anti-Marcos groups within the reactionary armed forces and the organized masses of the legal patriotic and democratic forces. The CPP encouraged the broad masses of the people to rise up.

The organized masses of the legal patriotic and democratic forces constituted more than 80 per cent of the masses encircling the presidential palace and the hard core 20 per cent of the masses at EDSA where most of the people gathered in response to the call of Cardinal Sin of the Catholic Church to support the defense secretary and constabulary chief who had turned against Marcos. It was a broad united front of the masses of workers and peasants, the middle social strata and anti-Marcos conservative sections of the ruling system that isolated and finished off Marcos.

4. *Do you believe Duterte's aggressive populist strategy is popular among Filipinos due to the extreme inequalities that still affect the country? In other words, do you believe accepting such an extreme political position is the result of a total failure of an unfair economic system, which also explains the support that the NPA still has in the rural areas?*

JMS: Such adjectives as "populist" and "popular" to describe Duterte are euphemistic and misleading. We ought to describe Duterte as demagogic and notorious. These are the precise terms. In the eyes of the broad masses of the people, Duterte is already totally exposed as a traitor, tyrant, mass murderer, plunderer and swindler.

As traitor, he has allowed China to build artificial islands and military bases in the West Philippine Sea in violation of the UNCLOS and the sovereign and maritime rights of the Filipino people. As tyrant, he has used the military, police and death squads to terrorize the legal opposition and the people. As mass murderer, he has killed extrajudicially 34,000 people in the bogus war on drugs as well as thousands of workers, peasants, indigenous people, women, youth, social activists, human rights defenders and peace advocates in the armed counterrevolution.

As plunderer, he has stolen hundreds of billions of pesos through the pork barrel system, the unaudited funds for intelligence, overpriced purchases of military equipment, fake military operations, fake NPA mass surrenders, the smuggling out of mineral ores and smuggling in of illegal drugs, rice and other commodities, payments to dummy corporations for overpriced or nonexistent medical supplies in the name of fighting the Covid-19 pandemic and the non-delivery and theft of the promised economic assistance to those who have lost their jobs and means of livelihood during the pandemic.

As a political swindler, he called himself the first Left and socialist politician to become president of the Philippines in 2016. As soon as he assumed the presidency, he issued secret orders to his military to start an all-out war against the revolutionary movement. He terminated the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations in 2017 and designated the CPP and NPA as terrorists and equated communism with terrorism. In 2018 he formed a national task force to engage in state terrorism. And in 2020 he took advantage of the pandemic to railroad a law for furthering the rampage of state terrorism on the pretext of anti-terrorism.

Duterte has aggravated the economic, social and political crisis of the ruling system by pursuing the policies of neoliberalism and state terrorism, by wasting resources through bureaucratic corruption and military overspending, by smuggling out mineral ores without documentation and taxation, by smuggling in illegal drugs, rice and all sorts of commodities. Duterte has bankrupted the Philippine economy and his own government. Thus, the revolutionary movement is becoming stronger than ever before because the Filipino people want revolutionary change.

5. *Given that the brutal war on drugs affects mainly the poor urban areas, do you believe Duterte's brutal war on drugs is the epitome of the unfairness of the socioeconomic system in the Philippines?*

JMS: The brutal war on drugs victimizing the urban poor and carried out under public incitement of the police by Duterte has three purposes. First, it has been used by Duterte to make himself the supreme drug lord and his own crime family supreme in collaboration with Chinese criminal triads. Second, Duterte has used the war on drugs to corrupt and make military and police officers his criminal accomplices in the illegal drug trade. And third, he has used the war on drugs to evoke the image of a strong man capable of killing people and his political opponents with impunity. He is cowardly because he chooses as target of mass murder poor people whom he estimates are incapable of fighting back legally or otherwise.

Also in the armed counterrevolution, he is killing more workers and peasants than those who belong to the middle social strata. You are correct that the mass killing of the poor in his bogus war on drugs takes advantage of the unfairness and injustice of the socioeconomic system in the Philippines. The tens of thousands of victims do not have the means to fight back legally or otherwise and even if some of them can be assisted by human rights defenders and religious organizations these are frustrated by extralegal or illegal obstacles put up by Duterte's military and police agents. Thus it is necessary for the International Criminal Court to come into play and hold Duterte and his minions accountable.

6. *What is your summary of Duterte's record during these 5 years? Has it really fought the economic elite as he still claims?*

JMS: I have already described the shameless and ignominious record of Duterte as a traitor, tyrant, mass murderer, plunderer and political swindler and I have already explained every major criminal role that he has played against the national and democratic rights of the Filipino people.

Duterte has not fought against the economic elite but he has sought to preserve the entire exploitative ruling system of big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists who are servile to foreign monopoly capitalism and at the same time he favors his own narrow clique of oligarchs and cronies among the Filipino and Chinese businessmen with whom he has collaborated since his years of being Davao City mayor.

Duterte has long been a corrupt politician acting as the agent of the foreign and local corporations with mining, logging and plantation operations in Mindanao. As president, he has been able to accumulate his private wealth by stealing public funds, cutting into private business contracts, taking over businesses of his opponents and engaging in the illegal drug trade and other criminal activities. Duterte is like Ferdinand Marcos and idolizes him.

*7. What could be attitude of Bong Bong Marcos towards the CPP and the NPA if he achieves power?*

JMS: If he achieves taking presidential power, Bong Bong will certainly fight and try to destroy the CPP and NPA just like his father had tried to do in vain.

*8. What are the recipes that you give for tackling the extreme inequalities that still affect your country?*

JMS: The solution to the basic problems that generate extreme inequalities in the Philippines is not yet socialism or communism. The current basic problems of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism should not be glossed over but should be confronted and solved immediately.

The country is still semicolonial and semifeudal and must advance through the people's democratic revolution. We must achieve full national independence, people's democracy, social justice, economic development through genuine land reform and national industrialization, improvement of wage and living conditions, expansion of social services, promotion of a national, scientific and mass culture and independent foreign policy of international solidarity with all peoples and countries of the world.

# ***On The Communist Party of the Philippines and the People's Democratic Revolution***

**Interview by Rio Mondelo, Writers' and Editors' Collective**

**Amsterdam, The Netherlands, December 19, 2021**

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*1. How many delegates attended the Congress of Reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines on December 26, 1968 and how many party members were they representing? What was the size of your mass base then?*

JMS: There were only twelve of us delegates representing more than a hundred full and candidate-members of the party. We were cadres from the mass organizations of workers, peasants and youth. We had a mass base of at least 20,000 that belonged to unions, peasant associations and the youth organizations.

During the process of reestablishing the CPP, we were already negotiating with the young fighters headed by Bernabe Buscayno in the remnant units of the old people's army in Tarlac province to join the New People's Army. This brought about an additional mass base of 80,000 people for the founding of the NPA on March 29, 1969.

*2. What were the conditions that gave rise to the reestablishment of the CPP? Do these conditions still exist today?*

JMS: The basic problems of US monopoly capitalism or imperialism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism afflicted Philippine society, making it a semicolonial and semifeudal type of society and putting it in chronic social, economic and political crisis. It is ever ripe for the rise of the people's democratic revolution as soon as the subjective forces of revolution, like the CPP, the NPA and the united front, arose against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists.

In the late 1960s, even the reactionary president Marcos kept on talking about the Philippines as a social volcano about to explode in order to rationalize his ambition to perpetuate himself in power through armed counterrevolution. He was obsessed with serving the imperialist interests of the US, beefing up the reactionary armed forces and tightening his personal grip on power in order to preserve the ruling system and make his dynasty among the wealthiest through brute force and plunder.

*3. Since then, what have been the most important ideological, political and organizational achievements of the CPP?*

JMS: The most important ideological achievement of the CPP is the adoption and application of the universal theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism on the concrete conditions of the Philippines and in the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution. The CPP has been able to propagate dialectical and historical materialism among tens of thousands of Party members and revolutionary mass activists through basic, intermediate and advanced study courses to enable them to study and analyze domestic and international conditions and issues and adopt the correct strategy and tactics for waging revolution.

The most important political achievement of the CPP is that it has set forth the program of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war and by carrying out this general line of action it has proven itself as the advanced detachment of the working class as the leading force in the revolution. It has aroused, organized and mobilized millions of the Filipino people and successfully wielded and developed the revolutionary armed struggle and national united front as weapons of the people against the enemy. It leads the NPA, the revolutionary mass organizations, alliances and the local organs of political power.

The most important organizational achievement of the CPP is that it has consistently upheld the principle of democratic centralism and has grown from its small beginnings in 1968 to tens of thousands of Party cadres and members. It has expanded nationwide and is deeply rooted among the toiling masses of workers and peasants. It has branches and groups in the urban and rural areas of 74 out of the 81 provinces of the Philippines. It operates as the leading core at all levels of the people's democratic government, local communities, guerrilla fronts, organizations and institutions of various types.

*4. Why did Marcos fail to destroy the CPP and NPA during their early years when they were still small and weak?*

JMS: Indeed, Marcos tried to destroy the CPP and NPA as early as May 1969 when he launched Oplan Prophyllaxis and raided Barrio Sta. Rita of Capas, Tarlac in an attempt to capture or kill the central leadership of the CPP and the national command of the NPA. But he failed. And he also failed to destroy the CPP and NPA by unleashing Task Force Lawin by pitting 5000 troops against the NPA which had already grown from only 9 automatic

rifles and 26 inferior firearms to more than 200 automatic rifles in the years from 1969 to 1971.

Aside from leading the NPA in Tarlac to grow by launching frequent tactical offensives, the CPP trained Party cadres for expansion in the regions of Northern Luzon, Southern Luzon, the Visayas and Mindanao. By 1971 the CPP had developed a mass base of 150,000 in Isabela and other provinces of Cagayan Valley. It trained in the forest region of Isabela hundreds of cadres for expansion to most regions of the Philippines.

5. *Despite his suspension of the writ of habeas corpus in 1971, declaration of martial law nationwide in 1972 and imposition of fascist dictatorship until his downfall in 1986, he still failed to destroy the CPP and NPA. Why do you think this is so?*

JMS: When Marcos suspended the writ of habeas corpus on August 21, 1971, he ordered the arrest of the leaders of the Kabataang Makabayan and the raid on the national and regional headquarters of the KM. He compelled thousands of KM members to go underground and to join the NPA. There were so many of them wanting to join the NPA immediately that quite a number who could still operate legally had to be sent back to work in the urban areas.

And of course, the declaration of martial law in 1972 became an even more compelling reason for all the aboveground patriotic and democratic organizations to go underground and seek integration with the NPA in armed struggle as well as in mass work. The National Democratic Front was established in 1973 in order to have an organizational framework for all the mass formations going underground.

We correctly calculated that martial law was meant to impose a long-term fascist dictatorship on the people. And we became determined to wage the people's war until Marcos and his ruling clique would be overthrown. Take note that the more brutal and more corrupt the Marcos fascist regime became, the worse the crisis of the ruling system became and the more determined to resist the broad masses of the people became. Thus, the revolutionary forces became stronger and the Marcos fascist regime became more isolated and weaker until it could be overthrown by the cumulative growth of mass protests in Metro Manila and nationwide in 1986.

6. *Despite offering peace negotiations and carrying out strategic campaigns of military suppression none of the post-Marcos regimes succeeded in destroying the CPP. Why?*

JMS: You are correct in observing that the post-Marcos regimes also failed to destroy the CPP, NPA and NDFP despite their pretense at being more democratic than the Marcos regime and their adoption of the dual tactics of offering peace negotiations and carrying strategic campaigns of military suppression.

Cory Aquino offered ceasefire talks in Manila to make a ceasefire agreement for negotiating the agenda for peace negotiations. But the objective was merely to conduct surveillance on the NDFP negotiating personnel and other people assisting them. She broke the ceasefire agreement with the peasant massacre in Mendiola and she unsheathed her sword of war. All the while the regime was preparing to break the ceasefire agreement and launch a military campaign of suppression against the revolutionary movement.

The pro-US military officers boasted that their intelligence stock rose by 25 per cent through surveillance of the ceasefire talks in Manila and the token public displays of NDFP strength in the provinces. Learning from this negative experience, the NDFP would agree to have peace negotiations with the GRP only in a foreign neutral venue during the time of Fidel V. Ramos.

The negotiations became more focused and resulted in more than ten major agreements.

But the pro-US military officers always had their own way in sabotaging the peace negotiations even during the time of Ramos and much more so during the time of Estrada, Arroyo, Aquino and Duterte. And yet the military campaigns of suppression could not solve the root problems that had caused the armed revolution. Moreover, the CPP and NPA know how to carry out the strategy and tactics of protracted people's war.

7. *What makes Duterte think that he can destroy the CPP, the NPA and NDFP before the end of his term? Shall he succeed or fail?*

JMS: Duterte has the mentality of a Davao city gangster mayor and is addicted to Fentanyl. He has been overwhelmed by the powers of a president and the opportunities for butchery and plunder with impunity. Before he became president and within the first nine months of his presidency, he thought that he could deceive and outwit the NDFP by calling himself a Left and socialist president. From the beginning of his regime, he unmasked himself as a political swindler by continuing Aquino's Oplan Bayanihan to carry an all-out war policy against the NPA, by reneging on his promise to amnesty and release all political prisoners and by trying to misrepresent certain appointees to his Cabinet as official representatives of the CPP.

When he realized that he could not fool the NDFP and all the forces of the people that it represented in the peace negotiations, Duterte thought that he had all the power and the funds to be able to destroy the CPP, NPA and NDFP. He included the CPP and NPA as targets of martial law in May 2017. He forgot that Marcos could not destroy the CPP and NPA when they were still relatively small and weak from 1969 to 1971 and even when he imposed a fascist dictatorship on the people for fourteen years and still had a much wider berth for raising funds for military spending from local taxation and foreign loans.

Duterte terminated the GRP-NDFP negotiations on November 23, 2017, designated the CPP and NPA as terrorist organizations on December 5, 2017 and created National Task Force-ELCAC on December 4, 2018. From time to time, Duterte and his military running dogs claim to have decimated the NPA several times their underestimate of its strength. They fabricate for press release and psywar many intelligence projects, military operations, fake NPA casualties and fake surrenders. And they pocket most of the billions of pesos of public money under such labels as Enhanced Comprehensive Local Integration Program, Community Support Program and Barangay Development Program.

Whenever the reactionary armed forces advance in superior force during so-called focused military operations, they get the illusion of having destroyed entire guerrilla fronts of the NPA. They pretend not to know that in waging guerrilla warfare the NPA retreats in the face of a superior enemy force, harasses it when it encamps and hits it hard when it tires and retreats. The NPA has mastered the tactics of concentrating its strength against vulnerable points of the enemy, dispersing its units to do mass work and shifting in order to avoid encirclement by the enemy.

*8. What has Duterte done to strengthen or weaken the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system? Has he solved or worsened the chronic crisis of the system by any degree?*

JMS: In so short a time of less than six years, he has done an awful lot to weaken the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system and to aggravate the chronic crisis of this ruling system. He has bankrupted his own government and the Philippine economy by depressing agriculture and manufacturing, letting foreign companies and the big compradors smuggle out large amounts of raw materials and smuggle in consumer goods, favoring import-dependent consumption and private construction and engaging in plunder of public resources and military overspending. Unemployment, mass poverty and inflation are making the people miserable and restive.

In 118 years, from the time of the Aguinaldo government in 1898 to June 2016, the Philippines accumulated a public debt of ₱5.9 trillion. But in less than six years, Duterte has raised the public debt to the level of ₱11.9 trillion or more than double the 2016 level. He has taken advantage of the Covid-19 pandemic to engage in unprecedented graft and corruption in the acquisition of foreign medical supplies and military equipment. He has resorted to local and foreign borrowing at a rapid rate. The ratio of the public debt to GDP has arisen abruptly from 40 per cent to 63 percent. At the end of his term, the public debt shall have risen to ₱13.4 trillion.

Since he became president, he has raised the salary level of the armed personnel of the government high above that of those employees in the social services. He has been unmindful of where to get the yearly Php 800 billion needed to cover the salaries and pensions of the uniformed personnel and of how to get the still bigger amount to adjust upward the salaries of the government personnel in the social services. His own government is now bursting with discontent among the civilian government personnel who oppose both the degradation of their salary scale as well as the increasing militarization of civilian functions and funds.

*9. What do you expect from the 2022 presidential elections? Will these lead to a better or worse situation for the Filipino people?*

JMS: Duterte will definitely rig the 2022 elections from the level of the president and vice president downwards to make sure that the succeeding government will prevent his prosecution for crimes against humanity before the International Criminal Court and for plunder and other crimes before Philippine courts.

Should Duterte have his way in committing electoral fraud, there will either be an immediate people's uprising as in 1986 against Marcos or a steady build-up of people's outrage for a number of months or a few years. At any rate, whoever will be the president and vice president, the Philippine ruling system will have grave problems and will deteriorate faster than ever before. The conditions will become more favorable than ever before for the growth in strength and advance of the armed revolutionary movement of the people.

There are yet no sufficient indications that the US is junking the Duterte ruling clique. In fact, he has been invited to Biden's Democracy Summit. Biden seems to believe that Duterte is an effective destroyer of the NPA

and is retrievable from serving China as one more imperialist power. But in case the US junks Duterte in favor of the opposition candidate, the latter can be expected to follow the dictates of the US and the pro-US military officers. The successor will be vulnerable to such dictates, especially because of the shambles and worse crisis that Duterte would be leaving behind.

*10. What do you think are the consequences of the Supreme Court decision upholding the Anti-Terror Act of 2020? What has been the behavior of the Supreme Court during the Duterte regime?*

JMS: Most of the justices of the Supreme Court are appointees of Duterte and have been complicit with him in the making of decisions favorable to him and his allies at the expense of the people. The court is a Duterte court. It is notorious for corruption because it has done away with the big plunder cases involving the allies of Duterte.

It is ultra-reactionary. As expected, it has ruled that Duterte's law of state terrorism is constitutional, with the exception of two provisions. One of them allows the so-called Anti-Terrorism Council to construe activism or the exercise of the freedom of speech and assembly as terrorism. And the other allows it to designate any individual or group as terrorist upon the request and mere say-so of foreign entities.

The entire Duterte law of state terrorism is flagrantly unconstitutional and the court's decision tries to pass off the following as constitutional: the Anti-Terrorism Council can designate any person or organization as terrorist, cause the arrest and detention of suspects without judicial warrant, order the detention of anyone for 24 days in violation of the three-day constitutional limit, provide ample time and opportunities to the armed personnel of the state to torture and extort confessions from suspects, murder them and dispose of the corpus delicti and to freeze the bank accounts and seize assets of the victims, be they individuals or organizations.

The consequences are wide-ranging and far reaching. Martial law and fascist dictatorship are perpetuated in violation of the constitution. Duterte and his successors can use state terrorism to eliminate individuals, organizations and parties that criticize and oppose the rule and crimes of those in power. The open rule of terror and greed will certainly drive more and more people to join the armed revolutionary movement in order to regain their democratic rights and freedoms.

The US imperialists, their think tanks and political gangsters have equated terrorism with communism and trashed the Hernandez doctrine of rebellion as a political offense that has social roots, is bailable and can be solved by political means such as peace negotiations. They have construed rebellion as a heinous common crime motivated by personal gain or greed. And they have done everything to terminate and prevent peace negotiations and violate human rights and international humanitarian law. Indeed, imperialists and fascists make inevitable armed revolution by the people.

*11. Do you think that after the 2022 elections there shall be peace talks or an escalation of hostilities between the armed forces of the GRP and those of the NDFP?*

JMS: It is impossible or difficult to say that there shall be peace negotiations as a result of the 2022 elections. If the Duterte ruling clique succeeds at rigging the 2022 elections, the successors of Duterte will certainly continue the unbridled rule of state terrorism and corruption and perpetuate all the issuances of Duterte that terminated the peace negotiations and all agreements which had been previously made, and that designated the CPP, NPA and the NDFP as terrorist organizations.

If a government arises other than one under the control of Duterte, there is a possibility that the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations can be resumed upon the repudiation of Duterte's rule of state terrorism and plunder and upon reaffirmation of all previous agreements since The Hague Joint Declaration of 1992. But this possibility is slim or even nil unless proven otherwise. Among the competing presidential candidates in the 2022 elections, there is no one that is interested in genuine peace negotiations beyond the control and surveillance of the GRP. It is best for the Filipino people to prepare against the worst in order to hope for the best.

*12. How do you respond to the statement of its detractors that the CPP has failed to win political power in Manila despite more than 53 years of revolutionary struggle?*

JMS: The CPP has been building the people's revolutionary government in the countryside in the form of committees of people's self-government or local organs of political power. These have been built in connection with the establishment of the local branches of the CPP, units of the NPA, people's militia and self-defense units of mass organizations, the revolutionary mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth, women, cultural activists and others and the alliances related to the NDFP at the level of the barangays, municipalities and the guerrilla fronts.

In brief, the people's democratic government is already being built in the countryside and is expanding wave upon wave in connection with the encirclement of the cities from the countryside in the protracted people's war. It would be "Left" opportunism" for the NPA to try to seize political power in Manila before it has gained enough strength to do so with certain success by inflicting strategic defeats on the enemy mainly in the countryside. The forces of the armed revolution, especially the NPA, have preserved themselves and gained strength by avoiding decisive battles that they cannot yet win.

13. *What is the actual status of the protracted people's war? And what are its prospects?*

JMS: According to CPP publications, the NPA is operating in 74 provinces out of the 81 Philippine provinces and in more than 110 guerrilla fronts straddling districts and provinces. The strength of the full-time fighters of the NPA far exceeds the 3000 to 4000 estimated by the reactionary armed forces to belittle the NPA and to boast of false success in counterrevolutionary operations of fake NPA casualties and fake NPA surrenderers. The NPA also has the people's militia in barangays and the self-defense units of revolutionary mass organizations as auxiliary and reserve forces.

The people's war in the Philippines is still in the process of completing the stage of the strategic defensive by using squads, platoons and companies to further develop strength and advance to the threshold of the strategic stalemate when NPA companies and battalions shall become the operational units for tactical offensives to change the strategic balance of forces and advance towards the strategic counter-offensive when the enemy shall have suffered enough defeats to be on the strategic defensive.

14. *How do the CPP and NPA deal with the escalating use by the US-directed armed forces of information technology to collect and analyze information, psywar tactics, air power (drones, UAVs, attack helicopters), bombs and artillery, special forces and ground spies?*

JMS: I presume that the CPP, NPA and all other revolutionary forces rely mainly on the active support of the oppressed and exploited masses and have learned a lot from fighting their enemy for a very long time. In the process of fighting, they have seized equipment from the enemy side and their experts have learned in advance what equipment to acquire in order to counter and frustrate the enemy.

US imperialism itself has suffered strategic defeats because of its arrogant and expensive use of air superiority as in Vietnam in 1965 to 1975 and Afghanistan from 2001 to 2021. The Vietnamese revolutionaries learned how to bring down more than 10,000 US aircraft of various types and cause the US to sue for peace. The Taliban learned how to counter the drones and attack planes with more accurately aimed explosive devices and rifle fire against the foreign aggressors and their local puppets on the ground.

15. *How do you reckon with the external forces such as the escalating rivalry between the US and China? How do they affect the people's war in the Philippines?*

JMS: The US and China are both external factors that have a lot to do with the Philippines and its internal factors. The US is still the most dominant imperialist power in economic, political and cultural terms. But China has a substantial basis for challenging US dominance by the effective collaboration of the Chinese big bourgeoisie in the Philippines and China. With the collaboration of Duterte, China has gone to the extent of offending and violating the sovereign and maritime rights of the Filipino people in the West Philippine Sea and has established such footholds in the Philippines as control of the national power grid, placement of China Telecom cell towers in military camps and plunder of natural resources.

As imperialist powers, both the US and China have developed their respective connections with the local reactionary forces of the comprador big bourgeoisie, the landlord class and the bureaucrat capitalists. Each imperialist power has its own interest to be hostile to the CPP and to the people's democratic revolution. But the escalating contradictions between two imperialist powers expose the wide variety of contradictory forces at work in a crisis-stricken world capitalist system. This so-called multipolar world allows the CPP and the Philippine revolution to gain space for maneuver and seek opportunities for their advance.

16. *What role is the Philippine revolution now playing within the framework of the global anti-imperialist and democratic struggles?*

JMS: The Philippine revolution is now one of the leading armed revolutions in the world within the framework of the global anti-imperialist and democratic struggles. I have described it as the torch bearer in the direction of socialism and the world proletarian revolution. The Philippine revolution has persevered and advanced for more than 52 years in an archipelagic country without the previous cross-border advantages of the Chinese revolution in

relation to the Soviet revolution and of the Indochinese revolution in relation to the Chinese revolution.

The people's democratic revolution led by the CPP is also commendable for having grown in strength self-reliantly in a global situation in which earlier socialist revolutions have been afflicted by modern revisionism and capitalist restoration. In waging revolution, the CPP has not benefited from any direct substantial assistance from any socialist or anti-imperialist country, especially since when the Dengist bourgeois counterrevolution overthrew the proletariat in 1976 and speeded capitalist restoration in 1978.

*17. What is the current status and trend of the major contradictions in the world?*

JMS: All major contradictions in the world capitalist system are intensifying: between the arch-rivals, US and Chinese imperialism; between the traditional and new imperialist powers; between the imperialist powers and the oppressed peoples and nations; between the imperialist powers and the states assertive of national independence and their socialist aspirations; and between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the proletariat in imperialist countries.

The crisis of the world capitalist system has become more severe than ever before. The addition of Russia and China to the ranks of the imperialist powers has made the contradictions among the imperialist powers sharper and more combustible. From being close allies in promoting neoliberal policy of imperialist globalization, the US and China have become arch political rivals for world hegemony after the US noticed its own accelerated strategic decline in the second decade of the 21st century and the strategic economic and military rise of China,

The US has been scrambling to counter the rise of China, with Obama's policy of strategic pivot to East Asia, Trump's policy of taking back the trade, investment and technology concessions of the US to China and with Biden's policy of pushing further the attempts of the US to degrade the Chinese economy and lessen its political capabilities. The US continues to assert its dominance over the Indo-Pacific Oceanic route with the collaboration of the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (US, Japan, Australia and India) and the AUKUS. All along China has been building up its own alliances with Russia and other former Soviet republics and more countries through SCO, BRICS, Belt and Road Initiative and the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP).

Even as China has appeared to the Filipino people as the most recent imperialist power violating Philippine sovereignty and territorial integrity, the US continues to act as the most bellicose imperialist power on a global scale and continuous to waste its resources on war production, on more than 800 overseas military bases and in wars of aggression, despite claims of the US that it is striving to revive its manufacturing capabilities and rebuild its deteriorated infrastructure,

*18. In what way can the Philippine revolution benefit from the development of the global contradictions that you have mentioned?*

JMS: The inter-imperialist contradictions can give rise to conditions favorable for the resurgence of revolutionary movements for national liberation, democracy and socialism. Right now, anti-imperialist and democratic struggles are widespread in the world. They are beneficial to the Philippine revolution, which is also contributory to their advance. They can be the prelude to the resurgence of the world proletarian revolution.

*19. You have considered the impact of anti-imperialist and class struggles on the Philippine revolution. What about the impact of the threats to humanity such as nuclear, chemical and biological weapons of mass destruction and the degradation and destruction of the environment.*

JMS: The anti-imperialist and class struggles are at the core of the peoples' struggles for national independence, democracy, economic development and social justice. But we must also consider that the imperialist powers develop and use not only conventional weapons but also nuclear, chemical and biological weapons of mass destruction against the people that they oppress and exploit and also against rival imperialist powers. The proletariat and people of the world must confront and defeat the imperialist powers because of their threat to the very existence of humankind.

We must also consider that the imperialist powers have degraded and destroyed the environment for the purpose of profit-making and have reached the point of threatening the extinction of humankind through climate change and global warming. The proletariat and people of the world must confront and defeat the fossil fuel imperialist powers for having damaged the ozone layer with their carbon dioxides emissions and having brought the planet close to the tipping point and to the current extreme climate conditions, such as the heat waves, the melting of the glaciers, the rise of the level and acidity of the sea, the forest fires, super-typhoons, floods and so on.

*20. Do you expect to see the victory of the people's democratic revolution in your lifetime? At any rate, how do you ensure that your revolutionary legacy which has national and international dimensions will be preserved and carried*

*forward by further generations?*

JMS: I wish to see the victory of the people's democratic revolution in my lifetime. The counterrevolutionary currents like anti-communism, neocolonialism, modern revisionism and neoliberalism have run long courses and have proven to be bankrupt. It is high time for the revolutionary movements of the people to launch the counteroffensive and score new victories for the socialist cause. But I will dare to make predictions only when I can see evidence of any people's army or Bolshevik-style uprising seizing political power from the bourgeoisie.

I have only a few years to go in my life, after engaging in various forms of revolutionary struggle. What I can best do now is to ensure that my written works are systematically collected and preserved for study by the current and further generations of revolutionaries in the Philippines and abroad. My books have been published chronologically by various publishers since the 1960s. But the International Network for Philippines Studies is also publishing the Sison Reader Series, with volumes on at least 35 general topics and themes.

*21. As Jose Rizal did in his time, do you dare predict what would the Philippines become a century hence?*

JMS: As an irrepressible revolutionary optimist, I hope that a century hence will give the Filipino people more than enough time to win the people's democratic revolution and proceed to the socialist revolution and construction in the Philippines and that the proletariat and people of the world shall have already freed many, if not most, of the countries of the world from imperialism and all forms of reaction and shall have built socialism with the use of high technology and collective labor. The struggle for greater freedom and better social conditions is supposed to be cumulative in effectiveness.

# *The Philippine Social Movement and 53 Years of the Marxist Tradition*

## Questions from ND Online School of Anakbayan-Europa

Answers by Prof. Jose Maria Sison, December 26, 2021

1. *When was the first/oldest Communist formation of the country and how and why did it come about?*

JMS: The first or oldest Communist formation of the Philippines was the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands (CPPI or PKP-30). It was founded on November 7, 1930 under the auspices of the Third International through cadres of the American Communist Workers' Party, the antecedent of the Communist Party of the USA (CPUSA). The Communist Party of the colonizing country was supposed to supervise the formation of the Communist Party in a colonized country like the Philippines. However, in the 1920s, leaders of the Filipino working class were also in touch with communists from other countries, especially China and Indonesia.

2. *What were the turning points of Philippine society that ushered the formation of the first Communist movement in the country?*

JMS: The embryo of the industrial proletariat arose in the 19<sup>th</sup> century under Spanish colonialism with the initial growth of manufacturing even if dependent on the importation of industrial equipment. When US imperialism took over the Philippines from Spanish colonialism, it promoted a semifeudal economy which resulted in the further development of manufacturing dependent on imported industrial equipment.

Soon after his return to the Philippines from his Spain, Isabelo de los Reyes organized the Union Obrera Democratica de Filipinas as the first modern trade union federation to replace the old artisan guilds and mutual aid societies of workers. Subsequently, the Congreso Obrero de Filipinas would arise would in 1913 as a more expanded trade union federation. In 1922 the majority of the labor federations formed the Partido Obrero. They became increasingly progressive under the leadership of Crisanto Evangelista until they constituted themselves as the Katipunan ng mga Anak Pawis (KAP) in 1929.

The KAP became the direct worker base of the CPPI and the Kalipunang Pambansa ng mga Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (KPMP, National Federation of Peasants in the Philippines) became its peasant mass base in 1930. In the 1920s, the American Communist Workers Party had been assigned by the Third International to encourage the formation of the CPPI and to arrange the connections of the Partido Obrero with the Profintern (Red International of Labor Unions) through the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat and the KPMP with the Krestintern (International Association of Peasant Organizations).

3. *What major sectors of society became the first mass members of the old Communist formation?*

JMS: After the formation of the KAP in 1929, the committee for the formation of the CPPI was set up in order to recruit the initial communist members. By June 1930, there were 96 of them. Fifty per cent were industrial workers, 25 percent peasants and 25 percent handicraft workers and office clerks. Most were recruited from the KAP unions. Sixty Chinese communists from the Philippine Chinese Labor Federation and Young Communist League agreed to join the CPPI but retained their autonomous all-Chinese nuclei.

A convention organized the party on August 26, 1930 and elected the First Central Committee, with 35 members. The Political Bureau was composed of Crisanto Evangelista, Antonino D. Ora, Jacinto G. Manahan, Juan N. Feleo, Felix Caguin Urbano Arcega and the Chinese "Comrade C". It elected Evangelista as general secretary and Antonino D. Ora as chairman. The party was publicly proclaimed and launched on November 7, 1930, to mark the anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. During the rally, 3000 of the 6000 attending masses of workers and peasants filled up the forms to apply for party membership. There were only a few from the intelligentsia in the Central Committee and in the mass membership.

4. *What was the old communists' analysis and theory of Philippine society and why?*

JMS: The CPPI sought to be guided by Marxist-Leninist theory but could not yet make a comprehensive and profound analysis of Philippine society in order to draw up the program of the people's democratic revolution and the strategy and tactics. The cadres agitated for national independence, the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie and for a communist future. But they had no clear idea about the coordinated building of the CPPI, the people's army and the united front in order to wage the people's democratic revolution with a socialist perspective.

The CPPI set the following as its aims: to struggle for the immediate, complete and absolute independence of the Philippines, to fight for the overthrow of American imperialism that dominates the Philippines, to struggle

against the exploitation of the masses and to defend their liberties, to struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist system, to strengthen the unity of the labor movement and in particular the unity of the workers and peasants; to struggle against reformism and opportunism in the labor movement, to establish a Soviet or communist form of government under the authority and direction of the masses; and to unite with the revolutionary movement internationally, including the Soviet Union and liberation movements in the colonies.

Unlike other communist parties in East Asia, the CPPI was established legally and openly, despite its proclaimed aim of overthrowing US imperialism and the capitalist system. It was therefore vulnerable to illegalization a few months after its establishment. The US colonial authorities conducted close surveillance on and disrupted the legal mass actions of the newly-founded party in 1931. They made a mass arrest of the leaders of the CPPI and the delegates to the First Congress of the Party. They filed charges of sedition and illegal association against the party leaders, who were subsequently sentenced to imprisonment and exile in 1933 after a series of court appeals.

The CPPI became legalized in 1936 upon the intercession of the CPUSA and US government to the Quezon Commonwealth government for the sake of the anti-fascist Popular Front and merged with the Socialist Party which had a strong peasant following in Central Luzon. Only after Japan invaded the Philippines in 1941 did the CPPI decide to form in 1942 a people's army against Japan, the Hukbong Bayan Laban sa Hapon (Hukbalahap).

Mao's writings on people's war in a semicolonial and semifeudal country were available to the Chinese comrades who were integrated in the CPPI and Hukbalahap but not to the Filipino leadership. They were of no help to the series of Lava brothers (Vicente, Jose and Jesus) who took over the party leadership from 1942 until the CPPI and the Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan were decisively defeated in the 1950s and wjp swung from Tight opportunism (1943 to 1947, under Vicente) to "Left" opportunism (1948 to 1951 under Jose) and back to Right opportunism (1951 to 1964).

*5. Who were in the leadership of the old Philippine Communist movement, their background and their orientation? How did they evolve to become communists? What happened to them in the long run?*

JMS: I can give you the list of the 35 members of the first Central Committee of CPPI, with their respective occupations. But I do not think we have the time in this webinar for me to discuss how each evolved to become communists and what happened to them in the long run.

The first CC members of the CPP were the following: Crisanto A. Evangelista (printer), Mariano P. Balgos (printer), Arturo Soriano (printer), Felix Caguin (printer), Jose Ventura (tobacco worker), Teofilo Espiritu (tobacco worker), Andres Santiago (tobacco worker), Andres Fabian (tobacco worker), Cenon Lacanienta (tobacco worker), Angel Mesina (tobacco worker), Balbino Navarro (tobacco worker), Antonino D. Ora, (lawyer who joined the labor movement), Sotero Sanson (peasant), Andres Padua (peasant), Mariano Pingol (peasant), Jacinto Manahan (peasant), Juan Feleo (public school teacher who joined the peasant movement), Alejandro Espanola (peasant), Silvino Tablan (peasant), Guillermo Capadocia (cook), Maximo Macatangay (cook), Cirilo Honorio (slipper maker), Urbano Arcega (slipper maker), Hugo Retaga (seaman), Saturnino Briosos (seaman), Norberto Nabong (electrician), Enrique Torrente (electrician), Nicolas de Guia (plumber), Cirilo Bognot (journalist), Patricio Dionisio (journalist), Jose Quirante (clerk), Juan Lagman (railroad worker), Co Sing Liat (worker, Chinese Labor Federation), Ko Keng Seng (ditto) and Sun Ping (ditto).

The original leadership of the CPPI was overwhelmingly of working class origin and status and included a few of petty bourgeois origin. However, the CPPI would expand its peasant mass following. This would lead to an increase in the number of Central Committee members from the peasantry, before and after the merger with the Socialist Party in 1938 and especially during the people's war against Japan in Central Luzon. Because of the grave errors of line set by the leadership under the Lavas from 1942 to 1964, the old CP failed to maximize the advantage of fighting Japanese fascism and imperialism under Vicente Lava, went into a crushing defeat and isolation under Jose and moved towards stagnation and disintegration in reformism and legalism.

*6. When was the new Communist Party of the Philippines established? Why was it organized?*

JMS: The Communist Party of the Philippines was established on December 26, 1968. The proletarian revolutionaries separated from the CPPI and organized the CPP as a result of their critique of the major ideological, political and organizational mistakes of the Lava brothers who led the CPPI from 1942 to 1964.

*7. What makes the new Communist Party of the Philippines distinct from the old Communist Party and movement?*

JMS: The CPP has taken the ideological line of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism against the CPPI's adherence to

Soviet modern revisionism. It has taken the political line of people's democratic revolution through the protracted people's war against the CPPI's Right opportunist line of class collaboration and indefinite legal struggle. It has taken the line of democratic centralism and building the CPP as a nationwide party deeply rooted among the toiling masses against the continued isolation, stagnation and disintegration of the old CPPI.

The Filipino people and their revolutionary forces have grown in strength and advanced under the leadership of the reestablished CPP despite the tremendous odds such as the 14-year Marcos fascist dictatorship and the military campaigns of suppression under every regime since then. The CPP

membership has grown from about 100 in 1968 to 150,000 now. It is nationwide and deeply rooted among the toiling masses of workers and peasants. The NPA has grown from 9 automatic rifles to thousands of such rifles, with auxiliaries and reserves of tens of thousands in the people's militia and self-defense corps of the revolutionary mass organizations. The mass base has grown from some 50,000 in 1968 to millions in revolutionary mass organizations, under alliances mainly under the National Democratic Front and under the organs of political power which constitute the people's democratic government.

*8. It was learned that there waves of rectifications within the new Communist Party, could you discuss about these rectifications and the reason behind each?*

JMS: The First Great Rectification Movement, whose main document was "Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party" was launched in 1966 in order to criticize and repudiate the major errors, ideological, political and organizational, of the leadership of the series of Lava brothers (Vicente, Jose and Jesus) who became general secretaries of the CPPI and to prepare for the reestablishment of the CPP under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and in accordance of with the program of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war and the organizational principle of democratic centralism.

The Second Great Rectification Movement, whose main document was "Reaffirm Our Basic Principles and Carry Forward Our Revolution," was launched in 1991 to criticize and repudiate the major ideological, political and organizational errors that arose within the CPP from 1980 onward. The main subjectivist error was the line that the Philippine economy has ceased to be semifeudal but industrial capitalist as proclaimed by Marcos fascist regime. This led to the Right opportunist line advocating legal struggle as the main form of struggle. But it also led to the worse "Left" opportunist error of advocating urban insurrections and premature regularization of the guerrilla forces in certain regions. When this line was frustrated, the "Left" opportunists launched Kampanyang Ahas and similar campaigns to blame and punish so-called deep penetration agents as responsible for the damages caused by the wrong lines.

The CPP Second National Congress in late 2016 launched a campaign of rectification against conservatism as a general current in certain regions, especially north of the national capital region. The error of conservatism is manifested by the lack or infrequency of guerrilla tactical offensives against the enemy. It is often justified by preoccupation with mass work. But the CPP has made advances in several other regions through extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of ever expanding and deepening mass base. No central or regional cadres have been cited as responsible for willfully promoting the erroneous tendency or current.

After the CPP reached a new peak of strength in 2005, after the success of the SGRM, there has been the tendency and trend of self-satisfaction and stagnation for certain extended periods in certain regions due to various reasons and circumstances. It is important for the people's army to intensify guerrilla warfare nationwide in order to support and assist those regions and guerrilla fronts under focused military operations by the enemy.

*9. What makes the Communist Party distinct from the rest of the political parties in the Philippines aside from its being illegal and operative only underground?*

JMS: The CPP is the revolutionary party of the proletariat. It upholds and applies the ideological line of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. It carries out the political line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war and in the direction of socialism. It adheres to the organizational line of democratic centralism. The CPP is different from the rest of the political parties by pursuing all the aforesaid ideological, political and organizational lines.

*10. What makes the Communist Party of the Philippines crucial in changing the country's political structure and political culture? Why should it require a Socialist or a Communist reconstruction?*

JMS: The CPP is the revolutionary advanced detachment of the proletariat, which is the leading class and leading force of both the stages of the people's democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. The CPP must build

itself, the people's army and the united front in order to seize political power, overthrow the US-dominated ruling system of big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists and proceed to carry out the socialist revolution.

The CPP is clear about what follows the people's democratic revolution by relying on the class leadership of the proletariat as the most progressive and most productive force. Socialist revolution and construction are required to prevent capitalism from coming back and ensure that there is a transition to a classless communist society. And the CPP knows in advance the pitfalls of modern revisionism and capitalist restoration and the importance of cultural revolution under the proletarian state in order to win in the entire historical epoch of socialism.

*11. What do you consider as essential in the Communist Party discipline? Many are afraid of the Communist Party policy of discipline and purging? What can you say about this?*

JMS: The organizational principle of the CPP is democratic centralism. It is centralism based on democracy and democracy guided by centralism, which is essentially adherence to the ideological, political and organizational lines. And in procedural terms, at every level of the CPP from the grass roots to the Central Committee, there are both discipline and freedom among the representatives in the leading committee as well as among the CPP members that they represent in the corresponding Party organization.

Party representatives in leading committees are elected by majority vote in a Party organization and they make decisions through consensus or majority vote after sufficient deliberations on any issue. Because it represents a bigger Party organization, a higher leading committee is superior to a lower leading committee that represents a smaller Party organization. Thus, the Central Committee is the highest authority between National Congresses.

Those who are afraid of the CPP's rule of discipline are either not yet acquainted with its revolutionary principles and objectives; and how the principle of democratic centralism works effectively; or they are carried away by anti-communist horror stories playing up imagined or real violations of democratic centralism by certain renegades. Such violations do occur and become the targets of periodic timely criticism and self-criticism and if they are bigger in magnitude and wider in scale, a whole rectification campaign is carried out by the Communist Party.

The Second Great Rectification Movement was carried out against the errors of subjectivism, Right and "Left" opportunism and violations of democratic centralism and even more vigorously against the extreme abuses carried out by the renegades in Kampanyang Ahos and similar campaigns. The CPP has become more experienced, tempered, stronger and successful in carrying out the Philippine revolution by criticizing, repudiating and rectifying the serious ideological, political and organizational errors of the renegades and trying the grievous crimes before the people's court in accordance with due process.

# ***On the Communist Party of the Philippines***

## **Online Celebration of the 53rd Anniversary Celebration**

**Questions from the Preparatory Committee, December 26, 2021**

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*1. The Duterte regime is nearing its end. From your point of view, what are the positive and negative aspects of how the party conducted itself during the tyrannical, fascist and dictatorial regime of Duterte?*

JMS: The Communist Party of the Philippines has conducted itself in a positive way or in a correct way in dealing with the Duterte regime. When he described himself as the first socialist or Left president in the Philippines and said that he wanted to negotiate peace, the CPP positively and correctly gave him a chance to prove his own words and at the same time noted his background as a bureaucrat capitalist and watched every step he would take to prove or disprove his words.

The CPP noted early enough a series of negative behavior of Duterte: He continued Noyoyo Aquino's Oplan Bayanihan, he did not fulfil his promise to amnesty and release all political prisoners before the start of peace negotiations in August 2016, he included the CPP and NPA as targets of martial law in Mindanao in May 2017 and he demanded that the people's democratic government give up its powers before he made his proclamations terminating the peace negotiations on November 23, 2017 and designating the CPP and NPA as terrorist organizations on December 5, 2017.

As soon as he terminated the peace negotiations, the CPP became absolutely sure that there was no more point in making any kind of persuasive or diplomatic gesture towards Duterte for the purpose of promoting the peace negotiations. But there are nuts like the Trotskyites who say that the CPP should have never had anything to do with Duterte before and after he became president. They pretend to do everything a priori. Had the CPP rejected the Duterte offer of peace negotiations at the very outset, the Trotskyites would have gleefully joined Duterte in prating that the CPP and the NDFP are war-mongers.

*2. Considering the subjective forces and concrete conditions of the Philippine revolution, how can we realize the advancement from the middle phase to the advanced phase of the strategic defensive?*

JMS: The New People's Army is already advancing from the middle phase to the advanced phase of the strategic defensive. In the middle phase, squads and platoons were the combat units most often used successfully to hit the enemy. Advancing from the middle phase, the NPA has used most frequently the platoon as the combat unit in tactical offensives and less frequently companies. But we can expect that when the advanced phase will mature and move towards the threshold of the strategic stalemate, the company will be the most often used combat unit. The NPA can advance self-reliantly on the basis of previous accumulation of strength.

Indeed, it is important and necessary to consider the concrete conditions and subjective forces of the Philippine revolution. The crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system must worsen further and the internal contradictions must further intensify. Despite being in an archipelagic country and having no cross-border advantages, the CPP has been quite successful in waging revolution and building itself and other revolutionary forces on a nationwide scale. It has won significant ideological, political and organizational victories, despite the serious setbacks to the socialist cause because of revisionist betrayals in the Soviet Union and then in China.

The worsening of the crisis of the domestic ruling system can be induced by the worsening of the crisis of the world capitalist system. All major contradictions in the world are intensifying: between labor and capital, between the imperialist powers and the oppressed peoples and nations, among the imperialist powers and between the imperialist powers and states that are assertive of national independence and their socialist aspirations. There is already an upsurge of anti-imperialist and democratic mass struggles on a global scale. These are the prelude to the resurgence of the world proletarian-socialist revolution.

*3. What can the Filipino people expect in the coming elections next year and how should the revolutionaries take advantage of this and the eventual result?*

JMS: The Marcos-Duterte presidential tandem is the product of the alliance of the worst political dynasties that have inflicted oppression and exploitation on the Filipino people. It will surely lose in honest and clean elections. But unfortunately, the traitor, tyrant, mass murderer, plunderer and swindler Duterte has full control over the Commission on Elections and the electronic vote count and is in a position to rig the 2022 presidential

elections.

We can expect that Duterte will cheat and steal the election in order to avoid being brought to trial before the International Criminal Court for crimes against humanity as well before the Philippine courts for plunder and mass murder. The broad masses of the people, the legal patriotic and democratic forces and the revolutionary forces of the people must prepare for a mass uprising similar to that against Marcos in 1986 as well as for advancing the people's democratic revolution to overthrow the entire oppressive and exploitative ruling system of big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists servile to US imperialism.

*4. What is the perspective and what are the most pressing tasks for the movement's organizations outside of the Philippines?*

JMS: The organizations of the overseas Filipinos must engage in activities and campaigns of information and mass mobilizations and develop the national democratic movement among themselves in order to enable themselves to fight for their democratic rights and welfare. They must promote anti-imperialist and democratic solidarity with the host people and other migrant people. Consequently, they can give the most ample moral and material support to their families, friends and entire people in the Philippines to fight and advance in their struggle for national and social liberation. They can also encourage foreign friends, organizations and institutions to support this struggle.

*5. Do you have advice for the new generation of revolutionaries?*

JMS: My advice to the new generation of revolutionaries is to continue raising their ideological, political and organizational level of strength. They can build further revolutionary strength and win greater victories on the basis of the accumulated strength of the revolutionary movement. They must continue the people's democratic revolution with a socialist perspective and to win ever greater victories. The people's democratic revolution is basically completed upon the end of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system, The socialist revolution can commence thereafter. I hope that within the next few decades the Filipino proletariat and people will be able to realize national liberation, genuine democracy and socialism.

## ***On the CPP and the Philippine Revolution***

Interview by Jacob Goldberg, *New Naratif*, December 20, 2021

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*Hi Professor Sison, thank you for agreeing to this interview. At New Naratif, we cover democracy movements in South-east Asia, and after hearing your interview on Guerilla History, I decided our readers would benefit from learning more about your movement and your interpretation of democracy.*

*A bit about me: My great-great-grandfather was born into slavery in Mississippi, was emancipated as a young boy, and went to the Philippines during the Spanish American War as a US Army medic. He stayed in the Philippines after the war and settled in Laguna, where my family is from. We have a story about his son, my great-grandfather, being abducted by “communists”—presumably Huks—and held for one night. A neighbour vouched for him as a “neutral guy”, and his captors released him, but without his clothes. He came home in his underwear.*

*My grandfather also says he remembers hearing gunshots at night and keeping the lights off to avoid the fighting. He says the bodies of slain communists were displayed in San Pablo City, and “their bodies were torn up by bullets”.*

*So all my life, I've learned about communists in the Philippines from people who grew up in fear of them, but in recent years, after living in Myanmar, Cambodia and Thailand and working for Focus on the Global South and New Naratif, I've come to appreciate the achievements of the CPP and the National Democracy movement.*

*Here are my questions:*

*1. What would you say to a working-class Filipino who grew up in fear of communist insurgents?*

JMS: In my personal experience, I met in the late 1950s and 1960s many good communists who were workers and peasants who had participated in the Huk rebellion in Sta. Cruz, San Pablo City and other towns of Laguna.

In answer to your first question, I state that my first task is to learn from the Filipino worker that you have cited why he has a fear of communist revolutionaries. Most likely he would refer to certain personal conditions and experiences how his fear arose. He might not even mention the constant anti-communist campaign generated by the the US and the current ruling system in the Philippines as a major cause of his anti-communist fear.

Then I would try to understand and analyze the concrete circumstances and the fear. Further, I would explain to him why he feels beholden to his capitalist employer. I would certainly explain in simple terms how he is exploited, how surplus value is extracted from the total value that he creates with his labor power. If you were to do mass work among the exploited people, you would discover that they are often grateful to be employed by their exploiters and thereafter become preoccupied with hard work to earn a living.

It takes a communist or a revolutionary mass activist to make the social investigation first in order to be able to explain class exploitation to an exploited class in easily understood terms. It took a Rizal to dispel the false illusions of the colonized indios that Spanish colonialism was a divinely-ordained paradise as the Spanish friars had preached. The moment you can explain how exploitation is carried out the exploited masses begin to understand their plight and dislike their exploiters.

*2. What is National Democracy, and how does it differ from the Philippines' current form of government?*

JMS: National democracy means a social and political system with full national independence from imperialist powers and real democracy for the people, especially for the toiling masses of workers and peasants. The current Government of the Republic of the Philippines is dominated by US imperialism and other foreign powers through unequal treaties, agreements and arrangements and is run by the local exploiting classes of the comprador big bourgeoisie, the landlord class and the bureaucrat capitalists.

*3. The CPP's mass base has fluctuated widely over the years. Why is that? How would you characterise the mass base today?*

JMS: The current mass base of the CPP runs into millions today. It is several times bigger than the 3.5 to 7 million voters estimated by bourgeois politicians as the voting potential of the CPP mass base. The actual mass base is a far cry from the 1968-69 mass base of the CPP which included 30,000 workers, 80,000 peasants (mainly from Tarlac) and 20,000 youth. From 1968 to the current year, there have been fluctuations or even zigzags in the growth of the CPP mass base. But the general course is growth and advance.

It is impossible to have a straight line of advance from year to year due to the tremendous odds and the active efforts of the reactionaries to suppress the revolutionary movement. But the ever worsening crisis of the ruling

system and escalating conditions of oppression and exploitation favor the continuity and advance of the revolutionary forces. The mass base of the CPP includes its own local branches, the revolutionary mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth, women and so on, the local units of the people's army, militia and self-defense units and the local organs of political power.

*4. Can you describe the material conditions in the Philippines that make Marxism–Leninism–Mao Zedong Thought the most appropriate approach to socialist revolution there? How have you synthesised this existing philosophy to the particular conditions of the Philippines?*

JMS: The political and socioeconomic conditions of the Philippines are semicolonial and semifeudal. They require a new national democratic revolution under the class leadership of the working class in consonance with the era of modern imperialism and the world proletarian revolution. Thus, Marxism–Leninism–Mao Zedong Thought is the correct and most appropriate guide and approach to the current state of people's democratic revolution as well as to the consequent stage of socialist revolution.

I think that the document of the First Great Rectification Movement, the CPP Constitution and Program for a People's Democratic Revolution, Amado Guerrero's Philippine Society and Revolution and many other documents of the CPP have very well applied this revolutionary theory to the concrete circumstances of the Philippines and have put forward the program of people's democratic revolution with a socialist perspective against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

*5. You continue to weigh in on Philippine electoral politics and have expressed support for Bayan Muna candidates. Do you believe there is a parliamentary road to socialism?*

JMS: I take the revolutionary viewpoint with regard to Philippine electoral politics under the current ruling system. The electoral process is controlled and manipulated by the local exploiting classes of big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists, with decisive and often covert intervention by imperialist powers (currently the US and China are most active behind the scenes). It is only with regard to the legal united front (distinct from the united front for armed struggle) that I would be encouraging parties and candidates of the toiling masses, middle forces and anti-fascist reactionaries to expose and oppose the Marcos-Duterte alliance. This is in the revolutionary context of trying to isolate, weaken and destroy the current enemy, which is the Duterte regime.

So far, only a few patriotic and progressive candidates have been elected through the party list system but even this has been hijacked by the reactionary political dynasties. At the current price, you need Php 450 million for TV and radio ads to have a chance of being elected as senator on the false premise that Duterte would not rig the 2022 elections. There is no parliamentary road to socialism in the Philippines. Socialism is impossible here without the basic completion of the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war. You cannot leap to socialism while US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism persist and a traitorous, tyrannical, mass murdering, plundering and swindling regime is ruling the Philippines.

*6. With which candidate, or under which scenario, in the coming elections would the CPP-NPA-NDF re-engage with the Philippine government in a meaningful peace process?*

JMS: I think that the CPP and other revolutionary forces will continue to authorize the NDFP to negotiate with the GRP upon the emergence of a new GRP administration that is willing to reaffirm with the NDFP The Hague Joint Declaration of 1992 and all the major agreements that were made by the GRP and NDFP and to get rid of the obstacles that Duterte has put up in order to terminate and prevent peace negotiations since 2017.

*7. There are two vanguard parties governing countries in Southeast Asia today, in Vietnam and Laos. Neither appear to be successfully transitioning from socialism to communism. If the CPP were to establish a dictatorship of the proletariat, how would you learn from those cases in order to complete the transition to a classless society?*

JMS: Lenin pointed out that it would take a whole historical epoch to build socialism and transition to communism after the overthrow the state of the bourgeoisie. And in the experience of the Soviet Union, the socialist revolution and construction carried out by Stalin became subject to attack by the modern revisionism and capitalist restoration started by Khrushchov in 1956. Mao pointed out that classes and class struggle continued in socialist society and the danger of modern revisionism and capitalist restoration persisted. After only five years of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the capitalist roaders gained ground in China and would be able to overthrow the proletariat in October 1976.

I presume that the ruling communist parties in Vietnam and Laos have been heavily influenced by the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and later on in China, especially in the aftermath of the collapse of the

Soviet Union. The collaboration of China with the US in promoting the neoliberal policy of imperialist globalization in four decades has had a heavy impact on Indochina. Now, after the decoupling of the US and China, these two imperialist powers are competing with each other to become dominant in Indochina.

The CPP has already learned a lot of lessons from the revolutionary experience as well as from the setbacks of the working class and the socialist cause due to modern revisionism and capitalist restoration in former socialist countries, which took some decades coincident with the imperialist policies of anti-communism, neocolonialism, neoliberalism, neofascism and wars of aggression. But the need and hope for the resurgence of the world proletarian revolution and the socialist cause are becoming more and more obvious as the addition of Russia and China to the ranks of imperialist power has only served to intensify all major contradictions in the world capitalist system.

For four decades, the US and China have been the main partners in promoting the neoliberal policy of imperialist globalization. Now, they have become chief economic competitors and political rivals. The necessity of socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat arises from the intensifying contradictions of capital and labor in imperialist countries, among the imperialist powers, between the imperialist powers and the oppressed peoples and nation and between the imperialist powers and nonimperialist states assertive of national independence and socialist aspirations.

*8. Among the five founding Asean member states, communist parties have almost no political influence, except in the Philippines? Why is that? How can socialists reclaim political influence elsewhere in Southeast Asia?*

JMS: From the four other founding ASEAN member states, you must look for the remnants or new shoots of communist parties to seek answers to your questions. I can only dare say that obviously there have been so far no simultaneous development of the three weapons of the people's democratic revolution: the Communist Party, the people's army and the national united front against the ruling system. I am aware of certain communist parties existing. But they appear quiescent because there are no reports of revolutionary armed struggle.

*9. You spent time in Indonesia in the 1960s. How did the PKI and its demise influence your political development?*

JMS: I learned that if the Communist Party does not build a people's army together with a rural mass base that party would be vulnerable to mass slaughter by the reactionary army anytime. It is not enough to develop a strong legal united front like NASAKOM and depend on the open electoral struggle and recruiting members of the PKI and mass organization for legal struggles. I agree with the 1966 Self-Criticism of the PKI Politburo which concluded that the Indonesian revolution could not be successfully undertaken without the coordinated building of the Communist Party, the people's army and the national united front. The lack of a people's army led the PKI away from the Chinese road of revolution and from Comrade Mao's dictum that without a people's army the people have nothing.

*10. Many socialists disavow Marxism-Leninism because of its proponents' tendency to carry out deadly purges. Mass graves and testimonies by former NPA members indicate that the CPP is no exception. Is this a blemish on the CPP's record?*

JMS: In the case of the CPP under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, it was the handful of anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist renegades who were responsible for the deadly witchhunts from 1985 to 1991. After carrying out timely rectification movements from one region to another, the CPP undertook the Second Great Rectification Movement (SGRM) nationwide as an educational movement from 1992 to 1996 to identify the subjectivist errors that led principally to "Left" opportunist errors and secondarily to Right opportunist errors and to expose thoroughly how the "Left" opportunists committed self-defeating errors like military adventurism and building too many unsustainable companies at the expense of mass work and then launching campaigns like Kampanyang Ahos to generate hysteria and blame "deep penetration agents" for military setbacks and drastic reduction of the mass base.

The SGRM was successful in ideological, political and organizational terms. Marxist-Leninist principles were upheld and propagated at every level of the CPP and the NPA. The correct principles and methods of investigation, evaluation of evidence, prosecution and trial of suspects were taught to everyone by the CPP. The CPP made sure that the errors were understood and rectified. The NPA was retrained and redeployed for guerrilla warfare and mass work. From year to year, the mass base that had been lost due to "Left" opportunism were recovered and expanded. Recruitment of mass activists and CPP members expanded rapidly. Without the SGRM, the CPP would have disintegrated and would not have lasted this long. But because of the SGRM, the CPP and the

entire people's democratic revolution have been advancing and winning significant victories until now.

Let me talk about the recent resolution of a court case against CPP leaders. This is a case that has been promoted by General Esperon as his chief project in his so-called legal offensive campaign against the CPP. Esperon wants to reverse the history of "Left" opportunism and the witchhunts that resulted from the failure of these Left opportunists who turned out to be renegades within the CPP. Actually, the case of "walking skeletons" involved Esperon and his bone collectors partly in Samar and Leyte and from the North Cemetery in Manila.

Then Esperon and the widow of Arturo Tabara stood as main witnesses against those belonging to the CPP who were accused as responsible for the so-called Oplan Venereal Disease in Eastern Visayas, which might have involved scores of victims. It was actually Arturo Tabara, a renegade, who was chairman of the Visayas commission and was a member of the General Command, a name used to replace the name National Operational Command to make themselves Generals. It was after the failure of the "Left" opportunist campaign in both Negros and Eastern Visayas that Tabara imitated the Kampanyang Ahos, which had occurred in Mindanao. So about a hundred CPP leaders and members were victimized in Negros and some scores in Eastern Visayas.

At the time of the crime alleged, that was in 1984 and 1985, the chairman of the CPP was Rodolfo Salas, who had his own idea of "Left" opportunism, the so-called strategic counter-offensive, a misnomer. But fortunately Salas did not commit any witchhunt, like it had occurred in other regions in the Philippines at different times. And I, who was named the chief respondent of the so-called Inopacan case was under maximum security detention in the Military Security Unit Compound in Fort Bonifacio and thus I was not in any position to give orders about anything to the CPP.

But this liar Esperon made me chief respondent in the case. And it is a good thing that the judge in the Manila court has made a good decision. So those persons accused and coming under the jurisdiction of the court have been cleared of the charges. In my case, I cannot be cleared specifically because the court never acquired jurisdiction over my person; but the witnesses and the evidence used by the prosecution have been nullified and cannot be used against me. But the most obvious lie that I could conspire with any those of accused, while I was under the custody of the Philippine Army under maximum security detention, has not been proven. I could not have been responsible for the charge fabricated by Esperon. He has made his fabrication since the time of Gloria Macapagal Arroyo. Philip Ashton, the UN human rights rapporteur, has already criticized this so-called legal offensive campaign carried out by this evil fascist Gen. Esperon.

I have taken this up because it is a new development related to the false accusation that the CPP has been responsible for witchhunts, for the bloody witchhunts that occurred as a result of the "Left" opportunist errors, especially in Mindanao and other regions.

#### *11. What do you mean when you say "Left" opportunism?*

JMS: "Left" opportunism has been described by the documents of rectification as moving too far ahead of the circumstances. It can be clearly seen in the attempt to form 15 NPA companies in Mindanao, whereas this plan would overconcentrate the NPA guerrillas and then mass work would certainly be neglected. At first the premature formation of the companies appeared to be successful with the formation of the first 3 to 5 companies. When it went beyond the 5th company, the enemy spies and informers could easily spot the NPA companies where they concentrated. And the companies used up a lot of resources and did not prove to be effective.

The line was so militarist that it undermined mass work. So there was separation from the masses. Then, when these companies were meeting defeats as result of the wrong line, the "Left" opportunists started to blame "deep penetration agents" as the cause of the defeats. So the bloody witchhunts were committed. The principles and methods of due process were set aside. The renegades had crazy ideas like spies have no right without any proof presented in advance. Torture was practised and so hundreds were killed in Mindanao in Kampanyang Ahos and caused a trend of self-disintegration in the revolutionary movement for awhile.

Fortunately, there were cadres and members of the Party and Red commanders and fighters of the NPA who were sober and level-headed. So the renegades would eventually be exposed as doing the wrong thing in terms of line and in terms of committing crimes. The rectification movement identified what were the errors in ideology, politics and organization as well as the criminal responsibilities in connection with the witchhunts. But anyway the witchhunts are limited compared to similar phenomena in revolutionary movements abroad.

I have read worse cases in the South African national liberation movement and other movements in Africa. Elsewhere in the world, there are such cases. Revolution involves tough struggle and there are those who commit

mistakes. But a winning revolutionary movement avoids and corrects such mistakes when they happen. And there are mechanisms of the CPP to correct mistakes in a timely and periodic fashion. There are the sessions of criticism and self-criticism and when it comes to bigger errors and errors of wider scale, there is the rectification movement to educate the rank and file of the Party and the other revolutionary forces.

12. *Leftist politicians in the Philippines today seem to have more to gain by denouncing the CPP than by supporting it. How can you fix that?*

JMS: So-called Leftist politicians, including renegades and dropouts from the revolutionary organizations and from the legal national democratic movement are so few in comparison to those tens of thousands of CPP members and millions of people who persevere in the struggle. Indeed, the few rascals gain more for themselves privately by denouncing the CPP and then collaborating with the authorities of the reactionary government and taking employment in the bureaucracy or even in the intelligence services. There will always be a few careerists and speculators joining any part of the revolutionary movement for a while. The solution to this problematic phenomenon is to be alert and be discerning, keep up the educational work to raise revolutionary morale and ensure the recruitment and training of revolutionaries who are unquestionably dedicated to the revolution.

13. *There have been several widely publicised instances of prominent Philippine revolutionaries becoming counter-revolutionaries. How do you interpret this phenomenon?*

JMS: Life in the revolutionary movement is a life of difficult and risky struggle against tremendous odds. That is a well-known fact. Those who join the revolutionary movement know the difficulties and risks to limb, life and liberty and are commendable for rising up to the challenges. But when captured by the enemy, some revolutionaries can weaken in revolutionary spirit and become vulnerable to offers of an easy way out of prison. There can be offers of jobs and other material rewards in exchange for denouncing the revolutionary movement. Remember that in so short a time after his capture in Palanan Aguinaldo agreed with the US imperialists to issue a peace manifesto and call for the surrender of all revolutionaries.

14. *You seek to transform the Philippines' semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system. Walden Bello (whom I previously worked for and has put me on a path toward radical politics) seeks to combat US imperialism and corporate-driven globalisation. Don't you have more to gain by collaborating than by undermining each other?*

JMS: There is something more to gain for the revolutionary movement if Walden Bello would become an ally rather than an adversary. It is up to him. For instance, every time he delivers a blow against the Marcos-Duterte alliance, every time that he criticizes neoliberalism and imperialist globalization and every time he speaks up against the violation of sovereignty and territorial integrity by China in the West Philippine Sea, he is well appreciated by the legal national democratic forces as well as by the revolutionary movement. He has gained points among the patriotic and progressive forces. He is appreciated for proposing that a new administration of the GRP should resume peace negotiations with the NDFP and for teaming up with the Makabayan senatorial candidates on a number of issues. There are issues that can be easily and immediately resolved. And there are issues that can be resolved consequently.

15. *What is your response to the recent removals of NDFP books from university libraries? Is freedom of expression a tenet of your political philosophy?*

JMS: The recent removals of NDFP books from university libraries amount to fascist book-burning by the Duterte tyranny. The military minions of Duterte in National Task Force-ELCAC think that these removals of NDFP books would intimidate faculty members and students. On the contrary, these intelligent people would assert the freedom of thought and belief and the freedom of expression and would demand the return of the NDFP books and also laugh at the military for stupidly forgetting that in this digital age it is difficult to stop the circulation of digital copies.

Like Hugo Chavez who became an anti-imperialist and democratic leader, the military officers of GRP should read the CPP and NDFP publications, learn how to work for a just peace and stop obeying the self-defeating bloodthirsty orders of Duterte. In the history of the old democratic revolution and in the new democratic revolution, officers have transferred from the reactionary side to the revolutionary side. General Jarque and other outstanding military officers like Colonel Dante Simbulan, Navy Capt. Dan Vizmanos and Army Captain Crispin Tagamolila have openly repudiated US imperialism and the oppressive ruling system.

Freedom of expression is a tenet of my political philosophy. I adhere to the basic democratic rights and fundamental freedoms at the levels of the individual, organization, class and nation. As materialist-scientific

philosophy, critique of political economy and social science putting scientific socialism forward, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is on the high road of modern civilization and comes as the latest peak after the advances from humanism and science in the Renaissance, reason in the Enlightenment and the principle of sovereign will of the people and democratic rights in the French revolution, the Industrial Revolution and rise of the proletariat as grave digger of capitalism.

*16. Your involvement in the CPP's two great rectification movements has been seen as a sign of humility and a willingness to admit past mistakes. Can you describe any mistakes that have been especially educational to you?*

JMS: Thank you for the compliment. A communist party cannot grow in strength and advance if it does not know how to identify mistakes within its scope and rectify them through the timely and periodic sessions of criticism and self-criticism or through rectification movements of a wider scale and longer duration in the case of big mistakes that have resulted in grave damage. Like everyone, I have my own share of mistakes. The biggest and most educational to me was my capture on November 10, 1977. I paid for that mistake by being tortured in solitary confinement for more than 5 years and being imprisoned for more than 8 years and three months.

*17. Can you give our listeners a summary of how you ended of in prison in solitary confinement and why?*

JMS: My capture in 1977 involved a cluster of mistakes, like for instance, I could have avoided riding on a motorcycle between 10 in the evening and midnight when the motorcycle traffic so so scarce and I could be easily spotted wearing my white eyeglasses. I could not use dark glasses. Comrades told me not to move and to stay overnight but I overruled them because I was in a hurry to get to another appointment in La Union. So the enemy spotted me when I crossed a certain gasoline station and so I was captured. And naturally in my position, I would be subjected to either death or imprisonment. I was expecting I could be killed but I think the political animal Marcos thought that he could use me as a trophy, at the least as a trophy. But anyway, there was no evading the torture, the physical torture to which I was immediately subjected starting from the day of my arrest.

I underwent the so-called American style water cure. The cleverness of that kind of torture is it leaves no mark. For 6 hours, I was subjected to water cure. I also had a session of fist blows on the body but they were not hitting me on the face so I thought that they were not out to kill me. But the worst kind of torture was the solitary confinement, it's the worst kind of torture, worse than those hours of torture during my early weeks in prison. I was in solitary confinement for so long. The physical and mental torture is built into the circumstances, you cannot talk to anyone, except occasionally with guards who deal with you. So I can sympathize with Julian Assange for being kept in solitary confinement, especially because he is not actually guilty of any crime, except for performing his role as a journalist and exposing the crimes of US imperialism so I believe if obly he is being subjected to that kind of torture, solitary confinement, he should be released immediately.

Why was I tortured. The purpose of torture is to break your political will and the way is to make you betray persons and places where other important persons in the revolutionary movement would be. So the questions that were addressed to me were meant to break me, break my will and betray my comrades. I did not submit to the will of the enemy and I knew when they were outrightly trying to pick my brains and to extort information me. So I had already rehearsed so many times that kind of situation. I had rehearsed so many times my getting killed in an NPA camp because of enemy attack or when marching from one point to another and also I have rehearsed so many times how I would react to enemy tricks and torture if captured.

*18. What are the CPP's greatest achievements to date? What do you aim to achieve within the next 10 years?*

JMS: The greatest ideological achievement of the CPP is the application of the universal theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism on the concrete conditions of the Philippines in the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution. In the process, the CPP thinkers and leaders have contributed to the development of said theory. The CPP has been able to propagate dialectical and historical materialism among tens of thousands of Party members and hundreds of thousands of revolutionary mass activists through basic, intermediate and advanced study courses to enable them to study and analyze domestic and international conditions and issues and adopt the correct strategy and tactics for waging revolution.

The greatest political achievement of the CPP is the adoption of the program of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war and the successful implementation of this general line of action. Thus, the CPP has proven itself as the leading force of the proletariat and entire people in the revolution. It has aroused, organized and mobilized millions of the Filipino people and successfully wielded and developed the revolutionary armed struggle and national united front as weapons of the people against the enemy. It leads the NPA, the

revolutionary mass organizations, alliances and the local organs of political power which constitute the people's democratic government. This government is responsible for mass education, production, health and other services, internal security and self-defense, arbitration of disputes, environmental protection and disaster relief.

The greatest organizational achievement of the CPP is upholding the principle of democratic centralism and growing in strength nationwide. From its small beginnings in 1968 to tens of thousands of Party cadres and members, the CPP has expanded nationwide and is deeply rooted among the toiling masses of workers and peasants. It has branches and groups in the urban and rural areas of 74 out of the 81 provinces of the Philippines. It operates as the leading core at all levels of the people's democratic government, local communities, guerrilla fronts, organizations and institutions of various types.

In the next 10 years, I expect to see greater victories in the people's democratic revolution in the Philippines. The counterrevolutionary currents like anti-communism, neocolonialism, modern revisionism and neoliberalism have run long courses and have proven to be bankrupt. It is high time for the revolutionary movements in the Philippines and abroad to demonstrate their strength and score new brilliant victories in the struggle for national liberation, democracy and socialism.

As regards to what I can do personally, I will continue to comment on Philippine and global issues. I will ensure that my written works are systematically collected and preserved for study by the current and further generations of revolutionaries in the Philippines and abroad. My books have been published chronologically by various publishers since the 1960s. But the International Network for Philippines Studies is also publishing the *Sison Reader Series*, with volumes on at least 35 general topics and themes.